

No Temporary Solution

Ontario's shifting college
and university workforce

Erika Shaker and Robin Shaban





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Executive summary

PUBLIC AND POLITICAL attention is increasingly focused on growing socio-economic inequality, in particular the decline of secure, full-time work and rise of more precarious forms of employment. The trend is more evident in some sectors, like retail, than others, but few sectors – whether in the private or public spheres – appear to be completely immune.

This report explores the extent to which conditions for workers in Canada’s post-secondary institutions are shifting as well. More precisely, it asks whether employment on university and college campuses in Ontario is becoming more precarious, for whom and for what reasons.

While post-secondary institutions are places of learning, they also employ thousands of people across a broad spectrum of job classifications. Member surveys, recent events – including a five-week strike by Ontario college faculty over working conditions in the fall of 2017 – and new legislation have underscored concerns about the quality of work being provided by employers, and the job security of workers in both the public and private sector.

Labour Force Survey data suggest certain shifts in Ontario’s university and college workforce are taking place. Indicators of precarity, including workers holding multiple jobs, more temporary work and unpaid overtime, are on the rise, though not uniformly, and not for everyone. Closer examination of this data allows us to understand how these indicators interact with each other, such that certain categories of workers are more likely to be vulnerable to other indicators of precarity by virtue of their work status.

Overall, our analysis of the LFS data suggests that 53% of post-secondary education workers in Ontario are, to some extent, precariously employed.

Specifically, the report identifies a rise in work categories that are more precarious (e.g., research assistants and teaching assistants) alongside a decline in others that have traditionally been less precarious (e.g., librarians). There has also been an increase in precarious work within certain job categories, which translates to an increased proportion of temporary workers in student services and plant operations, administration and college academic staff. Finally, we have identified a steady decline in the proportion of full-time university instructors and college academic staff in the sector.

Public sector employers including colleges and universities are in an influential position: they can, and should, raise overall employment standards by reducing the prevalence of precarious working conditions. Several institutions have taken positive steps to remedy gender-based pay inequality — an important contributor to precarity — among professors. At the same time, many universities and colleges have pursued a business plan predicated on a lower-paid, insecure workforce, with significant implications for quality of work and quality of life for employees — not to mention the impact on the education that students receive.

Finally, it is evident that the current mechanisms for measuring precarity, its growth and its implications for quality of life on a large scale are inadequate. Given existing research suggesting that precarious work is on the increase, initiatives including, but not limited to, the federal government's anti-poverty strategy provide opportunities to rethink how we collect and measure data on worker precarity in order to better understand and address workforce trends and the impacts for workers, families and communities.

Introduction

NATIONALLY, ENROLMENTS IN post-secondary educational institutions continue to increase on average as more students are pursuing a degree, diploma or certificate. Public funding of post-secondary institutions, however, has not kept up with growth in enrolment, while the proportion of revenue coming from tuition fees has increased.

In Ontario for example, approximately 34% of university funding came from public sources in 2016; about 35% came from students through tuition fees.¹ In contrast, in the 2008-09 academic year, fees made up, on average, 28% of total university revenue while government funding was about 39%.

For Ontario colleges, close to 50% of revenue comes from government grants while over 35% comes from fees. In past years, government funding made up a slightly larger proportion of funding. The proportion of revenue made up of student fees has been steadily increasing from a low point of 25% in 2004-05.²

Universities and colleges are more than just places of learning. They are also places of work, employing 377,000 people nationwide in 2016 (140,000 of them in Ontario) across a range of occupations. Recent events in Ontario, particularly the five-week college faculty strike, underscore the role that educational institutions play as employers, and the conditions of work they provide. The recent passage of Ontario's Fair Workplaces, Better Jobs Act has thrown these issues into sharp relief.³

The national context is also instructive. Data from the 2016 census points to "a broader shift from full-time, full-year employment to part-time, part-

Reflections from workers in the sector

Due to a tightening of government funding, we have seen less full-time positions be posted vs. contract. (Northern Ontario School of Medicine)³⁹

The administration is currently in a downsizing phase — downsizing all precarious workers — not renewing contracts. This is to save money. This is leaving the rest of us quite overburdened. While we are happy that people are not in precarious jobs, what we really need is more full-time permanent positions in all areas — professors and support staff. (Ottawa U)

Students often don't know the reason for all these part-time people or contracted-out employees and how many there are on their campus. They pay high ancillary fees for services that are no longer of the same quality and value that use to be when those fees were established. They are getting a bad deal with so many precarious workers and the impact this has on access to teachers and services. (La Cité College)

Notice of work (or cancellation of courses) is a big issue for our precarious workers. The timelines are different each year because our administration does not consider the preparation of the timetable and the posting of work a priority. These poor people have to wait longer and longer each year to find out if the courses they taught last year are available this year. Our contract faculty have to apply each and every year with no consideration for seniority either. (Brescia University College)

year work. The number of working-age men employed full time dropped to 56.2% from 63.3% over the last decade. The share of women working full time also dropped to 43.7%.”⁴ Overall, in 2015, less than half of all Canadian workers (49.8%) between the ages of 25 and 54 worked full time, all year.

As more public and political attention is focused on the decline of permanent, secure work, the rise of precarious work and growing socioeconomic inequality, we must ask: are employment conditions for workers in our post-secondary institutions shifting as well? More precisely, is the presence of precarious work increasing on university and college campuses in Ontario?

Precarity

TO BEGIN, WE need to clarify what we mean by precarity, and the measures we employ to determine its extent. The narrowest definition of precarity – those who report their work as temporary, seasonal or casual – appeared as a Statistics Canada data collection descriptor in 1996.⁵ However, in their groundbreaking analysis, the Poverty and Employment Precarity in Southern Ontario working group (PEPSO) broadened this definition to include self-employed workers without employees (a category which may also include “innovators” and “wealth creators”).

Ontario’s Changing Workplaces Review was an attempt to overhaul workplace conditions. It relied on the conceptualization of precarious work set out by Leah Vosko, who describes it as work for “remuneration characterized by uncertainty, low income, and limited social benefits and statutory entitlements.”⁶ Within this frame, precarious workers meet the following criteria:

- working full time for low wages, with minimal or no benefits (e.g., no pension plan); or
- working for low wages with minimal or no benefits and under the following arrangements:
 - working part time involuntarily because they want more hours (about 30% of all part-timers, referred to in the literature as involuntary part-time);

- working part time voluntarily, in the sense that they do not want, or cannot avail themselves of, more hours;
- working for temporary help agencies or on a temporary basis directly for employers;
- working on term or contract;
- seasonal or casual work;
- working solo (self-employed) with no employees;
- working multiple jobs where the primary job pays less than the median hourly rate.⁷

The Law Commission of Ontario has also tackled the category of precarity (focusing on conditions of work) from a legal perspective.⁸ Though its analysis was featured in the Changing Workplaces Review, the commission takes a more nuanced approach than the provincial report that includes the broader socio-economic context:

Precarious work is characterized by lack of continuity, low wages, lack of benefits and possibly greater risk of injury and ill health.... Measures of precariousness are level of earnings, level of employer-provided benefits, degree of regulatory protection and degree of control or influence within the labour process.... The major types of precarious work are self-employment, part-time (steady and intermittent) and temporary....

It has been said that “the sector in which workers are employed, the size of the enterprise in which they work, the non-standard nature of their employment contract and their demographic circumstances are markers that help to identify them as ‘vulnerable’...whose work can be described as “precarious” and whose vulnerability is underlined by their “social location” (that is, by their ethnicity, sex, ability and immigration status).

The necessary convergence of a variety of factors (workplace related and socioeconomically driven) in determining precarity can make it difficult to agree upon a clear and accurate definition that reflects these different forces and how they interrelate. However, an overly broad or insufficiently nuanced definition can result in conflating those who are actually precariously employed with those who are (well-paid) independent contractors by choice.

In its report, “The Precarity Penalty,” PEP SO made the following key findings about precarity based on 4,193 surveys collected during 2014, 28

interviews conducted during early 2015 and a review of policy initiatives related to precarious employment:

- Less than half of survey participants reported being employed in a job that is full-time, permanent and with some benefits beyond a wage.
- Workers in less secure, low-income employment are the least likely to have access to any sort of training. This may trap some workers in poverty-wage jobs that do not pay a living wage.
- Racialized workers and foreign-born workers face significant discrimination in finding secure, high-paying employment. Even when they find secure employment, they still face discrimination in accessing training, sustaining healthy households and in socializing.
- Access to childcare is a major barrier, limiting access to good employment and limiting the ability of both parents to work for pay.
- Precarious employment affects community participation in a number of ways. While individuals in Precarious employment are more likely to volunteer than those in Secure employment, they are more likely than workers in Secure employment to volunteer as a way to network or to advance their job opportunities.
- Workers in Precarious employment are more likely to be socially isolated than those in Secure employment.
- Workers in Precarious employment are the least likely to exercise their democratic rights by voting.⁹

The lack of specificity provides space for employers to argue that people “prefer to work part-time,” or that precarity includes people in “Non-standard employment...like lawyers and doctors.” It feeds the pretense that precarity is a choice rather than an unworkable situation; a “demand for flexibility” from workers in response to other life factors like being a full-time student or a senior looking to “scale back.”¹⁰ Randstad Canada CEO Marc-Étienne Julien refers to this as an “immense shift” to “agile employment and non-traditional workers,” putting a decidedly positive-sounding spin on precarity:

Canadians, and especially millennials, are rethinking their approach to employment, which is changing the way that employers look to fill their staffing needs.... New technologies and new attitudes towards employment are having a profound effect on how the workforce will look in 2025. This shift in thinking and the willingness of young Canadians to eschew the tradition-

Reflections from workers in the sector

We have many casuals working multiple part-time jobs trying to keep afloat. It is extremely difficult for them to have any kind of social life, take courses, etc., because they are juggling two unpredictable schedules. The lack of paid sick days is also a big issue, with several casuals being “one sick day away from not making rent.” The precarious nature of the work means that many casuals have very little relationship with the university or the union. It makes it very difficult for the union to even contact them, inform them of their rights and represent them. (University of Toronto)

We are losing custodial work to outsourcing. They use part-time precarious and migrant workers. These people make minimum wage for scattered hours. (Lakehead University)

It is very difficult for people with temporary jobs to plan for a family, purchasing a home, etc. Limited Duties (part-time faculty) find it difficult to take maternity or family leaves, and even sick leaves, as it is uncertain then if they will be rehired after the leave. (University of Western Ontario)

al nine-to-five for non-traditional roles will dramatically change the make-up of the workforce over the next decade.¹¹

This frame encapsulates the business lobby’s argument that precarity, while not exactly a figment of our imagination, has been “overstated,” something, in effect, to be kept “in perspective.”¹² Ironically, however, perspective (the worker’s) is key to understanding what, exactly, precarity looks and feels like.

Part of the difficulty in describing and measuring precarious employment is that precarity is comprised of various markers: it is not simply a discrete status by which a worker is defined. Furthermore, many of these markers are interrelated or overlapping (as the Law Commission of Ontario suggests).

Holding multiple part-time jobs results in a very different experience if the worker is a parent in search of affordable child care and housing, or is lucky enough to live rent- and debt-free. An uncertain or unpredictable work schedule becomes much more complicated if one has dependents.

A job without benefits is perhaps a little less devastating if one can claim benefits through a spouse. And, as with inequality more generally, “not only are youth and women overrepresented among precarious workers, but so too are racialized persons, immigrants, Aboriginal persons, persons with disabilities and older adults.”¹³ Given all these factors, measuring precarity on a larger scale in any sort of quantifiable way with currently available tools can be challenging.¹⁴

Methodology

IN THIS STUDY, we use data from the Labour Force Survey (LFS) to help identify the presence of precarity on post-secondary campuses. We recognize that the LFS is limited in the degree to which it can capture accurately the broader context that facilitates worker vulnerability. Additionally, the LFS lacks the same precision or detail as other data sources that examine specific groups of workers, such as Statistics Canada's University and College Academic Staff System or the Canadian Association of Research Libraries.¹⁵ However, the LFS does allow us to try to correlate some markers with certain categories of work (paid and unpaid) across the sector as a whole that suggest something about the type of that work, and the extent to which it may be shifting from one category of worker to another.

Our LFS data analysis identifies the following three key categories or trends related to precarity in the post-secondary sector workforce in Ontario:

- *Juggling of multiple jobs*: We use the LFS variable for multiple job holder to explore this trend and how it coincides with the decline of full-time and increase of part-time work.
- *More temporary work*: Less permanent employment and more temporary employment (possibly combined with an increase in involuntary part-time work) requires workers to move from contract to contract.
- *More unpaid work*: A rise in the proportion of people working unpaid overtime across job categories, but particularly coupled with

Reflections from workers in the sector

Our contract is supposed to give partial load faculty first consideration for full-time positions if they come up. But the word “consideration” as it is in our contract is meaningless. Managers give real consideration when it suits them and they ignore [it] the rest of the time. (Canadore College)

Precarity at our institution is becoming a concern for even [full-time] permanent workers. Job stability is at an all-time low on our campus, with layoffs becoming more regular. [Part-time] positions are usually the first targeted for layoff or attrition, workload increases are being put on [full-time] permanent employees, and as these jobs vanish, new management level jobs are increasing. (Brock University)

[P]recarious academic teaching work has been the norm for at least the past 25 years. The impacts of this type of work on our union members is significant, including high levels of stress, damaging effects on mental health, tremendous and chronic financial instability, lack of respect and inclusion, and a general sense that is conveyed to us that somehow we are “second-rate.” It is incredibly difficult to get research done, apart from the research required to prepare new courses almost every year (we teach what we can get), given the high teaching loads (compared to faculty, and if we are fortunate) and the need for many members to supplement income with work from other sources.... [T]here is very little guarantee in terms of a regular amount of work; members may have a financially sustainable amount of work in one term, and very little or no work the next. Thus we are entirely at the whims of the university administration in terms of the “flexibility” of our labour. Despite all of these challenges, our members still deliver a high quality of postsecondary education that is appreciated by our students. In addition, we go above and beyond the call of duty, such as meeting with students during office hours, writing letters of reference, serving on committees where we can up and down. Unlike full-time faculty members, we do not get paid for this work; it is another example of the amount of free labour that we provide. (York University)

part time work, suggests perhaps that unpaid overtime is an expectation for employment.¹⁶

To reiterate, these categories can only identify factors that, taken in conjunction or collectively, *create the conditions* of precarity. We recognize that people can work full-time hours without having a “full-time job,” and their work is still precarious because of competing schedules from multiple jobs; or that part-time work may not necessarily be precarious if it is by choice, regularly scheduled and includes benefits. Temporary versus permanent may seem more straightforward, but “temporary” jobs can stretch from months to years without becoming permanent, making “temporary” a longer term state than the name suggests.

The “multiple job holder” category is included in our analysis on the assumption that if one job is insufficient (from the perspective of compensa-

Reflections from workers in the sector

The biggest issues facing our members are: 1) loss of income, 2) lack of and elimination of any guarantee of work, and 3) loss of benefits. As a result, our members suffer from stress-related mental and physical illnesses. Our members provide the highest level of quality of education for our students, while also being required to demonstrate professional and academic currency through professional work and academic publishing and conference presentations, while also juggling an extensive teaching workload at one or more institutions in order to survive. (Ryerson University)

Contract faculty do not get paid for any work they do outside of the classroom. Subsequently, they are not paid for their extra efforts to accommodate students who need accommodation. They do not get paid for marking, and as class sizes increase many contract faculty tend to use less comprehensive evaluation methods, such as multiple-choice questions. (Humber College)

Students in many programs (e.g., Nursing, Early Childhood Education) have a field-placement component to their study. At their field placement, they have traditionally been overseen by faculty. After ensuring, in 2013, that only contract faculty would be assigned to field placement instruction, the position was then redefined as a part-time *Support Staff* position, ensuring that the individuals doing that work were paid approximately 1/3 their former hourly wage, and given twice as many hours of work. (Seneca College)

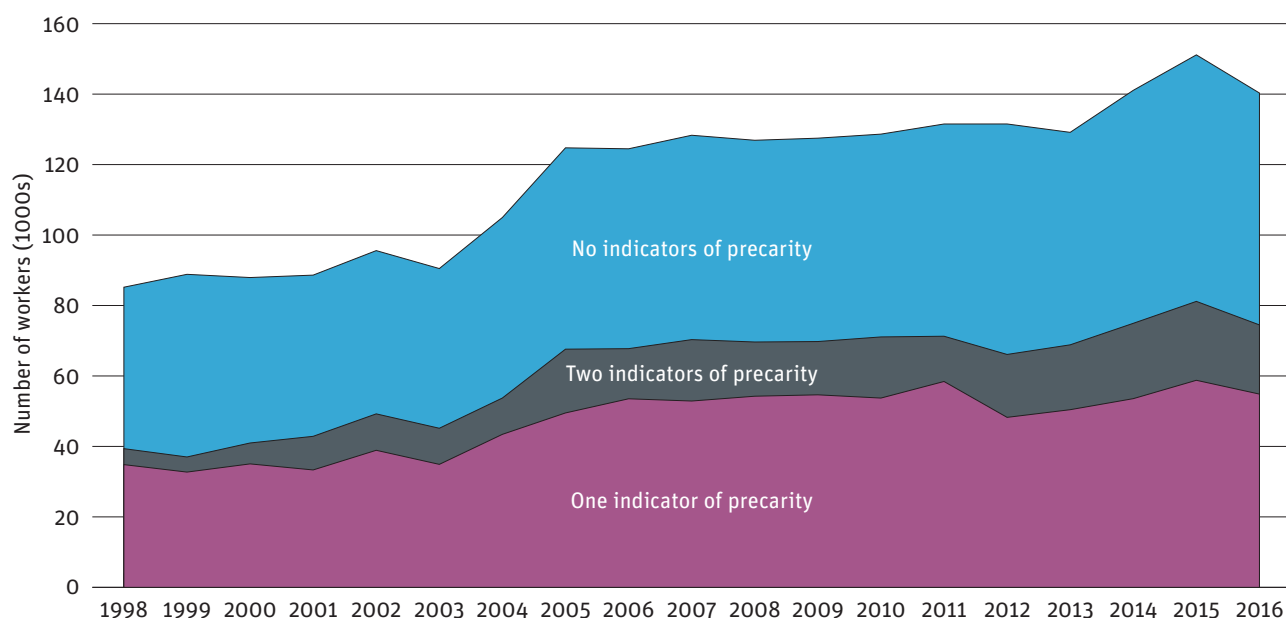
I am concerned about the contracting in to support staff for placements. I am concerned that labs and shops will be made support work rather than academic. The support workers are 10 month or less employees. (Conestoga College)

tion, benefits and/or hours) and requires supplemental jobs, it is more likely to be precarious in nature, in part because of the unpredictability of having to juggle various jobs. If people find themselves working overtime without compensation, or are forced to work overtime involuntarily, they may not feel secure enough in their job to say no — or to expect fair compensation. In effect, these people are working more hours for free.

To attempt to capture how these trends are experienced by workers in the post-secondary education sector, we conducted an online survey of all bargaining units representing workers on college and university campuses across the province.¹⁷ Some of the responses have been excerpted and included throughout this report to provide additional context.¹⁸

Additionally, these trends are not experienced in isolation. In effect, precarious employment is the stacking of various elements of precarity — a condition which, as the data demonstrates, is becoming more pronounced. At the same time, the post-secondary sector is growing. To help readers vis-

FIGURE 1 Growth of precarity in Ontario post-secondary sector, 1998 to 2016

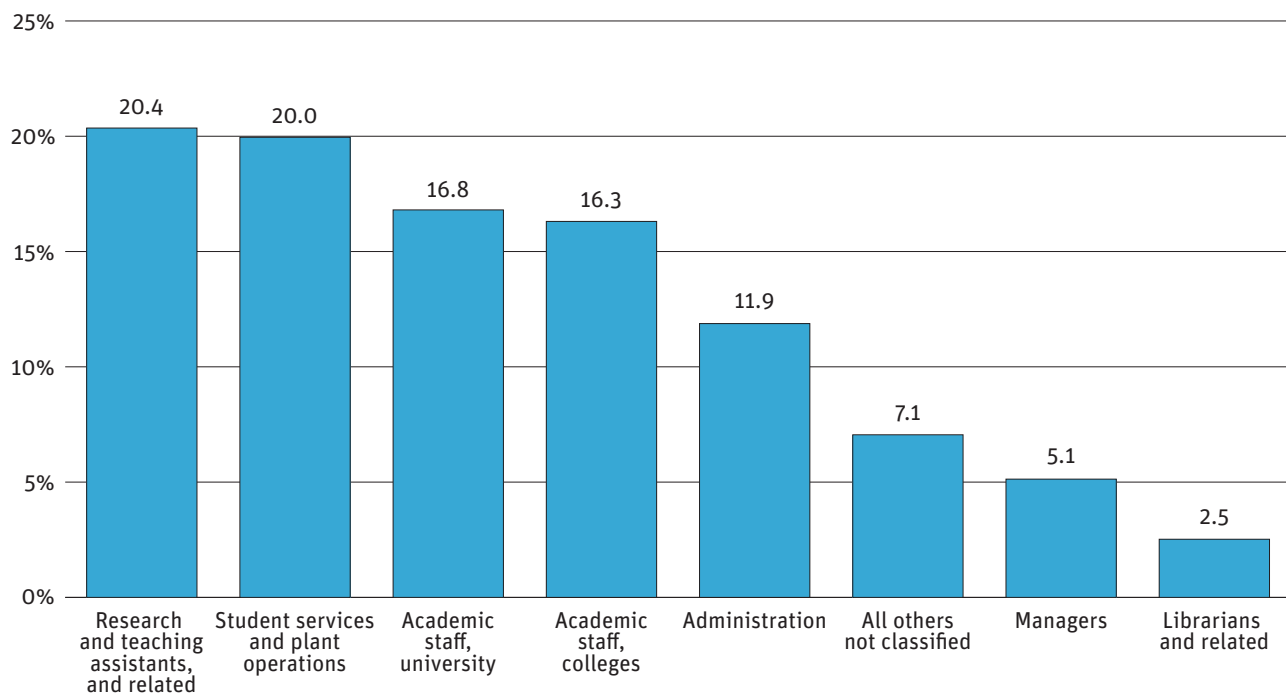


ualize the relationship between sector growth and the growth of precarious employment, we have indicated the proportionate growth of one and two indicators of precarity across this growing workforce as a whole.

As figure 1 illustrates, the proportion of workers with just one marker of precarity has remained relatively stable since 1998, at around 40% of the workforce.¹⁹ However, the proportion of people experiencing none of the three elements of precarity we have identified in our analysis has fallen over the same period, from a high of 58% in 1999 to a low of 45% in 2007 to 2010, edging back up to approximately 47% in 2016. Concurrently, the proportion of workers with two indicators of precarity has increased from a low of 5% in 1998 and 1999 to a high of 15% in 2005, 2014 and 2015. In 2016, the proportion of workers in this sector with two indicators of precarity was 14%.²⁰

Because the three indicators of precarity listed above (multiple jobs, temporary jobs, unpaid work) are not experienced equally, or by every worker, it is important to look at trends in precarity within the context of categories of work. We have found that the trends in the graph above are driven not only by changes in the quality of work for specific occupations on campuses, but also by relative growth in certain occupational groups that tend to experience more qualities of precarity, as later sections in this report explore.

FIGURE 2 Ontario post-secondary workforce by occupation, 2016

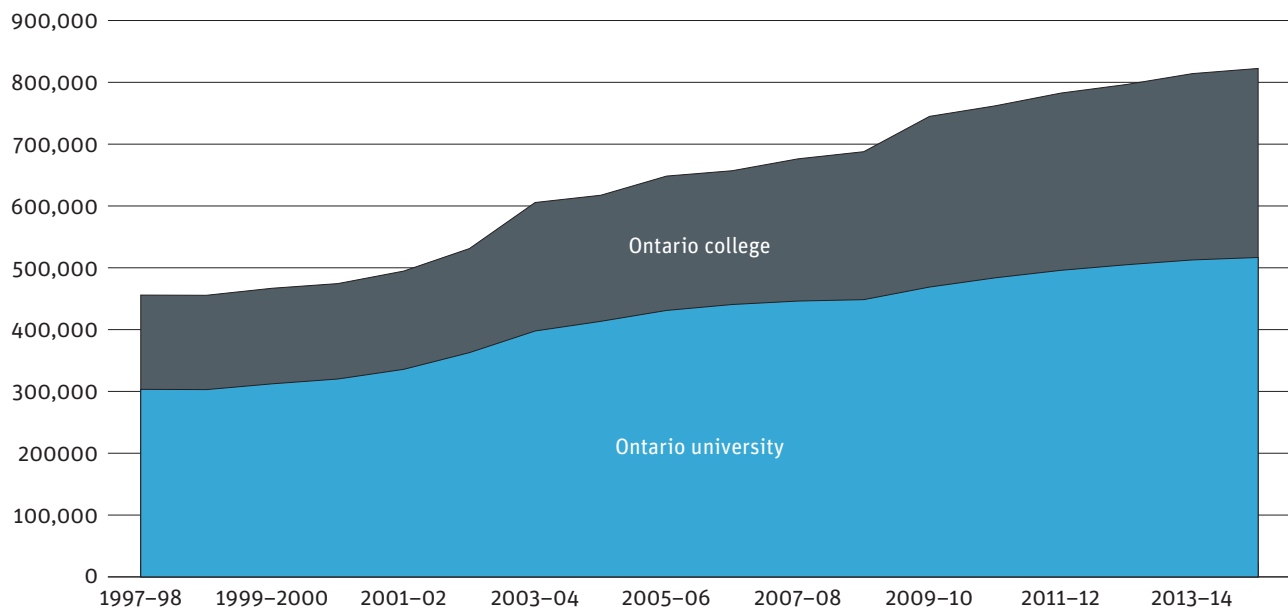


Workforce Sector Breakdown

To better understand how work is shifting in this sector, we use data from the LFS to examine how the incidence of the markers of precarity change in proportion to the post-secondary sector as a whole. We look at the indicators of precarity through several different cross-sections, including full-time and part-time work, gender and seven major occupational groups. Specifically, we look at the following worker categories:²¹

- Academic staff at colleges
- Academic staff at universities
- Administrators
- Librarians, library workers and related
- Research assistants, teaching assistants and related
- Student services and plant operations
- Managers²²

FIGURE 3 Total post-secondary student enrollment, Ontario



Source CANSIM 477-0019, Statistics Canada.

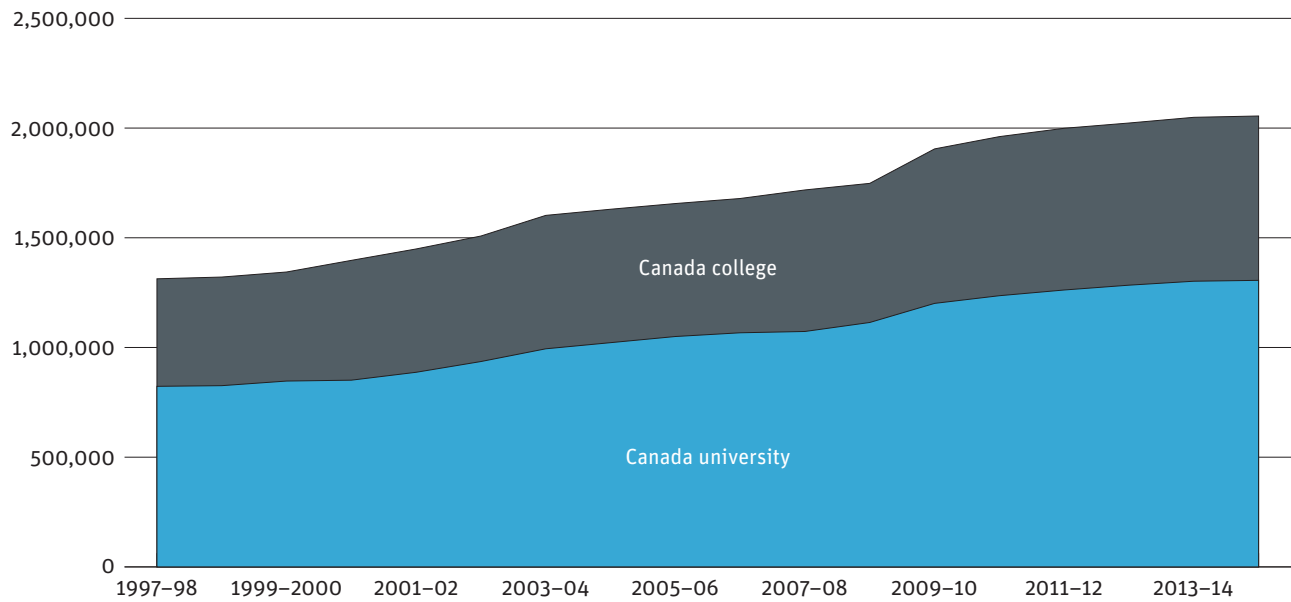
We look at trends in work quality as a proportion of the total workforce to control for growth/increases in enrolment in the sector. It's important to take into consideration changes in enrolment over this same period; in both colleges and universities the number of students continues to increase.²³

Changes in the number of instructors in either universities or colleges (*Figure 3* and *Figure 4*) may be driven by shifts in the size of the university and college sectors, and must therefore be looked at in the context of sectoral growth. Over the past 18 years, enrolment rates in Ontario and nationally have steadily and consistently increased (including a spike in 2003 as a result of the “double cohort”),²⁴ and data shows that college enrolment is making up a greater proportion of total post-secondary enrolment in Ontario.

In other words, while enrolment is growing across the sector, it is growing proportionately faster in colleges. This means that any workforce shifts must be weighed against the backdrop of a growing sector, with more students requiring more services.

Given ongoing growth in the sector, one might suggest that, proportionately, there would be a corresponding increase in the size of the workforce across occupations. However, this is not always the case. Since 1998, there have been some shifts in the proportional size of occupation groups in On-

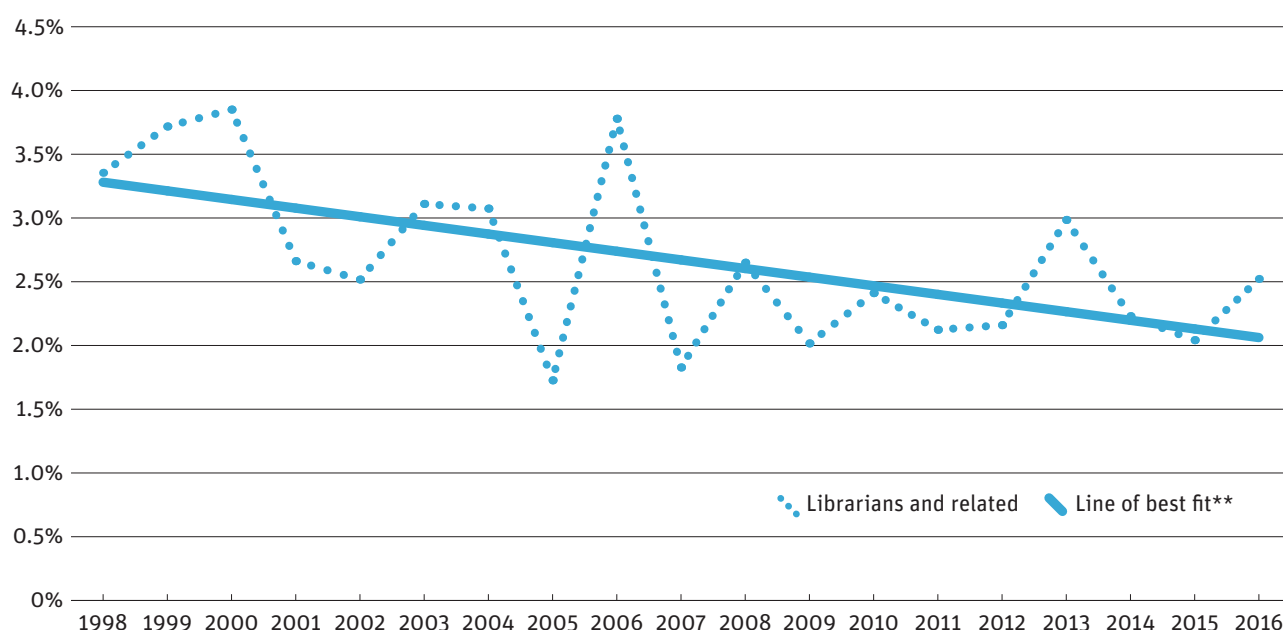
FIGURE 4 Total post-secondary student enrollment, Canada



Source CANSIM 477-0019, Statistics Canada.

tario's post-secondary sector, some less profound than others. As later sections of this report will demonstrate, these shifts have implications for the kind and quality of work on post-secondary campuses.

FIGURE 5 Librarians as a proportion of Ontario post-secondary workforce, 1998 to 2016



The most notable occupation trends (across entire job categories) are with respect to the categories of librarians, and research/teaching assistants and related. As the figures show, the proportion of librarians in the Ontario sector has fallen substantially; they made up 3.4% of the sector in 1998, and only 2.5% in 2016 (*Figure 5*). In contrast, the proportion of the workforce made up of research assistants, teaching assistants and related has increased significantly, from 13.6% in 1998 to 20.4% in 2016 (*Figure 6*).

This is not to suggest there have been no changes in other job categories over time (*Figure 7*). Administration, for example, makes up a greater proportion of the post-secondary workforce, although the growth is very small and the proportion is volatile over the time period.²⁵

The data also suggests a significant decrease in the proportion of the sector comprised of college instructors prior to 2012, with an uptick in the proportion from 2013 onward.²⁶ This downward trend prior to 2013 is particularly interesting given the faster growth in college enrolment relative to university enrolment over time. As the Labour Force Survey data does not differentiate between categories of instructor, further analysis is required to determine who is represented in the uptick.

Over this time period (1998–2016), while there has been no notable change in the proportion of the workforce consisting of university instructors (although there was a decline from 1999–2014, followed by an uptick),

FIGURE 6 Research/teaching assistants as a proportion of Ontario post-secondary workforce, 1998 to 2016

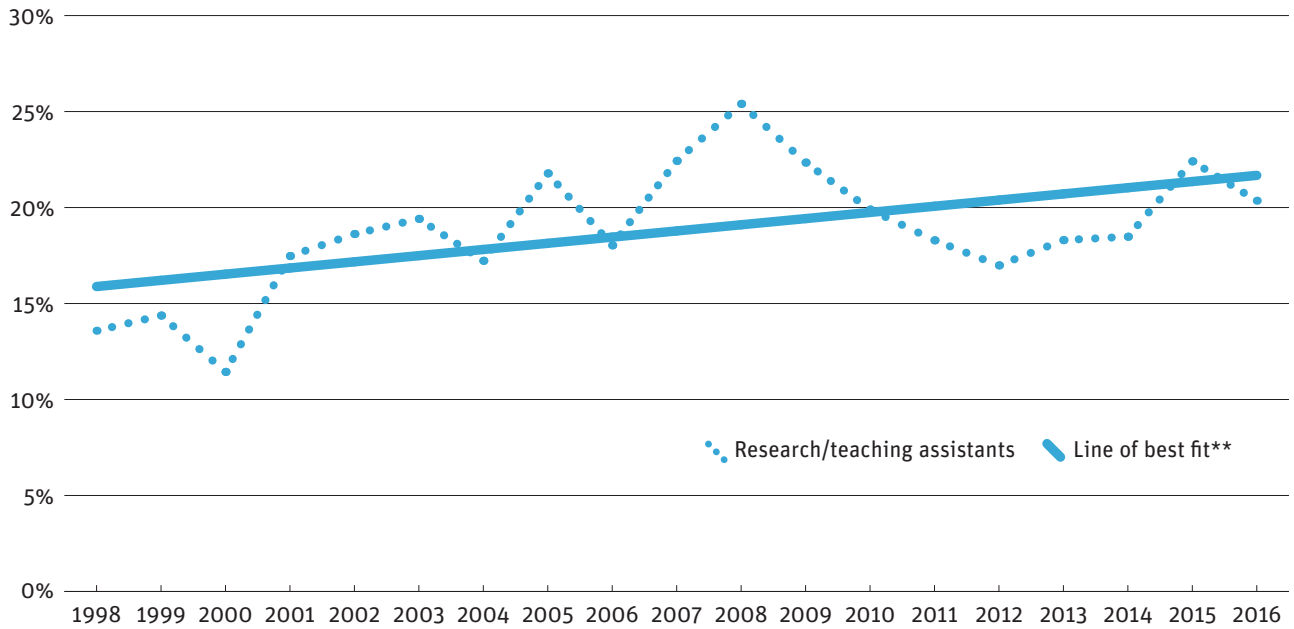
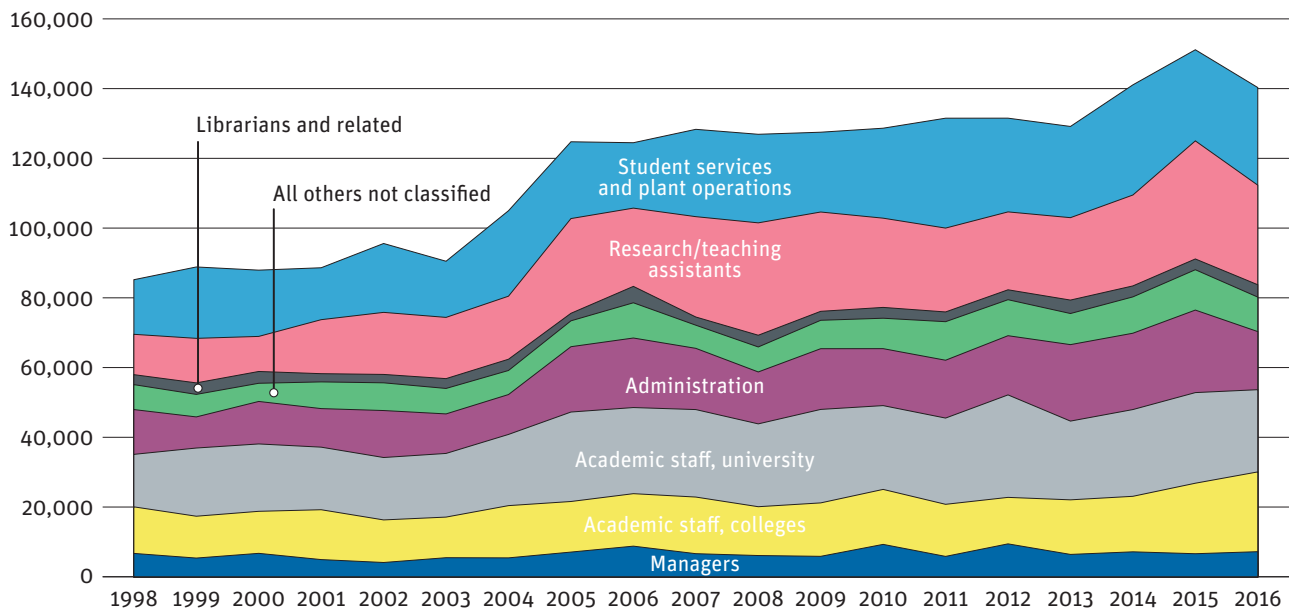


FIGURE 7 Workers in Ontario post-secondary sector by occupation group, 1998 to 2016



student services and plant operations, managers or “other,” the following sections of this report indicate there have been shifts across and particularly *within* these job classifications.²⁷

Trends in Precarity

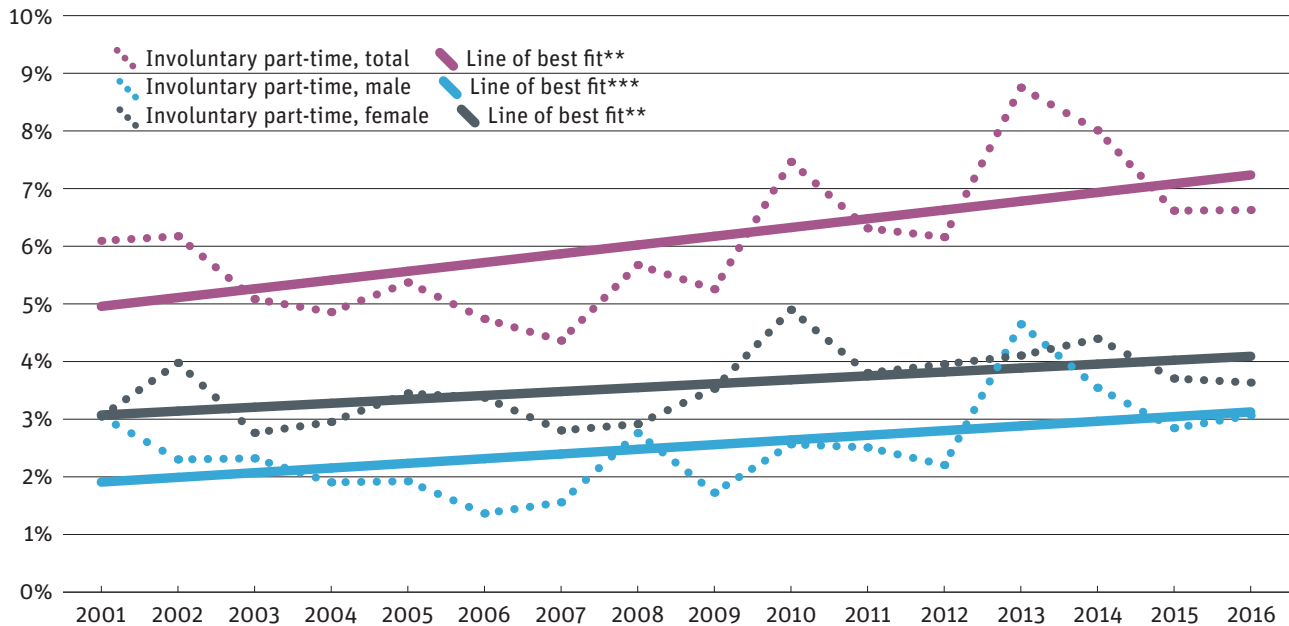
WHILE WE HAVE identified three broad indicators of precarious work in this sector (multiple jobs, temporary work, and unpaid work), it is important to remember that these trends are not necessarily taking place equally, or across the board. Furthermore, as each of the three trends builds on the others, it becomes clear how precarity is compounded for some workers or for certain occupations. Additionally, it is important to note that trends in precarity are taking place in the broader context of an overall rise in involuntary part-time work, particularly for women, in the Ontario post-secondary sector (*Figure 8*).

Juggling of multiple jobs

[T]here are also workers holding multiple jobs, often because their main job does not pay sufficient wages. The number of multiple job holders [in Ontario] accounts for about 5.3% of the workforce in 2014, up from 2.2% in 1976. Three out of every five multiple job holders (62%) report earnings below the median hourly wage. Women are more likely than men to be in multiple jobs (59.3%) and in jobs with multiple non-standard characteristics (58.4%).²⁸

Working multiple jobs is frequently seen as an indicator of precarity because it suggests that one job provides inadequate compensation or lack of benefits, for example. We looked at the prevalence of multiple jobs across

FIGURE 8 Proportion of involuntary part-time workers (by gender) in the Ontario post-secondary sector, 2001 to 2016



the entire post-secondary sector for full-time workers, part-time workers, for men and women, and for permanent and temporary workers.

The data suggest the following:

- **The proportion of workers in the sector who hold multiple jobs has increased over time**, from a low of 5.9% of the workforce in 1998 to 9.9% of the workforce in 2016 (*Figure 9*).
- **The proportion of people who are temporary and hold multiple jobs has consistently grown**, from 1.9% of the post-secondary workforce in 1998 to 5.6% in 2016. Meanwhile, the proportion of workers that are permanent and hold multiple jobs has decreased relative to 2002 levels, but appears to have increased since 2010 (*Figure 10*).
- **There is a notable increase in the proportion of workers who work part time and hold multiple jobs. There is also an increase with respect to full-time workers, though it is less pronounced.**

FIGURE 9 Proportion of workers in the Ontario post-secondary sector that are multiple job holders, 1998 to 2016

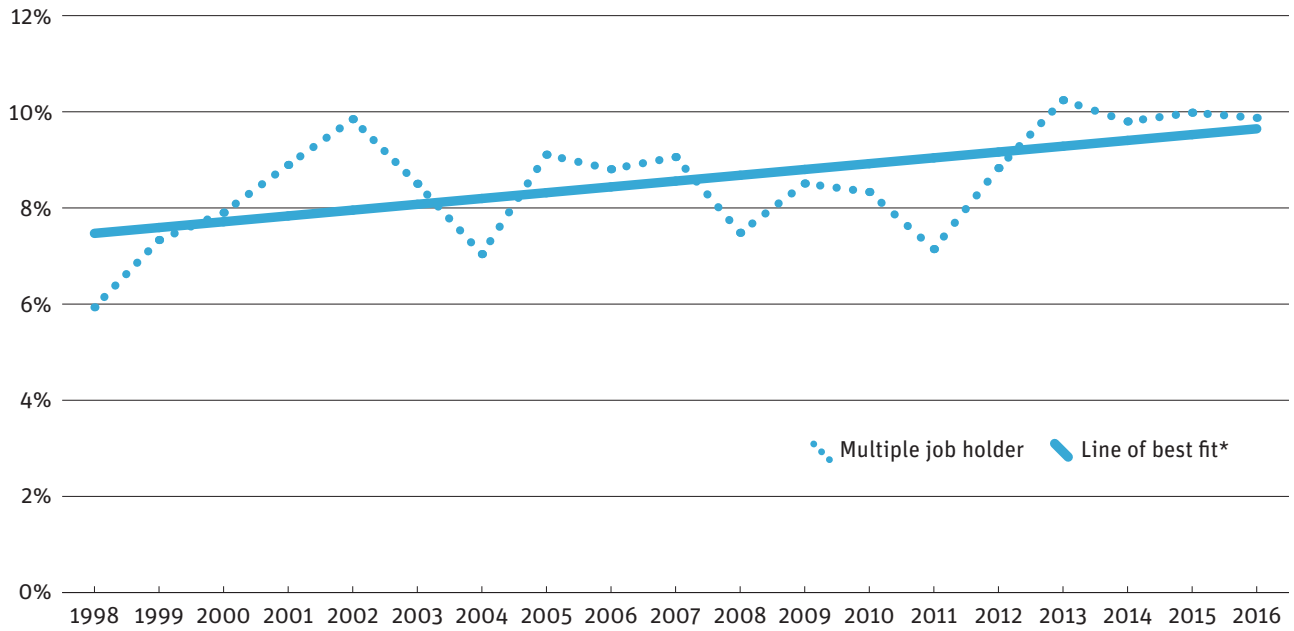
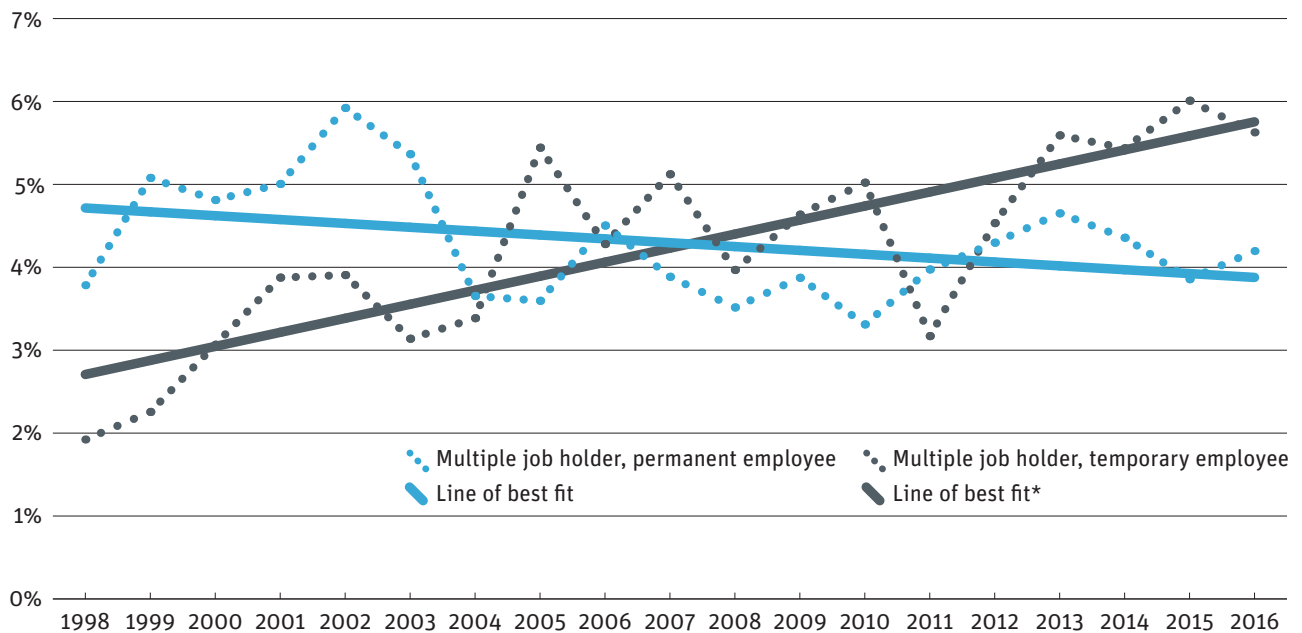


FIGURE 10 Proportion of workers (permanent and temporary) in the Ontario post-secondary sector that are multiple job holders, 1998 to 2016



Reflections from workers in the sector

[T]hey are hiring a lot more “part-time” members with the excuse that funding may not be available for that position in a couple years. Those workers are called “grant and trust” workers. (University of Guelph)

We have many faculty who are forced to work at other schools to cobble together full-time work from many part-time positions. Because of our location, this necessitates a significant commute, which is dangerous and lowers their quality of life. Many faculty are afraid to raise issues with the employer over student concerns, safety concerns, etc., because they fear losing work. (Nipissing University)

A new lecturer position can provide a larger teaching load and more predictable multi-year employment, though lower salary range, and can lead to permanency (as distinguished from tenure), though no one has yet been able to attain this status. (St. Jerome College)

There are programs that have just one or no full-time faculty at all. We are finding more programs that have a precariously employed co-ordinator (a professor with academic leadership for a program). (Fleming College)

Increase in incidence of temporary work

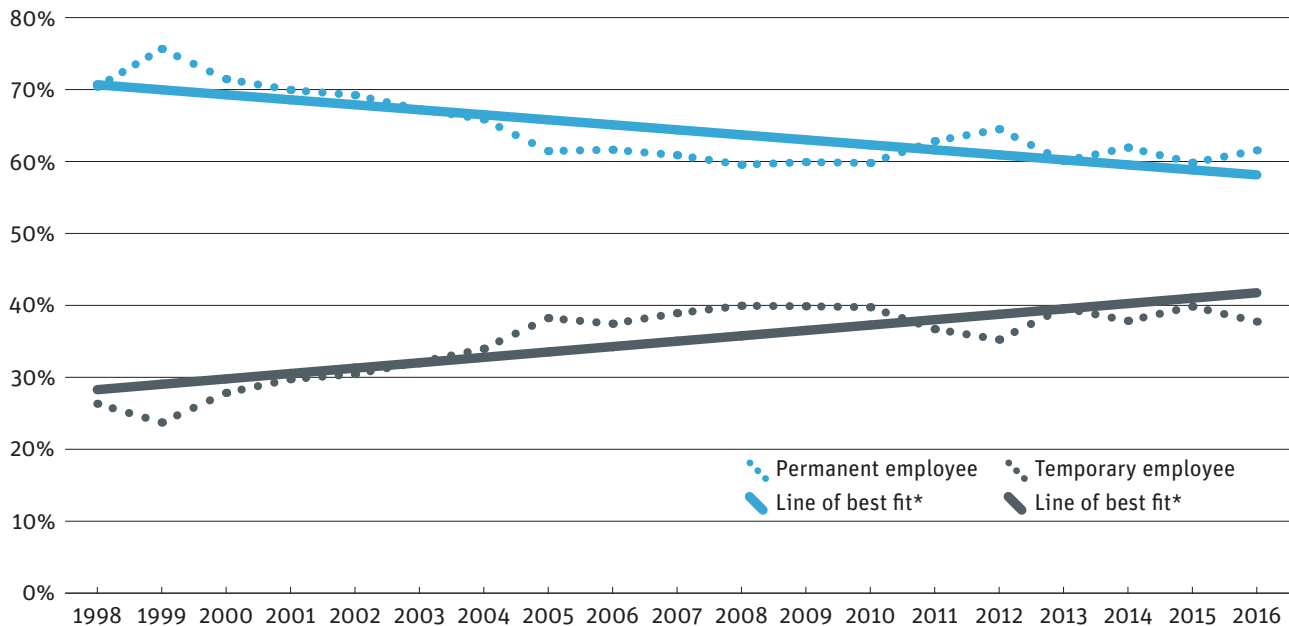
Similarly, temporary workers are more likely to be in precarious work than permanent workers. This is significant because, at present, temporary employees may not fully benefit from Ontario employment standards provisions requiring a minimum length of tenure (such as vacation, termination notice and severance pay). Furthermore, once a worker accepts a temporary job, it becomes more difficult to advance and the worker is likely to earn reduced income for many years. The uncertainty associated with temporary employment makes these jobs precarious by definition. However, different forms of temporary work also have unique characteristics that add to their precarious nature.²⁹

Temporary work is frequently identified as a marker of an increasingly precarious workforce. To determine whether temporary work prevalence is growing on campuses across the province, we broke the workforce down by permanent and temporary employees, full-time and part-time workers, and full-time and part-time workers by gender.

The data suggest the following:

- **The proportion of permanent employees in the sector fell between 1999 and 2005 in tandem with an increase in the proportion of workers in the sector who are temporary (consisting of**

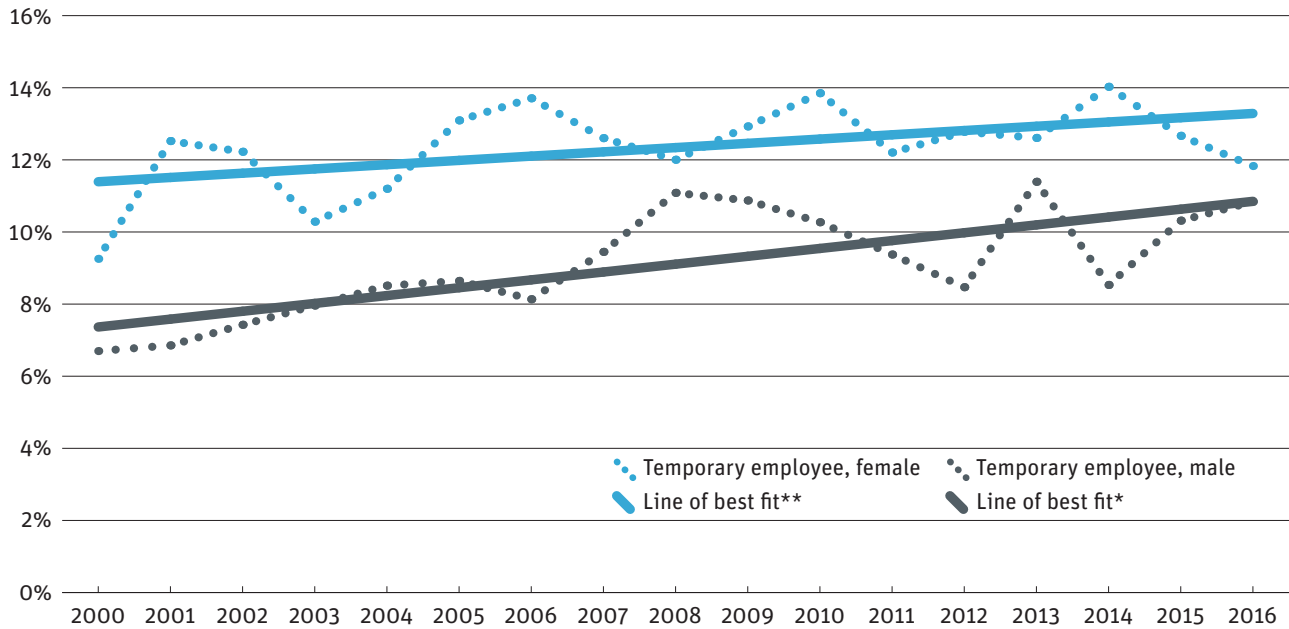
FIGURE 11 Proportion of workers in the Ontario post-secondary sector that are permanent and temporary, 1998 to 2016



full-time temporary and part-time temporary workers, the latter of which make up a greater proportion of all temporary workers). The proportion of permanent workers fell from 70.4% in 1998 to 61.5% in 2016. Conversely, the proportion of temporary workers has increased from 26.3% in 1998 to 37.7% in 2016 (*Figure 11*).

- **Temporary workers are more likely to work part time.** The proportion of temporary part-time workers has been increasing since 1999. In 1998, 15.1% of the workforce were temporary, part-time workers. In 2016, that proportion was 22.7%.
- **The majority of temporary workers are women working part time, and this group is becoming a larger proportion of the workforce.** In 2000, they made up 9.3% of the workforce, and in 2016 they made up 11.8%.
- **The proportion of temporary part-time workers who are men is also increasing,** from 6.7% in 2000 to 10.8% in 2016 (*Figure 12*).

FIGURE 12 Proportion of workers (by gender) in the Ontario post-secondary sector that are temporary, 2000 to 2016

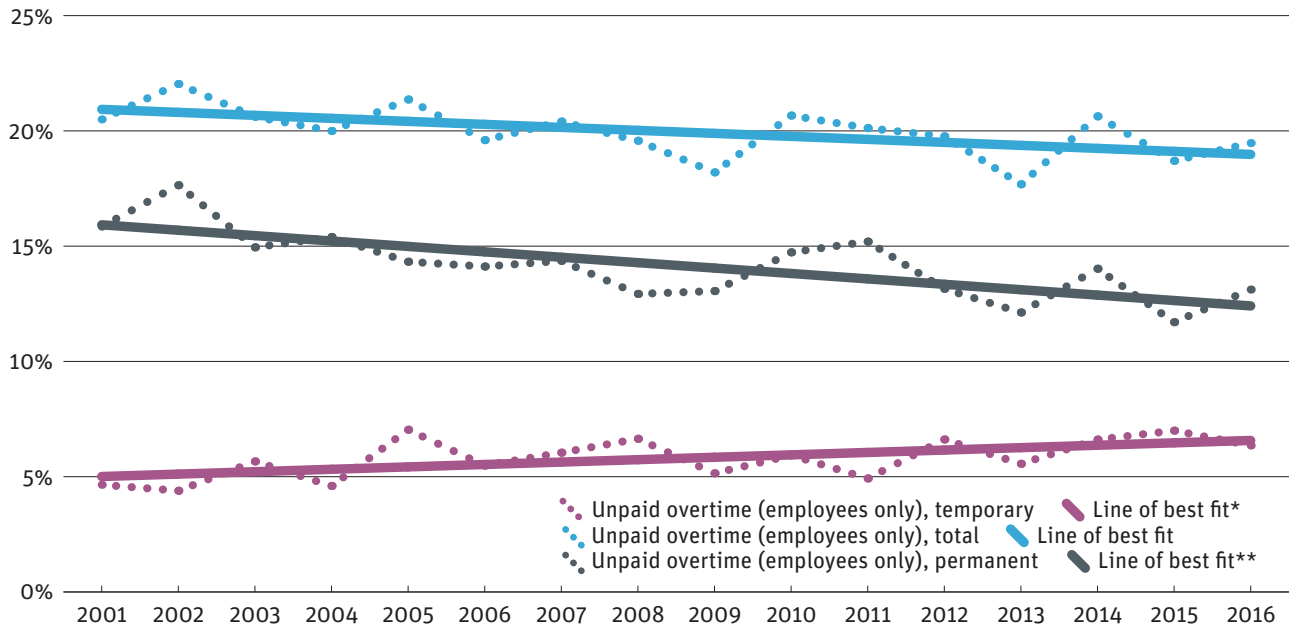


- While the proportion of full-time temporary workers has increased over time, there is little difference in the trend experienced by men and women for both full-time and temporary work.

More unpaid work

Power imbalances leave workers with little protection against reprisal or job loss. It is little surprise that 9 out of 10 workers who file claims for unpaid wages and entitlements do so after they have left the job. It is hard to know how many workers move from one substandard job to the next, without seeking to recover unpaid wages, overtime, vacation, termination and public holiday pay. A [Ministry of Labour] Inspection of a textile company in 2004 found that 99 workers were owed more than \$136,000 in wages. Yet only 22 workers had come forward to file ES claims in the months prior to the company closing down, despite considerable media attention about the case in question. Almost 80 per cent of the workers never came forward to make claims for their unpaid wages. This case suggests that the 15,000 to 20,000 claims filed each year may only be the tip of the iceberg.³⁰

FIGURE 13 Proportion of workers (permanent and temporary) in the Ontario post-secondary sector that work unpaid overtime, 2001 to 2016



The presence of unpaid overtime appears to be linked to other conditions of work. For example, while the overall proportion of people in the provincial post-secondary sector who work unpaid overtime is decreasing, it is *increasing* for those workers who are part time or temporary (*Figure 13*).

The data suggest the following:

- Overall, **the proportion of people in the sector who work unpaid overtime has remained relatively constant**, with a slight decrease from 20.5% in 2001 to 19.5% in 2016. However, there appear to be shifts *within* the category of unpaid overtime.
- There is a notable **decrease in the proportion of permanent and/or full-time employees who work unpaid overtime**. In 2001, the proportion of permanent employees who worked unpaid overtime was 15.9%, falling to 13.1% in 2016. The trend is similar for full-time workers with unpaid overtime.
- **However, the proportion of people who work unpaid overtime and who are temporary is slightly, yet clearly, increasing**. In 2001, the proportion of workers who were temporary and worked

Reflections from workers in the sector

Sessionals and part-timers are paid \$50 per contact teaching hour. If you took into account all of the work that they do some may actually be making less than \$15 per hour. (Canadore College)

The employer is hiring fewer workers, but enforcing more workload on all of our members, which not only affects productivity...it increases the risk of violence in the workplace, as well as [increasing the risk to] the mental health and well-being of our members. (University of Guelph)

Another issue is the overtime. In order to make a living, you accept the work offered. At times, I personally am working 70–80 hours a week for extended periods (four weeks) because several courses and labs are offered concurrently in an accelerated pace. (Algoma University)

unpaid overtime was 4.6%. In 2016, 6.4% of the workforce was temporary and worked unpaid overtime. The trend for part-time workers is similar, with 3.7% of the post-secondary workforce being part time and having unpaid overtime in 2016.

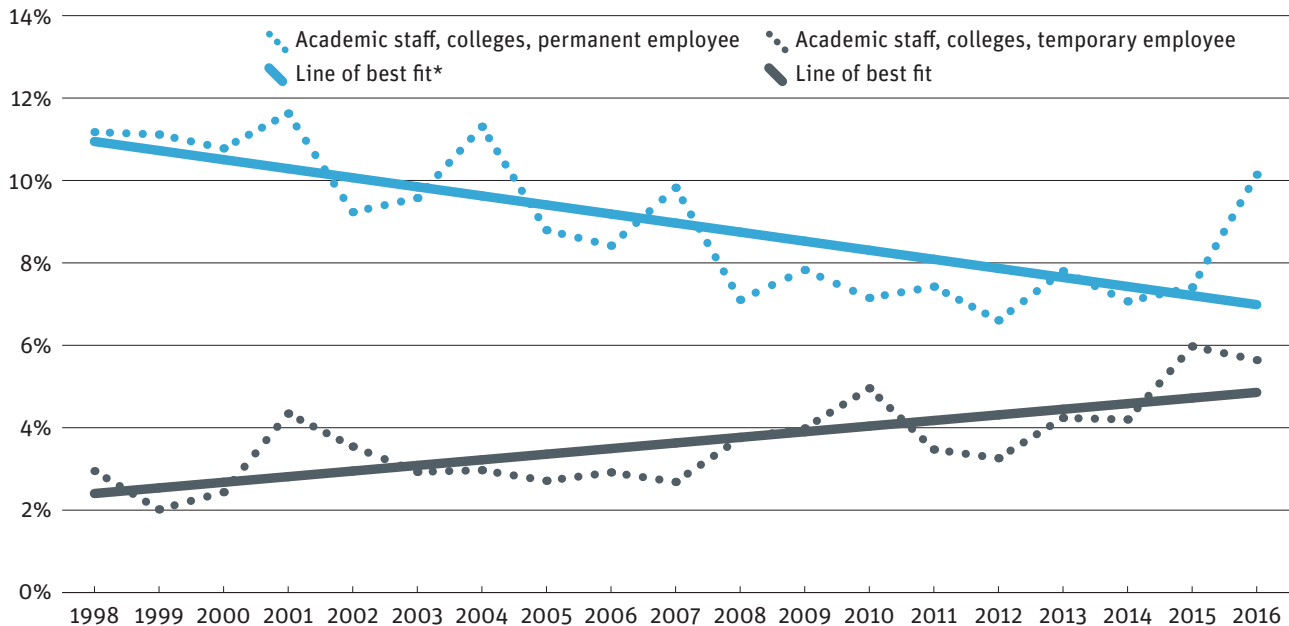
Worker category analysis

WITHIN THESE THREE broad trends, the markers of precarity are experienced differently, depending on occupation, gender identification and work status. This next section illustrates how precarity plays out unevenly across the post-secondary sector as a whole. Where provincial data is unavailable, we have included national data where relevant to help identify trends that should be monitored.

It is important to note that slicing the sector up into smaller and more precise job categories reduces the number of people included in each data series — particularly if the number of workers in that particular category is very small — and therefore limits our ability to investigate specific trends. However, we feel that it is important to understand, to the extent we can, how the broader trends of the three key precarity indicators do play out within each of the seven categories we have identified, and across the sector as a whole.

Given the diversity of occupations and workers represented in this sector, precarity indicators will not be equally or evenly experienced. We have therefore provided an overview of changes taking place within each job category and then focused on the more significant trends that differentiate one category from another in the broader context of precarity and shifts in the workforce since 1998.

FIGURE 14 Proportion of temporary and permanent college academic staff in the Ontario post-secondary sector, 1998 to 2016



College faculty

There has been a **general decrease in the proportion of permanent college academic staff coupled with an increase in the proportion of temporary employees**. This trend is particularly interesting given the increase in college enrolment relative to total enrollment growth for the post-secondary sector (presented earlier in this report). We can infer from the data that **the decrease in the overall proportion is driven by decreases in permanent workers in this category**. Additionally, the proportion of full-time, permanent men is falling while the proportion of women is relatively stable (*Figure 14*).

There was insufficient provincial data to identify trends with respect to **multiple jobholders**.

A larger proportion of college academic staff is full-time permanent than part-time permanent, but the overall proportion of permanent academic staff is decreasing. And there is some increase, though it is variable, in the proportion of academic college workers who work **unpaid overtime**.

Reflections from workers in the sector

Multi contracts. Support and admin contracts. Converting our work to support work to avoid hiring full-time faculty. Have full-time work carved [up] among many workers part time, sessional etc. (Sault College)

Some contract faculty have used the food bank, got second jobs cleaning houses. Quit after two weeks. Lack of access to faculty after class as they go to second job or are not provided with an office. Accept lesser contracts as they are precarious. Accept multiple contracts. Full-time work is being broken down into contracts. (Fleming College)

Students don't have same access to contract faculty. [There is an] increased workload for coordinators and chairs. (Algonquin College)

Part-time faculty...are only paid for in-class time and this does not include any course development and assessment, which can sometimes make their actual pay quite low. This is especially true when part-time faculty are required to develop online courses during their own time without being paid for the development. (Georgian College)

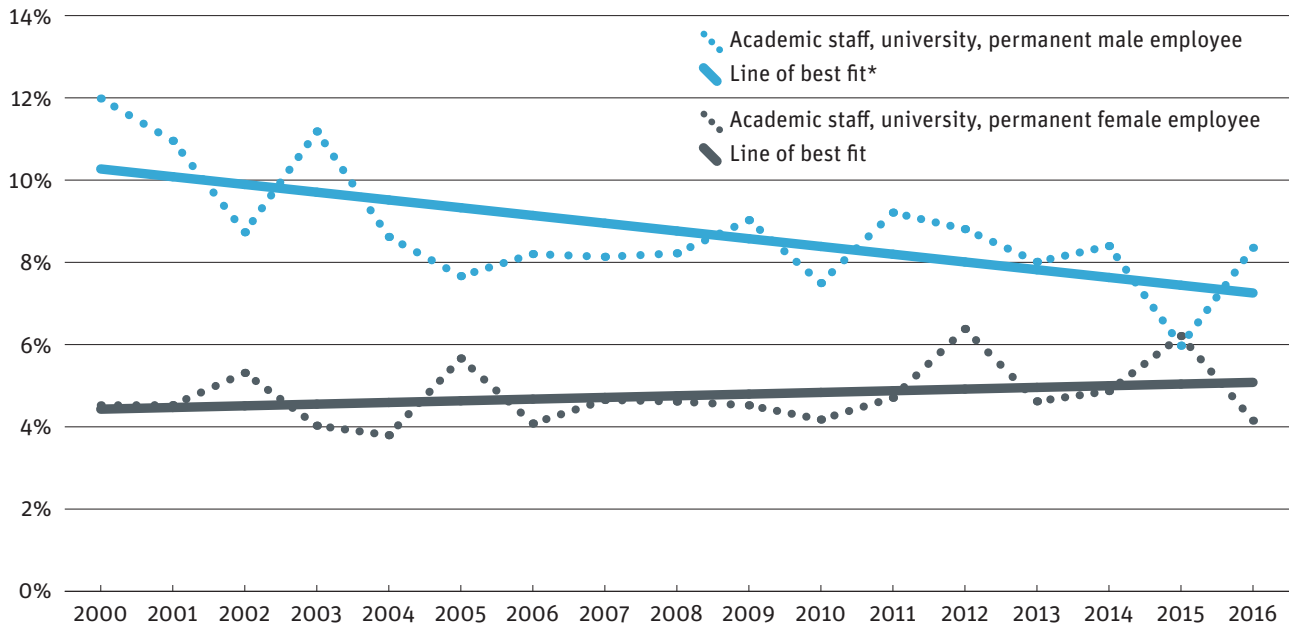
University instructors

Analyzing this work category is particularly challenging due to the many different sub-categories of university academic workers that could not be captured by the data requested from the LFS (to ensure representation of Ontario's entire post-secondary workforce). As a result, the LFS data represented in this analysis can only reflect general trends across the entire job category.

However, complementary analysis and data can provide context to workforce shifts not fully captured in this report. For example, the Canadian Association of University Teachers points out that on a national level the role of contract faculty has increased exponentially: contract faculty account for almost one-third of all professors in Canada; about one out of two undergraduates is taught by contract staff; and between 1999 and 2014, the number of contract staff has increased by 100% while the number of regular professors has risen by only 14%.³¹

The Ontario Confederation of University Faculty Associations (OCUFA) has also examined precarious work conditions for university professors in the province, and “estimates that the number of courses taught by contract faculty at Ontario universities has nearly doubled between 2000-01 and 2015-16.”³² And testimonials from various responders to the survey of cam-

FIGURE 15 Proportion of permanent university academic staff (by gender) in the Ontario post-secondary sector, 2000 to 2016

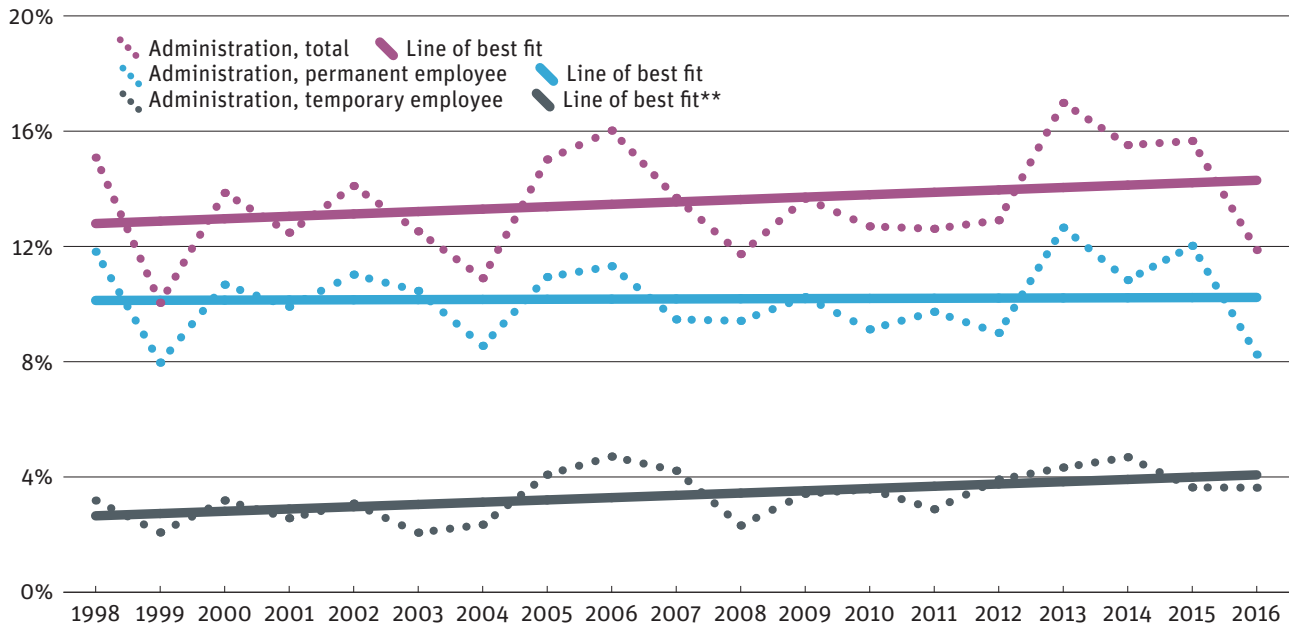


pus bargaining units provide additional context to better understand how workforce shifts are being experienced by university academic workers.

From a high point of 19.6% in 1999, the proportion of full-time university instructors has declined to a low of 13.6% in 2014 (up to about 15% in 2016). The proportion of part-time university instructors has fluctuated between 5.2% and 2.0% over the same period. And while the proportion of permanent female academic staff appears to have increased slightly, it has declined significantly for men – by nearly one-third between 2000 and 2016 (*Figure 15*). It is significant that the trends for university instructors are not uniform throughout the time period we are analyzing but tend to be concentrated before 2005.

There is insufficient Ontario data to determine the number of **multiple jobholders** in this category. The available data suggest that a greater proportion of permanent university academic staff work **unpaid overtime**; however, the **proportion of temporary university academic staff who work unpaid overtime has increased.**

FIGURE 16 Proportion of temporary and permanent administrative staff in the Ontario post-secondary sector, 1998 to 2016

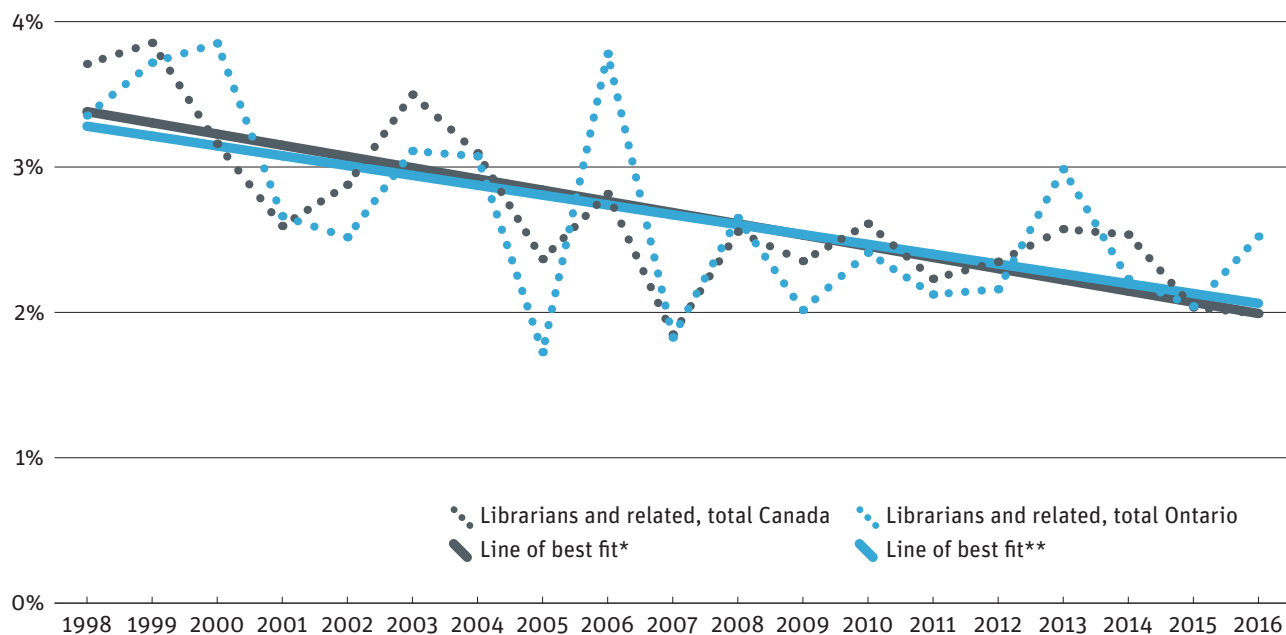


Administration/administrators

The vast **majority of administrators are women who work full time**, and the proportion of the workforce that this job classification represents has grown very slightly. That said, the proportion of administrators who are **temporary** has also grown, particularly since 2003, while the proportion of permanent administrators has remained stable.

Because the number of workers in this category is so small, we refer to Canadian data for a closer look at the trends (*Figure 16*). The number of administrators who hold **multiple jobs** is very small. It also appears that a very small number of administrators (fewer than 2%) work **unpaid overtime**, a proportion that has remained relatively consistent. Taken together, this suggests that **administrators are a stable segment of the workforce**, although there is some growth in the rise of temporary work.

FIGURE 17 Proportion of librarians and related workers in the Ontario and Canadian post-secondary sector, 1998 to 2016



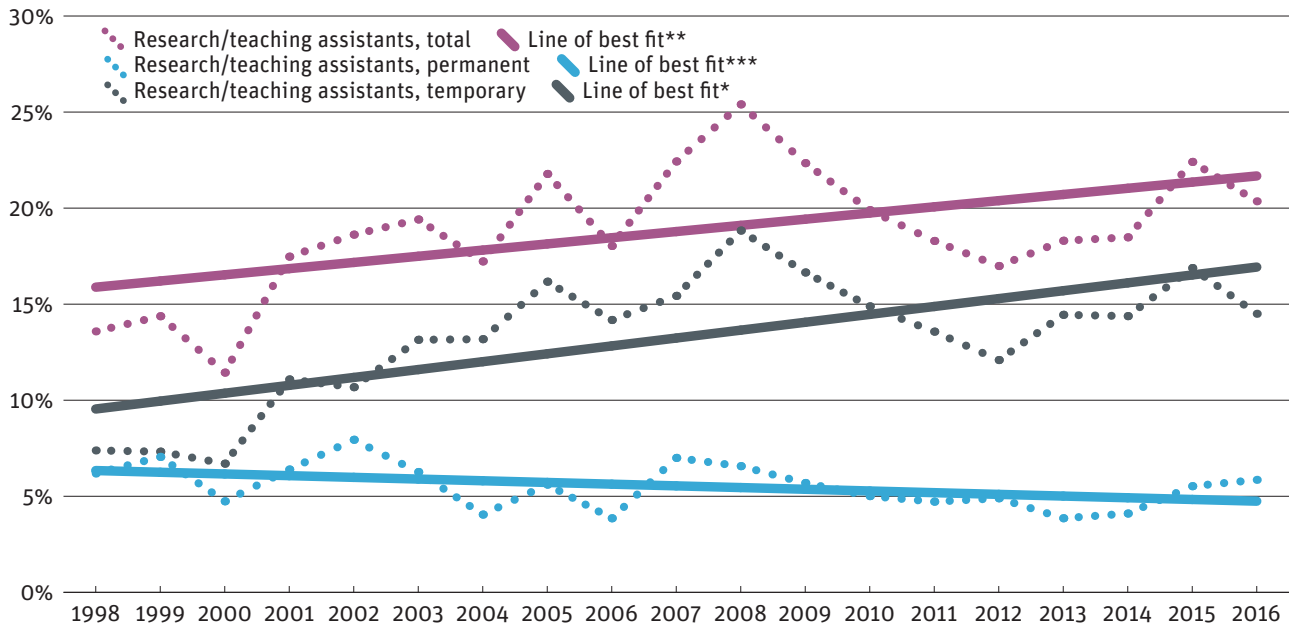
Librarians (and related)

The majority of workers in this job category are women and work full time. However, **the proportion of librarians in Ontario and Canada has significantly decreased since 1998**. Because this is such a small category, there is insufficient provincial or national data to determine the number of **multiple jobholders, temporary work or unpaid overtime**. However, we can determine that the **proportion of permanent librarian work is declining at a rate that approximates the overall decline in the proportion of librarians** as a segment of the overall workforce (*Figure 17*).

Research/teaching assistants (and related)

This category is somewhat unique in that it is commonly understood that these jobs are generally considered to be temporary and part time by design, as they provide employment for students for the duration of the academic year or program. However, even within this frame, interesting shifts are taking place.

FIGURE 18 Proportion of temporary and permanent research/teaching assistants and related in the Ontario post-secondary sector, 1998 to 2016



For one thing, the data suggests that the growth of this job category is outpacing enrolment, which indicates that perhaps work that might once have been performed by another category of employee is being shifted to a job category that is already inherently less stable and less long term. Because RAs and TAs represent a large proportion of the precarious workforce, growth in precarity may be driven, in part, by the growth of this job category.

It is unclear from the data whose work and responsibilities are being shifted to RAS/TAS. However, this question may warrant further investigation. Are responsibilities of RAS/TAS growing? If so, to what effect, and what is the implication of this trend on the quality of education?

There has been a significant increase in RAs and TAs (both for students, and for the RAs and TAs who may be students themselves) as a proportion of the overall sector workforce. Because Ontario data is insufficient to examine some key trends, we turn to Canadian numbers, which indicate that only a small proportion of RAS/TAS are **multiple jobholders**, and this proportion may be increasing slightly (*Figure 18*).

Additionally, since 1999, there has also been a significant increase across Canada in the proportion of temporary RAs and TAs who hold multiple jobs.

Reflections from workers in the sector

Brock's Faculty of Ed does so many online courses for elementary and secondary school teachers and pays their instructors very little (\$5,000 range for a half-course). Sometimes, they call the instructor a "facilitator" and pay them even less! (Brock University)

Although [English as a Second Language Instructors (ESL)] are in our bargaining unit, they are treated differently than the rest of the staff. Their employment hours are directly related to the number of students in the program. They have unpaid breaks between semesters, don't get vacation time (only vacation pay) and it would be a superhuman feat to be able to teach enough hours to qualify for our benefit plan.... The university doesn't seem to care that these workers are having problems making ends meet. They see no need to change the way things are, because it means that the costs are as low as possible. We are hoping to address these concerns in the next round of negotiations, but we are getting considerable pushback from management. (Algoma University)

[L]ess teaching supports (TA's, markers, etc.) are provided to sessional instructors than is provided to full-time permanent instructors. Hence the nature of the courses taught by sessional instructors can tend to vary in comparison with the (same) course taught by a full-time instructor... (Ryerson University)

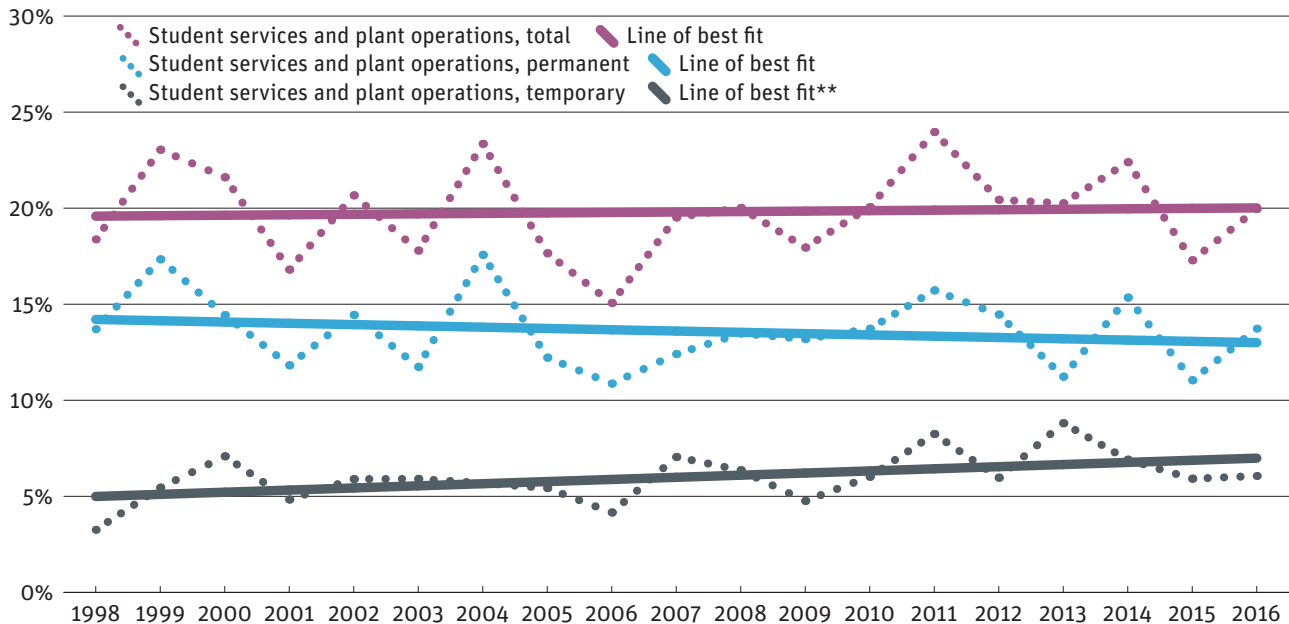
In negotiating new contracts we are continuously finding that there are shortages of funds as a result of increasing administrative bloat and scandalously high salaries for senior administrators. (OCAD University)

Interestingly, data from 2004 onward suggests that the **proportion of women in this category who hold multiple jobs is growing faster, which may mirror an increase in the representation of women in schools.**

As expected, Ontario numbers show there is a greater proportion of **temporary workers** in this category than full-time workers. Since 1998, the overall growth in the proportion of the workforce represented by this job category has been driven predominantly by temporary workers. For the smaller proportion of RAs and TAs who are permanent, the majority work full time and their proportion has remained relatively stable since 1998.

And while national figures show that the overall proportion of RAS/TAS working **unpaid overtime** has decreased since 2002, it has remained flat for temporary workers and decreased for permanent workers, demonstrating once more the compounding effects of precarity.

FIGURE 19 Proportion of permanent and temporary student services and plant operations workers in the Ontario post-secondary sector, 1998 to 2016



Student services and plant operations

The majority of workers in this sector are full time, with relatively stable proportions over time. However, **since 2006, there has been a slight increase in the proportion of temporary workers** (Figure 19). While the gender mix is relatively even and also stable over time, **men are more likely to have full-time employment.**

Canadian data suggests that only a small proportion of this category (0.9% to 1.8% of the workforce) are **multiple jobholders**. Of those who do hold multiple jobs, the majority are permanent and full time. Ontario data shows that not only is the proportion of permanent men to women in this job category larger, the **proportion of permanent women appears to be decreasing while the proportion of temporary women in this job category is increasing.**

The proportion of temporary workers who are men has, since 2009, grown slightly. And Canadian data shows that while only a small proportion of people in this category work **unpaid overtime**, the majority are full time and permanent, and slightly more are men.

Reflections from workers in the sector

We don't currently have a route to permanency or any job security for part-time faculty or librarians. We hope to remedy that in our next round of negotiations. (University of Toronto)

They are hiring more and more students instead of employing FT or PT permanent workers. (Brock University)

Faculty work going to technologists and interns to avoid roll over into full-time faculty jobs.... Hands-on work supervision being contracted to technologist, corporations and even students!!!! (Confederation College)

Managers

This is another relatively non-precarious segment of the workforce. Effectively, all managers are full time, and only a small percentage of managers (between 1.6% and 3%) work **unpaid overtime**. There is insufficient data (provincially or nationally) to determine the number of **multiple jobholders** in this category or how many are working on a **temporary basis**, implying that less than 2% of managers fall within these two categories.

Conclusion

DEBATES ABOUT WORK quality, worker protection, adequate compensation and the rise in precarious jobs are not taking place in a vacuum. Wage growth in Ontario has displayed weakness over the past decade. Across Canada, average weekly earnings from March 2016 to March 2017 only grew by 0.9%, i.e., less than inflation.³³

Meanwhile, household debt continues to creep upward, sitting now at 172.1% of income, according to the most recent statistics. But that's only the average: the ratio of debt-to-disposable-income for bottom-income-earning households was 333.4% and for the top it was 128.3%.³⁴

In effect, we are witnessing a perfect storm: incomes for the majority of workers are not keeping pace with the cost of living, household debt is ballooning, and, as discussed in this report, there is a documented rise in precarious work.

While post-secondary institutions are places of learning, they also employ thousands of people across a broad spectrum of job classifications. Member surveys, recent events — including a five week strike by Ontario college faculty over working conditions — and new legislation have underscored concerns about the quality of work being provided by employers, and the job security of workers in both the public and private sectors.

Labour Force Survey data indicates that shifts are taking place in Ontario's university and college workforce. These shifts suggest that indicators of precarity — multiple jobs, more temporary work, and unpaid overtime — are on the rise, though not equally and not for everyone. The data

Reflections from workers in the sector

We are painfully aware of the impacts of precarious contracts on our campus. We have seen contract faculty who have taught here for 10, 15 and even 25 years disposed of after their courses have been cancelled. We know all too well the health consequences (i.e., sleep deprivation, shingles and anxiety) related to precarious workers – which is well documented in the literature about precarious work, particularly the mental health consequences. We often see late/emergency contracts – which makes the lives of contract faculty unnecessarily stressful and has consequences for meeting the needs of students with special needs. When contract faculty are working under these circumstances it is very difficult to remain research active. In short, the intensity of teaching on contract has profound consequences for the quality of education being provided – not that contract faculty aren't good at their job, but rather they are not being supported or remunerated properly. (University of Windsor)

also allow us to understand how these indicators interact with each other, such that certain categories of workers are more likely to be vulnerable to other indicators of precarity by virtue of their work status.

More specifically, we have identified a proportionate rise in work categories that are more precarious (RAs and TAs) alongside a decline in others that have traditionally been less precarious (librarians). There has also been an increase in precarious work within certain job categories, translating, for example, to an increase in the proportion of temporary workers in student services and plant operations, administration and college academic staff. We have further identified a steady decline in the proportion of full-time university instructors and college academic staff.

Public sector employers including colleges and universities are in an influential position: they can – and should – raise overall employment standards by reducing the prevalence of working conditions that facilitate the rise of precarity. There have been promising first steps, with several institutions remedying gender-based pay inequality for professors, but more needs to be done. It appears evident that universities and colleges have pursued a business plan predicated on a lower-paid, insecure workforce, which has significant implications for quality of work and quality of life for employees, not to mention the education that students receive.

Recently, precarity has been discussed as part of the consultations on Bill 148, the Fair Workplaces, Better Jobs Act, which is designed to address the changing nature of work and ensure certain protections for workers. Absent from the legislation, however, was a focus on fixed-term contracts that

allow workers to continue working contract to contract without guarantee of permanency — a common practice on university and college campuses, and a hallmark of precarity.³⁵ Although the recent arbitration decision for the Ontario college strike acknowledges the new collective agreement may need updating to reflect Bill 148, this oversight in the new legislation leaves a policy void with respect to the overreliance on contract work, which has, by some estimates, “saved” Ontario colleges as much as \$300 million each year.³⁶

The impact of precarious work on individuals, families and communities is deeply damaging, as has been documented by PEPSO, explored by the LCO and, in the post-secondary sector, examined by several unions and articulated by workers themselves. Beyond this, precarity has profound implications for the academic work and research universities and colleges perform. As a result, any discussions of, or commitment to, educational quality, student experience and institutional reputation must include an equal focus on the conditions of work provided by our universities and colleges.

Recommendations

UNDERSTANDING THE SCOPE of precarity is the first step toward addressing its impact on universities and colleges as places of work and places of learning. But, as explained above, there are challenges associated with quantifying precarious work. The Labour Force Survey provides access to valuable data, but it has its limits, mainly with respect to statistical validity due to data suppression and small sample sizes.

Fundamentally, the LFS cannot provide a comprehensive picture of precarity because it does not collect information on several important factors that contribute to it in the workforce. For example, it is difficult to evaluate important nuances about the rise of contract work, such as how “temporary” job classifications can continue, without guarantee, for years. It also does not provide insight into how household realities — child care, debt, housing, and dependents, etc. — interact with precarious working conditions.

Given what we know about the rise of precarious work, it may be appropriate to enhance the LFS by adding additional questions that could better address the specific issue of precarity (e.g., questions about repeating contracts). Other national surveys could also be leveraged or enhanced to address precarity issues that relate to life outside of the workplace, such as the Survey of Household Spending or the General Social Survey program. The current federal anti-poverty strategy provides another opportunity; the need to rethink how we measure and quantify precarity could be rolled into the panel’s proposal for a pan-Canadian strategy vis-a-vis data collection and analytical tools.³⁷

Another approach to qualifying precarity is to create a “work quality index” that summarizes information related to precarity in one number that could then be tracked over time. Such an index could address issues related to data suppression, as it may be possible to calculate it in such a way so that individuals within the LFS and other surveys would not be identifiable. However, such an index may still be unable to capture important nuances and, as such, it is likely to be a convenient but still imperfect tool.

Appendix: Methodology

THE ANALYSIS PRESENTED here is based on a custom data order from Statistics Canada from the Labour Force Survey. We examined the total number of workers in the post-secondary sector (in Canada and Ontario), which includes universities, colleges and community colleges (North American Industry Classification System Codes 6112, 6115 and 6113). Within this category we received counts of workers within eight occupation categories as defined by the following National Occupational Classification codes (NOC codes).

We further subdivided the occupation categories by specific indicators of precarity, as well as gender and full-time and part-time status. In this way we were able to investigate trends in precarity within occupation groups provided there was a sufficient number of workers in these sub-categories. Descriptions of key indicators are listed below and are from Statistics Canada's Guide to the Labour Force Survey, 2012.³⁸

TABLE 1 Occupation Group by NOC Code

Occupation Group	NOCs codes
1. Academic staff university	4011
2. Academic staff colleges	4021
3. Librarians and related	145, 511
4. Research assistant	4012
5. Administration	12, 14 excluding 145
6. Student services and plant operations	22, 41, 42, 52,63, 65, 67, 72, 21, and 403
7. Managers	0
8. All others not specified in post-sec	*

- **Involuntary part-time** (reason for working part time): For those who respond that they want to work 30 or more hours per week, the main reason for working fewer hours is collected. Responses include: own illness, personal or family responsibilities, going to school, business conditions, could not find work with 30 or more hours, other. Those whose response is “business conditions” or “could not find work with 30 or more hours” are further asked if they looked for work with 30 or more hours during the past four weeks. The change in concepts and definitions introduced in January 1997 results in a complete break in the involuntary part-time series.
- **Multiple jobholders:** Persons who, during the reference week, were employed in two or more jobs simultaneously. This group is sometimes referred to as “Moonlighters.”
- **Temporary:** A temporary job has a predetermined end date, or will end as soon as a specified project is completed. Information is collected to allow the sub-classification of temporary jobs into four groups: seasonal; temporary, term or contract, including work done through a temporary help agency; casual; and other temporary work.
- **Unpaid overtime:** This refers to time spent directly on work or work-related activities over and above scheduled paid hours. Unpaid overtime must be extra hours worked for which the respondent received no additional compensation.

We examined annual figures from 1998 to 2016, which are the annual average of number of workers counted in each month. We used figures from

1998 onward due to data availability. Specifically, certain variables were not available prior to that year. In some cases we present only more recent data, from 2000 or 2001 onward, due to poor data quality in the preceding years.

To account for growth in the sector and enrolment growth, we examine changes in worker groups as a proportion of the total workforce. As an additional measure to ensure the robustness of our claims regarding trends, we plot a linear line of best fit and present the statistical significance of the coefficient of the covariate. Significance levels for the coefficient of the lines of best fit are presented via the following system:

- * significant at a 1% level
- ** significant at a 5% level
- *** significant at a 10% level
- (no asterix) the coefficient is not statistically significant (there is no notable trend with the data, or the slope of the line of best fit is effectively zero)

Statistics Canada provides coefficients of variation (CVs) for each figure provided in the custom order, as well as guidelines for appropriate use of figures given the magnitude of the CV. We do not use data deemed “Unreliable” according to Statistics Canada’s guidelines. We use data classified as “Use with caution” provided that other data points in the series are rated “Acceptable” or higher, but limit the use of “Use with caution” if it occurs at the beginning of the series.

Endnotes

- 1** CAUBO Financial Information of Universities and Colleges databases
- 2** Data query from the Ontario Ministry of Advanced Education and Skills Development (Colleges Finance Unit).
- 3** Fair Workplaces, Better Jobs Act 2017 (Bill 148) (accessed January 2, 2018 at http://www.ontla.on.ca/web/bills/bills_detail.do?locale=en&Intranet=&BillID=4963).
- 4** Eric Grenier, “Canadian workforce is more educated and sitting in traffic longer than ever before: 2016 census,” CBC, November 29, 2017.
- 5** Poverty and Employment Precarity in Southern Ontario (PEPSO), *It’s More than Poverty: Economic Precarity and Household Well-being*, February 2013 (accessed January 2, 2018 at <https://socialsciences.mcmaster.ca/resolveuid/2502f2b828744a70872ef26edcba9d25>).
- 6** Ontario Government, *Changing Workplaces Review Final Report (Chapter 3: Changing pressures and trends)*, July 27, 2016 (accessed January 17, 2018 at https://www.labour.gov.on.ca/english/about/cwr_interim/chapter_3.php).
- 7** Ontario Government, *Changing Workplaces Review Final Report (Chapter 4: Vulnerable workers in precarious jobs)*, May 23, 2017 (accessed January 2, 2018 at <https://www.ontario.ca/document/changing-workplaces-review-final-report/chapter-4-vulnerable-workers-precarious-jobs>). Paraphrased from the original text.
- 8** Law Commission of Ontario, *Vulnerable Workers and Precarious Work Final Report (II Identifying vulnerable workers and precarious work)*, December 2012, (accessed January 2, 2018 at <http://www.lco-cdo.org/en/our-current-projects/vulnerable-workers-and-precarious-work/vulnerable-workers-and-precarious-work-final-report-december-2012/ii-identifying-vulnerable-workers-and-precarious-work-2/>).
- 9** PEPSO, *The Precarity Penalty: The impact of employment precarity on individuals, households and communities—and what to do about it*, May 2015 (accessed January 2, 2018 at <https://pepso.ca/documents/precarity-penalty.pdf>).

10 Camilla Cornell “Is precarious work really a problem? Business and labour groups clash during Ontario review,” *Globe and Mail*, December 5, 2016 (updated April 7, 2017).

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12 Sarah Dobson, “‘Precarious work’ overstated: Employer group,” *Canadian HR Reporter*, November 11, 2016 (updated December 6, 2016).

13 Dominique Fleury, “Precarious employment in Canada: An overview of the situation,” *Hillnotes*, January 27, 2016.

14 Fleury.

15 Statistics Canada, “Number and salaries of full-time teaching staff at Canadian universities 2016/2017,” *The Daily*, 2017-4-25 (accessed January 2, 2018 at <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/170425/dq170425b-eng.htm>); CARL Statistics 2015-2016, Salaries 2016-2017 (accessed January 2, 2018 at <http://www.carl-abrc.ca/measuring-impact/statistics/>)

16 The variable unpaid work is only applicable to employees. However, the vast majority of workers in the post-secondary sector are employees, as opposed to self-employed.

17 These include workers represented by Ontario Public Sector Employees Union (OPSEU), Ontario Confederation of University Faculty Associations (OCUFA), Ontario Secondary School Teachers’ Federation (OSSTF), Unifor-Canada, Canadian Federation of Students–Ontario (CFS-ON), Canadian Union of Public Employees–Ontario (CUPE-ON) and United Steelworkers (USW).

18 Survey respondents were asked to elaborate on the impact of precarious work on their members and their quality of life, on the quality of education provided at their institution, and on students.

19 Note that this number will likely also include some people who are not precarious.

20 Given data limitations and the small number of people in this category, we cannot reliably show what proportion of the Ontario post-secondary workforce experiences all three factors of precarity.

21 This analysis is not able to take into consideration those jobs that have changed due to contracting out of certain categories of work (including custodial, food management, security, etc.), where workers may no longer be directly employed by the academic institution but rather the corporation. This sub-sector is an area requiring closer analysis to better determine the relationship between work conditions and contracting out.

22 A final category, “other” is not presented in detail in this report.

23 For consistency, we examine trends as a proportion of the workforce rather than as a proportion of students/enrolment. We find that the trends reported here are consistent when using either enrolment figures or total workforce as the denominator of proportion figures.

24 Fall 2003 marked the start of Ontario’s “double cohort,” when graduates from grades 12 and 13 simultaneously entered the post-secondary education system. In addition to the strain on student services, including residence and accommodation, we would expect the LFS data to reflect how the exponential increase in enrolment (10,000 extra students across the country) would have other implications for universities and colleges.

25 As a result, the slope of the line of best fit through the data is not statistically significant at a 5% significance level.

26 The overall decrease from 1998 onward is not statistically significant at a 5% level.

- 27** Based on CVs calculated by Statistics Canada for the librarian data, the count of librarians in years 2005, 2011, 2014 and 2016 should be treated with caution. If we remove these years from the line of best fit, the estimated coefficient is still statistically significant at a 5% level.
- 28** Ontario Government, Changing Workplaces Review Final Report (Chapter 4: Vulnerable workers in precarious jobs).
- 29** Law Commission of Ontario, Vulnerable Workers and Precarious Work Final Report (II Identifying vulnerable workers and precarious work).
- 30** Law Commission of Ontario, Vulnerable Workers and Precarious Work Final Report (II Identifying vulnerable workers and precarious work)
- 31** Canadian Association of University Teachers, “By the Numbers: Contract Academic Staff in Canada,” October 2017 (accessed January 2, 2018 at <https://www.caut.ca/bulletin/2017/10/numbers-contract-academic-staff-canada>).
- 32** OCUFA, “Time for Renewal: Investing in the future of Ontario’s universities,” 2018 Pre-budget submission, January 2018 (accessed January 25 at <https://ocufa.on.ca/assets/2018-Pre-Budget-Submission.pdf>).
- 33** Zorah Jamasi, “Slow wage growth: Why Ontario needs a pay raise,” BehindTheNumbers, May 25, 2017 (accessed January 2, 2018 at <http://behindthenumbers.ca/2017/05/26/slow-wage-growth-why-canada-needs-a-pay-raise/>).
- 34** Statistics Canada, “Distribution of household economic accounts for income, consumption, saving and wealth of Canadian households, 2016,” The Daily, 2017-12-14, (accessed January 2, 2018 at <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/171214/dq171214b-eng.htm>).
- 35** OCUFA, “Bill 148 passes, bolsters efforts to address precarious work on campus,” November 22, 2017 (accessed January 2, 2018 at <https://ocufa.on.ca/blog-posts/bill-148-passes-bolsters-efforts-address-precarious-work-campus/>).
- 36** Jacqui Miller, “Algonquin College faces huge bill to implement equal-pay law,” Ottawa Citizen, December 28, 2017.
- 37** Peter Hicks, “Measuring poverty? Let’s get empirical,” Policy Options (IRPP), January 4, 2018 (accessed January 4, 2018 at <http://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/january-2018/measuring-poverty-lets-get-empirical/>).
- 38** Statistics Canada, Guide to the Labour Force Survey 2012 (accessed January 3, 2018 at <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/71-543-g/71-543-g2012001-eng.pdf>).
- 39** These and all (similar) subsequent statements about working conditions, were submitted by university and college workers in response to our online survey, referenced later in this report.



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