Representation and Civil Society: Struggles for Representation within the Canadian Political Science Association (CPSA)*

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Introduction: Key Questions

One hundred years ago, the few academic organizations that existed in Canada represented a very narrow range of people in Canadian society. In particular, women, racial and sexual minorities were not well represented either within the professoriate or within their academic organizations. In the intervening years, the number of academic organizations has not only multiplied, but some disciplines have been utterly transformed and are more representative of members of Canadian society in significant respects. Others have shown less improvement and still stubbornly lag behind in their counterparts in their representation of Canadian society. **Where does political science fit in this picture?**

How representative of Canadian society is our discipline?

If we take gender as one measure of representation, we can see that as a discipline, political science has improved, but is not yet fully representative in significant ways.

Gender is one of the easier measures of representation to examine. Women students are underrepresented in political science, relative to Canada wide averages, and relative to the enrolments in social sciences in general.[1] As of 2003, women constituted 58.2% of all undergraduate enrolments across all disciplines, a dramatic gain over the past thirty years. Women also constituted 51.4% of all M.A. students and 45.6% of all Ph.D. students in 2003 (CAUT March 2008, 2). Yet, as Table 1 shows, even though the social science disciplines in particular have show dramatic increases in the numbers of women enrolled at the undergraduate, M.A., and Ph.D. levels, these increases are far from uniform across the disciplines within social science. At the undergraduate level, while sixty-six percent of enrolments in the social sciences are women, in political science this percentage drops to forty-seven percent. Thus, of the fifty-one social science disciplines, our discipline ranks among the lowest in its percentage of women undergraduates; ranking at number forty-eight just above economics, cognitive science and science, technology and society (CAUT *Almanac*, Students, Table 3.11).

Not only are women not well-represented in the discipline at the undergraduate level, but a pattern of attrition is evident as women move into the Ph.D. level of study. Almost half of the students enrolled at the M.A. level in political science are women, compared to sixty-three percent for all the social sciences. Most troubling, at the Ph.D. level, the percentage of women enrolled in political science drops to forty-two percent while the average for the social sciences in sixty percent. Whatever the reasons for both the under-representation and

[1] The reference to social science in this paper is to all the social and behavioural sciences and law as compiled by Statistics Canada. For a complete list of the disciplines included in this list, see: CAUT Almanac of Post-Secondary Education 2007, Table 3.11.

attrition, as a discipline we draw on a smaller pool of qualified students than is present in the general student population, and this problem is compounded, especially at the Ph.D. level. As CAUT's *Women's University Enrolments* concludes: "it is important to recognize that the feminization of universities has not been spread evenly across disciplines" (8)

Table 1: University Enrolment by Selected Disciplines, 2004-2005*

	Bachelor and other degree			Masters Enrolment			Ph.D. Enrolment		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total Enrolments across Social and Behavioural Sciences and Law	132,303	33.90%	66.10%	10,015	37.00%	63.00%	6,524	39.70%	60.30%
Selected Disciplines:									
Anthropology	4,314	25.60%	74.40%	537	26.70%	73.30%	315	37.40%	62.60%
Economics	13,569	60.50%	39.50%	1,309	54.90%	45.10%	598	65.10%	34.90%
Geography	6,969	46.80%	53.20%	754	50.10%	49.90%	469	57.10%	42.90%
International relations and affairs	527	33.80%	66.20%	75	41.40%	58.60%	0	0.00%	0.00%
International/global studies	831	27.30%	72.70%	104	47.10%	52.90%	0	0.00%	0.00%
Law (LL.B, J.D., BCL)	6,374	41.40%	58.60%	30	46.40%	53.60%			
Peace studies and conflict resolution	80	28.30%	71.70%	24	37.50%	62.50%			
Political science and government	15,524	52.90%	47.10%	1,387	50.40%	49.60%	703	57.50%	42.50%
Psychology, general	32,599	20.80%	79.20%	1,027	24.70%	75.30%	2,090	25.20%	74.80%
Sociology	15,675	21.80%	78.20%	800	32.10%	67.90%	704	39.70%	60.30%
Total across all undergraduate disciplines	622,655	41.80%	58.20%	68,182	48.60%	51.40%	30,394	54.40%	45.60%

* Table adapted from the *CAUT Almanac of Post-secondary Education*, 2007, Table 3.11

These same patterns of under-representation and attrition are also evident in the ranks of full-time university teachers. Women faculty are underrepresented in political science, relative to all other disciplines, and relative to the social sciences in general. As seen in Table 2, as of 2004-2005, women constituted 32.6% of all female faculty members across all disciplines, reflecting a dramatic increase over the past thirty years. Yet, as with the student enrolments, these increases in women faculty members are uneven across the disciplines, and even within social science. While fifty percent of women faculty members in the social sciences are women, in political science this percentage drops dramatically to twenty-nine percent. Of the eighteen disciplines listed in the social sciences, political science ranks fifth from the bottom in its representation of women faculty, with economics at the bottom (16.5%) followed by demography (25%), geography (25.5%), man and environment studies (26.1%) and commerce (27.8%).

Table 2: Full-time Canadian University Teachers by Subject, Rank and Sex, 2004-2005 *										
	Full Professor		Associate		Assistant		Other		All Ranks	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Anthropology	66.70%	33.30%	46.90%	53.10%	43.60%	56.40%	--	--	52.30%	47.70%
Archeology	83.30%	16.70%	33.30%	66.70%	66.70%	33.30%	--	--	68.80%	31.30%
Area Studies	66.70%	33.30%	60.00%	40.00%	57.90%	42.10%	28.60%	71.40%	54.80%	45.20%
Canadian Studies	75.00%	25.00%	42.90%	57.10%	33.30%	66.70%	33.30%	66.70%	45.00%	55.00%
Commerce, Management, Business Administration	84.20%	15.80%	72.90%	27.10%	68.90%	31.10%	53.10%	46.90%	72.20%	27.80%
Criminology	72.70%	27.30%	66.70%	33.30%	55.60%	44.40%	33.30%	66.70%	62.50%	37.50%
Demography	75.00%	25.00%	75.00%	25.00%	66.70%	33.30%	--	--	75.00%	25.00%
Economics	94.60%	5.40%	81.40%	18.60%	74.00%	26.00%	64.70%	35.30%	83.50%	16.50%
Geography	90.90%	9.10%	69.20%	30.80%	64.50%	35.50%	50.00%	50.00%	74.50%	25.50%
Law	71.00%	29.00%	54.10%	45.90%	52.00%	48.00%	14.30%	85.70%	60.40%	39.60%
Man and Environment Studies	85.00%	15.00%	71.40%	28.60%	68.40%	31.60%	--	--	73.90%	26.10%
Other Social Services	0.00%	0.00%	--	--	--	--	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Political Sciences	82.90%	17.10%	69.10%	30.90%	60.60%	39.40%	63.60%	36.40%	71.00%	29.00%
Psychology	70.30%	29.70%	58.30%	41.70%	48.10%	51.90%	57.10%	42.90%	60.20%	39.80%
Social Work	66.70%	33.30%	46.90%	53.10%	23.70%	76.30%	22.20%	77.80%	39.20%	60.80%
Sociology	68.40%	31.60%	51.40%	48.60%	41.30%	58.70%	61.50%	38.50%	54.20%	45.80%
Administration Studies	85.00%	15.00%	66.70%	33.30%	58.30%	41.70%	--	--	71.70%	28.30%
Social Sciences and Related	70.00%	30.00%	42.90%	57.10%	47.40%	52.60%	40.00%	60.00%	50.00%	50.00%
Not Reported	88.90%	11.10%	77.80%	22.20%	68.00%	32.00%	60.00%	40.00%	72.90%	27.10%
Total All Social Sciences	78.70%	21.30%	64.30%	35.70%	57.10%	42.90%	51.80%	48.20%	66.10%	33.90%
Total All Disciplines	81.20%	18.80%	65.30%	34.70%	58.60%	41.40%	45.20%	54.80%	67.40%	32.60%
* Adapted from *CAUT Almanac of Post-Secondary Education 2007*, Academic Staff, Table 2.11										

Not only are women faculty members less well-represented in the discipline, but a similar pattern of attrition is evident as women faculty members progress through the ranks of the professoriate. If we recall that 42.4% of Ph.D. enrolments in political science are female, a smaller proportion (39.4%) is hired into the ranks as assistant professors. The proportion of female associate professors also declines to 30.9%, and drops again to 17.1% for full professors. At each level, the numbers of female faculty members in political science is significantly lower than that of the social sciences in general, and lower than the average in all disciplines. So the patterns of under-representation and attrition evident among students are also replicated among faculty members. If we draw on a smaller pool of qualified people as we move up the ranks of our discipline, we diminish the talent pool of the discipline.

While gender is somewhat easy to measure because we have access to government statistics, broken down by discipline and sex, other significant measures of representation are more difficult to assess because Statistics Canada's University and College Academic Staff System (UCASS) does not collect statistics on "Aboriginal peoples, persons with disabilities, and sexual minorities" (CAUT, *A Partial Picture* 1). Still, CAUT monitors equity seeking groups using the self-reported census data, and notes disturbing trends of under-representation among aboriginals and visible minorities. CAUT notes that "aboriginal Canadians are largely absent from the ranks of academic" (CAUT, *Closing the Equity Gap* 1). While 2.3% of the labour force is Aboriginal, only 0.7% of university teachers reported as Aboriginal (CAUT, *Partial Picture* 2). While the percentage of visible minority professors "reflects the composition of the labour force as a whole" (3) "visible minority university teachers earn well below the average salaries of all professors and are more likely to experience unemployment" (1). The same report also documents a 13.2% lower wage in the earnings of visible minority professors and a 19.8% lower wage for women professors (2-3). While data from the U.S. and Britain, where they do collect his data, indicate that women and visible minorities are over-represented in part-time and college teaching, and a similar pattern may exist in Canada, unfortunately no similar data is collected in Canada (CAUT, *Partial Picture* 3-4).

Historically, it has been argued that these patterns are not a problem. The American Political Science Association (APSA), for example, initiated a study in 1929 into the problem of political science graduates finding suitable work. The committee explicitly assumed that the APSA had "little or no control" over who chose to enter the profession. Students enter the discipline as undergraduates because the discipline interests them: "As the student's interest is aroused and his abilities are shown, the helpful teacher of the subject guides and encourages him, advises graduate work where he thinks it desirable, and gives other

assistance" (APSA 181). Decades later, similar assumptions were also echoed in economics

> Although the evidence indicates that women are underrepresented in the field of economics, it is not clear whether efforts to change the gender balance are justified. Many people see little need for intervention, arguing that women are inherently less interested in economics, or that women are less willing or able to acquire the math skills needed to do well in the subject (Dynan and Rouse 1).

While the above study was able to demonstrate that the issue of math skills was not significant, it did conclude that: "when upperclass students were asked why they did not take introductory economics in their first year, women were over twice as likely as men to respond that they 'did not think that economics was interesting'" (17).

This approach recognizes that there is a discrepancy, for example, in the gender balance in the undergraduate years, but ascribes this discrepancy to the student's interest and assumes the discipline has no role in shaping that discrepancy. The problem with this approach is that it cannot account for the ongoing patterns of attrition evident in disciplines like political science, economics[2] and geography. While one may argue that undergraduates' ignorance about a discipline may cause their numbers to drop between a B.A. and an M.A., the same cannot be assumed between and M.A. and a Ph.D. The 53% of women who start out in Geography as undergraduates may not know enough about the discipline to assess whether they are "interested," but the 50% women enrolled in a Geography M.A. have surely indicated an interest in the discipline. How do we account for the drop to 43% at the Ph.D. level? Levels of student interest as an explanation are not sufficient to explain this problem. While the past century has shown dramatic improvements in some measures of representation, some disciplines, including political science, have consistently fallen behind their disciplinary cohorts in improving gender representation within their ranks. We need to ask:

Why have some disciplines have changed so dramatically and others have not?

Perhaps a more compelling explanation is to argue that this is a product of discrimination. CAUT, for example, makes this assumption: "Discrimination in post-secondary education is a serious concern, not only because it raises fundamental questions about basic fairness and justice, but also because it threatens to undermine quality in teaching and research" (CAUT, *Partial Picture*, 1). Discrimination is also noted as a significant factor in other disciplines, for example, economics (Currie, Mitra and Startz, and Yamada). While

[2] In economics, this phenomena is called the "leaky pipeline" (Blau 509).

discrimination may certainly play a part, one wonders how this could explain discrepancies among disciplines. Given the disparities among disciplines, are we to conclude that some disciplines simply discriminate more than others both in their hiring practices and assessment practices of students? How does this account for the initial under-representation, for example, of women entering the discipline as undergraduates? This discrimination assumption may explain some things, but it remains unsatisfactory.

Another possible answer lies in the nature of the discipline. Vickers, for example, develops a cogent argument that suggests that political science embodies four paradigmatic assumptions that make it difficult for women to be included in the discipline: 1) a focus on official state politics which excludes women's forms of political organizing; 2) an acceptance of a private public split which excludes or subordinates women in the public sphere; 3) the exclusion of private-sphere activities as non-political; and 4) the assumption that state structures and processes are sex and gender neutral (*Reinventing Political Science*, 12-13). Certainly similar arguments could be made for other disciplines that remain consistently behind, such as economics and geography. The nature of the discipline itself excludes women. Could this explain why some women find particular disciplines uninteresting?

Yet another partial answer to this question may lie in how the disciplinary-based academic organizations have addressed issues of representation and how they have responded to the challenge for more representation within their ranks. I have embarked on a research project into the history of the Canadian Political Science Association (CPSA), dating from its origins in 1913. I chose Political Science because it is not only my discipline, but it also continues to lag behind many other disciplines in its representation of Canadian society on a number of the measures discussed above, and thus becomes an interesting case study of a discipline slower to change than others.

My larger project will explore the challenges to the CPSA to be more inclusive and how it responded to these challenges in the last century, based on recorded minutes. This will contribute to our understanding of how an academic organization conceived of its representative role and how it responded to challenges of representation. Though my initial interest was concerning gender representation, my study will broaden to include those issues of representation that arose throughout the past century, including race, sexualities, region, nationality, student and Francophone representation. This will also become the basis for future comparative research into similar academic organizations. My hope is that a more detailed knowledge of organizational history of specific academic organizations might provide deeper insight into the disciplinary disparities in response to challenges for broader representation.

I originally requested minutes from the CPSA when I began this research six years ago. I read about thirty years of minutes, but my research agenda was cut

short when I agreed to take on significant administrative duties. So for five years this project lay fallow. Returning to this project, I have decided to start with the initial meeting of the CPSA to provide some insight into how it addressed and conceived of issues of representation at the time of its birth. Before I turn to this, however, we have one final question to confront. Why is representation important?

Why does it matter that we have balanced representation in academic disciplines?

Certainly CAUT asserts that this is a matter of fairness and equity in terms of employment, but it is much more than this. Academics are important intellectual gatekeepers in civil society. They play a significant role in validating intellectual knowledge, including framing which questions are important to fund and investigate and which answers are worth heeding. Academic scholarship influences public policy on a vast range of social, political and scientific issues.

> Extensive empirical study over the past two decades has found that gender, race, and sexual orientation do have some influence on the attitudes and behaviours of those [elites] in key decision-making positions…. In sum, there is an impressive body of research developed at different times and places, and by different disciplines, which reports that the presence of women in positions of power makes a difference. Similar research has been done concerning race. The findings here are considered stronger than those concerning gender (Ogmundson 315-6).

Beyond fairness and equity, a more representative student and faculty cohort may broaden the areas of intellectual inquiry our discipline addresses. After all, some of the most cutting edge research of late includes “developments in research on gender, race, class, and sexuality” (Brandes, et al, 319). In short, fair representation does matter.

Historical Origins of the CPSA

The CPSA was conceived in the United States in 1912. A group of eight Canadian political scientists, attending the meeting of the American Economic Association in Boston gathered for lunch and resolved to plan the first Canadian meeting for the following year in Ottawa (Taylor 581). At that point in time, the discipline of political science was in its infancy in Canada. The University of Toronto established the first Department of Political Economy and Constitutional History in 1888, followed by Queen’s Department of Political Science in 1891, McGill’s Department of Political Science in 1899, “McMaster in 1904, the University de Montréal in 1907, Manitoba in 1909, and Dalhousie and Acadia in 1912” (Taylor 582).

The first meeting of the CPSA was held on Sept. 4th -6th in 1913, with 240 members joining the new society. The aims of the new association were to:

> … provid[e] a clearing-house for discussion of the most vital among our political, economic, and social problems. It seeks to bring together men who have something significant to say, men who realize the need of finding out the point of view of fellow-Canadians interested in the same questions. It commits itself to no policy, but offers a free field for presenting and discussing any policy" (CPSA 1914, 3).

It was a prestigious event, addressed by none other than the Prime Minister Borden who spoke briefly of the challenges facing Canada, which unlike England, did not enjoy the luxury of a "large leisure class" who had the time to study politics.

> In the political field, perhaps the most important issue is the problem of binding in a strong harmonious whole the men of the different creeds and races of which the Canadian nation is built up…. No country has ever been called upon to face so relatively great a task of assimilation as is imposed upon Canada by the large accessions to her population. If these came from the two or three original stocks which settled this country, the problem would not be so great; it is intensified by the fact that they are being in part drawn from other sources, very desirable indeed, but at the same time differing among themselves and from us in their ideals and methods of government (Borden, 7-8).

Beyond the challenge of immigration and assimilation, he identified several other issues as crucial challenges for Canada: economic development, political integration, reconciling tensions between consumers and producers, and securing "the equality of men before the law" and "as far as possible, equality of opportunity (8).

The organization encouraged study of "Political, Economic and Social problems" without partisanship. Membership was exclusive: one had to be nominated by an existing member and accepted by the Executive committee to join, upon paying the two dollar membership fee. One wonders: Who were they trying to keep out of the CPSA with this clause? A fifty dollar payment would make one a member for life, exempted from annual dues. The administration consisted of one President, three-Vice Presidents, a secretary-treasurer, and ten elected members who would serve for two years. Five executive members constituted a quorum for the executive, and ten members constituted a quorum for the Association meetings (CPSA 1913, 152). The association clearly planned to meet on an annual basis, but World War I intervened and they did not meet again until 1929.

The kinds of subjects the association expected to address included distribution of powers, international relations, social issues, economic problems (such as the production of wealth, transportation, exchange of goods and services, prices, bargaining, wages, banking, financial questions), public policy, legislation, administration, laws, efficiency of government, and the extension of the franchise. The initial presentation of papers reflected a much narrower range of topics. Two papers were presented on agriculture, one on immigrant housing, one on city government, one on the role of the middleman, and of course one on the perennially pressing Canadian issue: the constitution.[3]

Elitism:

The President's inaugural address spoke to the rationale for establishing such an organization in Canada. Shortt began by noting the precedent of similar associations from "more civilized countries" (England and the United States) including "the Statistical Society, the Royal Economic Society, and the American Economic and the American Political Science Associations" (Shortt 9). Many of his cohorts on the founding executive had active memberships in these organizations. His speech emphatically distinguished the importance of the work of scholars from that of mere political practitioners, or worse yet, common citizens:

> This raises a further pertinent question as to how far the people, even under the most perfect machinery for registering their views, can be said to have any intelligent opinions on quite a number of very important questions which call for political action, but which require for their proper understanding a more highly specialized knowledge along certain lines, than even the wisest citizen, not especially interested in that line, may have had either the time or opportunity to acquire." (13)
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> One does not attempt fine work through the instrumentality of a mob. It is through a select, active minority that the most effective and progressive ideas as to the political and social welfare must be introduced, as through the surgeon's injecting needle, into the tissues of the body politic. If the operation is skilfully performed, the serum will diffuse itself by way of the proper channels throughout the whole system. Doubtless much depends on the quality of the serum. (10)

In short, without the knowledge and training in modern scholarship, ordinary people could not hope to make reasoned judgements about political matters:

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[3] Papers titles included: C. Hill-Tout, "Government Aid to Agriculture;" R.H. Coats, "The Role of the Middleman;" J.A. Stevenson, "Agricultural Credit Systems and the West;" A.H.F. LeFroy, "Points of Special Interest in Canada's Federal Constitution;" Bryce M. Stewart, "The Housing of our Immigrant Workers;" and a series of smaller papers on "City Government in Canada."

"The gift of freedom without the capacity or training to manage themselves leads to many unfortunate consequences. Such persons are sailing a craft they do not understand, through waters of whose rocks and shoals they have the most imperfect knowledge, and with the haziest ideas as to the direction and purpose of their journey" (14-15). Shortt had little faith in the democratic ideals of an active citizenry taking an interest in politics and making informed decisions in the selection of political representatives. I suggest this is an interesting issue of representation that remains with us to this day. To what extent does the expertise of scholarship outweigh the democratic wisdom of the electorate?

Still another problem was one of bias, where experts could lack an "impartial manner" or a "single eye to the public good" (16). Partisan politics was suspect in providing satisfactory answers to public questions:

> There are, however, few atmospheres in which the broader and more progressive phases of theses questions can be systematically discussed or cultivated by both special students and men of affairs; where discussion may be free and unsuspect, where the presentation and criticism of ideas can take place without the constant side glances at political parties and policies, particular men and private interests" (17).

The CPSA would provide such a forum. "The Association simply aims to bring together for mutual information and assistance the more thoughtful and public-spirited of just such citizens" (17).

The vision of the "typical citizen" who would join the CPSA, according to Shortt, is striking in the breadth of its representation:

> The member of parliament and the administrative chief, the manufacturer and the skilled mechanic, the employer of labour and the officer of the trade union, the banker and the trustee, the corporation manager and the railroad official, the broker and the tax commissioner, the journalist and the lawyer, the clergyman and the social worker, these and scores of other typical citizens, on whom much depends for the successful working of our Canadian democracy, are invited to avail themselves of this common meeting ground for the study of the interests which they have in common" (18).

In short, the CPSA would bring together interested parties across a broad spectrum of Canadian society and allow objective, scientific consideration of the pressing issues of the day, suited to the Canadian context. "It involves the making of a thorough first-hand study of our own conditions and institutions and acquiring a larger perspective of ourselves and our affairs. Having appreciated our needs, possibilities and capacities from this larger and more scientific point of view, we ought to be able to contribute thoroughly original and effective solutions for many of our specifically Canadian problems and conditions" (18-19).

One has a clear sense in these initial discussions of the CPSA's mandate that the audience for all these deliberations was the government itself. The CPSA would be a forum where educated men, more learned than the democratic masses, and without partisan or private biases, could approach issues of public policy in a detached, scholarly and scientific manner. The result would provide government and the public with sound strategies for dealing with pressing political issues. Despite the rhetoric about the "typical citizens" from all walks of life who would participate in the CPSA, as we shall see, from the outset the organization was premised on an elitist, if not anti-democratic foundation.

Representation on the first CPSA Executive:

Early political science departments were often staffed by few professors, many who had not been trained in political science as we know it today. In the following brief biographical sketches of selected founding executive members of the CPSA, we can see some of the issues of representation that were salient at the time the organization was conceived.

Adam Shortt was the founding president of the CPSA. He graduated with a B.A. (1884) and M.A. (1885) from Queen's (Kingston), but also studied at Glasgow and Edinburgh universities. He was first appointed as an assistant professor of Philosophy at Queen's in 1885, and became the first full-time lecturer in political science 1892 until his resignation in 1908, when moved to Ottawa to become a civil service commissioner. With his training as an economist and historian, he became a leading expert in Canadian economic history (Gordon). By 1913, he was listed in the CPSA proceedings as having a Doctorate of Law and as a Companion member of Order of St. Michael and St. George, a British order people are appointed to for foreign or diplomatic service (6).

James Mavor, the first Vice-President of the CPSA, originally studied philosophy at the University of Glasgow, but withdrew upon falling ill before completion of his degree. He became involved in social reform for the working poor, and was an active participant in several socialist societies, though he came to reject socialism in his later years. He was appointed chair of the political science department at the University of Toronto in 1892 and remained there until 1923. His appointment was not without controversy. A student strike in 1895 disputed his academic competence and qualifications. "William Lyon Mackenzie King, an undergraduate in the political science department and a leader of the strike, was particularly antagonistic towards Mavor, especially after King was denied a prestigious fellowship. Though many of these conflicts were rooted in university politics and personal relations, it is notable that Mavor's detractors consistently fed the notion of [his] 'academic unsuitability.'" He made matters worse by his open disdain of Toronto as "a colonial backwater and its inhabitants as minor players of limited intellect." In his years as chair of the department, he focused

on the empirical side of the discipline and encouraged the contracting out of social science research to government (Panayotidis).

Sydney Fisher was the second Vice-President of the CPSA. From a wealthy Montreal family, he graduated top of his class from high school, attended McGill and earned a "B.A. in political economy and scientific agriculture from Trinity College, Cambridge" (Drummond 1). Early in is career he developed several farm properties to showcase "scientific agriculture." He ran for office several times, and finally won a seat in a federal by-election in Brome 1882. An ardent supporter of free-trade and an opponent of John A. Macdonald's national policy, he allied himself with the Laurier Liberals. In 1896, Fisher became minister of agriculture, and introduced a number of significant initiatives in agriculture related to food safety: reporting farm diseases, registration, inspection and conservation. He also led the initiative to establish a civil service commission in Canada in 1907. Fisher lost his seat in the 1911 election, and was again defeated in a by-election on October 11, 1913, a few short weeks after the CPSA's first meeting. He continued his affiliation with the Liberal party until his death in 1921 (Drummond).

Fisher remained unmarried, and according to his biographer, with his elegant manners he "was entertained as a sought-after bachelor, in demand at Mme. Laurier's dinner parties" (Drummond 1). He may not have been too much fun at those parties because he was also served for fifteen years as the Vice President of the Dominion Alliance for the total Suppression of the Liquor Traffic, from 1882 to 1897, an all-male national temperance organization. Notably, this predominantly English and Protestant organization also discouraged francophone and Catholic participation (Decarie), but late in the day it endorsed woman suffrage in 1909 after presentations from Canada's leading suffragists, Dr. Stowe-Gullen, Dr. Gordon and Mrs. Mary Craigie (Cleverdon 30). This was decades after the other significant national temperance organization, the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), supported women's suffrage (Cleverdon 11).

Herbert B. Ames, also from Montreal was the Third Vice-President of the CPSA. Ames family wealth came from a successful boot and shoe business, and also served as director of several insurance companies. He devoted his life to fighting political corruption in the electoral system, in Montreal and beyond (Ames), and to addressing the problems of poverty. In 1904 he became a Conservative Member of Parliament, serving until 1920. He wrote a series of articles about the poor in the south end of Montreal, that were later published as a book, *The City Below the Hill*. "It was one of the earliest sociological descriptions of the working-class district of west-end Montreal, and expressed Ames's conviction that poverty and the social problems associated with it were less a consequence of laziness and intemperance than of sporadic and irregular employment at inadequate rates of remuneration. He was convinced that the poor, if given the opportunity, would

Table 3: Representation in the CPSA Executive, 1913[4]

	Born	Region[5]	Profession	Degrees	Politics	Language
Adam Shortt President	Ontario	Ottawa	Professor, civil service	Queen's B.A., M.A. (studied at Glasgow and Edinburgh)		English
James Mavor 1st VP	Scotland	Toronto	Professor	University of Glasgow – no degree (Philosophy)		English
Sydney Fisher 2nd VP	Montreal	Ottawa	M.P.	McGill College, B.A. Political Ec. and Scientific Agriculture, Cambridge	Liberal	English
Herbert Ames 3rd VP	Montreal	Montreal	M.P.		Conservative	English
O.D. Skelton Secretary Treasurer	Orangeville	Kingston	Professor	B.A. Queen's (Classics) Ph.D. Chicago, Political Economy	Liberal	English
James Bonar	Scotland	Ottawa	Civil Servant, Royal Mint Ottawa	B.A. Oxford, L.L.D. Glasgow (Economic Historian)		English
George Y. Chown		Kingston	Manufacturer			
John A. Cooper[6]		Toronto	Writer and Editor	B.A.	Conservative	English
C. Hill-Tout[7]	England	Abbotsford.B.C.	Farmer, Anthropologist	Theology		English
Stephen Leacock	England	Montreal	Professor, humorist	Upper Canada College U of Toronto Chicago, Ph.D. Economics and Political Science	Conservative	English
A.H. Lefroy	Toronto	Toronto	Lawyer, Court Reporter, Professor Law	B.A. Oxford, Law Degree – England and Ontario		English
G.I.H. Lloyd[8]		Toronto	Professor Political Economy	M.A. Cambridge (Economics)		
Hector McInnes		Halifax	Law (K.C.)	Law		
Édouard Montpetit[9]	Montmagy, PQ	Montreal	Professor	Collège de Montréal Montréal, Laval (Law) Paris, École libre des sciences politiques		French
Walter C. Murray[10]	Studholm Parish New Brunswick	Saskatoon	University President	B.A. U.N.B. M.A. Philosophy, Edinburgh		English

[4] Unless otherwise noted, all the biographical information for this table has been found in the Canadian Encyclopedia Online.
[5] This refers to the region where they were from in 1913.
[6] *To Represent Canada*; Cooper.
[7] Woodcock.
[8] A.L.B.
[9] Bélanger.
[10] University of Saskatchewan. Archives.

work to escape the poverty of slum life" (Regehr). These political convictions were also reflected in his lifetime devotion to improving the lot of the working poor through "progressive employment practices" and philanthropic funding of an apartment complex for the poor in Montreal (Regehr).

O.D. Skelton was the first secretary-Treasurer for the CPSA. He studied classics at Queen's, earned a doctorate in political economy at Chicago, and then returned to Queen's as a professor of political science and economics from 1909 to 1925. He published extensively in economic history and current affairs. Like many of his cohort on the CPSA executive, he also had significant political ties, with close links to Laurier, having worked for Laurier in the 1911 election, but also becoming a consultant to both Liberal and Conservative governments under Mackenze King and R.B. Bennett. He became a "leading civil servant," a "key advisor on domestic and foreign policy," and "the founder of the modern Department of Foreign Affairs and international Trade" (Hillmer).

From these profiles, and the profiles of other executive members summarized in Table 3, we can understand more fully some of the issues that might have animated the founding members. First, with two exceptions, the executive came from Ontario and Quebec, and largely from the cities. Rural Canada, which was still fifty percent of the country at this time, was not well-represented. From what I could discern, only one executive member was a francophone. The curious feature of having three Vice-Presidents could be explained by the presence of one Liberal one Conservative and one academic VP, thus addressing the issue of being non-partisan.

Even more telling is where these executive members were educated and what kinds of degrees they earned. While a number of those born in Canada had their early education in Canada, almost to the person they all went abroad for their M.A. or Ph.D. Most studied in England or Scotland, at the University of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Cambridge, and Oxford. Two members, O.D. Skelton and Stephen Leacock, earned their Ph.D. in political economy at the University of Chicago. And one member, Édouard Montpetit, studied at the École libre des sciences politiques in Paris. Furthermore, not all these degrees were even in politics and some did not even have degrees. A number of them studied economics, and a few studied other disciplines like philosophy, classics, theology and law. This educational profile of the executive gives one a sense of the challenges facing these academics to establish credibility for the study of Canadian politics on Canadian soil. The President's address calling for specialized training and the scientific study of politics becomes more understandable in light of this context.

1913 Membership

We know much less about the 240 people who took out memberships in 1913. Their names, cities, and in some cases titles are all that is listed in the 1914 publication of the CPSA membership list. From this we can glean some information about the kinds of people represented by the membership. First, the membership did have a surprisingly broad geographic base, with at least one member from each of the nine provinces, and eleven from outside Canada, mostly the United States. Having said that, Quebec was dramatically underrepresented, given its population base and its geographic proximity to the meeting in Ottawa. Manitoba and Nova Scotia were well represented. The vast majority of the members listed came from large urban centres like Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa, Halifax, or Winnipeg, so rural Canada was not well represented.

Table 4: 1913 CPSA Membership by Province	
British Columbia	9
Alberta	6
Saskatchewan	7
Manitoba	17
Ontario	135
Quebec	32
New Brunswick	4
Prince Edward Island	1
Nova Scotia	18
US	10
UK	1
	240

In some cases, the membership list also included titles which allow us to identify professional standing or occupations (Table 5), though it is not at all clear that the titles were used consistently. Sixteen percent of members had a discernable professional occupation. Not surprisingly, the most common professional designation was as a Member of Parliament or a Legislature, including Prime Minister Borden, Sir Richard McBride, Premier of British Columbia, and William Lyon Mackenzie King. A significant number of lawyers and doctors were also present, though we cannot tell whether the “Dr.” designation meant a medical doctor or a Ph.D. A number of clergy were also present, including the Bishop of Kingston and the notable social gospel advocate and founder of the CCF, the Rev. J.S. Woodsworth. Even socialist activist, H.B. Ashplant who ran for the Socialist Labour Party in 1898 in London Ontario joined (Wrigley). It is almost impossible to tell which members were professors since few used a title to distinguish that occupation, but one suspects that those numbers would have been significant.

Table 5: CPSA Membership Occupations[11]

Military	5
Law	16
Academics	6
Religious	9
Politician	18
Doctor[12]	15
Urban	0
Rural	0
	38

The lone identifiable woman among the 240 members was a Mrs. Archibald M. Huestis. We know little about her, except her activities during the war years, and from that we can glean that she had formidable organizing skills and a keen interest in politics. According to the *Canadian Women's Annual and Social Service Directory* of 1915, she was President of the Toronto Local Council of Women (64) and through that Council was involved in establishing the Toronto Women's Industrial Farm in Thornhill. The "'healthful life and work on the farm'" (which was to be cultivated almost entirely by women) under the control (as it has been put) 'of sociologists rather than turnkeys' would result in the uplift of many an unfortunate woman" (282). She was also involved in organizing the Women's Patriotic League in 1914 in support of the war effort (313). According to Ian Hugh Maclean Miller in *Our Glory and Our Grief*, as President of the Local Council of Women in Toronto during the Great War, she organized a massive rally of over 1,000 women in support of the war effort in 1915 (21). She also served as the first President in the Women's Emergency Service Corps, which organized for women to fill war-time positions that men vacated to join the armed forces (121), but placed returned service men and "men not fit for service," in positions before placing women (122). She also supported conscription (128). However, despite the suffragists joining the Women's Patriotic League to support the war effort (Miller 313), Mrs. Huestis made great efforts to distance her patriotic efforts from the suffrage cause: "I want to be distinctly understood that we are approaching this matter entirely from the standpoint of patriotic service. It has nothing to do with any woman's suffrage movement in any way, shape or form" (122). As Forbes suggests with the Halifax suffragists, perhaps this was a strategic move to gain acceptance of women's work during the war, rather than a rejection of suffrage itself, since the Local Councils of Women did endorse

[11] The information on this table is drawn from the 1913 membership list, and should not be taken as a complete measure of employment or professional standing. For example, none of the professors on the executive who had doctorates listed themselves as either Dr. or Professor. Furthermore, it is not clear, from the information available, whether the Dr. designation was for a medical doctor, or for a Ph.D. So the table should only be taken as a general indication of professional standing since it omits a significant amount of occupational information.

[12]

woman's suffrage. One wonders: What must it have felt like for her to be the only woman present at that first gathering of the CPSA?

Conclusion

In conclusion, the issues of representation implicitly present at the conception of the CPSA were stark. The need to distinguish the study of political *science*, and raise it above the common order of folks discussing politics, the need to distance the organization from partisan politics, the need to establish credibility based on recognized credentials, and the struggle to define what constituted the discipline in a Canadian context helped frame who could legitimately participate in the organization. The founding executive was predominantly educated in elite institutions outside of Canada. Of those who did not take on leadership roles within their academic institutions, many became elite bureaucrats in the Canadian civil service. Despite initial claims that the CPSA might offer a place where "typical citizens" could gather to debate issue of the day, members at the founding meeting were far from this. They represented an elite group of professionals, dominated by urbanites, with limited representation from Quebec. The membership was predominantly English-speaking; all the papers were presented in English; and no mention is made of accommodating francophone members in the CPSA constitution. Only one woman was present at the first meeting, and the language used in the inaugural speeches often made explicit assumptions that the membership would be male.

Curiously, when the Association resumed meeting again in 1929, they made the membership requirement even more stringent. Instead of requiring nominations from one member plus the approval of the executive, they now required nominations from two members of good standing and approval of the executive (CPSA 1930, 128). We are left to ask our final question: **Who were they trying to keep out and why?**

Afterword:

I intend to continue my analysis of issues of representation within the CPSA in subsequent decades and expand it to include other academic organizations. In the course of doing this research, I requested missing copies of minutes of the CPSA Board of Director's minutes. I was informed that the Executive decided that these minutes should no longer be available to CPSA members. I would have to make a written request to the executive who would decide whether the request had merit. This leaves me with my final question: **What do they have to hide**?[13]

[13] Other academic associations, for example the American Economic Association, publish executive minutes in their annual reports.

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