

REPORT ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE DISCIPLINE

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Committee Chair: M. Janine Brodie

**Members: Caroline Andrew
David Rayside**

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I. Background

This report represents the second stage in an on-going study of the political science profession in Canada. The first stage was completed in 1973 when the committee on the Profile of the Profession reported to the annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association. While mandated to "study biases in Canadian society which might be reflected in the profession of political science," that committee gave special priority to the status of women. The principal task of this committee is to review the progress of women in political science in Canada since 1973 and recommend measures for corrective action where they appear warranted.

The previous committee based its findings and recommendations on data derived from a mail survey of political science teachers in Canada. Among other things, the committee reported that only 11% of those teaching political science in Canada were women. While a distinct minority in the discipline, female political scientists did not differ much from their male colleagues in other respects. For example, the average age of female and male political scientists was virtually the same (36.9 years). The women surveyed also were as highly qualified as men (i.e. % with Ph.d). Female political scientists, however, were slightly less likely than their male counterparts to publish, especially book reviews in journals and less likely to engage in non-teaching activities such as departmental and university administration and outside consulting. Overall, then, these latter findings suggested that there may have been a tendency to exclude or, at least, "pass over" women in the organizational life of the academic community.

More noteworthy are the subjective data presented in the 1973 report. Both the males and females surveyed perceived sex discrimination in the discipline. For example, fully one-half of the women felt they experienced such discrimination within their own department, and over fifty percent of both men and women agreed that women were discouraged from entering the discipline of political science. On the basis of these rather discouraging findings, the committee recommended that departments ought to establish flexible arrangements for encouraging women's participation in our discipline.

II. The Current Status of Women in Political Science

The present committee has adopted a different strategy for information gathering than that employed in the 1973 report. Our examination of the status of women in Canadian political science relies on four informational sources. These are, 1) Statistics Canada data on political and social science teachers, 2) survey data derived from 44 university departments of political science in Canada, 3) a review of rates of participation in the Canadian Journal of Political Science and at the annual meetings of the CPSA and, 4) an analysis of enrolments in graduate and undergraduate political science programmes.

In order to better measure the progress of women in Canadian political science during the seventies, data were gathered for both the beginning and close of the decade. Statistics Canada data for 1972 only reinforce the observations of the previous committee (see Table 1). Compared to their male colleagues, female political science teachers disproportionately were found at the lower end of the academic hierarchy. Fully 91% of the women

teaching in political science in 1971-72 were assistant professors (58%) or lecturers (33%) while fifty-seven percent of the male political scientists were employed at these junior levels. Moreover, the ratio of males to females at the level associate professor was 120:0 and 31:1 at the rank of full professor. On average males were twice as likely as females to reach full professor status and tended to reach this rank at an earlier age (45-49 versus 60+ years). Finally, in the early seventies males had a salary advantage over females regardless of academic rank, although this difference may have reflected the substantially lower proportion of completed Ph.D.s among the female group.

Women's status in political science in the early 1970s was very similar to that of women in the social sciences more generally (see Appendix A). Female social science teachers similar to those in political science were disproportionately located at the bottom end of the academic ladder and a salary gap existed even though the percentage of females with doctoral degrees was much higher than observed among political scientists. The containment of women "on the ground floor" of the academic hierarchy, therefore, was not solely a problem associated with qualifications and was not confined to political science.

Has the status of female political scientists improved during the 1970s? The picture is mixed. In some ways there have been encouraging improvements (see Table 1). Many of the female professors observed at the bottom rungs of the academic ladder in the early seventies appear to have moved up by the end of the decade. While in the 1971-72 period, the modal category among women was assistant professor (58%), 47% of female teachers of political science in 1980-81 were associate professors. In fact, in the

earlier period the ratio of male to female associate professor 120:0 compared to 9:1 in 1980-81. With the exception of the rank of full professor, all male-female ratios dropped during the seventies. These data, therefore, suggest that women are moving up the academic ladder and that the gender gap evident at the full professor level may be expected to close some what during the 1980s.

The past years have also realized a marked improvement in the academic credentials of female political scientists. In the 1980-81 period, approximately three quarters of both male and female full-time political science teachers had a doctoral degree. In fact, in the case of three of the four academic ranks observed here, females were slightly more likely than males to have a doctorate.

In other ways, however, surprisingly little has changed in the status of female political scientists during the 1970s. There are still salary differentials between men and women at all academic levels. Even at the assistant and associate professor levels, where a greater proportion of women than men have doctorates, and where no age difference exists, males on average continue to achieve higher salaries than females .

Perhaps more disturbing, Statistics Canada data from 1978-1979 period show that while the numbers of both male and female political scientists increased during the past decade, the proportion of females in the discipline remains largely unchanged, at approximately ten percent. Data derived from a survey of 44 political science departments conducted by this committee in the winter of 1982 suggest that this proportion has increased to 12% but they also show that female political scientists are more frequently found in positions with limited potential for security and advancement than their male counterparts (see Table 2).

An overview of our discipline in 1982 shows that as in the past males are almost three times more likely than females to be full professors and more likely to achieve the rank of associate professor. Slightly less than one-fifth of both the male and female groups are found in junior tenured or tenure-stream positions but female political scientists are much more likely than males to be found in "dead-end" positions. For example, 16% of the female political science teachers are employed as sessionals compared to 9% of the males. More pronounced are the gender differences evident at the level of part-time appointments. Fully 27% of the women presently teaching in political science in Canada compared to 8% of the males do so on a part-time basis only. The stark fact is that women remain almost as much a minority in political science in the early 1980s as they were in the early 1970s.

Further analysis of the departmental survey suggests that there are regional variations in the employment patterns of female political scientists. Political science departments in Ontario and Quebec have a higher proportion of females than the national average while the West and especially the Maritime provinces fall below the national mean (not shown in tabular form). Nevertheless, regardless of region, almost without exception, political science departments indicate that they have few mechanisms in place to address their gender-based staffing imbalance. Of the 44 departments responding, only one department has a formal policy concerning the recruitment of women and only three more departmental respondents recall that their departments ever had given consideration to policies addressing the underrepresentation of women. This is not to say, however, that these departments are neither aware nor concerned about this problem.

While a few respondents indicated that the department's hiring policy was based on the merit of the candidate and therefore need not be concerned with the gender question, two other themes were more frequently encountered in the written responses. Some indicated that there were insufficient female applicants when a position became available in their departments. More often, however, it was noted that while eager to do something about the problem of the representation of women in their departments, most indicated that they were bound by the current climate of economic restraint within the university system. The following comments underline the familiar dilemma confronting most departments of political science in the immediate future.

...since we have not had a tenure-stream vacancy for several years, we did not feel it necessary to develop a formal policy regarding this question

...with all permanent faculty holding tenure, and no new tenure stream appointments made since 1975, any recruitment policy will necessarily have only as marginal impact.

...Our department is 6% women but has no tenure-stream openings.

All I can say is that we are very conscious of the problem, and are anxious to do something about it... One of the basic problems for us at the moment is that we do not expect to be in a position to hire new personnel for the indefinite future.

The current climate of economic restraint within the university community can be expected to persist, if not deepen, during the 1980s. This climate already has restricted the ability of most political science departments to respond to staffing their requirements, a discouraging fact for all young academics attempting to enter the field. The current climate also obviously jeopardizes attempts to correct the gender biases in the recruitment of full-time political science teachers which have been discussed above. Potential responses to the dilemma of the 1980s will be discussed in the conclusion of the report. We now turn to the participation of women in the political science community.

III. Journal and Conference Participation

Participation in the life of an academic community is obviously an ambiguous concept and the findings presented below should not be interpreted as a measure of either academic activity or performance. This is particularly the case for contributions to the Canadian Journal of Political Science. This journal is neither the most obvious nor perhaps the most appropriate scholarly outlet for many political scientists in Canada, especially those involved in political theory, comparative politics and international relations. On the other hand, the extent of visibility of women in the pages of the CJPS is probably a fair indicator of visibility in the wider world of publishing.

As reported above, women currently comprise approximately 12% of the teachers of political science in Canada. An analysis of the cumulative index of the CJPS during the 1967-1980 period, however, indicates that women do not achieve this proportion as authors (i.e. lone authors) of articles. Only 5.5% of the single-authored articles appearing in the Journal since its conception have been written by women (see Table 3). Women, therefore, appear to be underrepresented as single-authors in CJPS although they do constitute 13% of the writers of co-authored articles.

The 1973 CPSA committee reported that it was in the area of book reviews that the publishing records of females fell significantly behind those of their male counterparts. An examination of CJPS book reviews also indicates that there has been a sizeable underrepresentation of women, at least until recent years (see Table 3). In 1971, for example, only 2.2% of the book reviewers for CJPS were women. This proportion increased to 4.3% in 1976 and edged up to 10% in 1980. Thus, our findings indicate that there

has been discernable progress in the participation of female political scientists in the CJPS's review section. Since reviewers generally are approached by the editors, this progress reflects a commendable shift in the readiness of Journal personnel to solicit the involvement of women in the discipline. The fact that the percentage of reviews by women does not yet exceed the proportion of women in the discipline, however, recommends more progress in this area.

Our analysis of women's participation in the Annual Meetings of the Canadian Political Science Association also shows some improvement in recent years. In 1973, women's participation was, at best, marginal. For example, only one woman served as a section head and only four women presented papers (see Table 4). Data from 1979 and 1981 indicate that women are playing a more prominent role at the annual meetings but some improvements also are suggested. What appears to have increased markedly during the past decade is the presentation of papers by women. Less than 6% of those delivering papers in 1973 were women, compared to 15% in 1979 and 20% in 1981. In terms of participation which is self-starting and subject to peer review, then, women have become increasingly active. Indeed, in 1981, women's rate of participation was almost twice as much as would be expected given the proportion of women in the discipline.

Women's participation at the annual meetings as chairpersons, discussants, and section heads also shows some but less marked improvement. In 1973, only 9% of the chairpersons and 7% of the discussants were women (Table 4). In 1979, 13% of the chairpersons were women and this proportion increased to 20% in 1981. Meanwhile, the percentage of female discussants in 1979 and 1981 remained at approximately 12%. As in the case of journal

participation then, there have been improvements in the participation of women at the annual meetings. Since the annual meeting is an important forum for academic visibility and interchange, it is desirable that these recent positive changes continue and strengthen.

IV. Enrolments: Foundations and Prospects

To this point, our review has focused on the progress of women as teachers of political science. In final analysis, however, perhaps the most important data that must be examined are enrolments. They reflect the collective success of our discipline in attracting women to a traditionally male-dominated field of study and practice, and they may forecast the supply of females for teaching positions in political science during the eighties.

If we return to the 1972-73 period, it is apparent that political science was not as successful as the other social sciences in recruiting female students (see Table 5 and Appendix B). Only 21% of those enrolled in full-time bachelor's programmes were women while women comprised 20% of the students in Master's degree programmes and 13% of those seeking their doctorate. In the other social sciences, however, some 26% of those in Ph.D. programmes were female (see Appendix B).

Most striking of all is that only one woman graduated with a doctorate in political science in 1972 (see Table 6). Thus, the minority status of women teaching political science in the early seventies may have reflected the very small pool of "home grown" Ph.D.s but clearly this is not a sufficient explanation. If anything, it explains why women with Canadian degrees are in a minority (although a substantial one - 42.6%) among women presently teaching political science.

Since then there has been an increase in the enrolment of women in both undergraduate and graduate programmes. During this decade, the proportion of women in bachelors programmes has increased by 15%, by 10% in Master's programmes, and by 10% at the doctoral level. In 1980, fully seventy women were seeking a Ph.D. in political science, representing 22% of the full-time and part-time doctoral candidates. These impressive changes in the student population of the discipline, however, are not, as yet, reflected at the level of Ph.D. completions. Only two women earned a doctorate in political science from a Canadian university in 1980 (see Table 6).

It is difficult to assess why so few women are graduating with Ph.D.s. Considering that doctoral theses often have long gestation periods, this small number simply may be the lagged consequence of low female enrolments in the early 1970s. Another factor may be that the part-time and sessional appointments in which 44% of the women now teaching political science find themselves afford neither the security nor the environment conducive to completion. Family constraints may be a contributing factor.

Despite the limited growth in political science degrees completed by females, the increase in the number of "home grown" female graduate students is obviously a source of promise and concern. The availability of female political scientists promises to increase precisely when the opportunities for all young political scientists due to cut-backs and enrolments appear to be decreasing. An increase in the number of female doctorates would clearly be important for any future strengthening of the role of women in the profession, but there is at present no guarantee that the increased availability of women to teach in the discipline will change the present gender biases in faculty composition. This seemingly untractable dilemma of the 1980s demands both innovative and flexible responses.

V. Discussion and Recommendations

The principal mandate of this committee is to review the progress of women in the Canadian political science community during the 1970s and report to the Board of Directors of the Canadian Political Science Association. A secondary and perhaps more important objective is to stimulate awareness, discussion and action concerning the ongoing problems confronting women in this discipline. In order to facilitate the process, this committee proposes the following (but, by no means, exclusive) recommendations.

1. In order to correct previous imbalances and strengthen recent trends, our committee suggests that the editors of CJPS approach women whenever possible to serve as book reviewers. The roster of female political scientists which records area expertise and research interests should facilitate in this ongoing task.

2. Strongly recommended is that future programme committees strive to enhance the participation of women at the annual general meetings, especially as section-heads, chairpersons and discussants.

3. It is recommended that the Association urge departments of political science to adopt formal policies to address their existing gender-based staffing imbalances and the continuing salary differentials between men and women which have been observed here.

4. The committee recognizes that presently there are limited opportunities to reduce the gender biases in full-time faculty by making new appointments. Departments of political science, therefore, are encouraged to consider the existing gender-based staffing imbalance when positions become available and in tenure and promotion deliberations.

5. It is recommended that the Association further study and encourage its membership to adopt more flexible job arrangements which would improve opportunities for both women and young academics in the profession more generally. Job sharing and the option of part-time employment among existing faculty may open employment opportunities under present conditions.

6. The committee is particularly concerned about the unusually large proportion of women presently employed in part-time positions. The Association should urge departments to consider the problems of part-time employment and seek to prevent the marginalization of women in them. Failing opportunities for full-time employment, consideration should be given to extending some of the benefits of full-time employment to part-time faculty. These include tenured part-time positions, sabbatical and retirement benefits.

7. Considering the growth of female doctoral students, the Association is strongly urged to explore options which would enable future graduates to remain in the discipline until academic employment opportunities expand. Two obvious mechanisms in this regard are the SSHRCC post-doctoral and research fellowships. These programmes, as presently administered, however, may be insufficient to meet the challenges of the 1980s. First, it appears that the long-term projections of the SSHRCC may not envisage an expansion of the post-doctoral fellowship programme ^{and thus} may be an inadequate response to the limited employment opportunities in the discipline. Unlike the NSERC research associates which provide young academics with up to five years of funding and institutional affiliation, the SSHRCC post doctoral fellowships are available for one (possibly two) years. It is strongly recommended,

therefore, that the Association (perhaps in concert with our sister disciplines) urge the SSHRCC to expand the post-doctoral programme to enable more young academics to remain in the discipline until employment opportunities widen and to make available to the social sciences a research associateship programme similar to that now available to young academics in the natural sciences.

TABLE 1

**Salary Analysis of Full-Time Political Science Teachers in Canadian Universities and Colleges
1971-72, 1980-81***

	1971-1972			1980-1981		
	Female	Male	Ratio Male to Female	Female	Male	Ratio Male to Female
1) Full Professor						
N	3	93	33:1	3	132	44:1
md. age	60+	45-49		60+	50-54	
X salary	-	23,714		-	44,767	
% Ph.D.	100%	84.0%		100%	86.4%	
2) Associate Professor						
N	0	120	120:0	21	186	9:1
md. age	-	35-39		35-39	40-44	
X salary	-	16,781		31,441	32,393	
% Ph.D.	-	72.5%		85.7%	83.9%	
3) Assistant Professor						
N	21	216	10:1	15	108	7:1
md. age	30-34	30-34		35-39	35-39	
X salary	12,783	13,081		25,441	26,310	
% Ph.D.	28.5%	51.4%		80.0%	63.9%	
4) Lecturer						
N	12	72	6:1	6	21	4:1
md. age	30	30		30-34	30-34	
X salary	10,525	11,444		19,116	20,048	
% Ph.D.	0.0%	0.0%		0.0%	14.2%	
TOTAL						
N	36	504	14:1	45	447	10:1
md. age	30-34	30-34		35-39	40-44	
X salary	12,602	15,704		27,932	34,098	
% Ph.D.	8.3%	54.7%		73.3%	76.5%	

* Source: Statistics Canada

1) The 1971-72 data include 17 universities or colleges. All regions are represented.

2) The 1980-81 data include 42 universities or colleges and represent all regions except Quebec for which 1980-81 were not available.

TABLE 2

1982 Survey of Political Science Departments
in Canada*

% male -- 88.2%

% female -- 11.8%

	Male	Female
Full Professor	28.2% (191)	9.9% (9)
Associate Professor	35.7 (243)	28.5 (26)
Assistant Professor-Lecturer (tenure, tenure-stream)	18.6 (126)	17.6 (16)
Seasonal, contractually limited	9.1 (62)	16.5 (15)
Part-time	8.4 (56)	27.5 (25)
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	100.0% (678)	100.0% (91)

* Conducted by this report with 44 universities responding.

TABLE 3

Participation in the Canadian Journal of
Political Science by Sex (horizontal %)

	Male	Female	Total*
Author	94.5% (292)	5.5% (17)	100% (309)
Co-Author	87.0 (160)	13.0 (24)	100% (184)

* Data compiled from the Cumulative Index of the Canadian Journal of Political Science, December, 1980.

Participation by Women as Reviewers in the
Canadian Journal of Political Science (horizontal %)

	Male	Female	Total Reviewers
1971	97.8% (44)	2.2% (1)	100% (45)
1976	95.7 (111)	4.3 (5)	100% (116)
1980	89.7 (122)	10.3 (14)	100% (136)

TABLE 4

Participation by Women in the Annual General Meeting of the
Canadian Political Science Association (1973, 1979, 1981)

Level of Participation
(horizontal %)

1973

	Male	Female	Total
1) Section Heads	87.5% (7)	12.5% (1)	100% (8)
2) Chairpersons	91.1% (41)	8.9% (4)	100% (45)
3) Papers	94.1% (64)	5.9% (4)	100% (68)
4) Discussants	93.4% (57)	6.6% (4)	100% (61)

1979

	Male	Female	Total
1) Section Heads	80.0% (8)	20.0% (2)	100% (10)
2) Chairpersons	87.3% (62)	12.7% (9)	100% (71)
3) Papers	84.6% (115)	15.4% (21)	100% (136)
4) Discussants	88.9% (116)	11.1% (9)	100% (125)

1981

	Male	Female	Total
1) Section Heads	62.5% (10)	37.5% (6)	100% (16)
2) Chairpersons	80.2% (69)	19.8% (17)	100% (86)
3) Papers	61.0% (97)	19.5% (31)	100% (159)
4) Discussants	87.2% (130)	12.8% (19)	100% (149)

TABLE 5

**Enrolment in Political Science Programmes by Degree and Sex
(1972, 1980)*
(horizontal %)**

	1972			1980		
	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total
Bachelors						
Full-time	21.2 (811)	78.8 (3018)	100% (3829)	36.8 (1851)	63.2 (3188)	100% (5034)
Part-time	23.3 (131)	76.7 (431)	100% (562)	43.1 (463)	56.9 (612)	100% (1075)
Masters						
Full-time	19.7 (94)	80.3 (383)	100% (477)	29.4 (178)	70.6 (427)	100% (605)
Part-time	21.4 (69)	78.6 (253)	100% (322)	26.5 (113)	73.5 (314)	100% (427)
Doctorate						
Full-time	12.9 (46)	87.1 (312)	100% (358)	22.3 (48)	77.7 (167)	100% (215)
Part-time	10.5 (12)	89.5 (102)	100% (114)	22.4 (22)	77.6 (76)	100% (98)

*Source: Statistics Canada

TABLE 6

Political Science Graduates by Degree Sex and Year

1972

1980

	F	M	F	M
Bachelors	90.1% (291)	88.3% (1175)	91.9% (658)	85.9% (1223)
Masters	9.6 (31)	11.2 (149)	7.8 (56)	12.9 (184)
Doctorate	0.3 (1)	0.5 (7)	0.3 (2)	1.2 (17)
TOTAL	100% (323)	100% (1331)	100% (716)	100% (1424)

% Females by Degree

1972

1980

Bachelors	19.9%	35.0%
Masters	17.2%	23.3%
Doctorate	14.3%	10.5%

APPENDIX A

**Salary Analysis of Full-Time Social Science Teachers (excluding Political Science)
in Canadian Universities and Colleges
1971-72, 1980-81**

	1971-1972			1980-1981		
	Female	Male	Ratio Male to Female	Female	Male	Ratio Male to Female
1) Full Professor						
N	18	645	36:1	51	1,197	23:1
md. age	45-49	45-49		50-54	45-49	
X salary	21,257	23,033		40,410	44,817	
% Ph.D.	83.3%	72.1%		76.5%	77.4%	
2) Associate Professor						
N	93	1,129	12:1	192	1,602	8:1
md. age	40-44	35-39		40-44	40-44	
X salary	16,454	16,973		32,012	33,400	
% Ph.D.	64.5%	64.5%		75.0%	80.0%	
3) Assistant Professor						
N	240	1,764	7:1	270	903	3:1
md. age	40-44	30-34		35-39	30-34	
X salary	12,969	13,390		25,423	26,198	
% Ph.D.	45.5%	50.3%		58.9%	58.4%	
4) Lecturer						
N	117	489	4:1	93	213	2:1
md. age	30-34	30-34		30-34	30-34	
X salary	10,458	10,960		20,589	21,290	
% Ph.D.	5.1%	6.1%		3.2%	5.6%	
TOTAL						
N	468	4,029	9:1	606	3,915	6:1
md. age	40-44	35-39		35-39	40-44	
X salary	13,351	15,642		28,033	34,569	
% Ph.D.	41.7%	53.8%		56.9%	70.3%	

APPENDIX B

Enrolment in Social Science Programmes (excluding Political Science)
by Degree and Sex (1972, 1980)*

	1972			1980		
	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total
Bachelors						
Full-time	30.9 (14767)	69.1 (32966)	100% (47733)	44.9 (30794)	55.1 (37766)	100% (69560)
Part-time	39.3 (3860)	60.7 (5959)	100% (9819)	54.2 (12564)	45.8 (10633)	100% (23197)
Masters						
Full-time	23.7 (1356)	76.3 (4362)	100% (5718)	39.0 (3296)	61.0 (5165)	100% (8461)
Part-time	18.9 (680)	81.1 (2921)	100% (3601)	32.9 (2153)	67.1 (4401)	100% (6554)
Doctorate						
Full-time	25.7 (441)	74.3 (1273)	100% (1714)	33.6 (838)	63.4 (1449)	100% (2287)
Part-time	24.1 (224)	75.9 (706)	100% (930)	32.4 (302)	67.6 (631)	100% (933)

*Source: Statistics Canada