



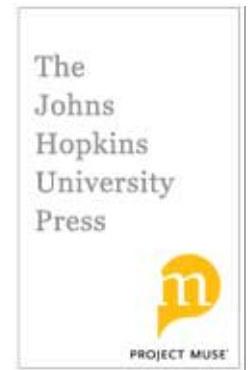
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Katherine Side, Wendy Robbins

NWSA Journal, Volume 19, Number 3, Fall 2007, pp. 163-181 (Article)

Published by Johns Hopkins University Press



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Institutionalizing Inequalities in Canadian Universities: The Canada Research Chairs Program

KATHERINE SIDE and WENDY ROBBINS

To position Canada as a world leader in the “knowledge-based” economy, in 2000, the Canadian government established a multi-million-dollar initiative to appoint 2,000 scholars as Canada Research Chairs (CRC). Women are seriously underrepresented among CRC research “stars,” and no data are kept for other equity groups. Eight women initiated a complaint with the Canadian Human Rights Commission in 2003 in an attempt to remedy inequities, and a national discussion has ensued over excellence and equity. We provide a brief outline of the CRC Program and demonstrate how it perpetuates a narrow conception of innovation and excellence, which further institutionalizes inequalities for women and faculty members from other equity groups in Canadian universities. We describe the strategy of the human rights complaint and remedies negotiated in the settlement of 2006. We argue for a broader conceptualization and contextualization of “excellence,” and for research not in the private, but the public good.

Keywords: Canada Research Chairs Program / systemic discrimination / academic women / equity / Canada human rights complaint / excellence

In an attempt to better position Canada as a world leader in the “knowledge-based” (i.e., technology-driven) economy of the twenty-first century through the creation of an élite research community, in 2000, the Canadian government established a \$900 million, five-year initiative to appoint 2,000 scholars to positions as Canada Research Chairs (CRC) in Canadian universities, research institutes, and hospitals. The CRC Program is intended to curtail the “brain drain” (Dilworth 2000) of excellent Canadian scholars to American research institutions, attract top international scholars to Canada, brand Canada as an innovative nation, and position Canada among the world’s top five countries for research and development, as measured by Gross Expenditure on Research and Development (GERD) as a percentage of Gross National Product (GNP).¹ In this report, we briefly describe the structure of the CRC Program and demonstrate how, by perpetuating an “old boys’ network” and a narrow concept of innovation and excellence, it further institutionalizes inequalities and reinforces the already disadvantaged position of women academics in Canada (Griffin Cohen 2003; Robbins 2005a; Tamburri 2004; Turk 2000). We describe the strategy of a complaint based on the Canadian Human Rights Act to remedy the underrepresentation of faculty from equity

groups including women, Aboriginals, so-called “visible minorities,” and disabled people, and we argue for a broader conceptualization and contextualization of excellence so that universities may fulfill their mandate to serve the public good.

The Canada Research Chairs Program

Responsibilities for the CRC Program are shared between 67 participating Canadian universities and the CRC Secretariat, with funding provided by the federal government through Industry Canada, Health Canada, and the Canada Foundation for Innovation (CFI).² The federal government allocates the number of chairs to the selected Canadian universities based on their share of sponsored federal research funding from three national-level granting agencies.³ Chairs are allocated by discipline and by level (tier). Forty-five percent of the chairs are allocated to natural sciences and engineering; 35 percent to health sciences; 20 percent to social sciences and humanities. Tier 1 chairs are for research “stars,” normally associate or full professors, although candidates “with the necessary qualifications” (Bégin-Heick and Associates 2002, 27) can be drawn from outside the university sector. Tier 1 appointments are for seven years, renewable indefinitely. Tier 2 chairs are for a five-year period, renewable once, for promising junior researchers, “rising stars,” normally assistant or associate professors (Malatest 2004).

Universities must prepare and submit a Strategic Research Plan, seek out candidates (including from among their own faculty members), and determine the suitability of candidates measured against their institutional Strategic Research Plan.⁴ Nominations, made by institutions, are submitted to members of a College of Reviewers established by the CRC Secretariat, which reports to the CRC Management Committee, which in turn reports to the CRC Steering Committee. The College of Reviewers must assess nominees and recommend whether or not to fund their position. The CRC Secretariat has the sole ability to appoint and refuse candidates, with no process for appeal (Polster 2002, 277). Upon appointment, chairholders must negotiate on an individual basis with the nominating institution for research facilities, support, and teaching release. As a result, conditions of appointment vary considerably (Malatest 2004). The CFI funds up to 40 percent of infrastructure costs for the CRCs; the remaining 60 percent of funds must be secured from elsewhere, including from private sector sources.

For two decades, under the Federal Contractors’ Program, Canadian universities bidding on federal contracts have been obligated to report employment data for the four equity groups. The CRC Program, however, was established with no such requirements. The publication of names of

Table 1
General Statistics of Current Chairholders.

	Tier 1	Tier 2	Total
Women	128	267	395
Men	672	688	1360
Percent Women	16.0	28.0	22.5

Source: Canada Research Chairs Secretariat, 2006a.

chairholders made it relatively easy to calculate distribution by gender, and data are now reported for women but for no other equity group; yet discrimination based not only on sex, but also on age, race, sexual orientation, color, disability, national and ethnic origin, and family status, is prohibited by law under section 3 of the Canadian Human Rights Act (Robbins 2005b).

Appointments to the CRC Program began in 2000–01. As of December 2006, 87.8 percent (1,755 of 2,000) of chairs had been filled; it is expected that all positions will be filled by 2007–08 (Canadian Association of University Teachers [CAUT] 2006, 45; Johnsrude 2004; Malatest 2004, 1). Women currently comprise just over one-fifth (22.5 percent) of total CRC appointments (395 women out of 1,755). The CRC Secretariat data show 128 (16 percent) of Tier 1 appointments, and 267 (28 percent) of Tier 2, have gone to women.

Exacerbating Inequalities

Women, on average, comprise one-third (33 percent) of full-time faculty members in Canadian universities; full-time faculty members from other equity groups comprise 10 percent (Griffin Cohen 2003). Canada ranks tenth among Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries for its representation of women in the professoriate. Data from Statistics Canada for 2004–05 (CAUT 2007) show that within Canada alone—and the CRC competition is international—the pool of women faculty at the rank of full professor (required for Tier 1 appointments) is 18.8 percent. The pool of women faculty at the rank of associate and assistant professor (required for Tier 2 appointments) is 34.7 and 41.4 percent, respectively. It is evident that women are seriously underrepresented among CRCs.

The program's design and structure disadvantage women in several ways. First, its distribution of chairs favors large, research-intensive universities over small, liberal arts universities. Women's representation is consistently lower (31.0 percent) at the self-styled "G13" research-intensive universities (where 67.7 percent of the chairs are allocated) and

higher (34.3 percent) at smaller institutions.⁵ Second, it favors natural sciences and engineering over other disciplines. Women's representation is lower in those disciplines with the most allocated research chairs (natural sciences and engineering account for nearly half of the chairs) and higher in disciplines with fewer allocated chairs—the humanities and social sciences.

The *CAUT Almanac* records that women comprise 41.5 percent of full-time academic appointments in the humanities and related disciplines; 33.9 percent in social sciences and related disciplines, and 39.7 percent in health sciences. Women remain most underrepresented, only 12.1 percent, in engineering and applied sciences (2007, 12–4). In 1996–97, women received 11.2 percent of Ph.D.s in engineering in Canada, but in 1998, comprised only 8 percent of full-time appointments in engineering in Canadian universities (Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences [CHSSF] 2001). In 1992, women in Canada received 35 percent of Ph.D.s in chemistry, but the proportion of women with full-time faculty appointments in chemistry, 12 percent, has not changed in a decade (Buchanan 2003, A15). A similar situation exists in American universities and colleges, from where CRCs also are recruited (Jackson 2004; Mason and Goulden 2004; Urry 2005; Zakian et al. 2003).⁶

Third, the much greater importance accorded in universities to research compared with teaching is long standing. This situation is now hugely magnified by an emphasis on the lucrative patenting and commercialization of research, especially research involving technological innovation. The distortions of the “knowledge-based economy” seem to explain why the social sciences and humanities—the disciplines where the majority of faculty and students are concentrated (i.e., where the bulk of university teaching takes place)—are accorded the smallest allocation of research chairs. As research “stars,” who are predominantly men, are singled out for research chairs and given teaching reductions of as much as 200 percent, their colleagues have to take up the slack by teaching more (Malatest 2004). This pattern has a negative impact on many women's teaching loads.

Fourth, the Secretariat outlines no standard procedures for universities to identify candidates for consideration. By permitting institutions to bypass open competition for chairs' positions, the CRC Secretariat facilitates traditional university preferences for White, able-bodied, male candidates. Canadian feminist scholar Marjorie Griffin Cohen alleges that cronyism is thriving in the CRC Program (2003). In some instances, applicants for chairs have been sought through an open competition at specific institutions. However, other candidate searches have been less transparent. Administrators, and in some cases departments, have allegedly drawn candidates from among a limited circle of colleagues, former students, and friends—the infamous “old boys' network.” Some

institutions have tailored the required institutional Strategic Research Plan to suit individual candidates and/or have submitted more than one Strategic Research Plan to rationalize requests (Hickling, Arthurs, Low 2002, 4.0). Other institutions have conducted “single candidate searches” (Griffin Cohen 2003, 1; Tamburri 2004).

The program’s hiring process also often bypasses collective agreements, undermines faculty unions, and compromises university governance structures that permit faculty member input (Turk 2000). This power undermines the process of open competition implemented to ensure fairness for members of systemically disadvantaged groups (Griffin Cohen 2003) and undermines the activities and agendas of academic unions in Canadian universities (Polster 2002).⁷ University-wide plans, not necessarily reached through consultative processes with faculty members, also can be usurped by CRC allocations and appointments (Polster 2002).

Finally, some favored male candidates who did not meet the qualifications for Tier 1 chairs were appointed to Tier 2 chairs, even though they were full professors and thus, in fact, ineligible. This unfair process again disadvantages women (Griffin Cohen 2003). Given these fundamental structural problems, it is not surprising that a nationwide survey of current chairholders confirms that many prominent women scholars are noticeably absent (MacDermid n.d.).

Understanding Inequalities

In response to widespread criticism by feminists within the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council and the Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences (CFHSS 2001), a gender-based analysis was commissioned by the CRC Secretariat (Bégin-Heick and Associates 2002). There are numerous flaws with this report, not the least of which is that it fails to appreciate the systemic nature of discrimination. It releases the CRC Secretariat from certain responsibilities, faults universities for nominating too few women, and in a typical blame-the-victim maneuver, asserts that women have “less research maturity” than their male counterparts (2002, 5). This is not entirely dissimilar to the widely condemned 2005 speech by the former Harvard University president, in which he identified women’s unwillingness to work long hours as a key factor holding them back at top research institutions in math and science (Summers 2005). This stereotype of women as lacking grit and determination is similarly reflected in a statement by the former CRC Executive Director, René Durocher: “Some people are saying that the big difference between men and women is that men will fight more to obtain something—women want to be recognized for their merit and are less likely to fight than men” (Pappone 2003, A5). Neither of these highly placed male academic decision

makers seems aware of the research on gender discrimination that demonstrates how “gender schemas” (Valian 1999, 2004) and gender status beliefs “contain both general assumptions that men are more competent than women and specific assumptions that men are superior at stereotypically male tasks” (Ridgeway 1997, 228).

The increasing numbers of women among full-time faculty appointments and their movement through the ranks have not secured their equal consideration as promising or established scholars, let alone as research experts and senior academic decision makers. There is no conclusive evidence that women have less “research maturity” than their male counterparts. One CRC Secretariat report notes women’s greater rates of success compared to men in receiving standard research grants from Canada’s three major research councils, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council (NSERC), and the Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR) (Bégin-Heick and Associates 2002, 18). This report acknowledges, tellingly, that in the most elite competition for the 2,000 Canada Research Chairs, “[women] are less likely to be nominated for and, therefore, receive fewer prestige awards.” Similarly, women are not promoted to the top academic rank, full professor, at the same rate and speed as men (Drakich and Stewart 2007, 8).

There may well be another factor, scarcely mentioned: the gender of the key policy and decision makers. The five-person CRC Steering Committee from 2000 to 2004 was composed exclusively of men and is again in 2006–07. The appointment of a woman as Deputy Minister of Industry Canada, from 2004 until 2006, reduced this to 80 percent, although she was often represented at meetings by a man.⁸ The College of Reviewers, comprised of more than 2,000 appointed international experts, is 83 percent male. Other than sex, no equity data on these reviewers exist. Can this group legitimately be considered “peer” reviewers for researchers who are women and/or members of minority groups? Additionally, serious gender and other equity imbalances exist at every rank of the senior administration of Canada’s universities, from university presidents—a mere 14 percent are women (CAUT 2003a), to deans—26 percent are women (Hamilton 2000). A “chilly climate” for women continues to be documented in Canada, as in the United States, particularly for Aboriginal women, women of color, women with disabilities, and lesbians (American Association of University Women [AAUW] 2004; Caplan 1993; Hannah, Paul, and Vethamany-Globus 2002; Keahey and Schnitzer 2003; Stalker and Prentice 1998).

CRC Secretariat Response to Criticism

The CRC Secretariat has issued a series of documents intended to evaluate the CRC Program (Bégin-Heick and Associates 2002; CRC Secretariat 2005a; Hickling, Arthurs, Low 2002; Malatest 2004). These documents report that the program is working exactly as intended (Bégin-Heick and Associates 2002, 22; Hickling, Arthurs, Low 2002, 3.4; Malatest 2004, 44). They deny that gender allocation is a problem, but at the same time, they make recommendations for more monitoring (Malatest 2004, 47), and they even raise the obviously hollow threat of a moratorium or sanctions applied to universities failing to reach their own imprecise “targets” (CRC Secretariat 2005a). Consistently, CRC Secretariat documents have claimed that “the proportion of women in the eligible population and the proportion of women awarded Chairs closely corresponded” and that women are appointed to chairs relative to their representation in the eligible population (Hickling, Arthurs, Low 2002, 4.10). In fact, no eligible population can be determined because the nomination process is not transparent, there is no open competition process, and the program draws upon an indeterminate pool of international researchers (Robbins 2005a). Program evaluations commissioned by the CRC Secretariat are consistently silent about faculty members from equity groups other than women (Robbins 2005a).

By accepting these deeply flawed assessments, the CRC Secretariat, Industry Canada, and Health Canada demonstrate their collusion in structures that create and perpetuate inequalities. In a bizarre verbal exchange, the former Minister of Industry Canada, the Honorable Allan Rock, when asked about media reports of gender discrimination in the CRC Program stated in the Canadian Parliament that the federal government would not compel the CRC Secretariat to change the program, only to follow policy more rigorously: “We have, among other things, asked the Secretariat to strictly enforce rules on the distribution of the Chairs to both genders” (Griffin Cohen 2003). Griffin Cohen, in response to this assertion, notes that “there are, unfortunately, no such rules in place” (2003). Set to complete all appointments by 2007–08 (Johnsrude 2004), the CRC Secretariat would have to close an impossibly large gap to reach gender parity: nominations of women in Tier 2 chairs would have to double; nominations of women in Tier 1 chairs would have to quadruple (Malatest 2004, 38).

In its most recent report, the CRC Secretariat acknowledges “a level of discomfort” with the current allocation of chairs by discipline, but notes that modification depends on the matter being brought to the federal Cabinet for approval—not a procedure that the Secretariat seems willing to initiate (2005a, 5). The 2005 report publicly states that universities will be held accountable for meeting their gender distribution “targets” and

that failure to do so will result in “sanctions, such as imposing moratoria on new nominations or removing chair allocations” (2005a, 5). The threat rings hollow given that there are no regulations for setting targets and no information about how high or low self-selected “targets” may be.

Enacting Change: Canadian Human Rights Complaint

It is unlikely that the CRC Program, however problematic, will be scaled back or discontinued. Changes to ensure equity are unlikely from within the program, but will result only from external pressures that identify the problem as one of systemic discrimination (Neuman 2003). One source of pressure is an alternative fifth-year evaluation by the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT 2005). Another is a complaint initiated in February 2003 by eight women faculty members about the program’s lack of compliance with the Canadian Human Rights Act, primarily section 5, which prohibits discrimination in the provision of a service to the public (CAUT 2003c).

The complainants allege that the federal government, through the CRC Program, discriminates against individuals (academics) from the protected groups set out in the Canadian Human Rights Act.⁹ They allege that the program fails to implement policies that track compliance (except in the case of gender) with the Canadian Human Rights Act. They further allege that the program fails to introduce standardized policies that require recipient universities to comply with provincial employment equity legislation intended to ensure that workplaces are representative of the working-age population and that imposes a legal obligation on public and private sector employers to eliminate barriers to individuals from designated groups (Fudge 1996, 73, 78; McDermott 1996, 95). They also allege that the CRC Secretariat is in contravention of numerous domestic laws and international covenants to which Canada is a signatory (CAUT 2003b; Status of Women Canada [SWC] 1995).

The strategy to pursue a federal human rights complaint stems from a desire to address structural discrimination through Canadian law and equity jurisdiction, which tends to take a broader view of equality than U.S. law and equity jurisdiction (Adams and Langstaff 2006, 17). Analyzing differences in attitudes about gender roles, researchers Michael Adams and Amy Langstaff argue that Canadians’ commitment to gender equality is “stronger and more stable” than Americans’ commitment (2006, 17), and that institutional supports and commitment to universal entitlement in Canada lead to differences in “practical questions that arise from the quest for a level professional playing field” (2006, 17). These commitments are evident in provincial, territorial, and federal equity initiatives including the Canadian Human Rights Act (1978); the Canadian Charter of Rights

and Freedoms (1982); Canada's status as a signatory to international conventions including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948); the International Covenant of Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (1976); the Declaration of Race and Racial Prejudice (1978); and the Convention to End Discrimination Against Women (1979). Women in Canada have experienced some success pursuing complaints at international levels, including a sex discrimination case at the United Nations Human Rights Commission. The case resulted in an amendment to section 12(1)b of the federal Indian Act (1867), which previously discriminated against Indian women by revoking their right to Indian status (but not that of Indian men) upon marriage to a non-Indian (Silman 1987).

Ending discriminatory practices in the CRC Program and developing and implementing measures to prevent inequitable practices in future federal programs were among the remedies requested by the complainants (CAUT 2003c). Mediation in this complaint, first attempted in November 2003, was unsuccessful. After a lengthy delay, allegedly the result of understaffing at the Canadian Human Right Commission, the case was recommended in August 2005 to proceed to tribunal (Policy, Action, Research List [PAR-L] 2004). There were three possible decisions that commissioners could have made: (1) that the matter be dismissed altogether; (2) that the matter be deemed to require further investigation and possibly additional submissions by the eight complainants and Industry Canada; or (3) that the tribunal proceed as recommended. The latter decision was taken, which prompted a second attempt at mediation in November 2006, yielding a negotiated settlement (Canadian Human Rights Tribunal [CHRT] 2006). The complainants and some observers felt that the slow speed of the complaint process amounted to an example of "justice delayed is justice denied." Others credited the widespread media publicity and the discussion of the human rights complaint with putting women's underrepresentation, not only in the CRC Program, but at the top ranks generally, on the national agenda.

Reconceptualizing Excellence in the CRC Program

The national controversy over the CRC Program has brought to the surface a perceived tension between excellence and equity. Some individuals see an inherent clash between these concepts and assume that excellence should be blind to considerations of equity (Mullan 2006); other individuals, including the eight complainants, regard these two concepts as inextricably linked and argue that a system that recognizes and rewards the best researchers cannot be limited by prejudice, the long tradition in universities—worst in the most prestigious research-intensive universities—of marginalizing women and minorities, and the persistent

sexism in academic culture that devalues women's competence and detrimentally prevents people with equal abilities to perform equally (Valian 1999, 251).¹⁰ The 30,000-member Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences adopts this latter position. It states: "A knowledge economy that consciously or unconsciously perpetuates inequalities for historically unrepresented and under-represented groups cannot be said to be innovative or productive for the social and political economy of a democratic state, committed to internationalism at home and abroad" (CFHSS 2001, 5). It recognizes that, without equity, "Canada's particular contributions to the international knowledge economy will be partial at best" (Pennee 2005, 7).

Reconceptualizing the narrow definition of excellence (from Latin, *ex + cellere*, to rise above or stand out from one's military column) in the "knowledge-based economy" is necessary to rectify the systemic exclusion of women and members of other equity groups from the CRC Program. The sole determinant of "excellence"—research success—is measured by the CRC Program by the number of refereed scholarly publications, spin-off companies, new processes, and inventions produced by the individual (Kondro 2004; Malatest 2004). Specifically, knowledge that is deemed patentable and that can be commercialized is the most highly valued; thus, research in engineering, natural sciences, and, increasingly, health sciences is more highly valued than research in social sciences and humanities (Cimoli and de la Mothe 1998, 27; Romer 1997). Redefining academic and research excellence requires recognizing the systemic marginalization of women and members of other equity groups and acknowledging that excellence is a social, not merely an individual, phenomenon. Scholarly research since the 1970s demonstrating that women and men are treated and evaluated differently and that women's achievements tend to be less recognized than men's, cannot be ignored (Chusad 1988; Fidell 1975; Olian, Schwab, and Haberfield 1988; Sackett, DuBois, and Noe 1991; Urry 2004; Valian 1999, 2004). Research by Canadian scholar Helene Cummins (2005) points to the fact that women academics, whether they have children or do not, are often "mommy-tracked." They are expected to make greater contributions to voluntary "caring work" and are asked to "spend much of their time overseeing committees on student welfare, departmental harmony and other administrative tasks, and [so] have less time for publishing articles and other work by which academic performance is traditionally judged" (quoted in Owens 2005, A1). This all leads to what psychologist Virginia Valian terms an "accumulation of disadvantage" for women (1999, 142).

In short, a feminist revisioning of excellence in the academy would consider the social context of institutions, take into account the greater institutional support available disproportionately to men who are more likely to be found at the top rank and in the better resourced research

universities, and conceptualize research more broadly to acknowledge its social significance and wide range of applications, well beyond an inventory of scholarly publications and patentable inventions. In assessing contributions, measures of excellence should factor in the increased likelihood of women over men to experience career interruptions for caring responsibilities. Measures of excellence also should acknowledge that members of equity groups, as a result of systemic forms of discrimination, are likely to earn lower salaries and have less access to research assistance as well as to high-end, labor-saving equipment and technology. Measures of excellence also should recognize and compensate for the fact that women's disproportionate concentration in smaller, teaching-intensive universities may detrimentally affect research productivity but may not necessarily affect research significance (Hollingsworth 2007). Also, measures of excellence should be expanded to encompass the research expertise provided by members of equity groups to their own communities and in the interests of the public good. Furthermore, sex discrimination that likely results from the small proportion of women senior administrators at universities and the nearly all-male composition of the CRC Steering Committee and the College of Reviewers should not be permitted to continue. The current definition of excellence in the CRC Program, based on the number of refereed publications, spin-off companies, new processes, and inventions is seriously flawed. Conceptualizations of excellence as measurable contributions to the marketplace are myopic and are neither new nor innovative. Research in the public good, not just the private good, requires fairness and balance.

Universities Serving the Public Good

Perhaps the ultimate lesson learned from the CRC Program fiasco is about the role of the university, which is not to produce research for governments and the private sector alone, but to serve the public good. Robert Birgeneau, the former president of the University of Toronto and now chancellor of the University of California at Berkeley, has argued that "inclusion is about leadership and excellence" and that "minority inclusion is a public good, not a private benefit" (2005, M5).

The CRC Program was established in an effort to better position Canada as a world leader in the "knowledge-based" economy and to keep pace with other international programs focused on research excellence (Malatest 2004). Instead, it has created an élite research community, heavily weighted in favor of science, engineering, and technology, that perpetuates and rewards a narrow concept of excellence, and that flagrantly ignores equity, further institutionalizing inequalities for women and likely also for faculty from all equity groups in Canadian universities.¹¹

Three reports commissioned by the CRC Secretariat to evaluate the program fail to treat equity as an issue requiring more than mere “monitoring” (Bégin-Heick and Associates 2002; CRC Secretariat 2005a; Malatest 2004). Contrary to existing federal and international legislation, these evaluations justify the continuation of a program with discriminatory effects for already systemically disadvantaged groups and frame equity as an issue of concern only for members from equity groups, instead of as an important issue that is in the interest of all Canadians.

While we have briefly outlined the strategy of a complaint under the Canadian Human Rights Act to remedy the underrepresentation of faculty members from equity groups, we argue for the simultaneous development of a broader conceptualization of excellence that takes into account the sexism of academic culture. Excellence must not be structured as an individual characteristic that exists independent of the social context of Canada’s universities, research institutes, and hospitals. Equity, we argue, increases the pool of candidates for CRCs and the likelihood that the faculty members selected will do their best research, which will improve Canada’s international position. A greater diversity of interests, perspectives, and experiences will contribute to greater innovation and the best scholarly research (Jackson 2004; Valian 2004). The CRC Program goal of promoting and supporting research excellence cannot be fully realized as long as substantial numbers of eminently qualified scholars are systemically excluded from participation, nor can its goal of encouraging innovation—meaning new ideas and methods—be achieved through stereotyped and discriminatory structures.

The federal government has demonstrated an unprecedented political and economic ability to shape scholarly research through the CRC Program. Through a newly acquired leverage to establish patterns for some appointments across Canadian research institutions over the next decade, the federal government also has secured its ability to further entrench—or to be socially innovative and to reverse—systemic forms of discrimination in Canada’s research community. The academic community must continue to challenge the government to include a full spectrum of research and to incorporate fairness, which is not the antithesis of excellence, but its foundation.

The Settlement

The complaint made to the Canadian Human Rights Commission by eight female professors about discrimination in the CRC Program resulted in a mediated settlement in November 2006 (Canadian Human Rights Tribunal [CHRT] 2006). The settlement requires that a number of changes be made. The program is required to undergo gender-based and diversity-

based analyses. Universities must ask chairholders to provide (on a voluntary basis) and retain information related to protected group status under the Canadian Human Rights Act. Universities are further required to establish targets for representation for protected groups through a consultation process with the program to establish monitoring mechanisms and to report progress to the CRC Secretariat, which may withhold funds for noncompliance. Moreover, universities also are required to institute a "transparent, open and equitable nomination process." Most significantly, the settlement states, "In respect to the December [2006] appointment round and for subsequent rounds, the Chairs Program agrees to inform universities . . . that the goals of equity and excellence are not mutually exclusive and that equity ensures that the largest pool of qualified candidates is assessed without affecting the integrity of the selection process for the program" (CHRT 2006, 8).

Katherine Side is Associate Professor in the Department of Women's Studies, Mount Saint Vincent University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada. In 2004, she held the Margaret Laurence Scholar in Residence in Gender and Women's Studies at Brandon University, Brandon, Manitoba, Canada. She is a member of the Women's Committee, Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT). Send correspondence to Department of Women's Studies, Mount Saint Vincent University, 166 Bedford Highway, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada, B3M 2J6; Katherine.Side@MSVU.ca.

Wendy Robbins, co-founder of the PAR-L feminist discussion list and website (<http://www.unb.ca/PAR-L>), has served as Chair of the Women's Committee of the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT) and as Vice-President, Women's and Equity Issues, Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences (CFHSS). She is a co-founder of Women's Studies at the University of New Brunswick, where she is also a Professor of English. Send correspondence to University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada, E3B 5A3; wjr@unb.ca.

Acknowledgement

With thanks to Robin Folvik, Simon Fraser University, for her valuable research assistance.

Notes

1. A 1999 Statistics Canada survey conducted with Human Resources Development Canada found that 1.5 percent of 300,000 graduates from post-secondary

- institutions moved to the United States upon graduation. However, 18 percent of 1995 graduates had returned to Canada by 1999; four out of ten Canadian graduates living in the United States had plans to return to Canada (Statistics Canada 1999).
2. There is a close relationship between Industry Canada and the CRC Secretariat. The Deputy Minister of Industry Canada has a seat on the CRC Steering Committee. The presidents of Canada's three national granting councils, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada (NSERC), and the Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR), also sit on the CRC Steering Committee. For allocations, see Canada Research Chairs (CRC) Secretariat 2006b.
 3. This formula is calculated on a three-year rolling average, with a special allocation for small universities (Bégin-Heick and Associates 2002).
 4. Universities that do not submit a Strategic Research Plan are ineligible to participate in the CRC Program. Because of the significant financial incentives, most universities have chosen to participate (Polster 2002).
 5. The allocations of CRCs to these thirteen universities are: University of Toronto (267), McGill University (159), University of British Columbia (156), University of Alberta (125), Université de Montréal (115), Université Laval (92), University of Calgary (77), University of Western Ontario (70), McMaster University (69), University of Ottawa (69), Queen's University (54), University of Waterloo (53), and Dalhousie University (48) (Canada Research Chairs [CRC] Secretariat 2006b).
 6. As of August 2004, a total of 359 chairs were awarded to researchers from outside of Canada; the majority of appointments were from the United States (63%) and the United Kingdom (11%) (Malatest 2004, 14). Women from countries outside of Canada are less likely to be recruited than men (Bégin-Heick and Associates 2002, 5).
 7. In Canada, a majority of university faculty associations are organized as trade unions. Most of these belong to the umbrella organization, the Canada Association of University Teachers (CAUT) and of these, fourteen associations form the National Union of Canadian University Teachers Association (NUCAUT), affiliated with the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC).
 8. The Minister is the Honorable Maxime Bernier; the Deputy Minister of Industry Canada since May 2006 is Richard Dicteri. From 2004–2006, it was Suzanne Hurtubise. That Hurtubise often sent a man in her stead to CRC Steering Committee meetings was reported by the current CRC Secretariat Executive Director, John ApSimon, during a panel discussion that also included Wendy Robbins, at a meeting of the Council of Deans of Arts and Sciences in Ontario, in April 2005. The names and affiliations of the college

- of reviewers appear on the CRC website, available at http://www.chairs.gc.ca/web/peer_review/college_list_e.asp. Sex disaggregated data for chairholders (as of December 2006) are available at <http://www.chaires.gc.ca/web/about/stats/dec2006.pdf>.
9. The eight complainants are Marjorie Griffin Cohen, Simon Fraser University; Louise Forsyth, University of Saskatchewan; Glenis Joyce, University of Saskatchewan; Audrey Kobayashi, Queen's University; Shree Mulay, McGill University; Michèle Ollivier, University of Ottawa; Susan Prentice, University of Manitoba; and Wendy Robbins, University of New Brunswick (CAUT 2003c). Biographies are available at http://www.unb.ca/PAR-L/crc_bios.htm.
 10. The Canada Research Chairs Program, intended to recognize and reward excellence, also included at least one fraud. In a public case, a Tier 1 Canada Research chairholder resigned from a Canadian university in 2004 after admitting to criminal allegations about falsified research data (Peritz 2005).
 11. The CRC Secretariat suggests that the following U.S. programs are comparable: the Fulbright Distinguished Chairs Program, the Faculty Early Career Development (CAREER) Program, the Presidential Early Career Awards for Scientists and Engineers (PACASE), and the proposed Basic Assistance Grant, Federal Research Chairs (Malatest 2004).

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