

COMMITTEE ON THE PROFILE OF THE PROFESSION

Preliminary Report - August 1973

In this report, the committee presents the first results of what is an on-going study of the political science profession in Canada. Before doing so, it is perhaps important to outline briefly the history of the committee, as well as its broad approach to the investigations undertaken.

A resolution was passed at the 1971 annual meeting of the CPSA requesting the Board of Directors to study biases in the Canadian society which might be reflected in the structure of the profession of political science. Little was accomplished during 1971-1972 and the request was reiterated at the 1972 annual meeting. At the June 5, 1972 meeting of the CPSA Board the present committee was constituted, with Pauline Jewett as chairman.

At the meeting of the CPSA Board of Directors held in October 1972, the name of the committee was changed from the Bias Committee to the Committee on the Study of the Profile of the Profession. This was done so as to better reflect the nature of the committee's investigations, a broad examination of the makeup of the political science profession in Canada, and so as to avoid the pejorative connotations of the word "bias". At the same time, the terms of reference of the committee, as defined in the 1971 resolution, were left unchanged and the particular concern with the place of women in political science was to remain as the priority item for the committee.

During the summer and fall of 1972 the committee met to discuss the way it intended to go about its work. It decided that, as a first priority, its investigations would centre on the place of women in the profession but that, at the same time, it would gather as much information

as possible on the profession in general. Other areas of study, such as social class or racial origins, would be included for consideration, as the committee envisaged its work as having an on-going character.

A more complete discussion of this decision by the committee can be seen from the document included in the appendix.

Three broad approaches to the question were decided upon; finding out what information already existed, obtaining more detailed information on the people already in the profession and getting information from students on their experience with political science and on their perception of career possibilities. These approaches illustrate the opinion of the committee that it was necessary to go beyond an examination of the current membership of the profession, and the resulting desire to include a wide variety of groups (members of the profession, students, university teachers in general) so as to offer measures of comparison. This first report deals with the information gathered from the present members of the profession and, as such, is a first step in the committee's work. Certain information was also gathered from graduate students but time limits prevented the results from being analyzed for this report. The committee will continue working on the first approach, that of seeking out other available sources of information. It has met with Statistics-Canada over the past year and it is likely that in the near future information will be made available from the surveys on university personnel done by Statistics-Canada. Obtaining this material has been a lengthy procedure but, if successful, much valuable information on the profile of the political science profession in Canada will be available.

The study on which the following report is based is a mail survey of those teaching political science in Canada, as of December

1972. Six hundred sixty-four questionnaires were mailed from the office of the Secretary-Treasurer of the Association in March, 1973. Three hundred five useable questionnaires were returned. This gives a response rate of 46%. All data were coded and analysed by the members of the committee.

Any inconsistencies in the relationship between achievement and reward among any subgroups of the discipline may be explained by the influence of various biases. The term bias is taken in a broad sense to indicate any factor inherent in the social structure which might differentially affect the relative probability of individuals choosing or successfully pursuing a career in the discipline of political science. The two areas that are investigated in most detail in this report are socio-economic background and discrimination. The profile of the profession as a whole is examined for these two types of bias and then special attention is given to the situation of women teaching political science in Canadian universities. In both of the following sections it is found that not only social and economic bias, but also discriminatory attitudes do exist to a greater or lesser degree within the discipline.

A PRELIMINARY PROFILE OF POLITICAL SCIENTISTS IN CANADA AND SOME DISCUSSION OF EXISTING BIASES .

This section of the report comprises a more general description of the profession of political science along with some comments on the existence of biases that may operate to determine the nature of the profile. First, we present data describing the different groups within the profession, showing the distribution by subfield, location and nature of education, sex, age, citizenship, etc. Then we present data on the backgrounds of our population, (often in comparison with the Canadian population as a whole) in order to arrive at some generalizations about the origins of people who end up as political science professors. Finally, from these data, and data concerning personal experience and observation of discrimination we will draw some tentative conclusions about biases which may operate to encourage some and discourage others to enter and succeed in the profession.

A. The Profile of the Profession

Our population of teachers of political science in Canada is overwhelmingly male and rather young, with a median age of thirty-four years.

TABLE 1

Sex Distribution

MALE	89%
FEMALE	11%

TABLE 2

Age Distribution

Age: Mean — 39.2 years

Median—34.0 years

Mode — 33.0 years

under 30 32%

31 - 35 15%

36 - 40 11%

41 - 45 6%

50 plus 12%

From Tables 1 and 2 it can be seen that nearly nine-tenths of Canadian political science professors are men, and that more than half are thirty-five years old or younger. Looked at another way, this last figure indicates that half of our population has been in the profession for ten years or less, assuming that one has usually reached the age of twenty-five before attaining the education necessary for university teaching. In our population the youngest respondent was twenty-five, and he was the only one in this category.

TABLE 3

Subfield Distribution

Canadian Politics	24%
Comparative politics, including an area study	25
International relations	21
Political theory, behaviour, methodology	22
Public Administration	8

The distribution among the four major subfields is relatively balanced, with just under half the respondents being in Canadian Politics and Comparative Politics when one includes area studies (8%) in this latter category.

TABLE 4

Citizenship Distribution

Canadian	70%
American	24%
British	3%
European	2%
Other	1%

Seven out of ten teachers of political science in Canada are Canadian citizens, and slightly less than one out of four is presently an American Citizen.

TABLE 5

Country of Highest Degree

Canada	31%
American	44%
United Kingdom	18%
France	4%
Other European	2%

From Table 5, it can be seen that more Canadian political scientists have done their graduate work in the United States than in any other country, even though American citizens account for only twenty-four percent of political scientists teaching in Canada. Similarly, although Britons account for only three percent of the population, six times this number of political scientists in Canada were educated in the United Kingdom. Less than one-third of the members of the profession received their highest degree from a Canadian University.

TABLE 6

Highest degree obtained

B.A.	2%
M.A.	3%
Ph.D. candidacy	31%
Ph.D.	62%
Other	3%

From Table six it can be seen that the attainment of the doctoral degree is seen as important to the university teaching of political science. More than nine out of ten members of the profession either possess their Ph.D., or are presently doctoral candidates. Doctoral candidates are very much concentrated in the younger half of the profession, as would be expected.

These summary data already give us an overall description of the composition of the profession. More can be learned, however, from looking at data concerning the origins of political scientists. By doing this, and by making comparisons with the larger Canadian population, we can know more about who becomes a political scientist, and perhaps more importantly, who doesn't. This in turn can lead us to the larger question of why, and to the possible existence of biases.

The profession is drawn very much from an educational and occupational elite of Canadian society. Parents of political scientists are much better educated than is the average for the population and the occupational status is much higher.

TABLE 7

Education of parents

	Mother	Father
finished high school	22%	12%
finished college	10%	13%
graduate degree	5%	18%

The figures for father's education can be compared to Porter's findings in the Vertical Mosaic, for students in arts and science faculties in 1961, when our average political scientist has just received his first degree.¹ Clearly the biases reported by Porter are even more pronounced for professional political scientists. Twenty-one percent of Porter's students' parents had received a university degree, whereas only 5% of family heads of comparable age held such a degree. The level for our political scientists is even higher at 31%, with 18% of those receiving graduate degrees. In a similar fashion the occupational status of the profession's background can be examined.

TABLE 8

Occupation of father	
Professional	30%
Managerial and proprietary	19%
Skilled labour	12%

In comparing these figures to those reported by Porter² the overall picture of high status of arts and science students as compared to the total population is preserved, although there is reversal of emphasis. Political scientists were drawn most from professional families than business, with the reverse being true for Porter's sample of arts and science undergraduates.

What these findings indicate is that in a society in which only individuals of certain social background are

likely to proceed to higher education, political scientists have preserved and emphasized this pattern. This is a source of bias, as we have used the term, in the profile of the profession.

Turning now to the other measure of bias in the profession that has been developed here, it was found that for some categories of political scientists, very high levels of discrimination were perceived to exist.

TABLE 9

Reported discrimination

Occurance of Discrimination	Basis of Discrimination			
	Racial or Ethnic origin	Sex	Citizenship	Political belief
Against self in graduate school	15%	13%	16%	17%
Against others in graduate school	30%	41%	19%	32%
Against self in department	8%	9%	16%	13%
Against others in department	26%	39%	42%	29%

It is clear that some kinds of discrimination are more evident than others. In our study we were not equipped to deal in detail with discrimination on the basis of political beliefs so we note its reported existence. Most responses citing this type of discrimination emphasized ideological differences within departments which expressed themselves in matters of hiring, promotion, course assignment and personal relations. Similarly,

it is not possible for us to deal with questions of discrimination of racial or ethnic origin although it should be the subject of future work. Sex discrimination is dealt with extensively elsewhere in this report.

However, even if the source and correlates of such discrimination cannot be examined all the figures are needed for meaningful comparative statements. Obviously, sex and citizenship are most clearly seen as reasons for discrimination. It is interesting to note that the lower percent reporting discrimination against self, reflecting smaller absolute numbers in that category, is not maintained in the figures for perceived discrimination against others. Fewer women are in the sample to report discrimination against themselves but others see the level of sex discrimination as almost as high as that on the basis of citizenship.

What is found when the figures for perceived discrimination against self because of citizenship are examined is that those who, for any reason, are not clearly Canadian are more likely to feel that discrimination against them exists.

TABLE 10

Discrimination on the basis of citizenship
against self in present department.

Country of Citizenship	%	Country of Birth	%	Country of Residence	%
Canada	7	Canada	7	Canada (16 yr. plus)	8
United Kingdom	55*	United Kingdom	30	Canada (0 - 5 yr.)	32
United States	31	United States	33	Canada (6 - 10 yr.)	28
*Represents 6 people who have been "slightly" discriminated against.		Other	19	Canada (11 - 15 yr.)	15

It is interesting to note how little the difference is when citizenship or country of birth is controlled.

However, there is not a large amount of intersubjective agreement between Canadians and non-Canadians about the existence of this discrimination.

TABLE 11

Perceived discrimination against
others on the basis of citizenship

Canadian citizens	35%
U.S. citizens	59%
Canadian born	34%
U.S. born	56%

Non-citizens are much more likely to perceive citizenship discrimination against others than are citizens. There is also little difference in the magnitude of this difference for the variable country of birth. This lack of agreement can be contrasted to the high agreement between men and women on the existence of discrimination on the basis of sex. One must conclude that there is little agreement about the nature of citizenship discrimination, the existence of this bias and presumably the desirability of its presence among Canadian political scientists.

However, our study has found that many political scientists are aware of the existence of bias in graduate education and in those departments of which they are presently members. As Table 9 shows, the profession in Canada could not be described by all its members as an open egalitarian community of scholars.

FOOTNOTES

1. See John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, Table XXV, p. 189.
2. *ibid*, Table XXVI, p. 189 for Arts and Science Students.

WOMEN IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

In an examination of the specific question of the background, experience and attitudes of women as compared to men in the discipline, a very distinctive pattern emerges. In tracing this through the data we will first show the relative levels of accomplishment for men and women and compare this to the relative levels of achievement in recognition of men and women. In order to account for the inconsistencies we will examine both the family backgrounds of women as compared to men and the very high levels of perceived discrimination against women on the basis of their sex shared by both male and female political scientists.

The first finding that must be examined is the age distribution of men and women political scientists. Their average age is virtually the same. The mean age of all respondents is 36.2 years and that of the women is 36.9 years.¹ The standard deviation of the two is 9.6 and 8.0. This is worthy of note, especially in the light of subsequent discussions which show that women in our sample have substantially different views and have had different experiences than their male colleagues. These differences cannot be attributed to either the prevailing norms in some earlier period or to women's relative inexperience in the profession. It would also seem to indicate that political science as a discipline has not become any more attractive to women in recent years than it was in the past, despite the emphasis in the popular media on the increasing entry of women into professional and academic circles.

Turning now to the levels of achievement of the female as compared to male respondents, it seems that sex is not a useful differentiating variable. The women in our sample are as highly qualified as the men. Of the women, 59% have completed a Ph.D. degree, as compared to 61% of the men.

All other female respondents are Ph.D. candidates. The rate of publication of the women is somewhat lower than that of the men, but the differences are small.

Table 1

Average Number of Publications of Women & Men

	Women	Men	Magnitude of Difference
Journal articles	1.8	2.6	-0.8
Books	1.0	1.3	-0.3
Book Reviews	1.6	2.6	-1.0
Papers presented at professional conferences (not necessarily published)	2.3	2.2	+0.1

It can be seen from this table that there is not a great deal of difference between the publication rates of the two sexes.² Both tend to publish at a slow rate, but to perform in approximately the same manner. It is interesting to note that the largest difference is for publication of book reviews. Indeed some of the real difference might be masked by the coding scheme used, so that if all the richness of the data had been preserved, the difference would have shown up as even larger. However, it does indicate that, in the case of book reviews, the area in which discretion as to the individual most desirable to perform the task is legitimately exercised, in the past women have not been called upon as frequently as their male colleagues, even though their level of activity in almost all areas of research are very close.

As has been found in numerous other studies of the achievement records of women and men, very little difference has been found. The myth of lower productivity, less professionalization, etc., of women has not been supported. Yet, despite this record of professional success, women are consistently under-represented in those activities which show recognition by other members of the profession and other academies. Their activities in all of these areas are very much lower than the figures for their male colleagues.

Table 2

Participation of Men & Women in Non-teaching Professional Activities

	Women	Men
Departmental administration	36%	53%
University administration	13%	23%
Outside consulting, etc.	44%	61%
Requested to read a paper at a professional conference	41%	68%

In all other these categories it is evident that women have not been as successful as male colleagues in gaining the attention of those who dispense the laurels of the academic world. Obviously we are not able to conclusively show that men are more deserving of these positions than their female colleagues, yet the anomaly does seem to exist of relatively equal objective achievement accompanied by lower rates of recognition.

We are not able to give a conclusive reason for this anomaly. However, in looking more closely at the two sexes in our study two major conclusions emerge. The first is that female political scientists are even more than the men drawn from economic and educational elite of Canadian society. Second, very high levels of perceived sex discrimination against women reported by both men and women. The picture that can be drawn from such findings is of a two level selection process, both levels of which eliminate women from full participation in a career in political science. The women that replied to our questionnaire are very much survivors. They have survived a selection that tends to, first, eliminate those who do not meet certain socio-economic standards and second, to provide even greater hurdles for women than men in the educational process.

Female political scientists, much more than the male members of the vertical mosaic, are drawn from a background of economic and educational achievement. The fathers of 66% of the female respondents were either professionals or owners or managers of businesses, as compared to the fathers of 47% of the men. As well, more than twice as many women (16%) had mothers who were engaged in professional occupations.⁴ Continuing the evidence of high status background, 38% of women's

fathers and 13% of their mothers obtained graduate degrees. The comparable figures for the men are 16% and 5%.⁵ For the rest of the women, their mothers tended to be concentrated in those categories indicating high educational achievement. A similar pattern was not found for the men. What this evidence indicates is that the women respondents are much more likely than the men to have been raised in a family with a high level of academic experience and where the women professional and academic skills for women were the norm. Those women who successfully became political scientists were likely to be those with strong role models of professional and academic achievement in the home. One can conclude from those findings that, while the total sample of political scientists supports Porter's conclusions about the impact of parents' education and occupation on the educational success of the child,⁶ the relationships between high occupational status and high educational achievement and success as a professional political scientist are much starker for women in Canada than for men.

However, this observed differences in background of men and women does not provide us with an explanation for the inconsistency between achievement and recognition shown above. Therefore, we must turn to the evidence provided by our respondents of both sexes that women are not treated equally within the discipline. Discrimination on the basis of sex is shown to exist. In their experience, 63% of the female respondents reported they had suffered from sexual discrimination in their graduate education. More than 50% feel they are subject to such discrimination in their present academic positions. These percentages are astounding in that the predicted values, predicted on the basis of any norm of academic freedom and open universities, should be zero.

Table 3

Levels of Perceived Discrimination Against Women on the Basis of Sex

	Women	Men
Experienced discrimination in graduate school	63%	
Perceived discrimination against others in graduate school	58%	39%
Experienced discrimination in own department	50%	
Perceived discrimination against others in own department	41%	38%

Not only do women feel that they have been unfairly dealt with by their teachers or colleagues, but their perceptions are supported by male colleagues who have observed similar discrimination. The closeness is especially marked in the case of teaching experience, where men and women have witnessed sex discrimination to the same extent. In response to open-ended questioning about the nature of this discrimination, answers clustered around categories of unfair consideration in hiring and job consideration and inequities in treatment in departmental activities. Women were reported to be consciously or unconsciously eliminated from job competition, departmental appointments and other collegial activities.

It seems particularly telling that there is less discrepancy between men and women reporting discrimination against colleagues than in graduate school. A male graduate student would know of discrimination only if it were reported to him. However, a male faculty member has very likely been called upon to actively participate in decisions affecting the career development of his female colleagues. There, any discriminatory activities could be observed first hand.

Moreover, these disadvantages and discouragements are not seen as applying only to women presently teaching political science. It is reported for female students and potential students as well. A very large number of respondents admit that women are underrepresented in political science. This attitude is shown by 84% of the women and 80% of male respondents, with, once again, a very high degree of agreement. But, this underrepresentation is not thought to be due to chance, but rather, many of our respondents believe that women are actually discouraged from becoming political scientists.

Table 4

Degree to which women are discouraged from entering the discipline:

	Women	Men
Women Discouraged ⁷	60%	65%
Women Encouraged	30%	25%
Don't Know	10%	10%
	(30)	(221)

It is interesting to note that it is more men who feel that women are discouraged than women. One explanation for this finding is that male professors may find themselves in the process of advising senior students about future career plans, actually discouraging their female students from going on in political science, whereas the opposite might be true for the female teacher.

There was similar agreement on the degree to which women have an opportunity to successfully obtain a job teaching political science.

Table 5

Perception of job opportunities for women in political science:

	Women	Men
Women have greater opportunity	16%	18%
Women have same opportunity	29%	30%
Women have less opportunity	55%	52%
	(31)	(238)

Once again, the comparability of these figures between sexes must be emphasized. It is astounding that, even in 1973, over 50% of the profession thinks that women do not have the same opportunities as men in a job competition. Not only the women, but also the men, who have presumably participated in the hiring process in their own department to a greater or lesser extent, report their understanding and often experience of inequality of opportunity between the sexes.

There is also some support from both sexes for some kind of policy within universities or departments to eliminate the inequalities. Support for several possible policies is shown in Table 6.

Table 6

Opinion on special treatment of women on university faculties:

	Women	Men
Favour preferential hiring of women	39%	23%
Neutral on preferential hiring of women	21%	19%
Favour establishment of quotas to increase number of women	34%	20%
Neutral on establishment of quotas	9%	14%

What these findings show is that not all those who perceive discrimination are willing to act to eliminate the resulting inequality but some steps are seen as viable. Well over 50% of the women and 40% of the men are not opposed to some preferential hiring of women, while almost two fifths of both sexes do not oppose quotas to increase the number of women on university faculties.

However, it is perhaps more interesting to note that there is very widespread support for removing the inequalities that presently are attached to part time work. A very large percentage of our respondents supported measures which would treat part time work more equitably.

Table 7

Favourable opinion on part time teachers receiving benefits that others teaching full time receive:

	Women	Men
Tenure	93%	70%
Seniority	96%	81%
Promotions	100%	86%
Other non-financial benefits	100%	91%

If some of these measures were supported by both universities and departments of political science, the pressure on both men and women to avoid half time work would be lessened. More flexible arrangements could be arrived at that would not force decisions about children, about marriage, about lifestyle on young political scientists. Women have had to bear the burden of these forced decisions up until now,⁸ but it seems that the attitudes of many political scientists are such that new alternatives could become viable. The amount of agreement between men and women on these questions is once again very impressive and there seems to be substantial support for some kind of positive action.

- 1 This finding will be used throughout subsequent analysis as justification for not using controls for age in some places where it might seem especially appropriate. Because of the small number of women respondents (32) use of a third variable in contingency tables would not be appropriate for reasons of possible identification of respondents.
- 2 These findings are supported by several other studies which show that publication rates of women are as high as male academics. See, for example, Guyer & Fidell, American Psychologist, 1973, or Bowen, "The Academic Woman and the Canadian University," University Affairs, July 1973.
- 3 In answer to the question about numbers of publications, the maximum code was eight mentions. All numbers greater than eight were included in that category. For books, articles, etc., this scheme was satisfactory because very few respondents reported more than eight publications. However, the coders did note that a larger number of respondents reported more than eight book reviews. In fact, 16% of the male respondents were in that category, as compared to 6% of the women. This difference was greater than the highest category of the other variables.
- 4 These figures are much higher than those for the Canadian population as a whole. See John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, Toronto, 1965, p. 567.
- 5 These figures, as well, are higher than Canadian population of family heads aged 35-65 years in 1961. See Porter, op.cit., p. 189. Obviously not all the ages of fathers of our respondents are caught in Porter's sample but some indication of comparability can be given.
- 6 Op.cit., Table XXII, p. 184 and Table XXV, p. 189.
- 7 Those who felt that women were discouraged were coded into two groups. The first was those who answered simply that it was true. Women were discouraged. The second category was those who attributed the cause of the discouragement to a lack of interest of women in politics in general or to a society which defines politics and therefore the study of politics as man's work. 21% of the men indicated it was due to something other than girl's direct experience in political science and 23% of women fell into this category.
- 8 Partial evidence of this type of forced decision is found in the lower rates of marriage and fewer children of women political scientists as compared to men.

Marital Status

	Women	Men
Married	53%	82%
Single	31%	14%
Ever married	69%	86%

The figures for parenthood are 70% of the men and 50% of the women.