

THE 2016 CANADIAN NATIONAL POSTDOCTORAL SURVEY

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY



Canadian Association of Postdoctoral Scholars / l'Association Canadienne des
Stagiaires Postdoctoraux

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The 2016 Canadian National Postdoctoral Survey Executive Summary

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If you would like to read the full 2016 Canadian National Postdoctoral Survey Report visit the CAPS-ACSP website at <http://www.caps-acsp.ca>

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Acknowledgements

We thank the 2,109 respondents who took the time answer all of the questions on the 2016 National Postdoc Survey and share their personal experiences with us. Thank you! This included a number of respondents who also completed the 2013 survey, and we would like to particularly acknowledge those individuals.

A huge thank-you to all the postdoctoral associations, postdoctoral administrators, Deans, and other individuals across Canada and internationally who promoted our survey. Your combined efforts helped us reach over 2000 respondents.

This survey and report would not have been possible without funding. We acknowledge Canada's Tri-Council granting agencies (Canadian Institutes of Health Research, Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council and Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council) for funding the 2016 survey, as well as staff at each council for providing feedback on both the survey questions and final report. We also thank the Burroughs Wellcome Fund for giving us a grant to hire a writer that compiled the survey results and wrote this report, so that we could share these results in a timely manner.

The survey instrument was conducted and analyzed in collaboration with Academica Group. Academica's insights and advice were invaluable, and their flexibility throughout the process was much appreciated.

Lastly, we thank past and current members of the CAPS-ACSP Executive Council for their advice and guidance throughout the whole process.

List of Abbreviations

ANOVA: Analysis of Variance

CAPS-ACSP: Canadian Association of Postdoctoral Scholars-Association-
L'Association Canadienne de Stagiaires Postdoctoraux

CAD: Canadian Dollar

CAUT: Canadian Association of University Teachers

CIHR: Canadian Institute of Health Research

CPP: Canada Pension Plan

IDP: Individual Development Plan

MITACS: Mathematics of Information Technology and Complex Systems

NGO: Non-governmental Organization

NSERC: Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council

NPA: National Postdoctoral Association (U.S.)

PDO: Postdoctoral office

PDA: Postdoctoral Association

PI: Principle Investigator

SSHRC: Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council

STEM: Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics

SSH- Social Sciences and Humanities

SSHRC- Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council

USD: United States Dollar

THE 2016 NATIONAL POSTDOCTORAL SURVEY

The 2016 Canadian National Postdoctoral Survey (the 2016 Survey) is an outcome of the collaboration between Canadian Association of Postdoctoral Scholars (CAPS-ACSP) and the Tri-Council granting agencies (Canadian Institutes of Health Research, Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council and Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council). The content of the 2016 survey leverages the results from two earlier National Postdoctoral Surveys¹ and a CAPS-ACSP 2014 report² developed in collaboration with Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), which highlighted the professional development needs of postdocs in the Social Sciences and Humanities.

The 2016 Survey expands upon themes and trends identified in 2009 and 2013. The present findings contain new information about time-use, professional development, mental health, and career trajectory data from past Canadian postdocs³. **The 2016 Survey Report compares data from the 2009 (when available), 2013, and 2016 Surveys and highlights relevant trends on the Canadian postdoctoral landscape.**

A key goal of postdoctoral work is to acquire competencies for undertaking intensive independent research. Postdocs are major contributors to research, innovation, arts, culture, and policymaking⁴.

CAPS-ACSP is the national voice of Canadian postdocs. It works towards clarifying the role of postdocs in Canada, advocates for equitable treatment of postdocs, and represents the interests of postdocs at federal and provincial levels.

MAJOR FINDINGS OF THE 2016 SURVEY

The 2016 Survey was an opportunity for postdocs to share their perspectives regarding supports and obstacles to desired outcomes of their postdoctoral position. Three major themes emerged from the data and are outlined below.

1. Canada's Performance on the Global Postdoctoral Stage

Attracting highly qualified postdocs may be influenced by Canada's performance on the global postdoctoral stage. The unique experiences of Canadian postdocs are compared with the postdoctoral experience reported in other countries. The 2016 Survey findings indicate a need for better support for international postdocs, improvements to postdocs' everyday well-being, such as compensation, benefits, and employment status, and new strategies to address satisfaction with the postdoctoral training.

2. Positioning Postdocs as Drivers of Innovation and Discovery

Positioning postdocs for careers that drive innovation and discovery in Canada is integral to our knowledge-driven economy. To retain highly qualified postdocs for research careers in Canada, strategies are needed to transition postdocs into a broad range of careers options. Postdocs need more information on the range of career options and more support for career development. Female postdocs may be particularly at risk regarding career options.

3. The Changing Profile of Canadian Postdocs

The trend towards more years spent in postdoctoral appointments has changed the profile of Canadian postdocs. In particular, a shift in the age distribution illustrates larger numbers of postdocs in their mid to late thirties, and fewer in their late twenties and early thirties. The older cohort of postdocs experience significant workplace stress due to life/work balance issues, few family-oriented benefits, and low salaries. Measures to address compensation and workplace mental health are needed in the short and long term to ensure the well-being of Canadian postdocs.

THE 2016 SURVEY STAKEHOLDERS

A wide variety of stakeholders, particularly those with the agency to influence policy and take action, will be interested in the 2016 National Postdoctoral Survey results.

- **Postdocs**, with the support of **postdoctoral offices and associations**, can foster an agenda of change to address issues with postdoc salary structures, everyday working conditions, and career prospects. Each postdoc demographic (e.g., gender, location) has different needs and experiences, which together comprise the unique Canadian postdoctoral landscape.
- **Universities, along with postdoctoral administrators and research institutions**, shape policies and levels of support that directly affect postdocs, making them relevant stakeholders in postdoc concerns.
- The **federal and provincial governments** are influential stakeholders as they are the primary source of funding for many Canadian postdocs.
- The **granting agencies** determine policies regarding dispersal of funds (e.g., value of funding packages and responsibilities of postdocs and supervisors). Therefore, as decision-makers, the granting agencies have the opportunity to play important roles in advancing recommendations in this report, and improving the postdoctoral landscape in Canada.

In light of the major contributions that postdocs make to science and society, there is more stakeholder breadth than one might first realize. When innovation is held back, the population may well suffer: from missing new treatments for pain and disease, to unfulfilled appreciation for art, literature, or music. This forfeiture is critical, and inherently difficult to measure. **This report and any ensuing outcomes will be of relevance to all Canadians.**

THE 2016 SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The 2016 Survey is a follow-up to the 2009 and 2013 Surveys. The 2016 Survey provides an updated profile of current and recent Canadian postdocs and was conducted in partnership with the Tri-Council granting agencies: CIHR, NSERC, and SSHRC.

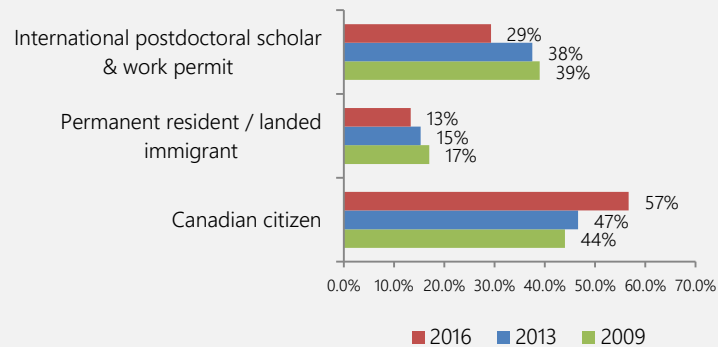
- **The 2016 Survey was conducted online from March 21, 2016 to May 8, 2016 by Academica Group⁵.**
- The target population was postdocs currently working in Canada, Canadian citizens completing a postdoctoral position outside of Canada, and former postdocs who completed their most recent postdoctoral position in the last four years.
- In an effort to reach a wide range of postdocs, the survey was deployed via direct email invitations, as well as posts on the CAPS-ACSP website and social media sites.
- **After removal of ineligible responses and duplicate entries, 2,109 cases were retained for analysis.**
- Throughout this report, subgroup analysis using respondent characteristics was conducted where applicable. The primary variables used to conduct subgroup analysis were Field of Research, Postdoc Location; and Region of Residence. Differences between groups were tested for statistical significance using *Chi-Squared* for distributions, and *Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)* or *t-test* for mean score differences.

1. DEMOGRAPHIC SUMMARY

Location and Citizenship Status

- 57% of postdocs are Canadian Citizens.
- 12% of Canadian postdocs left Canada to complete a postdoctoral appointment in a foreign country.

Figure 1: Trend in Citizenship Status



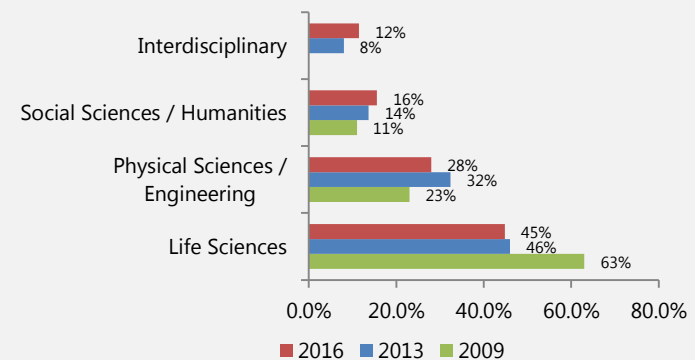
Age, Gender, and Family Status

- The average age of current postdocs is 34 years.
- 51% are male and 48% female.
- 65% have a partner and 31% have dependents.

Fields of Research

- Since 2009 there has been a decrease in the proportion of postdocs in the Life Sciences domain and increases in all other fields (after 2009, some Life Sciences postdocs may have been reclassified as "Interdisciplinary").

Figure 2: Trend in Fields of Research



"In this day and age it often takes more than one postdoctoral appointment to get a good research job - both for the public and private spheres.
So you essentially have to leave Canada."
—Survey Respondent

1. DEMOGRAPHIC SUMMARY (continued)

Annual Income

- The postdoc mean gross annual salary is CAD 47 798.
- Almost half earn salaries less than CAD 45 000 per year (47.5%).
- Postdocs outside of Canada report significantly higher salary ranges, and an average salary of CAD 53 990⁶.

Table 1: Mean Gross Annual Salary

Characteristics	<i>n</i>	CAD
Number of Postdoc Appointments	One	1,101 47 279.27
	Two	405 49 129.15
	Three	86 49 098.35
	Four or more	23 44 347.35
Gender	Female	783 47 751.76
	Male	805 47 847.34
Location of Postdoctoral Appointment	Canada	1,350 46 582.84
	Out-of-country	265 53 990.13
Region of Residence	Atlantic	42 46 487.61
	Quebec	371 42 337.79
	Ontario	479 47 901.39
	Prairies	306 47 940.69
	British Columbia	200 49 687.01
	Outside Canada	217 55 218.47
	Life Sciences	723 48 208.37
Field of Research	Physical Sciences / Engineering	452 48 699.74
	Social Sciences / Humanities	254 45 068.42
	Interdisciplinary	186 47 741.45
	Supervisor's grant	573 44 938.44
	CIHR/NSERC/SSHRC	493 48 468.07
	Private foundation / association	80 50 312.01
	Mitacs fellowship	151 47 582.28
	Provincial government or provincial research council	96 46 223.47
	Institutional/departmental training grant	88 49 346.12
	Foreign entity	47 55 478.35
Other	71 59 577.03	

Universities Represented

- Many Canadian universities are represented in the findings of the 2016 Survey.
- Other than universities, respondents commonly work in government laboratories, industry, and in health services⁷.

Table 2: Universities in 2016 Survey

	# of Respondents
University of British Columbia	136
University of Toronto	132
University of Alberta	127
McGill University	123
Université de Montréal	98
University of Calgary	91
Western University	70
University of Ottawa	61
Simon Fraser University	40
University of Saskatchewan	36
University of Manitoba	33
McMaster University	31
Dalhousie University	28
Harvard University	28
Institut national de la recherche scientifique	26
Université de Sherbrooke	26
University of California	25
Concordia University	24
University of Guelph	23
University of Waterloo	21
York University	21
Other	423
Prefer not to answer	7
Total	1630

2. CANADA'S PERFORMANCE ON THE GLOBAL POSTDOCTORAL STAGE

Attracting International Postdocs

- Postdocs come to Canada primarily to train using new research approaches.
- There was an 11 percentage point decrease in the number of international postdocs in 2016, as compared to 2013.

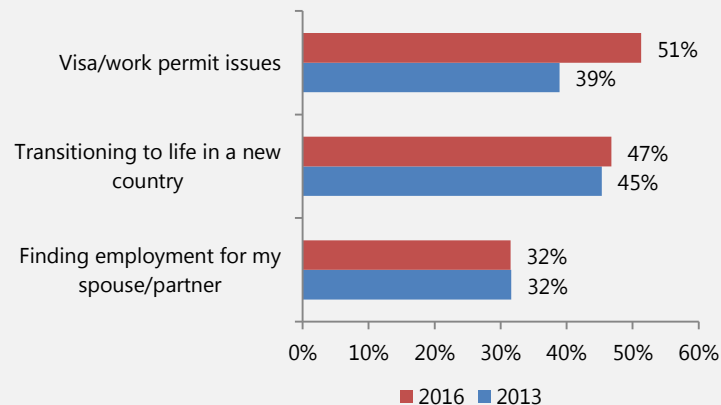
Figure 3: Reasons International Postdocs Come to Canada



Challenges Experienced by International Postdocs

- There is a trend for postdocs to continue to experience problems with Visa and work permits over the length of their tenure.

Figure 4: Trend in Challenges Experienced by International Postdocs



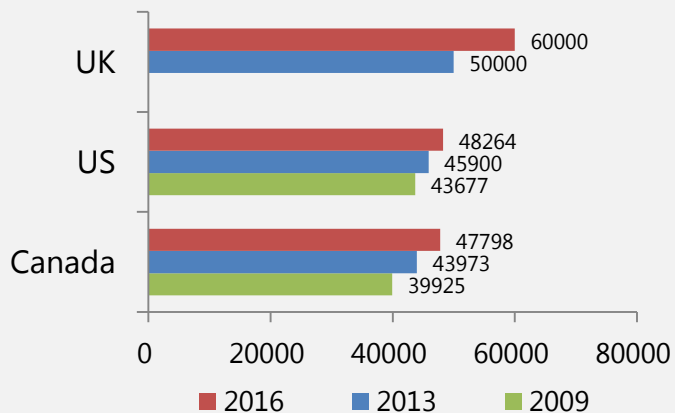
"I'm not sure I can get a job that I want here. I would LOVE to stay here. My whole family would LOVE to stay here."
 –Survey Respondent

2. CANADA'S PERFORMANCE ON THE GLOBAL POSTDOCTORAL STAGE (CONTINUED)

Everyday Challenges: Salary

- Postdoc salaries in Canada show an increase from 2009 and 2013.
- Canadian postdocs continue to earn relatively less than postdocs in other countries.
- Verbatim comments are frequently linked to issues around funding.
- Unlike other countries, Canada does not systematically offer salary increments based on experience.

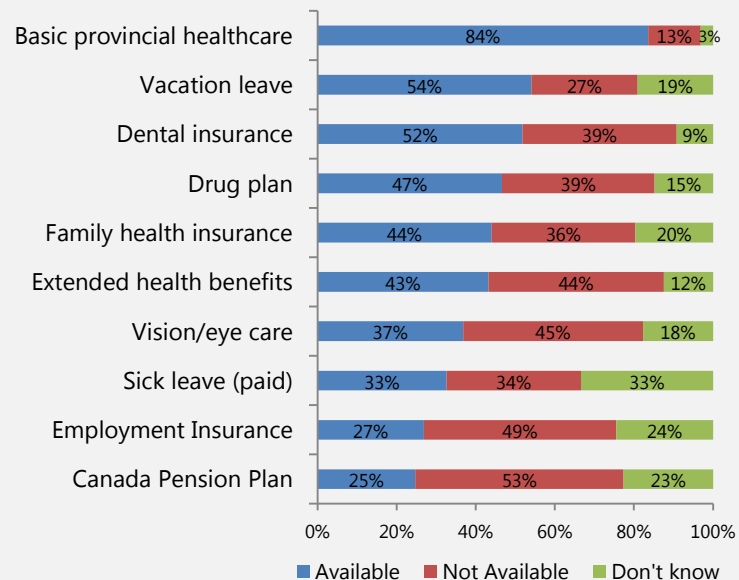
Figure 5: Trend in Canadian Postdoc Salary in Comparison to US and the UK Postdocs⁸



Everyday Challenges: Availability of Benefits

- Many postdocs have statutory benefits, such as provincial health insurance.
- Less than 20% of postdocs report having access to life insurance, workman's compensation, onsite childcare, long term disability insurance, or retirement plans.

Figure 6: Ten Most Commonly Available Statutory and Workplace Benefits

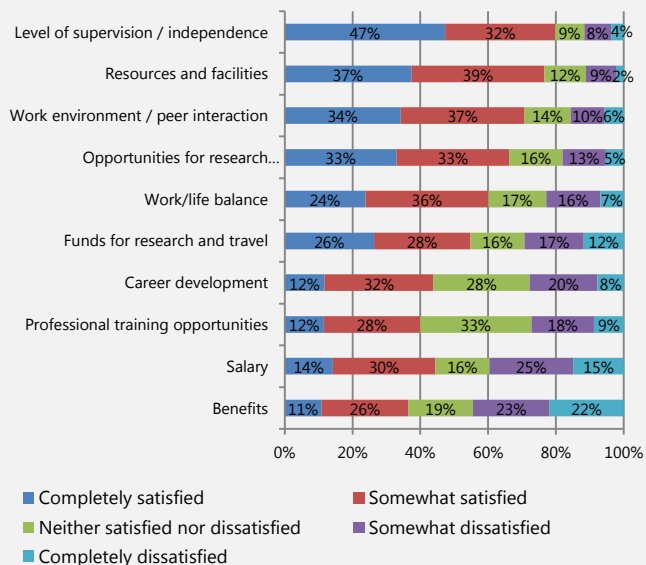


2. CANADA'S PERFORMANCE ON THE GLOBAL POSTDOCTORAL STAGE (CONTINUED)

Overall Satisfaction with Training

- Since 2009, more postdocs are “somewhat” or “completely satisfied” with their postdoctoral training overall (<60% to >70%).
- Postdocs are most satisfied with their level of supervision and resources/facilities, and least satisfied with career development, salary, and benefits.

Figure 7: Satisfaction with Aspects of Postdoctoral Training



Trend in Satisfaction with Training

- Since 2013, there has been a trend for postdocs who are located out-of-country to have higher satisfaction with various aspects of postdoctoral training.

Table 3: Comparison of Canadian and Out-of-Country Postdoc Satisfaction with Training⁹

Element of Satisfaction	Canadian	Out-of-Country
Collaboration	3.7	4.1
Resources and Equipment	4	4.3
Career Development	3.1	3.5
Professional Training	3.1	3.4

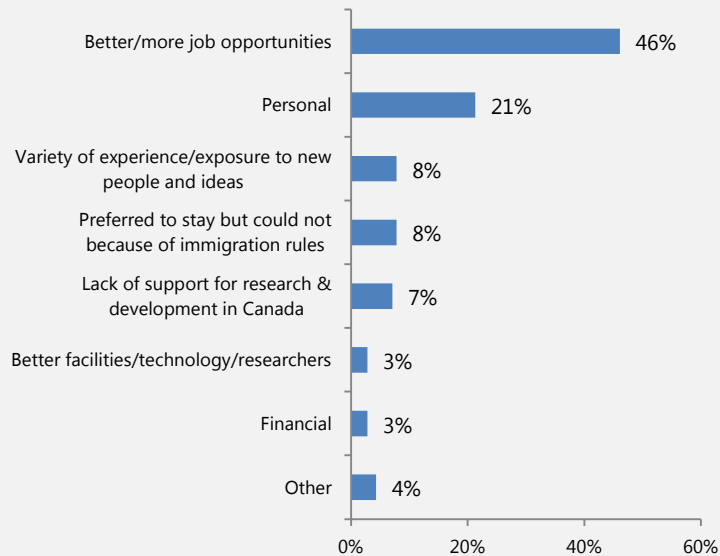
“I completely love my post-doc, the supervision I am receiving, and the flexibility to pursue areas of interest...but I have found it very stressful to cover expenses, including paying off previous student debt and child care costs.”
 –Survey Respondent

3. POSITIONING POSTDOCS AS DRIVERS OF INNOVATION AND DISCOVERY

Mobility of PhD Workforce

- 30% of past postdocs left Canada for employment.

Figure 8: Reasons Past Postdocs Left Canada for Employment



“...there are not enough faculty positions for the number of postdocs either...it is a serious problem and is directly related to me leaving Canada...” –Survey Respondent

Satisfaction with Career Options

- 50% of postdocs report that they are not satisfied with career options, and are mainly concerned with a lack of tenure-track positions.
- SSH Postdocs were the least satisfied with career options.
- Postdocs in Canada are less satisfied with their career options than out-of-country postdocs.

Table 4: Satisfaction with Career Options

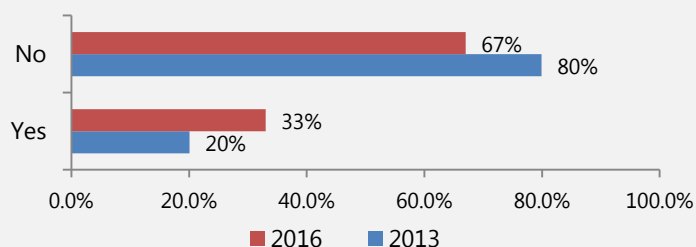
	Field of Research	n	% Satisfied
Field of research	Life Sciences	731	45.8%
	Physical Sciences / Engineering	457	55.4%
	Social Sciences / Humanities	254	33.9%
	Interdisciplinary	188	45.2%
Region	Atlantic	60	58.3%
	Quebec	466	50.0%
	Ontario	621	49.6%
	Prairies	365	46.3%
Location	British Columbia	244	43.9%
	Outside Canada	353	58.4%
	Canada	1360	45.2%
	Out-of-country	270	53.3%
Gender	Female	1007	45.3%
	Male	1064	55.2%
Citizenship Status	Canadian citizen	1264	48.9%
	Permanent res. / landed immigrant	279	49.5%
	Work permit	534	52.4%

3. POSITIONING POSTDOCS AS DRIVERS OF INNOVATION AND DISCOVERY (CONTINUED)

Postdoctoral Training

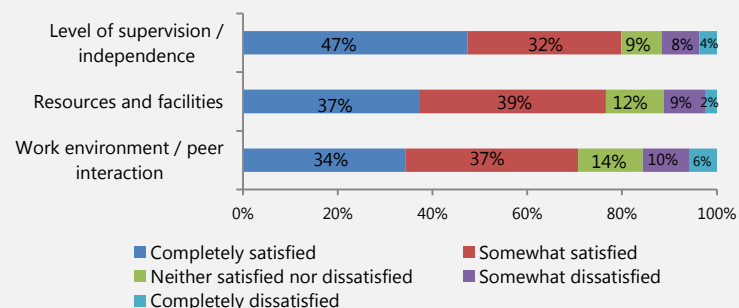
- The majority of postdocs do not participate in external training activities, but this trend is improving.

Figure 9: Trend in External Training Participation



- Postdocs are primarily training for careers in academia, a trend not supported by the labour market.

Figure 10: Top Three Aspects of Postdoc Training



Career Goals and Career Prospects

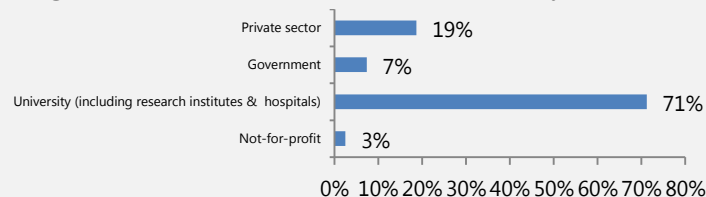
- More than 70% of postdocs maintain their career goal.
- Shifts in primary career goals are from tenure-track to industry, public service, consulting or non-governmental organizations.

Table 5: Percentage of Postdocs who Changed Career Goals (by Field of Research)

		Life Sciences	Physical Sciences / Engineering	Social Sciences / Humanities	Interdisciplinary
Yes Changed Goals	2016	28.60%	22.10%	25.60%	28.20%
	2013	26.2%	20.2%	18.0%	25.3%
No Did Not Change Goals	2016	71.40%	77.90%	74.40%	71.80%
	2013	73.8%	79.8%	82.0%	74.7%

- The majority of past postdocs work in university and affiliated research institutes, which includes teaching, research associate, tenure-track etc. positions.

Figure 11: Past Postdoc Sector of Employment

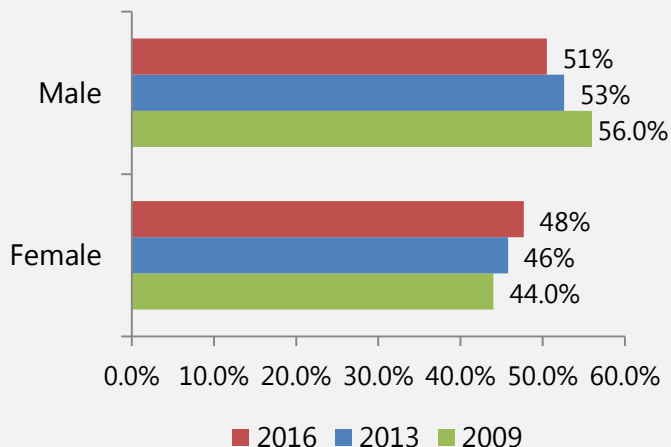


3. POSITIONING POSTDOCS AS DRIVERS OF INNOVATION AND DISCOVERY (CONTINUED)

Trend in Female Postdocs

- There is a steady improvement in the ratio of female to male postdocs.

Figure 12: Trend in the Ratio of Female to Male Postdocs

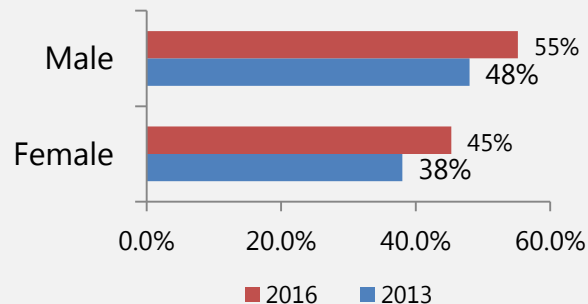


- There was no effect of gender on mean gross annual salaries for Canadian postdocs.
- Female university teachers are at risk for lower earnings due slower progression up the salary grid (resulting from parental leaves)¹⁰.

Risks for Female Postdocs in the Academic Pipeline

- Female postdocs continue to experience less satisfaction with career options.
- The literature suggests that lower expectations at the onset of academic training contribute to lower earnings and fewer career opportunities¹¹.

Figure 13: Trend in Satisfaction with Career Options by Gender



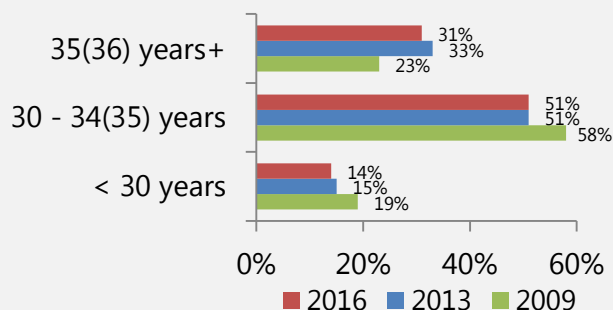
“ I hope the government can really help to make the working status of postdoctoral fellows clear - so that we could have employment insurance --something very important for female researchers.”
 –Survey Respondent

4. THE CHANGING PROFILE OF POSTDOCS IN CANADA

Age Trends of Postdocs in Canada

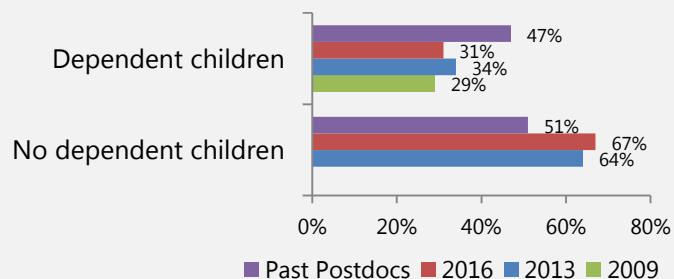
- There are fewer postdocs in the younger age categories, and more postdocs in the 35 year+ categories.

Figure 14: Age Trends of Postdocs in Canada¹²



- Postdocs appear to be postponing their family plans

Figure 15: Trend in No. of Postdoc Dependents



Meeting the Needs of Postdocs

- There was significant increase in 2016, as compared to 2013, for the need for paid parental leave.

Table 6: Desired Benefits (when not already available)

Benefit	% Desiring
Employment Insurance	27.6%
Dental insurance	25.9%
Retirement plan	23.5%
Canada Pension Plan	22.0%
Extended health benefits	20.0%
Parental leave (paid)	19.0%
Drug plan	18.3%
Housing subsidy	17.5%
Vision/eye care	15.9%
Child care subsidy	13.9%
Child care (onsite facility)	12.6%
Family health insurance	12.1%
Sick leave (paid)	8.7%
Reduced rate parking	8.0%
Legal/visa services	7.6%
Life insurance	7.4%

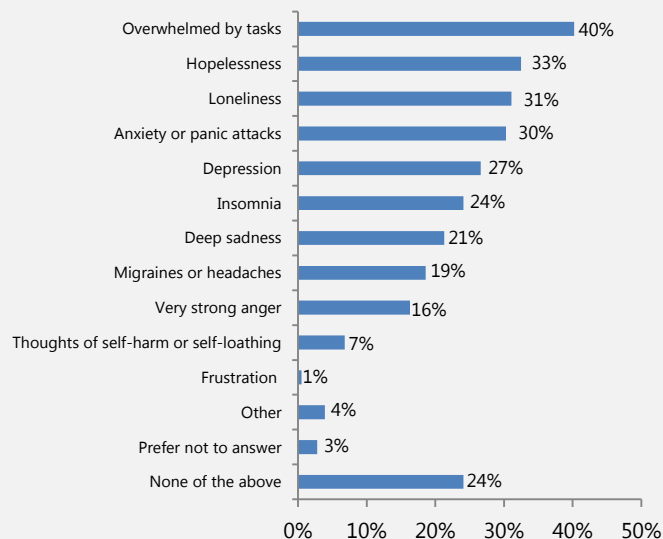
"...I constantly feel that I have to choose between having a family and having my career..." –Survey Respondent

4. THE CHANGING PROFILE OF POSTDOCS IN CANADA (CONTINUED)

Workplace Stress and Mental Well-Being

- Stress levels are high amongst the 2016 Survey respondents.
- About 75% of respondents indicated experiencing negative thoughts, feelings, or conditions related to their mental health (persisting for at least one month).
- Relationships with supervisors and mentors are central to the postdoc experience and contribute to, or alleviate stress.

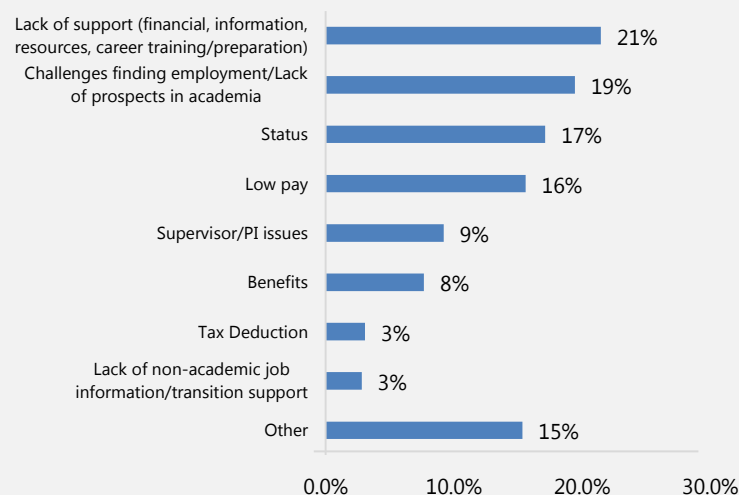
Figure 16: Mental Health Experience



Factors Contributing to Workplace Well-Being

- 60% of open-ended comments describe problems with the postdoctoral experience.

Figure 17: Themes from Open-ended Comments



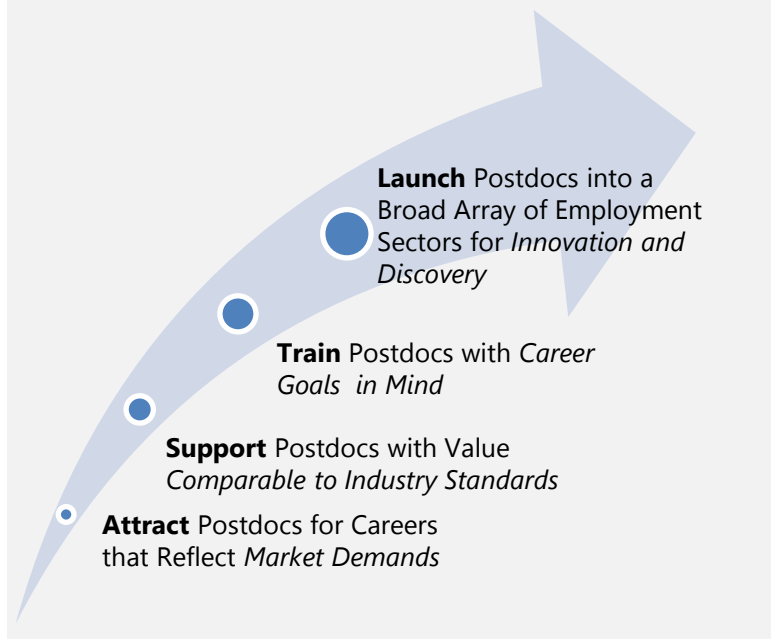
"Generally, I really like being a post-doc and getting a chance to conduct research on my own. I have a very relaxed supervisor who supports my academic and career development and does not micromanage me."

—Survey Respondent

5. RECOMMENDATIONS

It is our hope to transform the survey results into opportunities for stakeholders to work together towards the goal of bringing postdocs out of the shadows. The recommendations by CAPS-ACSP are organized into a four-stage trajectory that is aligned with stakeholders and clarifies how postdocs can support Canada's role as a global leader in innovation and discovery.

Figure 18: Four-Stage Trajectory to Enable Postdocs to Drive Innovation and Discovery.



Attract

- Recruit postdocs for careers that are supported by market demands. For example, expand the concept of industrial postdocs to include a broad range of employers, such as NGOs, public service, consulting, and non-tenure track academic positions.
- Improve Canada's attractiveness as a destination for top researchers by reducing/removing visa and work permit barriers for international postdocs who wish to come to Canada.

Support

- Address the needs of the aging postdoc population by defining employment status to provides access to basic social support programs (EI and CPP), as well as the standard 12-month parental leave.
- Adopt a globally competitive postdoc salary scale comparable to those in the United Kingdom and the United States.
- Introduce a salary structure that includes yearly salary increases to accommodate inflation, and experience.
- All stakeholders should convey information to the larger research community about postdoc publication, teaching, and mentoring contributions: this will promote greater respect and value of the postdoc workforce.
- Foster communication within the postdoc community, and between postdocs and employers to alleviate the sense of isolation reported by many postdocs.
- Provide postdocs grievance processes that are supportive of postdocs and do not have negative impacts on their career advancement (e.g. mentoring committee or ombudsman).
- Postdocs that have obtained external funding (e.g. fellowships from Tri-councils, Provincial funding or Foundations/Societies) should not be excluded from employment status at Universities/Institutions.

Train

- Implement Individual Development Plans (IDPs) to clarify the responsibilities of supervisors and postdocs. These should be integrated into the postdoctoral experience at all institutions.
- Encourage postdocs to pursue careers outside of academia through increased exposure to these career options during training. All stakeholders need to support these careers and disseminate comprehensive information about these career options to postdocs e.g., via professional career counsellors and increase funding for postdocs to pursue other careers.
- Increase postdocs' readiness for non-academic careers through increased non-academic training and professional development opportunities.

Launch

- Increase Canada's competitiveness in the knowledge-based economy by focusing on retaining postdocs in Canada, through the creation of more and improved employment opportunities.
- Facilitate the rapid transition of postdocs to the Canadian labour force through government investment and incentives; incentivize the transition to non-academic sectors.

The 2016 Canadian National Postdoctoral Survey Executive Summary

NOTES

¹ i) 2009 Survey: Stanford et al. (2009). *A postdoctoral crisis in Canada: From the "ivory tower" to the academic "parking lot*. Canadian Association of Postdoctoral Scholars / l'Association Canadienne des Stagiaires Postdoctoraux. Retrieved from <http://www.caps-acsp.ca/en/2009-capsacsp-postdoctoral-survey-and-position-paper-on-postdoctoral-status/>

ii) 2013 Survey: Mitchell, J. S., Walker, V., Annan, R. B., Corkery, T. C., Goel, N., Harvey, L., ... & Vilches, S. L. (2013). *The 2013 Canadian postdoc survey: painting a picture of Canadian postdoctoral scholars*. Canadian Association of Postdoctoral Scholars / l'Association Canadienne des Stagiaires Postdoctoraux. Retrieved from <http://www.caps-acsp.ca/en/2013-survey/>

² 2014 Report: CAPS-ACSP (2014). Canadian Association of Postdoctoral Scholars / l'Association Canadienne des stagiaires postdoctoraux (CAPS-ACSP). (2014). *Improving the experiences of Social Sciences and Humanities (SSH) postdoctoral fellows in Canada* (Talent Program Architecture (PA) Renewal Exercise: SSHRC Postdoctoral Fellowships (S-PDF)).

³ Throughout the Executive Summary the term *Canadian postdoc* refers to postdocs of any nationality working in Canada, and Canadians completing postdocs abroad.

⁴ i) Edge, J., & Munro, D. (2015). *Inside and Outside the Academy: Valuing and Preparing PhDs for Careers*. Ottawa, Conference Board of Canada. Retrieved from <http://www.conferenceboard.ca/e-library/abstract.aspx?did=7564>

ii) Igami, M., Nagaoka, S., & Walsh, J. P. (2015). Contribution of postdoctoral fellows to fast-moving and competitive scientific research. *Journal of Technology Transfer*, 40(4), 723–741. <http://doi.org/10.1007/s10961-014-9366-79388-5>

⁵ Academica group inc. is a professional research and consulting company.

⁶ Foreign funds converted to CAD.

⁷ "Other" refers to postdocs from universities with less than 20 respondents, and postdocs working in government laboratories, industry, and in health services.

⁸ UK Sources: <http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/Documents/staff/salary-clinical.pdf> and https://www.glassdoor.co.uk/Salaries/postdoctoral-researcher-salary-SRCH_KO0,23.htm.
US Sources: <http://www.nationalpostdoc.org/page/stipends>

⁹ Mean scores are calculated using a 5-point scale in which 1=Completely dissatisfied and 5=Completely satisfied.

¹⁰ Canadian Association of University Teachers. (2010). *The Changing Academy?* Retrieved from [https://www.caut.ca/docs/education-review/the-changing-academy-a-portrait-of-canada-s-university-teachers-\(jan-2010\).pdf?sfvrsn=14](https://www.caut.ca/docs/education-review/the-changing-academy-a-portrait-of-canada-s-university-teachers-(jan-2010).pdf?sfvrsn=14)

¹¹ Schweitzer, L., Ng, E., Lyons, S., & Kuron, L. (2011). Exploring the career pipeline: Gender differences in pre-career expectations. *Relations Industrielles/Industrial Relations*, 66(3), 422–444. doi:10.7202/1006346ar

¹² Ages in brackets are 2009 categories.

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