Out of the Shadows: EXPERIENCES OF CONTRACT ACADEMIC STAFF
AUTHORS:
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Louise Birdsell Bauer is CAUT’s Research Officer. Louise has been researching contract academic staff (CAS) in Canadian universities since 2008, and has been an active union organizer. She recently defended her PhD thesis entitled “Precarious Professionals: Non-Tenure-Track Faculty in Southern Ontario Universities” in Sociology at the University of Toronto. Drawing on interviews, archival research and ethnographic data, Louise uncovers the ways in which short-term employment contracts and working conditions impact academic professionals’ livelihoods, professional development and integration. Her work has been published in such journals as Labor Studies Journal, the Canadian Review of Sociology and Work, Employment & Society.
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

An increasing number of academic staff at universities and colleges in Canada are working in non-standard employment – working part-time, or on temporary and short-term contracts.

An increasing number of academic staff at universities and colleges in Canada are working in non-standard employment – working part-time, or on temporary and short-term contracts. The narrative around these gig or short-term contracts in post-secondary education (PSE) is that they serve both the institutions and the workers well. Like assumptions about Uber drivers, the story goes that contract academic staff (CAS) are just picking up extra income on the side while studying or working elsewhere. Indeed, the rise of these casual positions is often described as a benefit to workers attracted to the flexibility.

But there is another story of CAS who are seeking permanent work, shouldering immense workloads for paltry paycheques, and doing their jobs without the resources afforded to full-time and tenure-track faculty. Instead of attractive flexibility, this story is about discouraging, demoralizing precarity.

Though CAS experiences have been investigated in several provinces in recent years (Birdsell Bauer 2011; Birdsell Bauer 2018; Foster, 2016; Field and Jones, 2016), confirming the story of precarity to a large degree, we sought to assess these stories nationally by exploring the motivations, expectations, interests and working conditions of post-secondary education teachers working on contract. We also sought to go beyond this research by including demographic variables of race and sexual orientation, as well as included a number of questions to gauge the impacts of this type of academic employment on respondents’ work-life balance and their mental health. We also asked whether these academics felt that their PSE institutions were model employers and supported good jobs.

The overall findings, from 2606 respondents, paint a negative picture of highly qualified and committed academics who are underpaid, overworked, and under-resourced, and who feel excluded in the Canadian post-secondary institutions where they try to provide an excellent education to students under dismal working conditions. Specifically, we learned that:

• More than half (53%) want a tenure-track university or full-time, permanent college job, and this desire holds even for people who have been teaching for 16-20 years. Only 25% said, unequivocally, that they do not want a tenure-track or permanent, full-time academic appointment. The remainder are unsure whether or not they want a tenure-track appointment.

• Job security ranks as the top priority concern. Only 21% of respondents had non-academic full-time, permanent work. If there is a ‘majority’ group among our respondents, it is people who are trying to make a full-time career out of working at a post-secondary institution.

• The dominant CAS experience is that of people who rely on such employment to make ends meet. However, it is also clear that most cannot rely on their CAS employment alone. Most have some other form of income or feel that their current situation is unsustainable.
• Women and racialized CAS work more hours per course per week than their white male CAS colleagues and are overrepresented in lower income categories.

• 42% of CAS believe their mental health was impacted by their PSE employment. 87% of those respondents believe their mental health was been negatively impacted by their CAS employment.

• Just 19% of those surveyed think the post-secondary institutions where they work are model employers and supporters of good jobs.

These survey results challenge the stereotype of CAS as happy moonlighters. There certainly is a minority of part-time educators who feel supported and valued, who deliberately seek and appreciate the flexibility and dynamism of contract work, or who have found some stability in ongoing, renewable contracts. There are some CAS who are supplementing income from full-time non-academic jobs or easing into retirement. There are professionals who teach to share the knowledge and experience they have gained in their fields.

Yet, for a substantial number of survey respondents, part-time teaching is precarious work, characterized by income insecurity, exclusion from career development, and unrecognized and unremunerated contributions. These respondents tell us the non-permanent terms of their contracts make it difficult for them to make long-term plans or investments. They relay how the non-permanence of their contracts makes it difficult to supervise students and contribute new knowledge as trained researchers and scientists.
INTRODUCTION

This report presents findings from a national survey of contract academic teaching staff at Canadian post-secondary institutions.

The people whose responses are aggregated and analyzed below teach at universities, colleges and polytechnics under a range of job titles that differ from institution to institution and department to department. In one, they might be called “contract instructors” or “part-time faculty,” while in another they are titled “sessional instructor,” “limited term appointment,” or “adjunct” faculty. We have opted to use the term “Contract Academic Staff,” and the acronym CAS to describe this diverse group. Importantly, the survey only targeted CAS whose primary job is teaching: other academic staff whose primary job is not teaching, such as librarians, were not included in this survey.

The proportion of university, college and polytechnic teaching staff in these types of non-permanent teaching positions is increasing, relative to those in permanent, usually tenure-track positions (Brownlee, 2015). This phenomenon is difficult to study because the institutional data to do so is hard to obtain, curiously guarded, and changes each year (Brownlee, 2015; Pankin & Weiss, 2011). Because of this, CAS are often referred to in the research literature as “hidden” academics in the post-secondary labour force (Brownlee, 2015; Rajagopal, 2002; Gappa and Leslie, 1993).

Not only are their numbers unknown, their experiences are also in the shadows. We know little about who CAS are, how they relate to their jobs, students, institutions and colleagues, what they want out of contract teaching, their struggles, their interests, and their qualitative contributions to post-secondary education. Importantly, CAS themselves know little of the ‘big picture’ because they are scattered throughout schools and departments, often without dedicated office space, at multiple job sites and are unorganized relative to permanent faculty with more stable representation and membership.

This study was motivated by a desire to learn more about CAS: who are they? What are the terms and working conditions of their academic employment? What is their workload like? What are their earnings and benefits? What are their professional aspirations? To what extent do they want full-time academic work?

Drawing on the scholarship on precarious work and job insecurity, this report begins from the premise that it is not enough to take stock of the length of contracts and the presence or absence of job protections. This is important, but it matters alongside the more subjective or qualitative issue of how people think about their jobs, how they experience the terms of their employment, and how these feelings and beliefs guide their actions in the world and affect the way their institutions function.

Background

There has been a gradual but relentless decline in the share of public funding of post-secondary education over the past decades, while many post-secondary institutions have embraced a corporate management model that relies on a poorly paid contingent workforce. There is an urgent need to significantly reinvest in post-secondary education, both federally through the Canada Social Transfer and in the provinces, in order to reverse the sharp decline in tenure-track positions. Recent high-profile labour disputes at two of Ontario’s largest universities underscore the need for provinces to update their labour legislation and mandate improvements such as greater job security, equal pay for equal work, and minimum wage increases. Mobilizing for change goes beyond provincial and federal governments, however, but must happen within the post-secondary institutions and communities to combat inequality and promote fairness.
University and college administrators defend their increasing use of non-permanent teaching positions on the grounds that they, like all 21st century organizations, need to be flexible. Course offerings and enrolments fluctuate from year-to-year, and full-time faculty cannot always cover the precise offerings of their departments. Short-term contracts make sense when departments need to fill the temporary gaps created when full-time faculty members take sabbaticals, parenting, care or administrative leaves.

But these temporary contract positions are increasing in numbers while permanent positions are declining. Departments may hire someone term after term on separate contracts, as little as 4-months at a time, solely because they are not funded from their institutions to hire a full-time, permanent colleague. Longer temporary contracts, for example the “Limited Term Appointments” that are used to hire lecturers or professors to teach a suite of courses for one or several terms, are also often conceived as temporary gap-fillers, and they are increasingly used to replace retiring faculty members. Statistics Canada’s University and College Academic Staff System survey (UCASS) data suggests that over the past twenty years, the number of assistant professors in Canada peaked around 2005-2006, while the number of professors without rank increased. Even these figures are muddied by the fact that some Limited Term Appointments are classified as Assistant Professors. However, by noting this limitation, we may assume that the percentage of permanent positions, ranked at Assistant or higher, has dropped even more significantly, relative to lower ranks, than the available statistics tell us. **The drop in full-time, full year positions is also evident in the Census which shows a decline of 10% from 2005 to 2015. During the same period, university professors working part-time, part-year increased by 79%.**
In this climate, contracts are renewed repeatedly, with departments often hiring the same person contract after contract. However, that person never receives the assurance that the job is secure or has the same benefits and career development options as permanent colleagues. PSE institutions use non-permanent positions to avoid the ongoing commitments—in salary, benefits, and career development—that they must make to full-time permanent employees.

Institutions claim that they are forced toward casualization to cut ballooning labour costs and make up for shortfalls in government funding. Whereas the decline in government funding has impacted the size of the pie, the slice going to faculty as share of expenditures is shrinking while others, notably administration, is growing. At Canadian universities, academic rank salaries as a percentage of total expenditures have steadily declined from 34% in 1973 to 23% in 2016 (CAUBO 2018: 22). Spending on academic rank salaries increased by 166% in constant 2015 dollars from 1972 to 2016, while spending on administration and general funds increased by 228% during the same period. Other expenses also showed a higher percentage of growth during the period. Building, land and land improvements grew by 366%, for example (CAUBO 2018:29). The casualization of the academic labour force is therefore only one component of the shift in priorities at Canadian universities.

With such spending and planning decisions, PSE institutions are fundamentally altering the jobs and careers of post-secondary educators, the experiences of students, and the entire structures of universities, colleges and polytechnics. Moreover, to the extent that short-term contracts tend to remunerate only teaching, they hive classroom work off from research and administrative work, which compromises PSE missions, and threatens espoused principles of academic freedom, expertise and knowledge creation. There are, as a result, myriad negative effects of casualization on the workers, on the students they teach. The principle of academic freedom which is central to scholarly research and knowledge production is also compromised: CAS’s ability to do funded research which is fully supported and protected by their institutions is compromised by their precarious employment status.

This survey focuses mostly on CAS jobs and careers, but it also views other ramifications of casualization—the student experience, the institutional mission—from the perspective of the CAS who answered the survey. In interpreting the results, we have drawn on two broad bodies of research: one focused on precarious work, and the other targeting job insecurity.

We sought to understand in this study the varying degrees that CAS are exposed to the following seven “dimensions of insecurity” (Standing 2011):

1. **Labour market insecurity** — a shortage of “adequate income-earning opportunities” in the wider labour market;
2. **Employment insecurity** — a lack of “protection against arbitrary dismissal, for example through regulations on hiring and firing,” entitlement to severance pay and adequate notice of dismissal;
3. **Job insecurity** — a person’s ability and opportunity to “retain a niche” in employment, move up a career ladder, and have their skills renewed;
4. **Work insecurity** — a lack of protection against physical and psychological harm on the job.
5. **Skill reproduction insecurity** — the lack of “opportunity to gain skills through apprenticeships, employment training and so on, as well as opportunity to make use of competencies” (Standing, 2011:10);
6. **Income insecurity** — occurs wherever an “adequate, stable income” is not assured, whether by the job itself (through wage indexation, minimum wage rates, etc.) or by whatever social safety net exists to compensate for low employment income (e.g. access to Employment Insurance);
7. **Representation insecurity** — the lack of “a collective voice in the labour market, through, for example, independent trade unions, with a right to strike” (Standing, 2011:11).

Research on job insecurity offers further insights into the experience of precarious work and its ramifications. Scholars who study job insecurity conceptualize it as a subjective perception […] that reflects the degree to which employees consider their jobs to be threatened” (Lee, Huang & Ashford, 2018:335). In other words, while job insecurity certainly corresponds with more “objective” environmental factors—contracts, pay, career ladders—it is understood in the job insecurity research literature as a perception. Importantly, its subjective character does not make it less important or impactful; as Schoss (2017) summarizes it, “empirical evidence links job insecurity to poor mental, physical, and work-related wellbeing; poor job attitudes; and decrements in performance, creativity, and adaptability” (2017:1912).
One piece of this literature is particularly compelling when applied to the results of this survey. Job insecurity is, as Schoss (2017) puts it, “a future-focused phenomenon” (1916), such that people who believe they might lose their jobs in the near future are inclined to behave in unique ways in the present. Some researchers working in this area even propose that the belief about the future is the most important part of job insecurity—more important than qualities of the job itself—in that people who are more worried about “material (financial) deprivation and a decline of social relationships in the future” tend to report more health and psychological distress than people who are not so worried, even though they are in the same jobs (Hoge et. al., 2015).

Whatever the precise mechanism, studies of precarious work and job insecurity indicate that the effects of insecure, precarious work can be devastating to peoples’ self-identity, their family life, their mental and physical well-being, and their relationships with others (Field et. al., 2016; Lewchuk et al., 2015; Schoss, 2017; Standing, 2011; Vosko, 2009).

It is with this background and understanding of precarity and job insecurity that the survey results were analyzed.

“As a sessional you often have to work at multiple universities in order to earn enough money to support yourself and your family.”
SURVEY METHODOLOGY

There are challenges inherent in surveying CAS.

Many institutions do not have a central database or mailing list of CAS; these tend to exist at the departmental level, if at all (Foster, 2016). Academic staff associations and unions also do not always have contact information for their CAS members, and representation varies; some CAS belong to full-time faculty unions, others are represented by pan-institutional unions (e.g. the Canadian Union of Public Employees), and others have no representation at all. Turnover is high; so even if contact information is available it is quickly out of date.

With no national census-level survey on CAS in Canada, and no national list for recruitment, it is difficult to know what constitutes a ‘representative sample’ of CAS, let alone collect data from one. Thus, the results of this survey must be interpreted as a reflection of the attributes and experiences of the people who responded. They are not generalizable to all CAS in Canada but they are indicative of the working conditions, experiences, perspectives and attributes of CAS across the country and they are instructive for anyone who wants to get a sense of the CAS experience.

In the absence of reliable national contact lists and sampling frames, participants were recruited to participate in the survey via invitation. CAUT distributed the invitation to its member associations, who were instructed to forward the invitation on to their members through email, social media, and however else they saw fit. CAUT also shared the invitation using its newsletter, website and social media and worked with other organizations representing CAS, specifically the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) and the Fédération nationale des enseignantes et des enseignants du Québec (FNEEQ). The survey opened in mid-September, and remained active until December 31st, 2017.

Anyone clicking the link to the survey was presented first with a series of screening questions to determine eligibility. In order to be eligible, respondents had to confirm that they were employed to teach at a Canadian university, college and/or polytechnic on a temporary contract basis in the 2016-17 academic year. If they failed to meet any part of these criteria, they were screened out of the survey.

Moreover, the data have been carefully analyzed to eliminate duplicate or obviously fraudulent records. Responses coming from the same IP address (which in all likelihood are simply from the same institution) were scanned for signs of fraud. There were no obvious signs of tampering, but approximately a dozen duplicate records (from respondents who likely started the survey once and had trouble finishing it, but started over rather than saving and returning to it) were deleted from the final file. In all, 2606 respondents are included in the final data.

Limitations

In addition to the question of generalizability addressed above, there are other cautions about how this data can be interpreted. Ours was not, and could not be, a census-level survey. Moreover, not all CAS worked in 2016-17 at Canadian universities, colleges and polytechnics. In other words, there are many—possibly hundreds—of CAS who were not in our sampling frame because they were not employed in the 2016-17 academic year, and some who were employed but didn’t receive an invitation.

A second point to bear in mind is that the majority of respondents to this survey teach at universities, not colleges or polytechnics. This is partly a function of CAUT membership (although the survey was distributed to non-members.
too), and also likely due to the perceived relevance of the survey to college and polytechnic CAS interests. The result is that issues faced by CAS at universities take centre stage in this analysis. We recommend that future research directly target CAS at colleges as some of their key issues may vary. A survey should be developed in close consultation with college and polytechnic experts to ensure that the eligibility requirements make sense to potential respondents.

A third point concerns the distribution of respondents across provinces and territories. Although we do not have reliable data on all CAS across provinces and territories, we do have information on CAUT’s CAS members. Comparisons show that the geographic distribution of respondents in this survey is reasonably close to the known geographic distribution of CAS CAUT members. There may be a slight overrepresentation of Ontario CAS and a larger underrepresentation of CAS in Alberta and Quebec. The geographic distribution of the survey respondents also is in line with the geographic distribution of full-time faculty members at all ranks reflected in UCASS data.

A fourth point concerns respondent bias. As with most surveys, it is possible that those who had polarized views about their conditions were more likely to be motivated to respond. For example, a CAS might be highly motivated to respond if they had a negative or positive experience at an academic institution. However, there is no way of knowing whether this polarizing effect often found in surveys is true for the population of CAS in Canada, since there are no existing data on these issues nationwide. Other factors, such as the time needed to complete the survey may have impacted the response rate.

Finally, prior research has identified the diversity of disciplines, career tracks, and contract types held by CAS. Disciplinary and occupational norms vary, as do terminology used at Canadian institutions. We aimed to encompass as much as possible this variation in the language used in our survey, but we recognize that some respondents could not always see their situations accurately reflected in the response categories.

Analysis

Data from the survey was checked for quality and completeness, and incomplete records were removed. The data was recoded wherever necessary (i.e., transformed into variables that were easier to present and analyze) and analysed in SPSS by two researchers—Dr. Foster and Dr. Birdsell Bauer—who ran descriptive statistics (i.e. frequencies) for all variables and a selection of cross-tabulations to test the relationships between key variables of interest. In order to protect the anonymity of respondents, any multivariate analysis that yielded cell counts of lower than ten was either recoded to combine data or is not reported in the analysis.

Responses to open-ended questions were analysed using a qualitative emergent coding method, in which researchers read the responses with only a general idea of what to look for, and identify recurring themes, patterns and contradictions as they ‘emerge’. We performed multiple readings of the responses, each time looking for new themes or nuances. This report does not present or analyze all of the data elicited by the survey; further analyses may be released in future, and the authors welcome specific questions about variables that are not reported in the study findings.
Who completed the survey?
Respondents could have taught at a university, college, or a polytechnic, or they could teach at multiple types of institutions. The vast majority of respondents taught at universities (92%). Some also taught at colleges or polytechnics, but overall, just 13% taught at a college only in 2016-17 and less than 3% taught at a polytechnic only. A complete list of institutions represented in the survey is attached as an appendix, but in order to protect anonymity in the case of very small populations, we only report the final counts for institutions where there were more than 50 respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INSTITUTION TYPE</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>91.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polytechnic</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>108.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Total greater than 100% given that some CAS teach at multiple institution types.

Program area
Respondents came from a range of disciplines and programs, but the largest proportions teach in the humanities (21%) or social and behavioural sciences and law (18%). The remainder of respondents teach in health and related fields (11%), business, management and public administration (10%), visual and performing arts and communications technologies (8%), education (7%), physical and life sciences (6%), architecture (4%), agriculture (2%), and other (10%).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROGRAM AREA</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Humanities</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social and behavioral sciences and law</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health and related fields</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business, management and public administration</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visual and performing arts, and communications technologies</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical and life sciences and technologies</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics, computer and information sciences</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architecture, engineering and related technologies</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, natural resources and conservation</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Improvement and leisure</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trades/vocational</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>103%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Total greater than 100% given that some CAS teach in multiple program areas.
With regards to provincial distribution, 13% of CAS respondents taught in British Columbia, 10% taught in Alberta, 4% taught in Saskatchewan, 4% taught in Manitoba, 47% taught in Ontario, 7% taught in Quebec, 3% taught in New Brunswick, 8% taught in Nova Scotia, 2% taught in Prince Edward Island, and 2% taught in Newfoundland. Comparisons with other data sets – including the CAUT membership database show that CAS in most provinces, with the major exception of Quebec, are well represented, with a slight overrepresentation of Ontario CAS (by about 5%). CAS in Alberta, relative to CAS who are CAUT members are unfortunately underrepresented (by about 20%). CAS in all other provinces appear to be evenly represented with regards to CAUT’s membership. We also compared these numbers with full-time faculty data across provinces from Statistics Canada’s University and College Academic Staff System (UCASS). Though UCASS includes full-time faculty only, it is indicative of workforce size by province.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British Columbia</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberta</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saskatchewan</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Brunswick</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nova Scotia</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Edward Island</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newfoundland</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Turning to demographic characteristics, respondents were most likely to be in their thirties, forties, and fifties, with 26% aged 36-45, 23% in the 46-55 age range, and 30% over age 55. The median age range was 36-45. This is slightly younger than the median age range of full-time faculty in the 2016-2017 UCASS (50-54).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE DISTRIBUTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age Category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46-55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56-65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With regards to gender and sexuality, 56% of our respondents identified as women, 35% identified as men, 7% identified as LGBTQ2S*, and less than 1% identified as transgender, non-binary or third gender, or preferred to self-describe (2% preferred not to respond).

Over half of the respondents (57%) are the parent or legal guardian of one or more children.

In terms of formal education, 11% had completed a post-doctoral degree or fellowship. Thirty-eight percent (38%) of CAS respondents hold a doctoral degree, or a medical degree, 42% hold a Masters, and 6% hold a Bachelor’s. Only 3% were teaching with a trade certificate, college diploma or other post-secondary designation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Highest level of education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some post-secondary certification or trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College diploma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Certificate above Bachelor’s degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earned Master’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earned Doctorate or Medical degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-doctorate degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

27% of our sample identify as racialized. The survey asked respondents to locate themselves in Statistics Canada’s list of racial and ethnic categories. Of the 2606 respondents who answered the question, 73% self-identified as ‘white’ and 27% identified as categories other than ‘white.’ Additionally, 2% of respondents identified as Aboriginal. With regards to racialized respondents, ‘South Asian’ was the only category to get more than 2% of respondents. Since the disaggregated numbers are low, we present findings on racialized CAS as a group.

Though we want to caution again that our sample is not representative, we also note that the percentage of racialized CAS in this survey is higher than the percentage of racialized full-time faculty reported in 2016 census data (CAUT 2018). This suggests the need for more research on the possible overrepresentation of racialized faculty in temporary contract positions.

**Academic Employment**

Despite the variation in titles, the CAS surveyed in this study have something in common with each other: they do not work in tenure-stream positions, they are usually paid only to teach (not to research or do administrative work), and their jobs are not, in any robust sense, permanent. Even though many of them have been teaching the same courses at the same institutions for decades, the renewal of their contracts and/or courses is not guaranteed. Over half of the post-secondary educators who participated in this survey must apply individually, each term, for every course they wish to teach. Others have longer contracts—one to three years—that obligate them to teach a package of courses, or similar multi-course contracts that are automatically renewed every year without the need to reapply. Either way, a drop in enrolment, a full-time faculty member who wants to teach the course, or a restructuring of programs could mean that even historically ‘ongoing’ contracts could be terminated by simply not rehiring that CAS.
As mentioned, CAS work in a multitude of different contracts with diverse terms, terminology and titles. Respondents to our survey reflect this diversity, but there are also some notable patterns.

### Appointment Type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appointment Type</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Course-by-course basis</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Course-by-course, multiple institutions</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited-Term Appointment</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LTA with additional courses, same institution</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple LTAs at different institutions</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LTA with additional courses, multiple institutions</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuing or ongoing part-time appointment</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Seventy percent of survey respondents said they were employed on a course-by-course basis in 2016-2017; 54% did this at one institution and 16% did so at multiple institutions. While they might have taught more than one course that year - and many did, as shown later - they had separate employment contracts for each course, and had to apply to teach each course separately. This arrangement is arguably the most precarious of all the contract types captured by this survey, as CAS with course-by-course contracts are only ‘guaranteed’ (and even this term is used loosely) employment for a term (approximately 4 months) or an academic year (approximately 10 months) by any given contract. Though the length of their contract may vary, they must reapply at the end of their contract if they wish to continue working.

Of the rest, about one-quarter held a more secure appointment, which we described as a ‘Limited Term Appointment’ (LTA). CAS teach multiple courses per contract, but the contracts have fixed end dates. They can range from a single term (approximately four months) to several years, but they are explicitly non-permanent. Typically, these are teaching-only positions and do not offer any remuneration or time for research and administrative work. Among our respondents, 18% had an LTA appointment at one institution, 5% held an LTA and picked up additional course contracts at the same institution, and another 4% held an LTA and picked up courses at a different institution. A small number (1%) held multiple LTA positions concurrently.

Many respondents held other paid jobs in addition to their teaching contract(s). Indeed, 48% said they were employed in at least one other job apart from their employment as CAS. This does not include multiple teaching contracts, discussed in the next section. Those who were employed on a course-by-course basis (64%) were much more likely to hold more than one job than those with a limited term appointment (11%).

Of those who did have another job outside of their CAS work, 64% had just one additional job, but 24% had two additional jobs, and 12% had three or more other jobs, on top of their CAS employment.

Hours worked per week at their additional job(s) varied: 10% worked 40+ hours at their additional job(s), 40% worked 25-40 hours at their additional job(s), and half worked less than 25 hours at their additional job.

Those working at multiple institutions – whether course-by-course, or LTA – were much less likely to hold an additional job outside of their employment as CAS.
“‘I’m a professor.’ They’re always impressed, until I tell them that I work in three schools in two cities, and have no benefits whatsoever and no job stability.”

“I have been teaching at this institution for almost 30 years and like other Contract Academic Faculty have never been recognized for my years of service at the Annual Service Recognition Awards.”
Of those who had additional employment, just 21% said they have a salaried, full-time, permanent position. 29% described their additional employment as self-employment. Another 18% said it was an hourly wage, non-permanent job. One-third of respondents (32%) described their other job as something other than self-employment, hourly wage or full-time, salaried and permanent.

While women and men were equally represented among those who held additional jobs apart from their CAS employment, the type of additional employment varied. Men were more likely than women to be working at additional jobs that were salaried, full-time permanent jobs (13% vs. 10%). Men were also more likely than women to be self-employed (17% vs. 13%). When it came to working at an additional job that was paid by hourly wage, part-time, and non-permanent (i.e. temp, casual, or contract), women were much more likely than men to be found in this type of employment in addition to their CAS employment.

Those who held a Bachelor’s degree were more likely than those with a Masters, PhD or post-doctoral fellowship to be working at an additional job that was a salaried, full-time permanent job (18% vs. 14%, 7% and 7%, respectively). Those who held a Bachelor’s were also more likely to be self-employed than those with a Masters, PhD or post-doc (30% vs. 16%, 12% and 7%).

The range of employment relationships described in the table above is reflected as well in the range of hours respondents reported working at their other job(s). The largest proportion of respondents with other jobs—about one-third (32%)—said they work 21-39 hours per week at their non-CAS jobs. Of the rest, 23% each said they work less than ten hours a week, 11-20 hours per week, or more than 40 hours. This suggests that many CAS with additional employment tend to work substantial part-time gigs—more hours than a small side-hustle, but likely not enough hours to clear the ‘full time’ threshold of 37-40 hours at which organizations tend to deem an employee eligible for benefits. However, taken together, the hours worked at their multiple jobs do in many cases surpass this threshold.
Less than 2% of our respondents could not find a job description matching their situation. Of these, half explained that they hold “continuing part-time” appointments. By their description, these are contracts that automatically renew every year—the person does not have to reapply—but they are never truly secure. If a full-time faculty member wishes to teach the CAS’ course one year, or if the course is not offered due to low enrolment, these jobs are at risk of termination. It should be noted that numerous respondents in these continuing part-time positions said the likelihood of their jobs disappearing was very low.

Qualitative answers from a subset of respondents who teach at multiple institutions gives some sense of the breadth of expectations and aspirations, as well as the patterns therein.

The most common reason given for teaching at multiple institutions in 2016-17 was money. Whether respondents said they wanted extra money to supplement income from other jobs, spouses’ employment, or retirement income, or that they needed the money from their CAS employment to survive, these respondents said they take on teaching contracts at multiple institutions in order to make enough money to live, or perhaps live more comfortably.

Those in the former camp described some dire situations, where they found themselves often near or below the poverty line. Importantly, several noted that their income from one institution was not enough to bring them above the poverty line. As one respondent explained,

“I had to have 3 contracts to not be at risk for homelessness, to have food security. But the first two weeks of each semester had me without meals every day, or I had to choose [between] electricity, food or transportation. I could not have all three at the same time.”

Stepping Stone or Career?

Most respondents (59%) had been teaching on contract at a post-secondary education level for over five years: 25% had been teaching for 6-10 years, 15% for 11-15 years, 8% for 16-20 years, and 11% for over twenty years. Just 8% were teaching for the first time, and 13% had been doing so for 1-2 years. One-in-five (19%) had been teaching for 3-5 years.

How Long Teaching by Want Tenure Track Appointment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How long taught PSE</th>
<th>Do you want a tenure-track appointment?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016-2017 was first year</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2 years</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-5 years</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10 years</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15 years</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-20 years</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 20 years</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overwhelmingly, respondents said they taught undergraduate courses—77% said they teach first- and second-year courses, and 68% said they teach third- and fourth-year undergraduate courses. However, almost 24% said they teach graduate courses as well. 18% teach professional courses at university and 6% teach professional courses at polytechnics. (Multiple responses were allowed, therefore these percentages do not sum to 100.)

COURSE TYPE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course Type</th>
<th>Percent of courses taught</th>
<th>Percent of casesa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First- and second-year level undergraduate courses</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third- and fourth-year level undergraduate courses</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate courses</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional courses (college/polytechnic)</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional courses (university)</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>193%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Total greater than 100% given that some CAS teach multiple course types.
For the almost one-quarter of CAS teaching at the graduate and professional level, many do not have access to the most basic teaching resources, such as a dedicated office in which to meet their students or even store their belongings. As many noted in the comments, they also find themselves in the position of having to explain to their students that they should not write letters of reference and in most cases cannot supervise graduate student theses even though they teach their required graduate courses.

**Workload, Working Conditions, and Scholarly Activities**

One of the issues raised in the literature is that CAS are often hired on a ‘just-in-time’ basis – meaning they have to rush to prepare a course. Our survey found that 35% of CAS had less than six weeks’ notice before the start of the course that they had been hired to teach. Over 30% had six weeks’ to three months’ notice. It should be noted that increasingly, collective agreements state the minimum notice that must be given to CAS.

**Workload**

The problem of measuring academic workloads has plagued theorists and policymakers alike. Given the diverse nature of contractual work in universities, it makes sense to look at multiple dimensions of workload, including hours worked, preparation time, and work done outside of course contracts. Doing so reveals, first, that terms like “part-time instructor” are misnomers for most CAS. Many work more than one course, sometimes at multiple institutions. The following table shows the number of hours that respondents said they spend per course, per week:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hours Worked Per Course Per Week</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Five or less</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10 hours</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15 hours</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-20 hours</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-30 hours</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40 hours</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over forty hours</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, even the amount of hours worked per course per week varies considerably among CAS respondents. While 9% said they work five or fewer hours per course per week, over one-quarter (28%) said they worked 6-10 hours per course per week, and 25% worked 11-15 hours per course per week. Another 18% worked 16-20 hours per course per week and 11% worked 21-30 hours per course per week. A minority (9%) said they spent more than 30 hours per course per week.

Notably, CAS who worked more courses in 2016-2017 worked fewer hours per course per week. CAS who taught one or two courses in 2016-2017 were more likely to work more hours per course per week than those who taught three to five courses, or six or more courses. Therefore hours worked per course per week appear to reflect the time CAS have available to work. This raises issues about the delivery of quality higher education, if CAS are taking on multiple course contracts to make a living, and have to limit the amount of time they can dedicate to preparing for each of those courses. Digging deeper into this data, we find that women were more likely than men to work more than fifteen hours per course per week, and racialized CAS were more likely to do this compared to non-racialized CAS.

To further understand CAS workload, we examined how often CAS respondents worked more than eight hours a day at their CAS job, worked during the evenings, or worked on weekends. This data is summarized below, but overall, it shows that sizable proportions of CAS in this survey worked more than 8 hours a day, and into the evenings, at least several days each week, and a majority (62%) said they work most weekends.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overtime Frequency</th>
<th>% Worked more than 8 hours/Day</th>
<th>% Worked Evenings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most days</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A few days a week</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A few days a month</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once or twice a term</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Another key element of the CAS workload is the work CAS do for their institution that may or may not be related to their course contract. 75% of CAS respondents said they do some kind of committee work, and most of them (60% overall) reported that this work was unpaid—contributing to its invisibility. CAS respondents also do a considerable amount of unpaid administrative duties – 15% of respondents said they did additional administrative duties not covered by the course contract or an official administrative position.

### COMMITTEE WORK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Committee</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Department level</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculty level</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution level</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour union</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Committee Work</th>
<th>Paid</th>
<th>Unpaid</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Department level</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculty level</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution level</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour union</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vast majority of these courses (88%) are in-person, while 12% are taught online. Respondents had previously taught most of the courses (75%) they identified in the survey at least once, which, in theory, helps lessen the amount of preparation required for the course. However, it is also worth noting that for most courses taught by CAS (76%), no teaching assistant was provided.

### Research and other Scholarly Activities

Just as our data reveals that CAS do a lot more administrative and committee work than their contracts entail, most also do research, writing, and other scholarly activities. In most regular faculty contracts—for people on the tenure-track especially—time for research, writing and other non-teaching scholarly endeavours is protected. A typical tenure-track faculty contract assumes that a person will spend 40% of their time teaching, 40% on non-teaching, scholarly activities, and 20% on committee and administrative work. But CAS, as mentioned, are typically paid only to teach. Yet two thirds (67%) of respondents said they are currently working on peer-reviewed journal articles, and about one-third (36%) said they were writing for non-peer-reviewed publications, actively conducting research, and/or applying for external research grants.
“There is one sessional office in my department. Fifteen sessionals share the office which includes six desks and six computers. It is not unusual for at least three sessionals to hold office hours with students simultaneously.”
### SCHOLARLY ACTIVITIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scholarly Activities</th>
<th>Percent of Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Working on peer-reviewed journal articles</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing for non-peer-reviewed publications</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conducting fieldwork (interviews, survey</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>research, etc.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applying for external research grants</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working on peer-reviewed book manuscript(s)</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applying for research ethics approval</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laboratory research (experiments,</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>observation, etc.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completing graduate studies</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working on industry-funded research</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applying for jobs</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working on patents</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Very little of these scholarly activities are funded as part of CAS contracts, and little is supported by external research funding (e.g. tri-council research grants). Just 2% of respondents said they held, as a primary investigator, a major external research grant in 2016-17, but 8% said they had done so in the past. At the same time, 5% said they were a co-investigator on a major external grant in 2016-17, and 9% had done so in the past. In comments, some specified that they held smaller grants from external organizations or departmental/institutional funds. Others indicated that their research (or other activity, such as writing fiction or producing works of art) is not typically funded by major external grants.

### OFFICE SPACE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Office Space</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I had at least one on-campus office to myself</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I shared office space with other contract</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>instructors and/or students</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I only had access to a shared staff room (or</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other common space)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I did not have any on-campus office space</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following chart reveals the access to resources that CAS respondents had. Most CAS respondents had sufficient access to library loans and online journals. The campus resources that were most frequently lacking include professional development seminars or workshops (52% had insufficient or no access), conference travel funding (86% had insufficient or no access), research travel funding (84% had insufficient or no access), and athletic facilities (68% had insufficient or no access). One could argue that these resources, in particular the first three, are important for CAS’ professional development and research, and therefore linked to their development as academic staff. However, since the vast majority of CAS have insufficient or no access to many of these resources, this poses a limitation.

### CAMPUS RESOURCES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resource</th>
<th>Have sufficient access</th>
<th>Insufficient or no access</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Library: FT loans</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library: Online journal/</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>periodical access</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional development</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seminars/workshops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conference travel funding</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printer (for course materials)</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research travel funding</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional email address</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching and learning</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resources</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athletic facilities</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parking</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Given the preceding tables and findings, it is not surprising that the majority (70%) of CAS respondents surveyed disagree that nothing about their working conditions needs to change. Only 21% feel that their institutions are model employers and support good jobs in the community.

**Key issues**

Much of the data gathered by this survey reinforces the hypotheses that CAS employment bears the characteristics of precarious work and that CAS experience job insecurity. Looking first at some of the larger, quantitative questions, it is clear that the lack of real permanence in CAS employment—the lack of protections against dismissal, the lack of certainty around rehiring and contract renewal—creates major insecurity and negative stress for respondents. In fact, insecurity emerged as the top concern for CAS in this survey, ahead of pay, benefits, workload, and other possible concerns presented in the following page.

Sixty-nine percent of respondents agreed that the contingent nature of their teaching employment is a major source of stress and concern (45% strongly; 24% agree). Responses to other attitude questions shed light on how stress manifests, around what issues, and why this is so.
Similarly, 33% strongly agreed that the contract nature of their employment impacts their ability to make long-term plans, such as having children; 23% agreed. The volatility and uncertainty of their employment leaves CAS unable to think very far into the future with any confidence about their ability to pay bills, support dependents, and pursue other opportunities. As one respondent put it:

“the constraints on long-term decision making are not just a personal strain - they are a strain on domestic arrangements, children, and marital relationships.”

The top concern is job security, followed by low pay and lack of benefits, with at least half of respondents rating these issues as “very important.” Over half of respondents rated class schedules, workload and unpaid work as somewhat or very important to them. Smaller, but still substantial proportions of CAS respondents place high importance on the issue of commute time and transportation costs, which is likely most salient to those CAS who travel between multiple campuses for work. Childcare is the least important issue for most respondents overall, but it is worth noting that parents were much more likely to rate childcare as very important (22% vs. 5% of non-parents) or somewhat important (13% vs. 7%).
Responses to Insecurity

As might be expected, there is a correlation between how many hours a person worked at another job and the number of courses they taught in 2016-17. In brief, people who worked more hours outside of their teaching employment tended to teach fewer courses. But the numbers still suggest that CAS are either working much more, or much less, than a standard 40-hour work-week, with few managing to strike a good work-life balance.

Of those who taught one or two courses in 2016-17, 37% said they worked another 21-39 hours at other jobs. Of those who taught 3-5 courses, 33% worked 21-39 hours per week at other jobs. Only people who taught 6 or more courses were most likely to say they worked ten hours or less at their other job(s)—this was the case for 39% of those respondents.

Explaining why they work multiple jobs (CAS employment and non-CAS employment), many respondents said things like "I work as much as possible" or "I take whatever there is available," and pointed to the insecurity they feel about their jobs and incomes. For instance, one explained:

"Contract work is unstable and unreliable. I work as much as possible in order to build up my savings in the event that one term or one year I do not get any work. I've given up all other parts of my life to work as much as possible out of fear and instability."

Another respondent, who had a second full-time job, wrote:

"I also work [...] in a non-academic position. I have maintained that position while working in my contract appointment at the University [...]. I do so because my part-time position there, while below my qualification level and desired pay, is a permanent one that provides benefits and some degree of stability, which the contract position does not. (This leads to a horrifying 53.5 hour work week I should also add.)"

Looking at the CAS respondents who taught at more than one institution in 2016-17, the explanations are similar and, in keeping with the findings of other studies on job insecurity, they are focused on the future. In response to the question, "why did you teach at multiple institutions?" CAS respondents said:

- To have a higher wage and also since I do not know if I would get a contract later, I wanted to earn as much as possible.
- I want to develop a relationship with other universities in case my contract is not renewed.
- One [of my contracts] is technically permanent, but I was laid off due to lack of numbers, then hired back. However, the layoff threat is ongoing as numbers and funding are always an issue. As a result, it is necessary to keep additional work options open.
- My husband's work is contract, and so there are periods of income insecurity for us. My work at [the first] University continues year round, and so even during those semesters I am not teaching at [the other university], our family is guaranteed at least some income.
- If [you turn] down work you will not get offered that work in the following year. Thus I have to teach 11 courses in one semester and have summers where I get almost no work.

Describing something like a modus operandi for CAS, one respondent wrote:

"There is no job security as a contract professor. Working for two universities is a specific strategy to hedge your bets. There are many risks involved when a new department Chair is appointed, or a department 're-visions' itself, or a full-time professor decides to 'grab' a contract worker's courses, or the hiring committee changes. Long-term contract workers can suddenly find themselves ousted from teaching contracts because the hiring department has no loyalty to the precarious worker."

This and similar responses, which dominated the qualitative answers (alongside the very simple answer—"money"—and the insightful "it's just what CAS do"), suggest the existence of a CAS job insecurity mindset that compels CAS to take whatever work they can in the present just in case they are without work entirely in the future, as "the layoff threat" is always looming. The result, again, can be a life of rebounding between overwork and unemployment. It is no surprise, then, that respondents were split on the question of work-life balance. As shown in the graph below, 48% said their teaching employment does not provide them with work-life balance, but 31% said that it does. Despite this variability, adding in the 20% who remained neutral on this question, it is clear that CAS are more likely to be dissatisfied than satisfied with the amount of work they have at any given time.
Further supporting this interpretation is the fact that respondents tended to rate their CAS employment as fairly stressful. They were most likely to rate it a 7 or an 8 (18 and 20%, respectively) on a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 being extremely stressful and 1 being not stressful at all. Median stress ratings were not **significantly** or greatly affected by parental status, contract type, length of time teaching at the PSE level, or any other potentially relevant variables tested as part of our analysis. However, they did vary by gender and race of CAS respondents. Women and racialized CAS were more likely to find their job extremely stressful, while men and non-racialized CAS were more likely to find their job not stressful at all.

## Pay and Benefits

Most of the respondents in this survey had multiple streams of income. Only 30% said that all of their income in 2016-17 came from their CAS employment. Estimating their total (gross) income from all sources in 2016-17, the largest proportion (29%) of respondents said they made between $25,001 and $50,000. A slightly smaller proportion (27%) said they earned $50,001-$80,000 that year. Just under one-quarter (24%) said they made over $80,000 in 2016-17, and about 20% made $25,000 or less. For reference, the low income cut-off (a.k.a. the poverty line) for a single person living in a mid-sized city (population 100,000-499,000) was 17,240 in 2015 (Statistics Canada 2018).

Income varied along lines of gender and race. When measuring total annual income, men were much more likely than women to be represented in the higher income categories (above $80,000/year), and women were more likely than men to be represented in the lower income categories (below $50,000/year). White CAS were more likely than racialized CAS to be represented in the higher income categories, while racialized CAS were more likely to be represented in the lower income categories. Since this measure includes work outside of their CAS appointments, these differences likely reflect pay equity issues in both the academic sector and in other sectors.

To help interpret the significance of these income figures, we asked respondents how reliant they were on their CAS employment income. The responses, presented in the table below, show that respondents depend on their teaching income a great deal. Forty-five percent said that if they did not receive their CAS pay in a given month, they would be unable to pay that month’s bills. A further 27% said they would be okay for a short period of time, but would eventually need to find additional income. Just 28% said their CAS pay was basically unnecessary and that they had another source of income they could rely on indefinitely.

### Reliance on CAS Pay

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reliance on CAS Pay</th>
<th>Percent</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>If I didn’t get my contract instructor pay, I wouldn’t be able to pay my monthly bills.</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I had an additional source of income (savings, other job, or other household income) that I could rely on for a short time.</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I had an additional source of income (savings, other job, or other household income) that I could rely on for indefinitely.</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Digging deeper into the figures above, we found that those CAS with a second full-time, permanent, salaried job outside their teaching employment were least likely to say that they would be unable to pay their bills if they did not receive their CAS pay in a given month—only 9% said this. Those whose other job was part-time, non-permanent and paid an hourly wage, in contrast, were the most likely (56%) to say that they rely on their CAS pay to cover their expenses.
“I work at more than one institution to earn more money and accrue seniority. This way, if one of my employment sources dries up, I can, hopefully, count on another.”

“My research is not supported by my university as I am a part-time faculty but instead by colleagues from other universities.”
An astonishing 63% of CAS do not have any health benefits, and 69% of CAS have no dental insurance. Of those who do have benefits, just 37% of respondents have access to a medical insurance plan through their CAS employment, and slightly fewer (31%) receive dental insurance benefits. One in five (19%) said they have access to a “health spending account” through their CAS employment to cover miscellaneous expenses that are not directly covered by their health and dental plans. Even smaller proportions (9-21%) said they had benefits that extended to their dependents. These kinds of benefits tend to be standard in permanent, full-time PSE jobs.

Respondents, and their dependents, were more likely to access health and dental benefits through their spouses or another job, with 44-45% accessing basic health and dental insurance this way.

Work Aspirations and Outcomes

Work, as the journalist Studs Terkel (1974) once wrote, “is about a search for daily meaning as well as daily bread, for recognition as well as cash, for astonishment rather than torpor; in short, for a sort of life rather than a Monday through Friday sort of dying.” Sociological research confirms what many of us know intuitively: that work, including paid employment and the unpaid work of family and community, is an important source of identity. Even though we experience, as individuals and as entire societies, a tension between living to work and working to live—between needing work for all kinds of reasons and also wanting to put it in its place—it is undeniable that jobs serve, to varying degrees, as sites of personal expression, as sources of purpose, and are often part of a person’s sense of “ontological security”—that is, their ongoing, continuous, unbroken sense of self.

Many scholars have approached this debate about work with insights from narrative sociology, where it is assumed that in order to feel secure and to live well—and to be holistically healthy—people have to be able to tell coherent stories about themselves. A breakdown in personal narratives—an inability to tell a story about the self that makes sense, displays logic, and appears to be going somewhere is empirically linked to anxiety, mental illness, and social exclusion. It should be clear by this point that being precariously employed might make it difficult for people to tell coherent stories about themselves and to construct consistent, ongoing identities. This hypothesis is reflected in the qualitative data presented next.

Academic Careers

Respondents who taught at universities and colleges or polytechnics were asked, respectively, whether or not they wanted a tenure-track university appointment or a permanent full-time college or polytechnic appointment. 53% wanted a tenure-track job, 26% said they did not, and the remaining 21% said they were unsure.

Of those who said they want a tenure-track appointment, most were willing to move to another city or town in their province for such a job (with 40% “extremely willing”) and a smaller majority were willing to move to another province. However, half were “not willing at all” to move to the United States for a tenure-track position, and 40% said the same about moving to another continent.

Of those who said they want a tenure-track university appointment, 55% said it was “not likely at all” to happen in the next two years and one-quarter (25%) said it was “somewhat unlikely.” Only small proportions believed they were “somewhat likely” (16%) or “very likely” (4%) to secure such a position in the next two years.

Most of the figures for college and polytechnic instructors on this question are too small to reliably interpret, but they point to similar patterns, with some noteworthy exceptions that invite future research. For instance, a larger majority
(68%) said they want full-time teaching jobs, and these respondents were slightly more optimistic about the prospect of that happening, with 30% viewing it as somewhat or very likely, and 43% answering that it was “not likely at all.”

All respondents were given the chance to explain their answers to these questions about aspirations and expectations. Their responses suggest a mixed picture. In general, they can be divided into two sets: on the one side are people who do not want and/or will not aggressively pursue permanent positions because they are mostly satisfied with their current jobs, homes, and overall situation, and find CAS employment to be supportive of their needs. These respondents tended to say, for example, that they liked being exempt from research and committee work (bearing in mind that many are not exempt, per se, but are expected or pressured to do this as unpaid work). Others who did not teach full course-loads noted that their part-time work allowed them time for care responsibilities (children, ageing parents), community work, leisure pursuits and side-businesses, and they wanted to keep these things in balance. For them, permanence was a goal, but full-time hours were not.

A smaller subset of respondents in this first, relatively satisfied group were retired from careers, some of them academic, some not, and were just looking for a way to stay active and engaged and, in some cases, supplement their CPP income.

On the other side were those who felt shut out of the tenure-track or permanent job market. A tenure-track or permanent position seemed impossible to achieve, because they had put in so many hours and efforts already and they had not paid off. These respondents said they were angry and many felt cheated or duped. Some in this group said they had aspired to a full-time permanent position in the past, but had given up on or let go of that dream. Many shared stories of putting in their time in their preferred departments and fields and being overlooked for permanent positions. One respondent recalled:

“I used to be very happy with partial load - it allowed me to do what I loved and get paid for it, as well as allowing time for me to do other things. […] But then I started to be treated with complete and utter disrespect, and I began to deeply resent it.”

This respondent lost her courses to a new permanent hire, whom she believed was less qualified than she was, and whom she then had to train to teach the courses she once taught. Others shared stories that related more to the impossibility of maintaining an attractive CV and staying competitive in the job market while also teaching on contract. As one respondent put it:

‘About 5 years ago I gave up on a serious research program because I simply got tired of researching and writing for free/uncompensated and on my own time. With my limited contract pay and 3 young kids my family simply cannot afford the childcare that would be necessary for me to research, write and publish. A ‘strong publication record’ and ‘rigorous research program’ are required for a tenure-track position (for good reason) but I can’t achieve these academic pre-requisites for a tenure-track job without […] financial […] support.’

Taking responses in this section and breaking them down by how many years respondents had been teaching offers some quantitative data to back up the qualitative comments. The longer a respondent had been teaching at the PSE level, the less likely they were to want a tenure-track university appointment. However, the likelihood of wanting one is fairly stable for people in their first five years of teaching (60-61%), and only drops significantly at the 11-15 year (50%), 16-20 year (38%) and over 20 year (24%) marks. These declines are matched by increases in the likelihood of not wanting a tenure-track appointment—which rises from a low of 14% among those in their first year of teaching to a high of 59% among those who had been teaching for over 20 years. Interestingly, uncertainty is also highest among the newest teachers and lowest among the veterans, suggesting that the longer a CAS has been teaching, the more certain they are about what they want from their employment.
Strategizing Through and Against Precarity

While most respondents said they did not want or expect a full-time or tenure-track teaching job, some did believe their CAS employment could serve as a “stepping stone” toward a permanent academic career. These respondents said they taught at multiple institutions and/or tried to go “above and beyond” in their contract positions to “get a foot in the door” and increase their odds of securing something more permanent. One respondent, for example, said they made a point of attending meetings and social functions at their institution “because showing your face and getting involved demonstrates a ‘can-do’ attitude!”

Another said they worked at three separate institutions at once in order to “keep three doors open so as to secure a permanent faculty role at one in the future.” One specifically said they were trying to “become an internal candidate” for a permanent job, referencing a relatively common phenomenon: when a department has relied on CAS to teach a set of courses for some time, that position might eventually be replaced with a permanent or tenure-track one. The CAS who had been teaching those courses on short-term contracts is referred to as an “internal candidate”—although anecdotally, and as several respondents attested, the internal candidate is by no means guaranteed to win the permanent job.

Overall, the way respondents described trying to keep “doors open” and avoid putting “all their eggs in one basket” shows that, for many, the academic labour market is a risky place where job-seekers must “hedge their bets” to get even short-term employment contracts, let alone permanent, secure jobs.

Intrinsic Rewards

While not everyone is looking for meaning and purpose, per se, in their CAS employment, it is clear that for many respondents to this survey, the instability, insecurity and uncertainty of the job create distress that extends deep down into their sense of self, purpose and self-worth. Just how much this matters seems to depend on what a person hopes to get out of their CAS employment. For those who are looking to impart wisdom to students after long careers in their fields, the job is satisfying. For those who have been cobbling together contracts for years, looking for a way into a permanent academic job and getting nowhere, the cycle of contracts can lead to an uncertainty about what they are doing with their lives and their education and how to explain their winding pathways to other people. In other words, the impact of CAS employment on CAS identities and well-being depends on the match between what they want, and what they get, out of their jobs.

The CAS who answered this survey were not strictly focused on the utilitarian goals of money or career advancement. (If they were, the evidence thus far suggests they might have more fruitfully directed their energies toward different occupations.) Instead, they expressed enthusiasm for their subjects, dedication to students and education in general, and a sense that they are good at what they do.

Most respondents, rather paradoxically given their critical answers to other questions, said they felt that their CAS employment had positively impacted their career, with 38% agreeing and 18% strongly agreeing with this statement.

**MY TEACHING EMPLOYMENT HAS POSITIVELY IMPACTED MY CAREER.**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
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It is difficult to know, without follow-up questions, what respondents mean when they report a “positive impact.” For some, the experience of teaching is, itself, a reward. One respondent, for example, said they feel that their “real avocation is being a co-learner”:

“As I uncover what I don’t know about my students I get better at learning what obstacles to their learning that I am able to influence.”

Another college instructor said they teach part-time alongside a full-time job in the same trade “so that the students can leave with a greater appreciation for what they do in their day to day career.”
Being the Invisible Academic

As the previous section showed, respondents identified many non-monetary rewards they get from teaching—enjoyment, a sense of purpose, social connections—but their answers still suggest they fall short on recognition. That is, many feel that their contributions to their institutions and fields are not recognized by administrators and their colleagues. This is, we contend, what it means to be the “invisible academics” identified in the research literature on CAS.

Over half (53%) did not think their work was recognized by their institution. But at the same time, 43% said they feel supported at the institutions where they teach.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I FEEL THAT MY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE INSTITUTION ARE RECOGNIZED BY ITS ACADEMIC AND INSTRUCTIONAL COMMUNITY.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
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<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
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<tr>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
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<td>Total</td>
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</table>

At first, these findings seem contradictory. How can a person feel undervalued and unrecognized but also supported at the same time? Some of the other attitudinal questions and qualitative answers help make sense of this puzzle.

I WOULD DO MORE RESEARCH AND SUPERVISE STUDENTS IF I COULD GET PAID FOR IT.

| |%
<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two-thirds of respondents said they feel their students respect them as much as they do colleagues with permanent appointments. However, when broken down by gender, some differences exist. Women CAS are more likely than men to disagree or strongly disagree with this statement (16% of women vs. 11% of men disagree with the statement).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STUDENTS RESPECT ME AS MUCH AS THEY RESPECT MY COLLEAGUES WHO HAVE PERMANENT APPOINTMENTS.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
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<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
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<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
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<tr>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
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<td>Total</td>
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For one, it is overwhelmingly clear that most respondents like teaching, and many also like research. More than half (51%) strongly agreed, and a further 28% agreed, that they would do more research and supervise more students if they were paid to do it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I FEEL SUPPORTED AT THE INSTITUTION(S) WHERE I TEACH.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
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<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
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<tr>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
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<td>Total</td>
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</table>
“Contract work is unstable and unreliable. I work as much as possible in order to build up my savings in the event that one term or one year I do not get any work. I’ve given up all other parts of my life to work as much as possible out of fear and instability.”
Despite the gender differences reported above, respondents mostly feel that students respect them as they do colleagues with permanent appointments. But there is evidently a disconnection between the day-to-day experience of academic work (including classroom time, preparation, and some interactions with colleagues) and the more systemic, impersonal, structural aspects of that experience. Respondents in the survey could not always answer the survey questions unequivocally, because of this disconnect, and they noted as much in the many fields we provided for comments. This respondent summed it up eloquently:

“I am extremely happy to have a full-time job on a contract as an Assistant Professor. I am lucky to have wonderful and supportive colleagues and brilliant students in one of Canada’s top universities. The fact that I have to teach 8 courses per academic year - more than twice the workload of a regular tenured professor - and that I am chronically tired and anxious about the future has nothing to do with the Department in which I teach. This is a systemic problem, which the university’s administration is somewhat reluctant to address. They seem more interested in enrolment numbers, student evaluations and satisfaction, which they link to metrics and numbers, which become the basis for creation of jobs. There is a disconnect between the expectations of the administration and the academic body, which is interested in research and intellectual contributions.”

This explanation, and several others like it, tells us that CAS can easily find themselves feeling two ways at once about their jobs; it is extremely possible to love the work and even one’s department and colleagues but hate the overarching conditions structuring those experiences.

Belonging and Exclusion

While most respondents said they were treated with respect and included in departmental life by their colleagues, some CAS reported feeling invisible and disrespected at work. In some of the answers to survey questions, CAS self-describe as “second class citizens” and “untouchables,” and say they are treated with “contempt” because of their contract status. As one respondent wrote:

“I have to put ‘instructor’ on my email signature because I am not a tenure track professor. This is very demeaning. I have the same qualifications that my tenure track colleagues have. I just can’t find a tenure track position. None of the tenure[d] faculty seem to be aware of the degree to which we are constructed (and treated) as marginalized pros—due to a multitude of realities such as this.”

These kinds of stories are joined by stories of interactions and behaviours that are more ambiguous—not as overtly injurious, but awkward, difficult, and scarring nonetheless. CAS said it was “weird” to socialize with people who do what they saw as the same job for much higher pay, and to interact with “the people who decide to hire me or not every term.” For example, one respondent recalled:

In the department where I held a full-time limited term contract in 2015-16 the most recent hire (whether tenure track or not) -- in this case, me -- was required not only to attend but also to take the minutes in every department meeting, and prepare them for circulation! It was seen as a highly undesirable job, and was a source of great humour for the person (tenured) who passed it on to me, in a “ha ha, now YOU have to do it, sucker!” way. It was a very strange sensation to be taking minutes about departmental matters, when I had little or no say in the actual decisions. This included the meeting where the department discussed which of three candidates to hire for that year’s tenure-track position. (It was in a field I was not qualified for, so there was no weirdness around me not getting hired for it, but it was nonetheless very awkward to be taking minutes at this meeting when the regular business of the previous meeting had included the fact that there was no money to renew MY contract for a second year.)

This story begins to point to the structural aspects of CAS exclusion and vulnerability. On the whole, despite the most egregious stories above, it is apparent that most CAS feel they are treated with respect and collegiality on an interpersonal level. However, it is the conditions of their contract, at a structural or institutional level, that serve to exclude and cut them off from truly belonging to, and being recognized in, their institutions and departments.

Several respondents made this point clearly. As one put it, “everyone is nice and polite...but no one really believes in the premise of self-governance when everyone has internalized the neoliberal ethos of entrepreneurial academics.” Another, reflecting on their waning attendance at departmental meetings, said “despite personal good feelings amongst the
members, it was clear the concern of those meetings were the concerns of the 'full-time,' tenured faculty. Finally, one respondent to the same question explained,

"contract faculty exist in a bizarre nexus. I have always felt welcome to attend faculty meetings, but also feel very awkward about attending given my status and tenuous employment circumstance."

Added to the data presented earlier, where CAS said they felt supported but not recognized by their institutional communities, we again get a picture of CAS feeling two ways at once—like they belong in some ways but are excluded in other ways—about their jobs and workplaces. This "in-between" status and experience stems partly from job insecurity and has consequences for CAS, their students, their families, and their work environments.

Earlier in this report, we saw how the insecurity of CAS employment compels many respondents to work other non-academic jobs or subject themselves to overwork in the present in order to protect against unemployment and income loss in the future. Respondents said this impacted their family life, the time they get to spend with children and families, the time they can devote to leisure pursuits and community life. But job insecurity impacts CAS in other ways that are not directly related to working too much or feeling worried about the future. It is clear from respondents’ answers that their position in their institutions often leaves them feeling excluded and unimportant, despite knowing how integral their labour is to their workplaces. The ramifications of these contradictory feelings are explored next.

Shame and humiliation

Questions about respondents’ attendance at departmental meetings and social events elicited some prominent and unexpected themes: namely, themes of shame and humiliation. It was in these settings that respondents said they felt most embarrassed and uncomfortable. Even if they were like the majority who reported mostly positive relationships with individual colleagues, social and governance events brought the inequality between CAS and their full-time, permanent colleagues to the surface. They also, awkwardly, rendered typically "invisible" academics visible to staff and faculty who, because of the allocation of office space and course schedules, might not see CAS otherwise.

As one respondent wrote: "[I am] now 7 years in and staff barely know me, [so] I feel very uncomfortable going* to social events. Another, echoing this same feeling, wrote "It was pretty clear on the rare occasions that I attended [social events] that people didn’t expect to see me, or have anything to say to me (or were embarrassed)." Yet another respondent explained: "I am less involved by now as I care less about the social events. One feels like an idiot. And the pitiful looks of the tenure track people do not help." One final comment is even more severe: "[Contract Instructors] are disgusting, tainted goods who make ‘regular’ faculty uncomfortable."

Similar sentiments emerged in a more likely context: in answers to a question designed to get at CAS self-identity. The question was posed as follows: If you met someone new today and they asked, ‘what do you do for a living?’; what would you say? The answers are illuminating. Looking first at those that speak to shame and humiliation—and turning to a full analysis thereafter—there were many respondents who wrote that they dread telling new people what they do for a living because they worry that their contract status signals that they have failed to “make it” as PSE teachers. One of their responses is particularly telling. “This is always hard, filled with confusion, shame, and guilt,” the respondent wrote.

I taught for over 10 years […] as a TA and adjunct. Then I was self-employed for a decade while raising my kids. Now I am […] adjuncting again, still semi-self-employed. I have never had a ‘real job’ that’s full time with benefits. It is always precarious under-employment that takes more than 40 hours per week, however. My wife is the main breadwinner. I have no way to say this to people that sounds good. It’s becoming a major trigger for anxiety."

The following examples illustrate the many variations on this common response:

- I usually just say I work at [University X]. I don’t usually specify because it is too confusing and I am embarrassed that I do not have a permanent job in the area I studied after so many years of education.
- [I tell people I am a] Professor - but shamefully, like a failed one, even though my primary job has been as a full-time prof for 7 years (3 x 10 months contracts at [University X], 4 year contract at [University Y]).
• I would avoid a clear answer out of sheer embarrassment. Most people assume, when I say, “I teach at [University X]” that I am, given my age, experience, and education, a tenured professor (let’s say, mid-associate level)—that I earn a decent living and am comfortably middle class. Little do they know that my family lives on the edge of poverty with utilities frequently cut off because I can’t afford to pay for power or natural gas.

• I would say I’m so regretful that despite having 20 years successful experience of teaching at medical schools, a PhD in life sciences and diploma in adult education, I could not find my desired job position in Canada’s higher education industry.

• I am embarrassed to tell people what I do for a living and that I have no job security, benefits, or ability to save money for the future. I usually just say that I am an instructor.

• I would say I was a professor but it would be embarrassing to say only on contract.

There is a sense of contradiction or ambiguity that surfaced elsewhere too: CAS know that their work is necessary, that they are good at what they do, and that many possess the same skills and qualifications as their permanent colleagues. But for a mix of biographical, circumstantial, social and historical reasons, they find themselves in positions that command less respect and remuneration. Our data suggest that it is a struggle to reconcile this mismatch, a struggle that stems from and compounds job insecurity and its consequences.

It is difficult to say how common the feelings of exclusion and discomfort are among CAS in Canada. The fact that open-ended, qualitative questions elicited some clear common themes suggests that such feelings and the experiences that trigger them are not anomalous. 42% of the respondents said their mental health has been affected by their CAS employment. 87% of those said it had a negative impact on their mental health.

This is particularly telling given that mental health issues are consistently underreported. They most often pointed to the insecurity of the work, and the perennial (sometimes multiple times a year) anxiety about whether or not they would have enough income next month. Less often, but still common to many responses, they said they felt excluded from the academic and instructional communities on their campuses and that this had been detrimental to their mental wellness. Some reported positive impacts—such as enjoying their walks to work, and staying connected to a community after retirement—but these were a minority (13%) of cases.

CAS Self-Identity

Other answers to the hypothetical self-identity question introduced above exhibit some further interesting patterns, and shed some additional light on how the position of CAS within PSE institutions impacts their sense of self.

The first pattern is that respondents were most likely to use the verb “teach” to describe their employment to a new person. That is, they envisioned themselves saying “I teach” or “I am a teacher”, followed by some specifics about subject and institution. This suggests an identification with the tasks of the CAS job, if not its contractual status.

A second, striking pattern is that for many CAS, the precarious nature of the job is placed front-and-centre in their imaginary answers to new people. These were often creative, tongue-in-cheek responses, such as “[I] work precariously in the academic industrial complex,” or “I would say I have two jobs, and they’re related. One of my jobs is as a teacher, the other is to maintain the salaries of the University’s money-makers.”

Many focused on the contradiction between the prestige of the university and their own precarious position in it. For example, one respondent noted they would say “I’m a professor,” when they met new people. Those new people are “always impressed,” the respondent wrote, “until I tell them that I work in three schools in two cities, and have no benefits whatsoever and no job stability.” Similarly, one respondent wrote: “I’m a sessional instructor and distance education tutor with a PhD [in three fields]. I made $13,000 last year. My teaching assistant makes more money than I do.” Another respondent wrote “I’m a university teacher, and I get paid what a waitress gets paid!” Finally, a respondent imagined saying “I teach the future but get treated like scum by my employers.”
In all of these answers and others in the same genre, precariousness becomes part of the CAS self-identity; in another sense, a critique of the system becomes part of the identity that CAS express to other people. When CAS imagined explaining the precarious nature of their work to others, they foregrounded the low pay, lack of benefits, the uncertainty of work in the future, and the tragedy of having spent so many years in school for no discernible advantage in the labour market.

A third pattern is evident around CAS who present their CAS employment as a “side hustle” that complements something else. These respondents would name their main, non-academic job first, and then add that they teach “on the side.” For example, one respondent said “my contract university work is not the first thing I say. I may not bring it up at all.” Another wrote, similarly, that they tell people they are an “editor,” and “would only discuss part-time teaching if they were interested.” These answers support that many CAS do view their teaching employment as a secondary income stream and/or productive outlet that they do not necessarily want to become their full-time job. This is especially the case for respondents in the arts and humanities who use teaching income to support their artistic and literary productions.

One final pattern in the answers to the self-identity question revolves around the title of “professor.” Specifically, while many in the survey said they would self-identify to others as a “professor,” just as many said, explicitly, that they would never call themselves by that title. In both cases, respondents wrote that the term “professor” connotes prestige and accomplishment and status. Those who self-identified as such explained that they are called professors (and usually with a rank, such as assistant) in their contracts and will claim that title rightfully. They emphasized their qualifications and responsibilities and felt that it was only right to identify themselves as professors. Those who avoided the term at all costs did so for one of two main reasons. Some feared “reprisal,” or that they would be ‘called out’ as fraudulent professors by people who knew they were not permanent or tenure-track faculty. As one respondent wrote, “If I use the term ‘contract professor’ and a full-time professor is within earshot, I would undoubtedly be dressed down (verbally), ignored, or ridiculed.” Others avoided the term because they believed there were meaningful differences between CAS and tenure-track or permanent staff. For example, one wrote “I do NOT say that I am a professor, because I do not have a research component.”

Conclusion
The findings in this report challenge many of the dominant perceptions of contract faculty. The vast majority of CAS are neither grad students nor happy moonlighters. Indeed, when asked about career aspirations, half of the CAS surveyed stated that they do want a tenure-track or permanent appointment. Contract faculty do not largely, work part-time hours. Contrary to popular myths that contract faculty only teach, this research shows that a considerable percentage of CAS respondents participate in both research and service. Those who do participate in research and service are sometimes paid for it, however, most of the time they are not. From the qualitative comments, we can see that many CAS want to engage in research and service, and be remunerated for these activities.

The results of this national survey confirm that all seven of the dimensions of insecurity characterize non-permanent PSE teaching jobs. While there is important variation, which we take pains to highlight, our data suggest that a typical CAS experiences the effects, and recognizes the impact, of some or all of the dimensions of insecurity in their daily lives. Of course, there is a diversity of experiences and motivations of CAS. However the findings of this national survey reveal that precariousness and job insecurity are realities for significant numbers of CAS.
“I teach at a university and love my job. I am devoted to the students and the institution.”


CAUT (2015) Casualization of the academic workforce has its costs. Available at: https://www.caut.ca/bulletin/articles/2015/10/casualization-of-the-academic-workforce-has-costs.


Council of Ontario Universities (2018). Faculty at Work: The Composition and Activities of Ontario Universities’ Academic Workforce. Available at: https://t.co/92FWVuYpRH.


Field, Cynthia and Jones, Glen A. (2016) Survey of Sessional Faculty in Ontario Publicly-Funded Universities. Centre for the Study of Canadian and International Higher Education at OISE-University of Toronto.


# APPENDICES

## Appendix A – Likert Scale Questions

**PLEASE INDICATE YOUR OPINION ABOUT THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS ABOUT PAY, BENEFITS, AND WORKING CONDITIONS. ELABORATE IN THE COMMENT BOX BELOW IF DESIRED.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Not applicable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I would do more research and supervise students if I could get paid for it.</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contract instructors need to organize and advocate collectively to gain recognition at the institution.</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The contingent nature of my teaching employment is a major source of stress and concern.</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel contract instructors should have a seat on institution-wide decision-making bodies, such as the Senate or Board of Governors.</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My contract employment impacts my ability to make long-term plans (have children, buy a house).</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students respect me as much as they respect my colleagues who have permanent appointments.</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I need more time to prepare course material prior to the start date.</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My teaching employment has positively impacted my career.</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I need more access to institutional resources in order to provide the same quality of education to my students as a regular faculty member.</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am able to keep up with the latest research or knowledge in my field on my own.</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student evaluations are accurate and reflective of my work performance.</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am not able to give the students in my classes the attention they deserve.</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel like I have control over my work as a contract instructor.</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Welcome to our survey of contract academic staff at Canadian universities, colleges and polytechnics.

There are thousands of academic staff who are hired to teach on a temporary contract basis every year. This study seeks to understand their experiences and work to help improve their employment conditions and inform public policy.

The survey is open to people who had a teaching contract at a polytechnic, college or a university in Canada in 2016/17. We very much appreciate your willingness to share your experiences and reflections.

We ask that you please read the informed consent documents attached to your email invitation and available for download <here>. They contain important details about the purpose of the study, how the results will be used, how your privacy will be protected, and the possible (minimal) risks posed by the study.

The survey will take approximately 30 minutes to complete. It does not have to be completed in one sitting. The deadline for completion is November 1, 2017.

If you experience any technical issues or have any questions about the survey, please contact surveys@caut.ca

Section 1: Screening Questions

This survey is for people employed at Canadian universities, colleges and polytechnics on a non-permanent basis. These positions might alternately be called “contract”, “sessional”, “adjunct”, “part-time”, “casual”, “limited-term”, “limited duties”, “non-regular” or “partial load” appointments. In most cases, instructors employed in these positions are hired to teach for one or more courses over one or more semesters, and in some cases, for several years.

At universities, these positions are off the tenure-track, and therefore ineligible for tenure or permanent positions. In most cases, instructors are not contractually expected or paid to engage in research or service activities. In all cases, at both universities and colleges, although they may be renewed repeatedly, these positions are in no way permanent. In this survey, we will use the term “contract instructor” to describe these non-permanent or non-tenure-track positions.

A0. In order to access the survey, please read and provide a response to the following statement:

I have read the explanation about this study. I have been given the opportunity to discuss it and my questions have been answered. I agree to take part in this study. I realize that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to leave the study at any time.

a) yes
b) no
A1. To the best of your knowledge, does the description above reflect your employment as an instructor?
   a) yes
   b) no ['no' gets screened out—see 'exit script 1']

A2. Were you employed as a contract instructor at one or more Canadian universities, colleges or polytechnics in the 2016-2017 academic year?
   a) yes
   b) no ['no' to 2 gets screened out—see 'exit script 1']

Section 2. Academic employment

A3. At which types of institutions did you teach in the 2016-2017 academic year? Select all that apply.
   a) university
   b) college
   c) polytechnic

A4. At which university(ies) did you teach in the 2016-17 academic year? <List of universities>. Check all that apply.

A5. At which college(s) or polytechnics did you teach in the 2016-17 academic year? <List of colleges and polytechnics>. Check all that apply.

Ask those who teach at more than one institution:

A6. You indicated that you worked at more than one institution in the 2016-17 academic year. Why did you do so?
   [text box]

A7. Which of the following best describes your employment as a contract instructor in the 2016-2017 academic year?
   a) I was employed on a course-by-course basis at one institution only (i.e., I had to re-apply and/or be re-approved every time I wanted to teach a course)
   b) I was employed on a course-by-course basis at multiple institutions (i.e., I had to re-apply and/or be re-approved every time I wanted to teach a course)
   c) I was in a limited term appointment at one institution only (i.e., I had a contract to teach multiple courses, but it had a fixed end date. Or there was no date but work was dependent on whether it is available)
   d) I held a limited term appointment at one institution as described above, but I taught additional courses on a course-by-course basis at the same institution.
   e) I was in a limited term appointment at one institution (i.e., I had a contract to teach multiple courses, but it had a fixed end date) at one institution, and taught additional courses on a course-by-course basis at other institutions.
   f) I held a limited term appointment as described above at multiple institutions.
   j) None of the above. Please specify your situation: _____

A8. When you began your contract in 2016-17, how long had you been teaching at the post-secondary level in Canada? If A8=A, skip to A10.
   a) 2016-2017 was my first year of teaching at the post-secondary level
   b) 1-2 years
   c) 3-5 years
   d) 6-10 years
   e) 11-15 years
   f) 16-20 years
   g) over 20 years
A9. How often do you teach the following levels of courses...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course Level</th>
<th>Most of my courses are...</th>
<th>Some of my courses are...</th>
<th>Never teach these courses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basic and upgrading courses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College diploma, certificate or accreditation courses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First-year and second-year level undergraduate courses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third-year and fourth-year level undergraduate courses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate courses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional courses (college/polytechnic)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional courses (university)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A10. Please tell us a bit about the courses you taught in the 2016-2017 academic year. Please assign a number for each individual course you taught. Complete for up to 8 courses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>A10. TERM (select all that apply—e.g. fall and winter for full-year course)</th>
<th>A10. Level</th>
<th>A10a. # of students</th>
<th>A10a. Is this an online course?</th>
<th>A10b. Do you have a teaching, marking, or lab assistant?</th>
<th>A10b. Taught course previously?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F W Spr Sum</td>
<td>Under-grad</td>
<td>Grad &lt;40 41-99 100-199 200+</td>
<td>Y N Y N Y N</td>
<td>Y N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A11. In which program area(s) did you teach in the 2016-17 academic year? Select all that apply.
- Personal improvement and leisure
- Education
- Visual and performing arts, and communications technologies
- Humanities
- Social and behavioural sciences and law
- Business, management and public administration
- Physical and life sciences and technologies
- Mathematics, computer and information sciences
- Architecture, engineering, and related technologies
- Agriculture, natural resources and conservation
- Health and related fields
- Personal, protective and transportation services
- Trades/vocational
- Other

A12. Apart from your job as a contract instructor in 2016-2017, were you employed anywhere else?
- a) yes
- b) no [No skips to A17]

A13. How many other jobs, in addition to your contract instructor job(s), did you hold in 2016-17?
- a) 1
- b) 2
- c) 3
- f) more than 3

Comments: __________________________
A14. [Adjusts based on answer to A13] You indicated that you worked X jobs in addition to your job as a contract instructor. How many hours per week did you usually work at these/this other job(s)? [provide number from 1-168]

A15. [Adjusts based on answer to A13] [If >1 other job:] Thinking of the job where you spent the most time, apart from your job as a contract instructor, which of the following best describes that job?

OR

A16. [If only 1 other job:] Which of the following best describes the job you did in addition to your job as a contract instructor?

a) Salaried, full-time, permanent
b) Salaried, full-time, non-permanent (i.e., temp, casual or contract)
c) Salaried, part-time, permanent
d) Salaried, part-time, non-permanent (i.e., temp, casual or contract)
e) Hourly wage, full-time, permanent
f) Hourly wage, full-time, non-permanent (i.e., temp, casual or contract)
g) Hourly wage, part-time, permanent
h) Hourly wage, part-time, non-permanent (i.e., temp, casual or contract)

A17. I would classify myself as:

a) Contract instructor who teaches 0-1 courses per semester
b) A professional (e.g. lawyer, physiotherapist, IT, school teacher, accountant) who teaches part-time
c) Contract instructor who averages 2 or more courses per semester
d) Limited term full-time contract instructor
e) Partial load contract instructor
f) Non-regular part-time instructor
g) Graduate student AND contract instructor
h) Post-doctoral student with teaching responsibilities
i) Other, please specify: ______________________

Section 3. Working Conditions and Workload

A18. Which of the following best describes your access to on-campus office space in 2016-17?

a) I had my own office as a contract instructor
b) I shared an office with other contract instructors and/or students

c) I was a graduate student, so I had a graduate student office that I also use for my contract instructor position
d) I was a graduate student, so I had a graduate student office and a contract instructor office
e) I had a contract instructor office in multiple departments
f) I only had access to a shared staff room
g) I did not have any on-campus offices

Comments: ______________________

A19. Which of the following campus resources did you have access to as a contract instructor in 2016-17? If you are a graduate student, please do not count resources that you have access to on the basis of your student status.

For each, we’ll have a “Have sufficient access”, “have limited, insufficient access”, “no access”, “don’t know” and ‘N/A” button.

Library: Full-term loans
Library: Online journal/periodical access
Professional Development seminars / workshops
Conference travel funding
Professional Development Allowance / funding
Printer (for course materials)
Research travel funding
Institutional email address
Teaching and Learning resources
Athletic facilities
Parking
Other (please specify):

A20. In a typical week, when you were employed as a contract instructor, how many hours would you say you spent on duties associated with your contract instructor employment? Include, for example:

hours spent researching / reading about the course topic, writing lectures, answering students’ emails, preparing resources (study sheets, videos, course packs, etc.) for students, updating Blackboard, Moodle, or other online resource, creating PowerPoint (or similar) visual presentations, creating tests / exams / quizzes, creating assignments (writing instructions, planning, thinking), grading students’ work, teaching in class, holding office hours, leading labs / tutorials, meeting with Teaching/Lab Assistants, emailing Teaching/Lab Assistants, meeting with students outside office hours, creating and administering make-up or deferred exams, dealing with student accommodations, dealing with the Institution’s bureaucracy (e.g. Dean’s office, Human Resources, Academic Integrity, etc.), and attending teaching training sessions / workshops.

Hours: ______________________
A21. When you were actively employed as a contract instructor, how often did you spend more than 8 hours in a single day doing work associated with your contract instructor employment?
   a) most days
   b) a few days a week
   c) a few days a month
   d) once or twice a term
   e) never

A22. When you were actively employed as a contract instructor, how often did you do work associated with your contract instructor employment during the evenings?
   a) most days
   b) a few days a week
   c) a few days a month
   d) once or twice a term
   e) never

A23. How often did you do work associated with your contract instructor employment on the weekends?
   a) most weeks
   b) occasionally
   c) never

A24. When did you know for certain which courses you would be teaching in the 2016-2017 academic year?
   For example, if you were employed on a course-by-course basis, this would likely have occurred when you received your offer of employment; if you were in a limited term or partial load appointment, it may have occurred when the timetable for the year was finalized.
   a) Less than one week before the first day of classes
   b) 1-2 weeks before the first day of classes
   c) 3-6 weeks before the first day of classes
   d) 6 weeks – 3 months before the first week of classes
   e) more than three months before the first week of classes
   f) don’t know yet, please explain:_____________________

A25. How familiar were you with the subject matter of the courses you are teaching in 2016-2017?
   a) Very familiar—most of the subject matter was in my area of expertise
   b) Somewhat familiar—I knew the basics and had to do a little bit of further reading / study
   c) Not very familiar—I knew the basics but had to do a lot of further reading / study
   d) Not familiar at all—I had to do further reading and study just to get the basics
Comments: _______________________

A26. Were you responsible for designing the syllabi, lesson plans, and assignments/tests for the courses you taught in 2016-17?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Yes, I am responsible for all</th>
<th>No, they were/are given to me</th>
<th>I am responsible for some design; some is given to me</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Syllabi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesson plans (lectures, videos, in-class activities etc.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assignments / tests</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A27. Were you actively conducting any of the following scholarly activities in 2016-17?
   a) Conducting fieldwork (interviews, survey research, etc.)
   b) Laboratory research (experiments, observation, etc.)
   c) Working on peer-reviewed journal articles (pre- or post-submission)
   d) Working on peer-reviewed book manuscript(s)
   e) Working on patents
   f) Writing for non-peer-reviewed publications
   g) Applying for external research grants
   h) Applying for research ethics approval
   i) Working on industry-funded research
   [Other standard answer?]
   j) Other:_____________________
   k) Not applicable

A28. Did you hold, as a primary investigator, a major external research grant (e.g. NSERC, SSHRC, CIHR) in 2016-17?
   a) yes
   b) no
   c) not applicable

A29. Have you ever held, as a primary investigator, a major external research grant (e.g. NSERC, SSHRC, CIHR)?
   a) yes
   b) no
   c) not applicable
A30. Did you hold, as a co-investigator, a major external research grant (e.g. NSERC, SSHRC, CIHR)?
   a) yes
   b) no
   c) not applicable

A31. Have you ever held, as a co-investigator, a major external research grant (e.g. NSERC, SSHRC, CIHR)?
   a) yes
   b) no
   c) not applicable

A32. Have you participated in any of the following service activities as a contract instructor? Please choose all that apply.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of committees</th>
<th>Paid</th>
<th>Unpaid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Departmental committee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculty-level committee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution-level committee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour union committee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other committee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A33. Please tell us how many student thesis committees you have been involved in, as a contract instructor, if applicable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Committee member</th>
<th>Co-supervisor</th>
<th>Supervisor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Undergraduate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honours</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctoral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Doctoral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A34. Have you held any of the following administrative positions in any of the department(s) or school(s) in which you taught as a contract instructor?
   a) Chair
   b) Undergraduate Advisor or Coordinator
   c) Graduate Advisor or Coordinator
   d) Program Coordinator
   e) Acting Chair
   f) Honours Advisor or Coordinator
   g) Additional administrative duties not covered by the course contract or an official administrative position: e.g. graduate student mentorship, organizing colloquia, performing departmental communications, program review, reviewing student applications.
   h) Other: _______________________

A35 - If yes to any A34. Were you paid an additional amount (on top of your contract instructor pay) to reflect these duties?
   a) yes
   b) no
   c) some duties were compensated; others were not
   Comments: _______________________

A36. How would you describe your attendance at regular department meetings in 2016-17? [If this varies by department or institution, or if it has changed in significant ways over time, please elaborate in the comments]
   a) I attended most, if not all, regular meetings
   b) I attended some regular meetings
   c) I attended meetings in the past but am unlikely to continue
   d) I did not attend regular department meetings by choice
   e) I was not invited to attend regular department meetings
   f) I was encouraged not to attend faculty meetings, e.g., because they are not relevant to my concerns
   g) I was explicitly not permitted to attend regular department meetings
   Comment: _______________________

A37. How would you describe your attendance at departmental social events (e.g. speaker series, reading groups, or receptions) [If this varied by department or institution, or if it has changed in significant ways over time, please elaborate in the comments]
   a) I attended all departmental social events
   b) I attended some departmental social events
   c) I chose not to attend most or all departmental social events
   d) I was not generally invited to attend departmental social events
   Comment: _______________________

Section 4. Access to an academic career path

Ask if A3=A —respondent teaches at university. If A3=B or C, skip to #23.

A38. Do you want a tenure-track university appointment?
   a) yes
   b) no
   c) not sure

If A3=B, skip to #23.
If yes to A38:

A39. On a scale of 1-10, where 1=not willing at all and 10=extremely willing, would you be willing to relocate to take up a tenure-track appointment…
   a) to another city or town in your province? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
   b) to another province in Canada? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
   c) to the United States? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
   d) to another continent? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

If A3=B, skip to #23.
Also if yes to A38:

A40. In your view, how likely is it that you will get a tenure-track appointment within the next two years?
   a) very likely
   b) somewhat likely
   c) somewhat unlikely
   d) not likely at all

If A3=B, skip to #23.
If A38 = no:

A41. Why don’t you want a tenure-track appointment?
Comment: _______________________
If A3=B, skip to #23.
If A38 = not sure:

A42. Would you care to explain why you are not sure about wanting a tenure-track appointment?
Comment: _______________________

Ask if A3=B or C—respondent teaches at college/polytechnic or university and college/polytechnic.
If A3=A, skip to #24.

A43. Do you want a permanent full-time college or polytechnic position?
   a) yes
   b) no
   c) not sure

Comments: _______________________
If yes:

A44. On a scale of 1-10, where 1=not willing at all and 10=extremely willing, would you be willing to relocate to take up a permanent full-time position at a college or polytechnic…
   a) to another city or town in your province? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
   b) to another province in Canada? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
   c) to the United States? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
   d) to another continent? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

If yes:

A45. In your view, how likely is it that you will get a permanent full-time college or polytechnic appointment within the next two years?
   a) very likely
   b) somewhat likely
   c) somewhat unlikely
   d) not likely at all

If A43 = no:

A46. Why don’t you want a permanent full-time appointment?
Comment: _______________________
If A43 = not sure:

A47. Would you care to explain why you are not sure about wanting a permanent full-time appointment?
Comment: _______________________

Section 5. Pay and Benefits

A48. To the best of your knowledge, what was your total personal yearly gross (before tax) income, from all sources, in 2016?
   a) below $10,000
   b) $10,000-15,000
   c) $15,001-20,000
   d) $20,001-25,000
   e) $25,001-30,000
f) $30,001-40,000
g) $40,001-50,000
h) $50,001-60,000
i) $60,001-70,000
j) $70,001-80,000
k) $80,001-90,000
l) $90,001-100,000
m) $100,001-110,000
n) $110,001-120,000
o) $120,001-130,000
p) $130,000+

A49. Approximately what percentage of your before-tax income was from your employment as a contract instructor in 2016? _________________

A50. How would you describe your reliance on your contract instructor pay in 2016-17?
   a) If I didn’t get my contract instructor pay, I wouldn’t be able to pay my monthly bills.
   b) I had an additional source of income (savings, other job, or other household income) that I could rely on for a short time.
   c) I had an additional source of income (savings, other job, or other household income) that I could rely on indefinitely.
   Comment: _________________

A51. Thinking about your employment income overall, please rate the following concerns in terms of how important they are to you:

   1 = important 2 = somewhat important 3 = neither important nor unimportant 4 = somewhat unimportant 5 = unimportant (we will have buttons)
   a) Job insecurity
   b) Low pay
   c) Lack of benefits
   d) Unpaid work
   e) Childcare
   f) Transportation costs
   g) Workload
   h) Class schedules
   i) Commute time
   j) Other, please specify: ____________________

A52. Did your teaching position give you access to the following types of health or dental benefits in 2016-17?
   [In each box for A52 and A53 we will have yes, no, or not sure/not applicable option; this may require a different format but it will be possible somehow.] — may need to change existing format here

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Benefit</th>
<th>Personal coverage</th>
<th>Coverage for dependents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health insurance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental plan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both Health insurance and Dental plan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Spending Account</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A53. Did you have access to any health or dental benefits through a spouse or other job in 2016-17?
   [In each box for A52 and A53 we will have yes, no, or not sure/not applicable option; this may require a different format but it will be possible somehow.] — may need to change existing format here

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Benefit</th>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A54. Did any of your teaching contract(s) in 2016-17 provide access to a pension plan?
   a) Yes, defined benefit pension
   b) Yes, defined contribution pension
   c) not sure
   d) no
   e) other (e.g. contribution to individual RRSP): __________
A55. Are there are other benefits that you received on the basis of your teaching that wish to mention (e.g. transportation allowance, computer upgrade benefit, large class size stipend)?
Comment: _______________________

Section 6. Your Experiences

A56. Please indicate your opinion about the following statements about pay, benefits, and working conditions.
[scale - strongly disagree, disagree, neutral, agree, strongly agree, N/A]

a) I am compensated fairly for the work I do.
b) I need more time to prepare course material prior to the start date.
c) Student evaluations are accurate and reflective of my work performance.
d) Student evaluations should be used as a primary metric for rehiring faculty.
e) I am able to keep up with the latest research or knowledge in my field on my own.
f) I am satisfied with the level of health benefits I receive for the teaching I do.
g) I need more access to institutional resources in order to provide the same quality of education to my students as a regular faculty member.
h) I am not able to give the students in my classes the attention they deserve.
i) My working conditions are fine. Nothing needs to change.
j) I feel like I have control over my work as a contract instructor.
k) I have access to professional development opportunities.
l) The contingent nature of my teaching employment is a major source of stress and concern.
m) I feel secure enough in my re-hiring prospects to make major financial commitments (e.g. purchasing a home).
n) My teaching employment provides me with work-life balance.
o) My teaching employment has positively impacted my career.
p) My contract employment impacts my ability to make long-term plans (have children, buy a house).
Comments: _______________________

A57. This set of questions gauges your level of agreement whether you think that you and other contract instructors are included and valued at the institution(s) where you teach.

a) I feel supported at the institution(s) where I teach.
b) I feel informed about what is going on at the institution.
c) I have a voice in academic decisions at the institution.
d) Students respect me as much as they respect my colleagues who have permanent appointments.
e) I feel invisible; no one cares what I do.
f) I feel contract instructors should have a seat on institution-wide decision-making bodies, such as the Senate or Board of Governors.
g) Contract instructors need to organize and advocate collectively to gain recognition at the institution.
h) I feel that my contributions to the institution are recognized by its academic and instructional community.
i) I feel that my institution is a model employer and supporter of good jobs in the community.
j) My institution converts contract employees to full-time employees to promote retention.
k) I am treated fairly at my institution.
Comments: _______________________

A58. Have you ever voiced concerns about your working conditions as a contract instructor? To whom? What was the result?
Comment: _______________________

A59. Do you feel pressure to do work as a contract instructor that you are not technically paid to do? If so, what kinds of work? Where does this pressure come from?
Comment: _______________________

A60. On a scale of 1-10, where 1=not stressful at all and 10=extremely stressful, how stressful is your work as a contract instructor?

1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10

Comment: _______________________

A61. Would you say that your physical health has been impacted by your work as a contract instructor? Please explain.
Comment: _______________________

A62. Would you say that your mental health has been impacted by your work as a contract instructor? Please explain.
Comment: _______________________
A63. What do you like about being a contract instructor?
Comment: __________

Section 7. Demographics
Please tell us about yourself. All information is treated strictly confidential and will only be used as aggregate data.

A64. What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed? If currently enrolled, indicate highest degree received.
  a) No certificate, diploma or degree
  b) High school diploma or equivalent
  c) Postsecondary qualification
  d) Trades certificate
  e) Trades certificate or diploma (other than Registered Apprenticeship certificate
  f) Registered Apprenticeship certificate
  g) College diploma
  h) University certificate below bachelor level
  i) University degree
  j) Bachelor’s degree
  k) University certificate above bachelor level
  l) Medical degree
  m) Master’s degree
  n) Earned doctorate
  o) Post-doctoral fellowship

A65. Please select your age range:
  a) 20-25
  b) 26-35
  c) 36-45
  d) 46-55
  e) 56-65
  f) Over 65

A66. Are you a parent/guardian to any children?
  a) yes
  b) no

A67. Do you identify as (select as many as apply):
  a) Woman
  b) Man
  c) Transgender
  d) Non-binary or third gender
  e) LGBTQ2S*
  f) Prefer to self-describe _______________________
  g) Prefer not to say.

A68. Do you identify as aboriginal (Métis, First Nations, Inuit)?
  a) yes
  b) no

A69. Using Statistics Canada’s Census categories of race and ethnicity, are you…
  a) White
  b) South Asian (e.g., East Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, etc.)
  c) Chinese
  d) Black
  e) Filipino
  f) Latin American
  g) Arab
  h) Southeast Asian (e.g., Vietnamese, Cambodian, Laotian, Thai, etc.)
  i) West Asian (e.g., Iranian, Afghan, etc.)
  j) Korean
  k) Japanese
  l) Other — specify

A70. Are you currently affected by any of the following? Please select all that apply.
  a) A sensory impairment (vision or hearing)
  b) A mobility impairment
  c) A learning disability (e.g., ADHD, dyslexia)
  d) A mental health disorder
  e) A chronic physical illness (e.g. fibromyalgia, Parkinson’s)
  f) A disability or impairment not listed above
  g) No disability or impairment
  h) I have a disability but I’d prefer not to say.

Completed surveys go to Exit Script 2.

Exit Script 1:
Thank you for your time; those are all the questions we have for you. The rest of the survey applies only to contract instructors (i.e. instructors with non-permanent employment contracts) who taught at least one course in the 2016-2017 at a Canadian post-secondary institution.

Exit Script 2:
Thank you for your time; those are all the questions we have for you. If you have any questions about your participation, or about the next steps or results of the study, we invite you to contact the lead investigator, Karen Foster (karen.foster@dal.ca).
APPENDICES

Appendix C – List of institutions represented

Acadia University
Algoma University College
Athabasca University
Brandon University
British Columbia Institute of Technology
Brock University
Canadian Mennonite University
Capilano College
Carleton University
Collège Universitaire de Saint-Boniface
Concordia University
Dalhousie University
École nationale d’administration publique
Emily Carr Institute of Art and Design
First Nations University of Canada
Grant MacEwan University
Grant MacEwan University
Huron University College
King’s University College
Kwantlen University College
Lakehead University
Laurentian University
Luther College
McGill University
McMaster University
Memorial University of Newfoundland
Mount Allison University
Mount Royal College
Mount St. Vincent University
Nipissing University
Nova Scotia College of Art and Design
Ontario College of Art and Design
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE)
Ontario Institute of Technology
Queen’s University
Royal Military College of Canada
Ryerson Polytechnic University
Saint Mary’s University
Simon Fraser University
St. Francis Xavier University
St. Thomas More College
St. Thomas University
Thompson Rivers University
Trent University
Université de Moncton - Campus de Moncton
Université de Sherbrooke
Université de Sudbury
Université du Québec à Montréal
Université du Québec à Rimouski
Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières
Université du Québec en Abitibi-Témiscamingue
Université Laval
Université Sainte-Anne
Université Saint-Paul
University Canada West
University College of Cape Breton
University College of the Fraser Valley
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 - Fredericton Campus
University of New Brunswick - Saint John Campus
University of Northern British Columbia
University of Ottawa / Université d’Ottawa
University of Prince Edward Island
University of Regina
University of Saskatchewan
University of St. Jerome’s College

University of Toronto
University of Victoria
University of Waterloo
University of Western Ontario
University of Windsor
University of Winnipeg
Vancouver Island University
Wilfrid Laurier University
York University