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**Responding to Change,
Assessing Difference: A Review
of the Literature on Professors at
Canadian Universities**

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Executive Summary

The following literature review examines the current state of scholarly research on university faculty in Canada, or the *Canadian professoriate*. Since the 1970's more than 300 publications have been produced by faculty, government agencies and professional associations, examining the experiences and perceptions of Canadian faculty. This review highlights the exponential growth in research on Canadian within the following themes:

- Equity and Diversity
- Employment Policy
- Ongoing Changes

There is substantial research on the experiences of women academics, as well as the working conditions and political opinions of Canadian faculty. The research indicates that significant changes have occurred in the prestige of academic work, the political actions and attitudes of faculty and number of academics available in Canada. This review concludes by highlighting several areas where further research is needed as Canadian faculty face the pressures global competition and the ascendancy of the knowledge economy.

Introduction

The higher education landscape in Canada continues to shift and evolve as institutions and stakeholders respond to societal change and government policy. The changes are many: massification and student diversity; internationalization and global competition; heightened research culture and the knowledge economy. University professors are at the center of these changes. In Canada, the professoriate is a heterogeneous group that takes on a *mélange* of roles. Professors are at once autonomous intellectuals, university employees, instructors of young minds and producers of new knowledge and critical analysis, distinct roles which promise to shape our understanding of the world, and the next generation of professionals, scientists, advocates, and educated citizens. In this vein, a growing number of scholars have sought to understand the experiences and perceptions of Canada's professoriate, a population that is shaped and altered by societal changes as it shapes and influences society.

In the study of Canadian higher education, focused research on the professoriate emerged in the 1970's and has increased steadily over the past 40 years. Like many aspects of Canadian higher education, however, this literature on Canada's professoriate has been developed by diverse scholars, at geographically diverse institutions, with little coordination among groups. Between the various studies, there are also frequently large divides in terms of methodology and scope; research endeavours range from cross-national data sets to auto-ethnography and program evaluations. To date, there have been few attempts at synthesizing these diverse contributions.

Research Question and Methods

The aim of this paper is to provide a comprehensive review of the current literature on Canadian university professors. It has been thirty years since (Lennards, 1990) conducted his survey of the Academic Profession in Canada and 10 years since Canada, alongside 18 of other countries, participated in the Changing Academic Profession (CAP) survey (Metcalf, Fisher, Jones, Gringas, Rubenson & Snee,

2016). Efforts are currently underway to distribute an updated version of the latter survey, with a new focus on Canada's professoriate in the knowledge economy. On the eve of this project it seems important to undertake a systematic review of current literature, clarifying the distinct features of Canada's professoriate and their changing perceptions and practices. Accordingly, this review centers on the question:

What is the current state of literature on university professors in Canada?

This review was conducted in three phases: a) search of the literature, b) classification of themes and, c) synthesis of the data (Hart, 1998). For the first phase, the main sources of literature were books and scholarly articles on *Canadian professors, Canadian faculty, the Canadian professoriate and Canadian scientists*. Although there is a growing body of research on the administrative work faculty undertake, this review does not examine these roles (ie. deans or department chairs). The studies cited in this review come from a range of sources, the largest repository being found in the *Canadian Journal of Higher Education*. Studies can also be found in other journals of education and those of related disciplines. Where relevant, this review also references professor-related news stories, reports from professional organizations and studies on the professoriate from other countries.

During the second phase of this review, the compiled literature were read, summarized and sorted according to their primary theme. The themes that emerged were grouped around the following areas diversity and equity, employment policy and ongoing changes in the academic profession. In many cases there was significant overlap between the themes. The next section of this paper concludes by modeling the relationships between the main themes and their subcategories.

Finally, specific attention was given to studies with the largest amount of data or regularized inquiry on the professoriate. These studies were analyzed comparatively to develop a synthesis of knowledge on Canada's professoriate and a deeper understanding of this segment of the university population. This synthesis is presented in the final section on overarching trends.

Background: The Development of Scholarship on Professors at Canadian Universities

Canadian Higher Education

Prior to the Second World War, higher education institutions in Canada were relatively few in number. A modest group of publically-funded institutions, established through charters in each province, were the prominent seats of higher learning. In addition to these “public” universities, a larger number of small-scale, private institutions provided higher education in affiliation with religious denominations. After WWII, the expansion of public higher education became a key policy area and during the 1960’s and 1970’s new publically-funded universities were established in most provinces.

One of the defining features of the higher education landscape in Canada is its decentralization. Higher education is the domain of provincial governments and universities are largely autonomous. In this situation, it is impossible to speak of a Canadian system of higher education. Rather, each province has developed its own distinct relationship with its universities and colleges, who in turn contribute to shaping their provincial system (Jones, 1997). Accordingly, the professional experiences of Canadian faculty are most often shaped by provincial and institutional policies. Despite the ongoing call from stakeholders for a federal higher education strategy, specifically to strengthen Canada’s global position, the majority of research on university professors in Canada is still largely focused on institutional or provincial experiences. Thus, few universal descriptions or causal relationships can be applied to all Canadian faculty when researching their experience, work, conditions of employment or their views on the academic profession.

1950’s

The earliest systematic scholarly inquiry and writing on the Canadian professoriate emerged in the 1950’s and fell into main two categories: quantitative data collected by institutions and historical work

in the form of biographical memoirs of professors or university histories. Although the latter are given less attention in this review, there is certainly room for a comprehensive study of professor's memoirs; they offer an historic portrait of Canadian professors and their universities.¹

In contrast, quantitative data collection grew steadily during this era and focused on the number of university professors in each province and their demographic characteristics. This data was primarily collected at individual universities and many institutions created offices for institutional research specifically mandated to collect statistics for the university, such as student enrolment and faculty demographics. Starting in 1956, the federal government also began to collect data on, what were termed, university teachers (Scarfe & Sheffield, 1977).

This interest in large-scale data collection was directly related to the growing public concern in the 1950's about an impending increase in student enrolment that would require new professors. The year 1956 saw the National Conference of Canadian Universities (NCCU) host a conference on the pending enrolment "crisis" in higher education (Jones, Weinrib, Gopaul, Metcalfe, Fisher, Gringas, & Rubenson, 2014). To address this concern, more federal money was committed to the higher education sector and data collection on faculty and student numbers became an essential strategy to understand, plan and manage the massification of the sector.

Beyond these attempts at a data collection, there was little scholarly interest in understanding the perceptions or experiences of university professors, a void that led Stortz and Panayotidis (2006) to argue a "lack of any serious historical studies of the professoriate is salient in Canada," (p.6).

1960's & 1970's

Although some Canadian universities experienced aspects of the social and political upheaval frequently associated with the 1960's in United States, scholarship on Canadian professors during this era is largely

¹ An extensive list of the memoirs of Canadian professors, from the mid-1800's until the early 21st Century, is provided in the bibliography of *Historical Identities: The Professoriate in Canada* (Stortz & Panayotidis, 2006).

absent. Robson's (1966) book, *Sociological Factors Affecting Recruitment into the Academic Profession*, in one of the few publications examining the nature of academic work in Canada, in this case as perceived by PhD students. Instead, during the 1960's, most discussions of the professoriate were limited to fairly vocal public debates among professional associations questioning processes such as the "Canadianization" of professors or salary equity for women (Scarfe & Sheffield, 1977). The former, in response to the increasing employment of foreign academics in Canadian universities in order to meet the demands of rapidly expanding enrolment, and the latter in response to the growing realization that female academics were frequently treated as second-class citizens within the male-dominated environment of the university.

In the 1970's a few studies were conducted exploring the working conditions of faculty and the growing importance of unions in advocating for the improvements of working conditions (Carrigan, 1977; Penner, 1978). This was, in part, due to the rapid increase in enrolment and the creation of new institutions which had led to a noticeable divide between faculty and administrators. In addition, the recession of the early 1970s had a serious impact on government funding for universities and led to concerns that budget pressures might negatively impact faculty salaries and job security. Administrators were often considered insensitive to the needs of faculty in the execution of their executive duties and unions were established across the country to advocate for improved working conditions of professors (Buchbinder & Newson, 1985).

The most comprehensive picture of Canada's professors during this time is found in a paper by Scarfe and Sheffield's (1977) which draws on Statistics Canada data on university teachers to present the main characteristics of Canadian professors during the period from 1950 to 1975. These authors show the overall growth in the number of university professors, the changing professor-student ratio and the age, gender and citizenship of professors. They also discuss the selection and preparation of professors, compare salaries, tenure and promotion processes, and examine professional or political affiliations.

Scarfe and Sheffield can be noted as a first attempt to compile the disparate literature on university professors as they bring together Statistics Canada research with the studies by Robson (1966; Robson & Lapointe, 1971) detailing salary divides by gender and the academic aspirations of Canadian PhD students. In the sections below, Scarfe and Sheffield’s findings are compared with more recent research to present a picture of Canadian professors since the 1950’s.

1980-Present: Growth in Scholarly Inquiry

In the 1980’s, scholarship on the professoriate in Canada began to explore the dynamic shifts that were occurring in higher education and the impact of these changes on university faculty. That decade saw just over a dozen studies published on topics such as the position of women, the development and impact of unionization, and academic freedom. Figure 1 illustrates the exponential growth of publications on Canadian professors between the years 1970 and 2009.

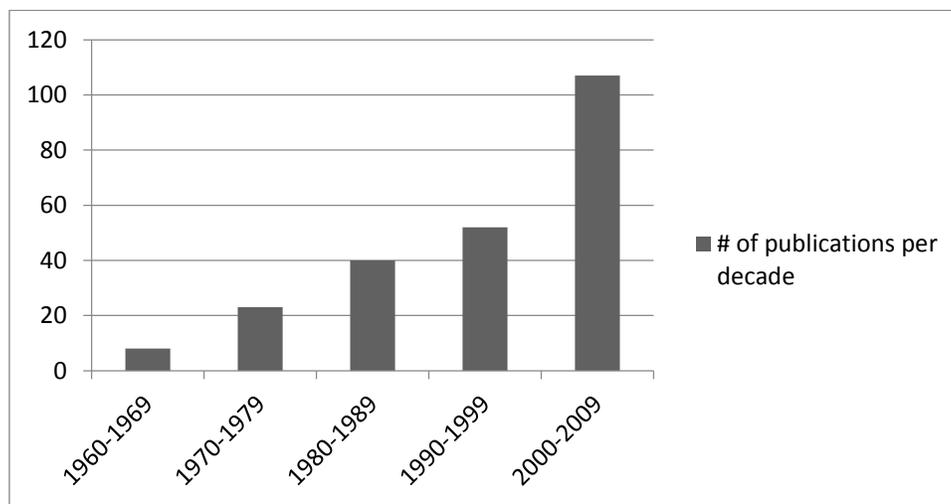


Figure 1: Increase in the number of publications on professors per decade, 1970-2009

Current Themes in Scholarship

The number of studies on the Canadian professoriate has continued to increase in recent decades and so has the scope of this research, often in response to the changes faced by universities. Since the 1980's the emergent literature has addressed the following themes:

- experiences of women and historically-underrepresented groups
- political actions and attitudes of professors
- employment policies including unionization, tenure, sessional instructors and academic freedom
- ongoing changes in the academic profession related to the nature of work and faculty satisfaction

Many of these themes are closely related to one another, often emerging as parallel responses to two overarching shifts in higher education: massification and global competition. For example, the rise in student enrolment, and subsequently faculty, between 1950 and 1980 increased campus diversity and emphasized the need for research examining the experiences of women and other historically underrepresented groups. Many of the ensuing studies aligned in their theoretical approaches, drawing on Feminist and Marxist theory. There has also been considerable overlap between this research and the research on unionization, again growing in response to the call for equity amid diversity at universities. After 1995 much of the academic scholarship on Canadian faculty examines how the nature of academic work is changing in response to globalization, particularly the global competition in research productivity and global rankings. Figure 2 shows how the main themes in research on the Canadian professoriate and the relationship between these themes and the major changes to Canadian higher education in the past 70 years. The following sections provide a review of the significant studies related to each theme.

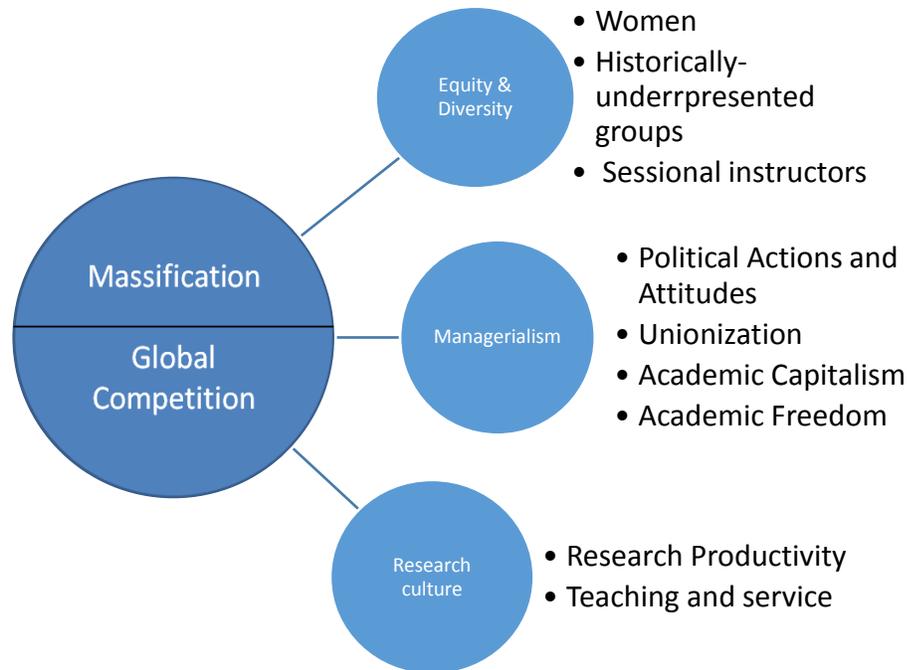


Figure 2: The main themes in scholarship on Canadian university professors.

Equity amid Diversity: Historically Under-represented Groups

In the decades following World War Two, Canadian higher education expanded rapidly. Groups that had previously been under-represented at universities were admitted, increasing the diversity of students and subsequently faculty. However, the arrival of these groups highlighted systematic disparities in working conditions and career trajectories between traditional faculty and new hires. Women, as well as ethnic and religious minorities have been the creators and subjects of numerous studies that seek to understand the experiences of historically-underrepresented groups.

Women Faculty

The ongoing struggle of women academics for equality and recognition has been an active area of research for several leading scholars of higher education in Canada. Their commitment has expanded

this theme rapidly and in 2017 approximately 20 percent of the overall research on the Canadian professoriate examined the experiences and working conditions of Canada’s women faculty.

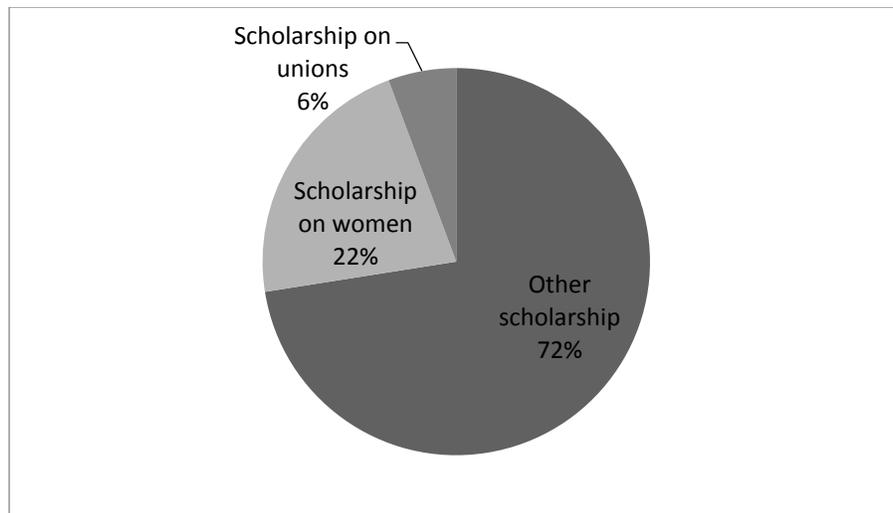


Figure 3: Scholarship on women faculty’s experience is the largest research area in studies on the Canadian professoriate

Despite the current volume of research, this line of scholarship on the position of women did not really emerge until the late 1980’s. Most of the earliest research on women at Canadian universities were quantitative studies commissioned by faculty unions and professional associations as part of the advocacy for salary parity and professional promotion for women (Boyd, 1979; Katz, 1984; Payton, 1975; Vickers & Adam, 1977). This research has little relation with subsequent scholarship, much of which employed a historic analysis to tell the story of women’s participation at one specific institution (Fingard, 1985; Ford, 1985; Gillett, 1981; Kinnear, 1992; L. Stewart, 1990).

Apart from these studies, few systematic inquiries were conducted on the experiences of Canadian women professors. One study of note is Breslauer’s (1985), chapter in *The Professoriate: Occupation in Crisis* (Watson, 1985). Breslauer makes an effort to synthesize the early reports above to show employment trends for women academics in the Ontario context. She presents a fairly bleak picture of women at Canada’s universities. Women had lower salaries, lower positions in the university

hierarchy and still faced the same pressures as their male counterparts in the 1980's such as underfunding and enrolment increases. Breslauer notes that women's career trajectories often preclude them from consideration by hiring committees because of "messy vitae syndrome" as evidenced by gaps in employment due to childbearing or moving locations for spouses' jobs.

Over the past twenty years, the largest number of publications on the position of women professors in Canada has been contributed by Sandra Acker at the Ontario Institute of Studies in Education, University of Toronto. Acker's work examines broader demographic changes at institutions and how these influence women's efforts for equality (Acker, 1997; 2000; 2003a; 2003b; 2004; 2005; 2010; 2012; Acker & Dillabough, 2007; Acker & Armenti, 2004; Acker, Wagner, & Mayuzumi, 2008). Acker's early work in the 1990's was based on in depth interviews with female and male professors at five faculties of education across Canada (Acker & Feuerverger, 1997; 1996). She found that women professors often, "take greater responsibility for the nurturing and housekeeping side of academic life," a role that many do not find fulfilling but rather hindering to their professional advancement (Acker & Feuerverger, 1996, p.401). Her more recent scholarship has also outlined the difficult progression of women through the academic ranks, their struggles with tenure, and later as chairs and administrators (Acker, 2012; 2014; Wyn, Acker, & Richards, 2000).

Other scholars have contributed to the research on Canadian women academics in recent years by examining the challenges of balancing the demands of an academic career, achieving tenure and raising a family (Acker, Webber, & Smyth, 2012; Armenti, 2004; Penney et al., 2015; Stewart, Ornstein, & Drakich, 2009). There has even been interest in the wives of high profile administrators (Prentice, 2006) and their contribution to professional fields (Smyth, Acker, Bourne, & Prentice, 1999). While many of these studies were conducted by education scholars, there has also been occasional interest from scholars in other departments with studies exploring the position of women in schools of geosciences (Nentwich, 2010), computer science (Sterman, 2009), physics (Prentice, 1996) and schools of business

(Orser, 1992). Several studies have also been conducted examining the historical experiences of women at Canadian universities. Smyth (2006) tells the story of women from religious orders who participated in higher education in the early 20th Century while Ainsley (2006) explores the experiences of women in science in English-speaking Canada.

Currently, the majority of studies on women professors at Canadian universities do not heavily emphasize the Canadian context in their analyses. Rather, the inquiries tend to use a Canadian sample, drawing on data obtained from extensive interviews, to explore the experiences of female professors generally (Muzzin, 2001; Nentwich, 2010) rather than to assess how the Canadian context might shape the distinct experiences of women professors. There is room for an in depth exploration of how the experiences of women professors in Canada are shaped by the distinct features of Canadian institutions and Canada's higher education sector in more broadly.

Intersecting Research

The research on academic women in Canada has often mirrored broader trends in feminist writing in examining where gender identity intersects with professors' other important identities. As early as 1983, for example, Wine wrote about the experiences of lesbian academics in Ontario. She found that the "mad liberalism" of Canadian universities, provided a relatively safe space for lesbian academics in comparison to other levels of education. Likewise, Duder (2006) explores the same-sex relationships of female professors, using a historical lens to understand how lesbians were perceived in the early 20th Century.

The experiences of academic women in other minority groups has been examined by Kobayashi (2002) and the experiences Asian-Canadian women specifically by Mayuzumi (2011). The phenomenological orientation of many of these studies provides a foundation for examining the experiences of small groups, defined by a set of defining characteristics or categories. Mahtani's (2004)

comparative study of women of colour in geography departments is a case in point. She examined the experiences of this particular population in Canada, the UK and US, a distinct group identified by features that strongly influence their experience of academic work. A common finding across many of these studies is the isolation of women who belong to minority groups. Several studies strongly recommend that more women of colour be hired across departments, and call for the creation of mentorship programs to support their development throughout their academic careers.

Racialized or Minority Groups

Although the majority of research on diversity in the Canadian academy has focused on women's experiences, there are a few important pieces that examine the experiences of racialized or minority groups (Henry & Tator, 2009; Samuel & Wane, 2005; Spafford, Nygaard, Gregor, & Boyd, 2006). Studies present the stories of indigenous faculty (Henry, 2012), the spirituality of racial minority groups (Shahjahan, 2010) and the responses of the community to affirmative action policies (Katchanovski, Nevitte, & Rothman, 2015). It is widely accepted that Canada has a lack of national data on the ethnic or racial background of university faculty. In 2012, Henry & Kobayashi (2012) conducted a manual search of five university websites, using photo and name profiling to determine the ethno-racial categories of faculty and the disciplines in which particular groups are more likely to work. They found that the most common ethnic groups to which Canada's minority faculty belonged were Chinese, South Asian, Arab and Black. Furthermore, the largest proportion of minority faculty works in engineering and business departments. Henry and Kobayashi strongly critique the simplicity of available categories for identifying faculty's ethnic affiliations and they call for more data collection and more nuanced options for faculty identification.

Political Actions and Attitudes

A recurring theme, and one that has received attention in several large-scale, national studies, examines the political actions and attitudes of Canada's university professors. This research has some similarities to the research on faculty attitudes toward unionization below, but tends to be more concerned with professors as public intellectuals and instructors, rather than public employees fighting for improved working conditions and job security. At the heart of this research is an attempt to understand professors' political stance, whether they are Wine's "mad" liberals (1983) or just slightly left-leaning in comparison to the rest of the Canadian population.

Scarfe and Sheffield (1977) were the first scholars to call for research linking political action to the distinct characteristics of Canadian professors. Their 1977 publication examines political views as one of seven themes and seeks to ameliorate the public opinion that Canadian professors rarely contribute to political activities. This opinion was widely circulated by sociologist John Porter (1965) in his book *The Vertical Mosaic*. Porter and other scholars argued that even radical professors, from other jurisdictions, who were recruited to Canada became apolitical once they immigrated due to the "on set of middle age and the quest for respectability, inability to vote in Canadian elections, and the Canadian countryside with its beaver, trout and cottages," (p. 354). In response, Scarfe and Sheffield argue that Canada's university and government sectors in fact complement each other with their similar recruitment processes, focus on publishing and research, and committee structure. They point to the frequent involvement of academics on commissions and advisory bodies and suggest that rather than opposing the government, Canadian academics take an active, legitimate role in policy advising. Several decades later, Michiel Horn (2006) also embarked on a project to challenge Porter's criticisms. Horn provides the most extensive historical overview of professors' political participation from 1887 to 1968. He argues that while Canadian professors were often reticent to participate in politics or challenge authority, this was linked to the contemplative nature of their jobs and the receipt of government funding. The complicated political relationship between Canadian professors and the state is also taken

up in further studies exploring the relationship between professors, the state and law enforcement (Hewitt, 2002; Owram, 1986).

Large-scale Data Collection

The research on the political involvement of the professoriate from the 1970's drew on little empirical evidence to confirm its arguments. This lack of data is highlighted by Nakhaie and Brym (1999) in their article on the same theme, *The Political Attitudes of Canadian Professors*. They critique previous studies for being the result of deductive reasoning instead of based on data. To rectify this, Nakhaie and Brym use data from Lennards' (1990) *Academic Profession in Canada Survey* to consider the political attitudes of professors across Canada. They look specifically at professors' opinions about faculty unionization, faculty militancy and faculty salary egalitarianism. They also examine professor's self-positioning on a left-right political scale. Writing at the end of the 1990's, these authors have quite a different rationale than Scarfe and Sheffield. They are drawn to their analysis by the divide they perceive between Canadian faculty that are growing more radical, evidenced by strike action, and those that appear to be more conservative as they refuse to form unions. Nakhaie and Brym connect their study to the broader American literature that seeks to explain professor's political views through a Marxist, class analysis. They conclude that the Canadian case is distinct and suggest:

The most left-leaning professors in Canada tend to be those who originated in lower classes and now occupy lower-class positions in the academic hierarchy. They tend to be professors who specialize in fields other than applied science and business. They tend to be Québécois and women. They tend not to identify with the dominant religious groups in Canadian society, (p.342).

In a far more limited study, Jones (1993) surveyed all faculty at the University of Toronto on their political activities. He found that roughly one third of faculty were engaged in the

political/policy process in some way, ranging from providing policy advice to government, to working with pressure groups that were directly involved in policy advocacy.

In 2000, Nakhaie went on to conduct his own survey of *The Academic Profession in Canada* with 3318 professors representing 12 distinct strata of Canadian regions and institutions. The survey questions examined professor's socio-demographics, socio-economic background, political orientation as well as opinions on gender and ethnic inequality. Over the next decade Nakhaie used this data as a foundation for a number of publications on topics ranging from faculty opinions on equity policy to analyzing the gender divide (Brym & Nakhaie, 2009; Nakhaie, 2002; 2007; Nakhaie & Adam, 2008; Nakhaie & Brym, 2011). Nakhaie's findings also present a picture of the Canadian "left-leaning" professor as someone who teaches in education, social sciences or humanities, does not identify as "other" and is "basically opposed" to religion. He concludes that:

"These findings support the theory that left-leaning academics tend to be individuals who (1) are disadvantaged along one or more status dimensions (gender and age are most apparent in our study); and (2) enter disciplines that have a distinct leftist orientation and that socialize new recruits accordingly," (p.26).

The scholarship on the political attitudes of professors in Canada offers one of the few quantitative threads scholars can follow over several years to understand the position of Canada's professors as public intellectuals and activists. It is interesting to note that compared to several other themes, their work does not seem to have sparked the same volume of related studies as those that emerged, for example, in response to Acker's work on gender, and further research would be valuable.

Other Disciplines

Although much of the literature on university professors is produced in education faculties, it is fairly common to find a professor in almost every other discipline who has paused briefly from their traditional discipline-based research to reflect on their position as intellectual, teacher or knowledge producer. These studies tend to be somewhat isolated from the broader research on the professoriate and higher education, and few common themes exist within this disparate body of work. On the program evaluation side, Miedzinski, Davis, Al-Shurafa, & Morrison (2001) surveyed the professional development needs of medical and dental professors, and found that most hoped for more instruction in grant-writing. In contrast, Atkinson and el-Guebaly (1996) compared the research productivity of MDs and PhDs in a department of psychiatry. In the field of business, Robie and Keeping (2004) examined professor's perceptions of ethical behavior while Crocker (1985) showed how difficult it was for "home-grown" Canadian business professors to find work in Canada with the global competition of PhD graduates.

Most often, discipline-specific studies have emerged from researchers in the field of education. Several studies examine professors of adult education (Peterson & Wiesenbergs, 2004; 2006; Willie, Copeland, & Williams, 1985) as well as professors of teacher education (Acker, 1997; Acker & Dillabough, 2007; Holland, Quazi, & Stokes, 1985). There are likely additional discipline-specific studies that this review has been unable to identify in our extensive search using common search engines.

Employment Policy

While the above research focuses on the political views and activities of Canadian professors, a parallel line of inquiry considers the employment policies that define the working conditions of Canada's professoriate. Much of this literature is driven by a perception of professors as public university employees, questioning how their work should be compensated, evaluated and rewarded. Since the

1950's, the largest volume of regular data on employment policies was collected by Statistics Canada, unions, professional associations and consulting firms. These organizations offer numerous cross-Canada comparisons of salaries, benefits, tenure processes and academic freedom. More recently, the experiences of sessional or part-time, precarious faculty have also garnered attention. Annual reports and datasets are available on many of the websites which are listed following the bibliography below.

Unionization

Unionization is the dominant theme in research on employment policy at Canadian universities. The founding of faculty unions or associations has taken different forms at different institutions and in different provinces (Tudivor, 1999). However, most unions were formed in response to similar changes: budget cutbacks, the deterioration of working conditions and the professionalization of administration, distancing them from professors. Quebec experienced the earliest and most widespread adoption of unions with the creation of the Université du Québec (UQAM) network in 1970. The UQAM faculty union was accredited in 1970 and, in 1971, became the first academic union in Canada to affiliate with a central or federal union, the Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux (CSN) (Gill, 2016). This period marked the professionalization of the academic profession and, according to Vidricaire, (1996) these new professionals wanted to decide the socio-economic conditions of their participation in the welfare state. For Denis (1996), this unionization process was made possible by the massification of university enrolment and, consequently, the massification of faculty hiring.

The rapid development of unions in Quebec was also characterized by strikes and judicial recourse. In 1976, there was a 107-days strike of professors at Université Laval and a 122-days strike at UQAM (Gill, 2016). From the 1980s, salary negotiations were mediated by external organizations, such as the Government (Denis, 1996). Local faculty unions increasingly rely on judicial recourse to defend

their members, heading to court over teaching duties, sabbatical years and job openings (Vidricaire, 1996).

Across Canada many unions originated as collective bargaining agents for salaries and benefits, but soon became advocacy organizations for academic freedom and tenure as well. Collective agreements became a mechanism for developing transparent administrative processes dealing with key elements of academic work, including faculty appointments, tenure, promotion and workload. In the 1970's, as unionization grew steadily across Canada, some academics questioned whether unionization would be detrimental to Canadian higher education, being either too much the tool of the working class or a threat to academic freedom (Penner, 1978; Woods, 1975). Legislation in some provinces, such as British Columbia and Alberta prevented or limited collective bargaining in provincially-supported universities. However, by the mid-2000's more than 80 percent of Canadian faculty belonged to unions, and at some non-unionized institutions formal agreements between the university and the faculty association dealt with some of the same issues found in collective agreements, obviously designed to address the concerns of the faculty while avoiding formal unionization. This is a distinct contrast to the US context in which only 20.7 percent of professors at universities or four-year colleges were represented by unions during the same period (Katchanovski, Rothman, & Nevitte, 2011). Currently, Canadian higher education is one of the most unionized sectors in the nation (Butovsky, Savage, & Webber, 2015).

There have been a considerable number of scholarly articles, books and theses on the formation of unions at Canadian universities. Among these, a few authors have set out to chronicle the founding of unions, employing an historical analysis to understand why unionization occurred at specific institutions at specific times, detailing the rationales of stakeholders and emergent political trends (Abbot, 1985; Buchbinder & Newson, 1985; Bufton, 2013; Michiel Horn, 1994; Tudivor, 1999).

Other studies have sought to understand the shifting attitudes of faculty to unionization. (Butovsky, Savage, & Webber, 2015; Lennards, 1990; Nahkaie, 1999) In 1984 Ponak and Thompson embarked on the first pan-Canadian study, surveying 1400 unionized faculty at six Canadian universities. They found professors valued collective bargaining for the protection it “provide[s] against arbitrary administrative action,” (Ponak & Thompson, 1984, p. 460) and the increase in salaries. In contrast to later research (Nakhaie & Adams, 2008), Ponak and Thompson did not link support for unions to broader demographic factors. They concluded that “discipline, rank and tenure, socio-economic background and research orientation are not strong predictors of bargaining attitudes,” (p.461). Further research by Ponak, Thompson and Zerbe in 1992 found that faculty supported union involvement, “on a narrow range of issues involving money, job security and grievance procedures,” (1992, p.415) but had confidence in the traditional governance structures of the university to decide on academic matters.

In a similar study, Katchanovski, Rothman, & Nevitte (2011) employed data from the 1999 North American Academic Study Survey (conducted by the Angus Reid) to compare the attitudes of Canadian and American faculty toward unions and collective bargaining. The Canadian component of the telephone survey sampled 1514 faculty and 280 administrators. The survey found Canadian professors are significantly more pro-union than their US colleagues. The support of the senior academic administration is important in both contexts, but Canadian administrators are more likely to be pro-union than those in the USA. This study also found that faculty with lower incomes and those in the social sciences are more likely to support unions.

A more recent study by Butovsky, et al. (2015) surveyed faculty at four undergraduate universities in Ontario and found that professors are satisfied with their position in unions but prefer not to expand their position to broader political issues. These authors extrapolate from these findings to highlight a growing divide between economic and political organizing amongst Canadian professors. They argue: “...there exists a lack of urgency among university professors to use their unions in a

broader social struggle to combat neoliberalism.... [however] mounting austerity will undoubtedly continue to push faculty unions and their members out of their traditional comfort zones as they confront challenges related to government funding cuts, threats to autonomy, and the growing precarious nature of academic labor,” (Butovsky et al., 2015, p. 262).

Salaries

Research on the salaries of Canadian faculty has been one area in which empirical data has been collected for decades. Unions and professional associations have claimed a stake in salary scholarship in relation to their advocacy. Comparisons are common in such studies, either between institutions, departments or with other countries. The salaries of professors in both Ontario and Quebec have been the subject of repeated study (Conseil, 2009; Martinello, 2009; McAdie, 1985) and pan-Canadian data was collected for the 2007 Changing Academic Profession (CAP) survey (Weinrib & Jones, 2012). Jones & Weinrib (2012) use data collected by Statistics Canada to show Canadian faculty are remunerated well for their work, particularly when compared with their international colleagues. However, there are still noticeable salary gaps between universities, institutional types, gender and region. Although the majority of advocacy related to salaries is the purview of the unions, some are calling for merit-based salaries to increase research production in response to the pressures of the knowledge economy (Chant, 2005). In 2011, the federal government decreased the funding and scope of Statistics Canada, significantly reducing their data collection on higher education. Data on faculty salaries is no longer collected but there have been promises from the current (2017) federal government to resume collecting data in this category.

Sessional Faculty

While universities have long employed part-time faculty on contract, by the 1980's, this category of university worker began to play a larger role on campuses and became a growing concern for full-time faculty and unions. These *limited-term, sessional* or *part-time* instructors were hired by the university to teach on short-term contracts, an administrative response to increased enrolment and stagnant funding (Dobbie & Robinson, 2008; Muzzin, 2008). As early as 1985, Breslauer refers to this population as "gypsy scholar" (p.91), to connote their lack of belonging to one institution.

Although much of the recent writing on this population comes from the USA where the use of part-time, sessional instructors is higher than in Canada (Field, Jones, Karram Stephenson, & Khoyetsyan, 2014) several key Canadian authors have focused on this phenomenon, exploring the distinct features of sessional instructors in Canada (Jacques, 1992; Puplampu, 2004). Rajagopaul has contributed the largest amount of scholarship on this in topic (1989; 1992; 2002; 2004). Her research looked specifically at limited-term, full-time (LTFT) instructors who taught full course loads and were active in departmental administration, but had little guarantee that their contract would be renewed each year. She surveyed 816 LTFTs across Canada and found that they suffered from, "heavier teaching loads, insecurity caused by contract status, little input into or control over teaching assignments, lack of time for research, relegation of their research role, and their consequent devaluation as "teaching-only" faculty," (Rajagopaul, 2004, p. 18).

More recently, the working conditions of part-time instructors in Ontario have been explored in reports funded by the Higher Education Quality Council of Ontario and the Ontario Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities (Field et al., 2014; Field & Jones, 2016). The report by Field, Jones, Karram Stephenson and Khoyetsyan (2014) systematically reviewed the collective bargaining documents of unions and faculty association at 20 universities in Ontario to develop a picture of the working conditions of sessional or non-full-time instructors. They distinguish between classic and precarious faculty: those who teach courses as a side job to their professional or retirement activities, and those

who hope for a full-time job and teach sessionally while they wait. The unionization of sessional instructors has increased in recent years. Sessional instructors are represented in different ways by the unions or faculty associations at their institutions; some institutions have distinct bargaining units for their sessional instructors while other are represented in their faculty associations. In a later study, Field and Jones (2016) conducted the most systematic research on this topic in the Canadian context. Their mixed method study examined the experiences of sessional faculty at 12 universities across Ontario, conducting 1641 surveys and 52 interviews. They found that the more than 60% of sessional instructors are women and the majority hold PhD's, a shift from Rajagopaul's earlier research. Their findings also suggest that classic faculty are less likely to have a PhD than precarious faculty. Their work emphasizes many of the challenges faced by sessional faculty and the process of "giving up" on the idea of ever receiving a full-time faculty job.

Two helpful doctoral theses have also been written exploring the motivations and experiences of sessional instructors (Burge, 2016; Cope Watson, 2013). This topic is of continued importance to many institutions, unions and professional associations. Pan-Canadian data is needed to explore the distinct features and experiences of sessional instructors in across provinces and chart a new path towards equitable hiring practices.

Academic Freedom

In the occasional circumstance that Canadian professors are at the center of controversy, the most contentious are when academic freedom is in question (Lexier, 2002; Turk, 2014). From the firing of Harry Crowe to the censuring of Nancy Olivieri, threats to academic freedom, more than any other concern, have the power to unify a professoriate that is frequently splintered along disciplinary lines. Yet, before the year 2000, few scholarly publications existed on the academic freedom of Canadian professors. Writing on academic freedom was largely the domain of professional associations like the

Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT) who had written and advocated widely on the issue. To date, the most comprehensive resource on this topic is Horn's (2002) *Academic freedom, academic tenure, university autonomy, and university governance in Canada*. This biography is an excellent compilation of Canadian research and Horn also contributes an extensive history of academic freedom and tenure in his book *Academic Freedom in Canada: A History* (1999).

More recently, significant attention has been called to the censoring of scientific research conducted by government scientists during the leadership of former Prime Minister Stephen Harper (2006-2015). Many of the government's statistical databases and archives lost funding or were closed down altogether, while environmental research that was perceived to hinder the economy was censored (Turner, 2013). Other studies on academic freedom examine the privileged position of university versus college professors (Hogan & Trotter, 2013), the place of academic freedom in an inclusive university (Bankier, 2000) and influence of course evaluations on academic freedom (Coren, 2000).

Tenure

Alongside the research on Academic Freedom, the research on tenure and career progression in Canada is relatively sparse. The unions and professional associations began the conversation in their advocacy work in the 1970's but scholarship on its implications has been slower to emerge. Horn's extensive bibliography on Academic Freedom also provides a substantial reference list on tenure policies and procedures (Horn, 2002). In 1998 Hum argued that tenure is an essential policy protecting older faculty from dismissal in the face of younger talent, and enabling older faculty to participate in hiring younger talent without sensing they are being replaced. Hum concludes by suggesting that the Canadian tenure process has many helpful components although he does offer a few suggestions to changing the weighting of teaching or research to reflect professors' workload. In contrast, Acker, Webber and

Smyth (2012) position tenure as part of a broader culture of managerialism and accountability in which tenure is, “an apparatus of regulation,” (744). They argue that academics are constantly under evaluation and the authors’ detail the severe anxiety this fosters.

In addition to these studies on the nature and impact of tenure, Gravestock (2011) argues that tenure evaluation needs to consider teaching performance not just research production. She provides a detailed analysis of tenure policies within collective agreements at English-language universities across the country and highlights important differences in how institutions address the assessment of teaching. She provides concrete recommendations on how to improve this key component of the tenure process. Apart from these studies there is currently very little research on tenure policy and procedure in the Canadian context.

Ongoing Changes in the Academic Profession: Prestige, Satisfaction, Teaching & Research

In the late 1990’s the research on Canadian professors made a noticeable shift from a focus on data collection and demographics to examining more deeply how professors at Canadian universities perceived their experiences in the midst of institutional and societal change. Foremost among the drivers of change is globalization with its ascendancy of a world-wide knowledge economy. This shift from the production of goods and services to the production of knowledge, has repositioned universities as engines of economic growth and heightened the pressure for their professors to engage in knowledge production. Canadian professors have certainly not been immune to these changes and several key studies have examined the changing nature of academic work in light of these global trends. These studies are particularly helpful in understanding how the prestige of full-time faculty in Canada has increased at the same time as institutional definitions of who a successful, full-professors should be, have become narrower.

Prestige and Satisfaction

In Canada, the relative prestige of professors has changed dramatically as have surrounding conversations about the desirability of academic work and the merit of those who conduct it. In the introduction to their book, *Historical Identities: the Professoriate in Canada*, Stortz and Panayotidis (2006) reference a 1942 article in a student newspaper that labeled professors as “rather a sorry lot,” of “ivory towerists,”(p.3). It is perhaps not surprising then that in the 1950’s and 1960’s academic work was not highly sought by the younger generation, being viewed as “pleasant, steady and safe, but not particularly challenging or exciting,” (Robson, 1966, p. 269). Neatby (1985) attributes the negative opinion of academic work during this era to the waning of postwar fervor and plateauing of enrolment numbers as veterans graduated. He also suggests that by the late 1950’s professors’ salaries had not kept up with the cost of living and there was little funding for private offices let alone research or travel.

It is quite impressive that by the 1980’s this narrative had changed. Thorsen’s (1985) study of professors’ workplace stress, based on interviews with nine chairpersons, revealed strong opinions that academic work was “too good to leave,” (p.158) and in 1985 professors were a healthy, productive group in spite of workplace stress. Although Thorsen’s sample was small, the appeal of academic work in Canada was a line of inquiry in Lennards’ (1990) survey of the *Academic Profession in Canada* as well as the 2007 Changing Academic Professions (CAP) Survey (Weinrib, Jones, Metcalfe, Fisher, Gingras, Rubenson, & Snee, 2012).

Lennards’ and his colleague Bates at the Institute for Social Research at York University surveyed 5217 full-time faculty across Canada in the mid-1980’s on a range of factors from personal demographics to job satisfaction. They found that 85% of full time faculty were Canadian citizens. However, senior faculty were more likely to be born or educated elsewhere while junior faculty were more likely to be born and trained in Canada. Slightly more than half of all faculty indicated a religious

affiliation although many described a process of secularization. Most faculty who spoke French also had a strong knowledge of English while few of those who spoke English were proficient in French. Overall, faculty were very satisfied with their jobs and much of this satisfaction was attributed to their autonomy in research and teaching. Although faculty indicated a high level of satisfaction with their professional activities, 60% critiqued their departments for declining morale. Negative interactions between faculty and administration were one of the key factors attributed to this decline. Finally, the average number of hours faculty worked each week was 43. This includes teaching, research and administration. It is interesting to note that few faculty received income from consulting activities outside the university, though roughly a third are involved in these activities.

Central Findings of the CAP Survey

More recently the CAP survey, administered in 2007 examined the experiences of 1152 full-time professors across Canada. This study has contributed the largest number of publications on the Canadian professoriate in the last decade. In terms of job satisfaction, it found that 74% of Canadian faculty feel they have high or very high job satisfaction levels and would choose the same career if they had the chance to make the decision again (Weinrib, Jones, Metcalfe, Fisher, Gingras, Rubenson, & Snee, 2012).

The findings from the CAP survey have led to a variety publications ranging from professor's perspectives on governance (Metcalfe et al., 2010; 2011) to the differences in research productivity by gender (Padilla-González, Metcalfe, Galaz-Fontes, Fisher, & Snee, 2011). This survey was part of a larger, international research project intended to compare the academic profession across 19 jurisdictions. Overall the Canadian findings suggest that "... Canadian university faculties are hardworking, productive scholars who have the institutional resources necessary to do their work," (Jones, 2013, p. 78).

Publications from this study have compared data provided by Canadian faculty to parallel data from other jurisdictions and found that Canadian professors work 50.7 hours per week, a longer work week than any other country included in the dataset except South Korea (Jones et al., 2014) and that Canada still has a noticeable gender gap in research productivity when compared with the USA and Mexico (Padilla-González, et al., 2011).

The data from the CAP survey was also used to test some of the assumptions that have surrounded academic work. For instance, Jones, Weinrib, Metcalfe, Fisher, Rubenson, & Snee, (2012) used the data to test the notions that junior faculty take on different roles than their senior colleagues. The data suggested that junior and senior faculty actuality have a similar work load and tasks.

Despite the relatively prestigious position of the academic profession in Canada, the CAP research also revealed that 40% of Canada's professors perceived that the working conditions of academics had deteriorated over their career. Although the remaining 60% did not share this opinion, there is significant evidence that the organizational structures of universities are continuing to change in response to global pressures, altering the nature of professors' work. In Jones' (2013) article on the fragmentation of academic work, he highlights the horizontal fragmentation that has occurred as disciplines operate in distinct spheres with varying levels of prestige and new university personnel, including administrators, student services staff and "quasi-academics" contribute to university decision-making. He describes the vertical fragmentation that has accompanied these changes as a gap in prestige and working conditions has emerged between full-time faculty, sessional lecturers, research associates, and other new categories of academic worker.

Teaching

In Canada the research on teaching and learning in higher education has tended to focus more heavily on learning, following the American literature with its focus on student experience and outcomes. In

these studies professors are less likely to be the unit of analysis, although a handful of publications consider the role of the professors, their willingness to adopt new pedagogy and the process by which they do. In the literature that does exist on Canadian professors and teaching, the most frequent theme is the lack of importance attributed to teaching in the tenure process and university visioning more broadly (Gravestock, 2011; Karpiak, 1996). Kreber (2000) suggests professors learn to integrate their research and teaching as they progress through their careers, but argues there is need for a systemic change to increase the institutional rewards associated with professor's teaching achievements. This call is mirrored in several related studies that describe the zero-sum game professors feel exists between producing research and committing to teaching (Gopaul et al., 2016; Hum, 2000; Osakwe, Keavey, Uzoka, Fedoruk, & Osuji, 2015; Saussez, 2016).

This oft-documented divide between teaching and research is mirrored in the parallel gender divide. Muzzin's (2001) study of pharmacy faculty illuminates the trend towards men being in prestigious research positions while women tend to be positioned as teachers (Muzzin, 2001). Although few studies currently examine the nature of faculty's teaching mantra, Shahjahan's (2010) research on spirituality in teaching practice and Tripp and Muzzin's (2005) work on challenges to traditional biomedical education have begun this discussion.

Clark, Moran, Skolnik and Trick (2009) situate these debates on teaching by exploring the academy's "strong commitments to the complementary relationship between teaching and research," (p.98). They identify a rift between teaching and research that is exacerbated as the global pressures of the knowledge economy demand more research production from research-oriented faculty. They suggest there is a culture of "teaching relief" in academic departments, where researchers are offered grants with the expectation that they may forgo, rather than embrace or increase their teaching loads.

The specific details on how much time Canadian professors spend teaching was identified in the cross-national research of the Changing Academic Profession (Jones, Gopaul, Weinrib, Metcalfe, Fisher,

Gingras & Rubenson, 2014). This study found that Canadian professors spend 12% of their time in teaching-related activities compared with 60% in research-related activities. These numbers speak to the central role Canadian professors play in national research production.

Another theme of growing interest is the role of teaching evaluations on Canadian faculty experiences. One of the earliest scholarly works in this area is Knapper's (1977) book *If Teaching Is Important...: The Evaluation of Instruction in Higher Education*. This edited volume considers what the advent of teaching evaluation means for academic freedom and the position of professors more broadly. In later research, Metcalfe, et al (2010) found course evaluations positioned students as the most influential party in the teaching process. Bernatchez (2009) critiques evaluations, highlighting their role in the marketization of the university. In contrast Iqbal's (2014) research on the peer reviews of teaching, with which professors provide one another, suggests that little critical feedback is exchanged. She attributes this to the desire to maintain peace and protect the scholarly community.

In recent years the Higher Education Quality Council of Ontario (HEQCO) commissioned teaching-related reports on faculty involvement in areas such as work-integrated learning (Peters, 2012; Sattler, 2011), teaching and research production (Jonkers & Hicks, 2014). In particular, the HEQCO-commissioned report by Vajoczki, Fenton, Menard and Pollon (2011) provides a helpful exploration of teaching-stream faculty (TSF) in Ontario's universities. Their findings from both a questionnaire and interviews suggest TSF are very satisfied with their educational role as many had aspired to be TSF in their early careers. Challenges remain to ensure that TSF's are adequately supported and to change institutional cultures that consider TSF to be "second-tier" professors.

Research

In the literature on Canadian professors, research is often presented as a prestigious plateau, an activity that, when done successfully, lifts professors out of the drudgeries of teaching (Clark, et al. 2009). While

this relationship between teaching and research is often critiqued in the scholarship on teaching, the limited scholarship that exists on research skirts this debate. It focuses instead on critiquing the broader global system of competition in higher education that continually pressures professors to increase their research production, despite Canada's continued global position as a top research producer (Clark, Moran, Skolnik & Trick, 2009). The Council of Canadian Academies (2016) reported that Canada ranks ninth in the world in research publication output, accounting for 3.8% of the world's output. They also highlight that 46% of Canadian researchers' publications are co-authored with an international partner and are cited 43% more than the world average. They also note that the rate of top-cited researchers who have worked or studied in Canada increased between 2012 and 2016.

Padilla-González, Metcalfe, Galaz-Fontes, Fisher and Snee (2010; 2011) used the CAP data in their comparative study of research productivity in Canada, Mexico and the USA. They found Mexican academics produce significantly less research than their counterparts in Canada and the USA. Canada however, has a noticeable gender gap in production with men out-publishing women. Their findings suggest that women in STEM disciplines as well as those who pursue international collaborations have higher rates of publication. Professional organizations have taken up this cause, with the Expert Panel on Women in University Research's book: *Strengthening Canada's Research Capacity: The Gender Dimension* (COCA, 2012)

Also based on CAP data, Gopaul, Jones, Weinrib, Metcalfe, Fisher, Gingras and Rubenson (2016) found that 45% of all Canadian publications were the results of international collaborations. The same study revealed a relationship between professors' preference for research and their research production, as well as an increase in external funding. In fact, three-quarters of participants' research funding in Canada came from external sources.

Amara, Landry and Halilem (2015) conducted complex statistical modeling based on citations, publications and surveys from scholars at 35 Canadian business faculties. Their findings confirm that

research production is enhanced by funding from research councils, dedicated time to pursue research and a position working in a top tier university. On a smaller scale, Ito and Brotheridge (2007) surveyed 47 professors at their institution to determine what factors are predictive of research productivity. They suggest that professors who have a strategic research plan and actively pursue funding see higher rates of publication.

The role of research funding on the academic profession has been the subject of a few studies. Godin (2003) found that researchers who received NSERC grants produced 12,000 papers annually and these grants had an even bigger impact on young researchers. There are of course variations across provinces. For instance, following a political push that started in the 1960s, Quebec created its own research councils and invested more heavily in academic research. Tellingly, its HERD-GDP ratio, which calculates the percentage of GDP spent on Higher Education Research and Development is 0.93 compared to 0.66 in the rest of Canada (Gingras, Godin, & Foisy, 1999).

The importance of research-dedicated time, and correspondingly teaching loads, was also demonstrated in a study conducted by Jonker and Hicks (2014) for the Higher Education Quality Council of Ontario (HEQCO). Based on publicly available data, the authors examined teaching workloads, research volume and impact, as well as the remuneration of associate and full professors, to analyze factors related to research productivity. Based on their data, the authors, “estimate that about 27% of faculty members in economics and 7% of faculty members in chemistry have neither published in peer-reviewed journals nor received a Tri-Council grant in a three-year period,” (p.4). These “non-active” faculty members teach an average between 0.5 and 0.9 courses more than their “research-active colleagues”.

In the knowledge society, research production (especially in the biomedical and engineering sciences) increasingly involves collaborations with the private sector. In 2007, Canadian universities conducted over \$10 billion in sponsored research, 8% funded by industry. This is slightly higher than the

USA in which only 5% of sponsored research was funded by industry (Sá & Litwin, 2011). The Federal Government has elaborated multiple instruments to foster such collaborations, including tax credits, the Canadian Foundation for Innovation, the Networks for Centers of Excellence, and the strategies for partnerships of the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council and the Canadian Institutes for Health Research. The CAP data however suggest that Canadian academics seem disengaged from the private sector and resistant to commercial activities.

Service

Research, teaching and service have long been the triad of faculty responsibilities in the Canadian academic profession (Rosser & Tabata, 2010). Presently, however, there is almost no research on service. The 2007 CAP survey asked a small number of questions related to faculty's service activities, defined as "services to clients and/or patients, unpaid consulting, public or voluntary services," (Weinrib, Jones, Metcalfe, Fisher, Gingras, Rubenson, & Snee, 2012). The CAP respondents self-reported spending "19.6 h on teaching, 16 h on research, 4.3 h on service, 7.9 h on administration, and 2.8 h on other academic activities," (p.348). Scholars have made the call for review processes that reward service (Bernatchez, 2009; Metcalfe, 2009), but little else has been written in the Canadian context discussing this third aspect of academic work.

Internationalization

Many of the above areas of inquiry host a handful of studies which explore the international or global component of faculty in some facet. The recruitment and experiences of international faculty at one university were explored by Barbaric and Jones (2016), and the specific experiences of Chinese-Canadian faculty at Canadian universities were described by Fu (2014). Fu's article is particularly helpful in understanding the position of professors as high-demand contributors to national development, as

China seeks to recruit their own expatriates. The study concludes that, “cultural factors override everything else in shaping the leave–stay decision and brain exchange behavior of these Chinese scientists,” (Fu, 2014, p. 1) as the majority decide to stay in Canada. Several other studies consider instead, the role of Canadian faculty in adopting or resisting their institutions’ call to internationalize curriculum and programs (Friesen, 2012; Larsen, 2015; Odgers, 2009; Schuerholz-Lehr, Caws, Van Gyn, & Preece, 2007). Considerably more research could be done in this area exploring the mobility pathways of Canadian academics, their perceptions of global events and their interactions with international students.

Current Challenges: Marketization, Corporatization and the Knowledge Economy

Many of the research areas explored above are reactions to the pressures of global competition, fiscal austerity and increasing enrolments that have wrought changes on the academic profession. Many university leaders have responded by adopting a business management approach that draws principles of efficiency and accountability from the corporate sector. Metcalfe contextualizes these shifts in Canadian higher education, employing Slaughter’s notion of Academic Capitalism (Metcalfe, 2010; Metcalfe & Fenwick, 2009; Metcalfe & Slaughter, 2011). She points to the distinct phases in Canadian higher education policy that united university and industry leaders, increasing funding competitions while determining knowledge priorities and decreasing the involvement of professors in decision-making. Metcalfe’s work is complemented by further research on themes of marketization and corporatization. The challenges professors face as universities adopt a corporate-style ethos and structure have been explored in several studies examining pressure to conform (Baillargeon, 2011; Bruneau, 2000), professors changing identities (Acker & Webber, 2016) and corporate control of the university (Brownlee, 2014; Newson, 1992; Tudivor, 1999).

Conclusion: The Canadian Professoriate in the Knowledge Society

While Canadian universities resist or respond to the heightened pressures of corporatization, they also face a parallel transformation related to the ascendancy of knowledge as the centre of the global economy. Universities are uniquely positioned as producers, repositories and disseminators of knowledge. As their position continues to grow in importance to national and regional development goals, it can be expected that this position will have implications for faculty work. The development of this literature review is the first phase of a research project examining Canada's *Academic Profession in the Knowledge Society*. This study will collect pan-Canadian data on each theme above, with particular emphasis on the evolving features and working conditions of the knowledge society. However, the broad-reaching nature of this study precludes it from in depth examination of specific thematic areas. This review has identified several areas where further research is warranted, including:

- a) Distinct features of the Canadian context
 - Faculty position across provinces
 - Faculty's changing relationship to provincial governments
 - The integration and perception of historically under-represented groups
- b) Technology
 - Teaching and faculty adoption
 - Research technology and innovation in methods/data collection
- c) Internationalization
 - Global research and teaching collaborations
 - Mobility (global and institutional)
 - Global political activism/volunteerism
- d) Political attitudes and actions – education lens
 - Longitudinal trends within the Canadian context
- e) Pressures of corporatization
- f) Relationships between faculty of different disciplines and ranks
- g) Quality assurance mechanisms
- h) Global rankings and Canadian responses

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