

Women's Advancement in Political Science

*A Report on the APSA Workshop on the
Advancement of Women in Academic
Political Science in the United States*

Published by the
American Political Science Association

Funded by the
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March 4-5, 2004
Washington, DC

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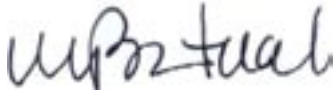
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The American Political Science Association thanks everyone who participated in our NSF-funded workshop on women in the profession, held in Washington DC in early March 2004. The researchers and participants whose work contributes solidly to this report gave generously of their time, energy, and professional insight in setting an ambitious agenda for our profession.

In particular, we extend thanks to Leonie Huddy, Susan Clarke, Maresi Nerad, Donna Ginther, Mary Frank Fox, Vicki Hesli, and Linda Lopez—all of whom walked several “extra miles” in bringing the workshop to a successful conclusion with this report. We are deeply grateful for the effort of Barbara Palmer of The American University in preparing it.



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Executive Director

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Washington, DC

December 2004

Executive Summary

In March 2004, the National Science Foundation funded a two-day workshop by the American Political Science Association (APSA) on the advancement of women in academic political science in the United States.

The workshop was prompted by an alarming stall in the number of women entering the discipline and persisting through early years of faculty service to achieve tenure. More than two dozen social scientists from across the country convened in Washington, DC to hear relevant research, discuss problems, and frame corrective actions.

Our report, like this summary, describes their work and recommended actions. The body of this report refers to the research findings reported at the workshop, organizing them around the four defining issues below and the recommendations we made. Appendices C and D summarize research reports and participant comments in greater detail, including ideas for specific interventions from fifteen workshop participants who submitted thoughtful comments for this report.

The Problem

The broad problem is under-representation of women in the academic ranks of political scientists in the United States. Despite substantial gains at all academic ranks since the 1970s, women seem likely to remain below parity with men in the discipline for some time to come. A few facts: Women were 24 percent of all full-time faculty in 2001 (APSA 2002), an increase of just 6 percent over 1991. The percentage of women assistant professors has stalled at about 35 percent over the past five years. Ironically, the overall increase in women political science faculty is largely due to steady growth in numbers of women at the full professor level. More and more women are now hired in part-time or non-tenure-track positions, while the percentage of men in these categories is declining.

The APSA workshop and research presented there identified four components that, in combination, create the broad problem:

- A leaking pipeline of prospective political scientists, as women drop out of graduate school or choose other careers
- A chronological crunch, in which the most intense demands for research, publications, and service in tenure-track positions overlap with the years of heaviest family responsibilities.
- An institutional climate that is often inhospitable to women students and young faculty of both sexes, with too few professional development opportunities via mentoring and other interventions
- A culture of research that offers insufficient opportunity and support for collaboration, peer workshopping of drafts, idea-sharing, and networking across, and within, institutions.

Recommended Actions

The group debated and proposed next steps toward remedying the problem of women's under-representation in the profession. They recommended these next steps and actions for national and regional professional associations, institutions, departments, and senior faculty:

1. Provide clearer information, earlier, about professional careers and the “rules of the game” to women in undergraduate and graduate programs and first faculty appointments. Means suggested include print and electronic manuals and interactive Web facilities, and special workshops that precede annual meetings.
2. Work with departments, institutions, administrators and regional professional associations to devise and adopt policies that recognize the chronological crunch.

Develop more options for family leave and course-release or limitations on service to extend the time available for research and publication. Seek family-friendly adjustments that recognize the realities, for both women and men, of time pressure and overlapping career and family demands. Raise expectations that senior faculty and professional bodies will mentor, train, and conduct more professional interventions for early-career political scientists in teaching, research, and professional networking.

3. Create and encourage a collaborative culture of research. Build networks and design novel means of promoting collaborative research. For example, create peer (both face-to-face and electronic) opportunities to workshop early paper drafts, exchange research ideas, and engage new colleagues.
4. At the level of national and regional professional associations such as the American Political Science Association—seek, encourage, and reward research on the status of women in the profession and effective interventions to promote women's advancement, across racial lines.
5. Particular research needs must be met. As one workshop member commented, anecdotal evidence may be moving, but the bulk of the Association's membership will be more persuaded and motivated by sound research. Urgent topics include:
 - a. Surveying the numbers of women in endowed chairs and distinguished professorships, departmental chairs, and administrative positions.
 - b. Studying publication rates. Data are ten years out of date, as are studies examining citations of women authors.
 - c. Closely examining the status and experiences of women of color. The data on white women cannot be generalized to women of color, who must contend with both gender and race in progressing in the profession.
 - d. Researching factors in women's failure to finish doctoral programs or to seek academic positions in political science as compared to other careers.

Conclusion

After discussing the most recent research on the status of women in political science, the workshop found a mixed picture for women political scientists. Within the leaking pipeline, there are promising trends as well, such as the proportion of women receiving undergraduate degrees in the discipline, the parity between men's and women's success in the job market, the steady growth in numbers of senior women faculty, and the disappearance of a salary gap.

Less happily, the proportion of women entering graduate school shows no steady growth, and the proportion of junior and mid-career faculty women has stalled. Most workshop participants concluded that younger members of the profession, including women, are ready to be positive toward academic careers. The most severe years of a chilly climate of negativism for women in political science are gone, but in light of the problems we identified, there is little reason for self-congratulation.

The profession must improve the graduate school experience, the institutional climate, the early professorial years leading up to tenure, and the culture of research. Action on these points is urgent if our calling is to become fully attractive and productive for everyone who chooses it. We must continue to refine our understanding of these dynamics through research, then apply that knowledge to intervene more successfully.

Broader Implications

The workshop's findings and recommendations promise broad usefulness in improving what we know, and how we can best intervene, to advance women in the sciences. Our profession is not the only discipline to face a leaking pipeline in new female entrants, as well as a "stall" in their advance to higher ranks. Any progress we can make on the basis of new findings and interventions can broadly benefit similar efforts in other disciplines and increase NSF's knowledge base for future programs.

Political science has studied itself with respect to women's advancement far less than economics, sociology, and a number of the hard sciences, so the data we gather will add fresh perspective. Any success we may enjoy in interventions to change the culture of research to one that is collaborative as well as singular, can only make more techniques available for similar improvements in other fields.

The atmosphere and working style of our profession can be changed for the better by work on women's advancement. This would be no small achievement. For one thing, a truly democratic workplace could erase a damaging contradiction in our discipline, whose teaching of democratic principles has often failed in execution within our ranks. True, the worst years of exclusion and a chilly climate toward women in the profession are past—but that is partly because a critical mass of women colleagues is now in place; it must be maintained.

Further evolution and normalization of our working climate for women are bound to have radiating effects that improve the working environment for every political science professional. Men as well as women and minorities will not achieve their highest potential in an institutional culture lacking adequate support, mentoring, and recognition of the "whole life" demands its members confront.

Additional women making visible progress to the highest ranks of political science

is the best sort of advertising to persuade other women to choose academic careers. Further, any improvement we can induce to heighten the attractiveness of advanced training in political science and its subfields will enlarge the pool of well-trained women available for critical non-academic careers such as diplomacy, domestic and international intelligence, polling and elections, journalism, and public policy planning and analysis.

Part One: The Problem—Women Are Under-Represented in the Profession of Political Science

Despite substantial gains in the number of women in political science over recent decades, women continue to be under-represented in numerical terms in the professoriate. Currently, women are less than one-fourth of political science faculty in the nation's universities. (APSA, 2002) While there have been many gains at all academic ranks since the 1970s, there is evidence pointing to non-parity with men in the discipline along a number of dimensions. For example, the percentage of women assistant professors has stalled at about 35% over the last 5 years, suggesting a pipeline problem, which could limit the number of women advancing to senior levels of our profession. More women are employed as adjunct or non-tenure track faculty, and the pipeline of graduate students is thinning.

A. Comparative Data: Women in Political Science and Other Disciplines, and in the U.K.

To underscore that the Association aims to improve the experience of being an academic professional in the United States for everyone, and that we need better research on the status of women in our profession, we offer a comparative picture before moving to the analysis of four forces identified by workshop participants as keys to persistent under-representation.

Here is the broad picture of women in political science compared to other disciplines, and women in political science in the United States compared to the United Kingdom.

The literature on the status of women in political science is not as well developed as in other social sciences (see for example Broder 1993; Fox 2000, 2001, 2003; Ginther 2003; Ginther and Hayes 2003; Ginther and Kahn 2004; Koplin and Singell 1996; Kulis, Sicotte, and Collins 2002). Almost all political scientists who study women's status do so as a secondary line of research. Most comprehensive studies have been commissioned only periodically by APSA Committees on the Status of Women. By contrast, annual reports are written by the Committee on the Status of Women in the Economics Profession (CSWEP), first published in 1972.

While women in political science are attaining Ph.D.s (42%) at a rate comparable to men, other social sciences now overwhelmingly grant Ph.D.s to women. In 2002, women in psychology earned 67% of Ph.D.s, women in sociology earned 61% of Ph.D.s, and women in American Studies and Anthropology earned 58% of Ph.D.s. Only economics and history ranked lower than political science, with, respectively, 28% and 24% of Ph.D.s in those fields going to women (NSF 2003a; see also Fox 2001, 2004). The number of women Ph.D.'s in economics has been declining in recent years (CSWEP 2001). By contrast, women graduate students have outnumbered men in psychology since 1984 (APA 2003).

Compared to women in sociology, women in political science move through the pipeline much more slowly. In 2001, in political science departments granting doctorates, women were 67% (4 of 6) of lecturer/instructors, 37% of assistant professors, 26% of associate

professors, and 18% of full professors (APSA 2002). In sociology departments granting Ph.D.s, women were 61% of lecturer/instructors, 52% of assistant professors, 42% of associate professors, and 26% of full professors (ASA 2003).

Compared to women in economics, women in political science progressing more rapidly as faculty. In 2001, women political scientists were 35% of assistant professors, 26% of associate professors, and 14% of full professors. That same year in economics, women were 21% of assistant professors (a decline since 1993) and 16% of associate professors. Since 1991, the number of women full professors in economics has stalled at six percent (CSWEP 2001).

Evidence from the Great Britain, while not strictly comparable with US data, illustrate some of the same circumstances facing women in political science here. According to a 2002 survey by the UK Political Studies Association, 24 percent of British political science faculty were women, the same percent as US political science faculties. British women scholars in the field however are 14% less likely than men to hold permanent positions and substantial pay gaps between British men and women that cannot be explained by rank also appear to exist. While differences in university structure and other practices make any common generalizations inappropriate, we can observe that there is a cross-national depth to the issues we are concerned with here.

B. Four Forces Contribute to Under-Representation of Women

Research presented at the our March 2004 workshop augments research by other scholars and the Committees on the Status of Women to suggest that four large forces shape the status of women in political science:

1. A Leaking Pipeline

A leaking pipeline of women exiting the profession after undergraduate and graduate programs in political science; drop-out of women from doctoral programs; alternative careers.

2. A Dual Burden of Tenure Track and Family

The overlapping timing of maximum academic demands in the lead-up to tenure and heavy family responsibilities may encourage the departure of women from academic positions.

3. The Institutional Climate

An institutional climate that all too often remains inhospitable to women and offers too little orientation, encouragement, and support of career-building and successful academic production.

4. The Culture of Research

A culture and style of research in the discipline that is traditionally based more on lone-wolf scholarly production of single-authored pieces than on collaborative research.

The next four sections consider each of these forces in turn.

1. A Leaking Pipeline

There is some evidence that

- The number of women entering political science Ph.D. programs may actually have dropped in the late 1990s and beyond, after three decades of increase.
- Women may abandon academic political science altogether more often than men do.
- Women graduate students have markedly different experiences than men in their professional preparation during graduate school, which may affect decisions about entering the profession.

The total number of women entering political science Ph.D. programs in 1988 was 368. In 1995, there were 596 women entering graduate programs compared to 1998, when the figures dropped to 455. These trends, however, matched trends in overall growth and decline in entering political science Ph.D. classes. In 1988, women were 32% of entering Ph.D. students. This peaked in 1996 at 43%, falling to 38% in 1998 (APSA 1998). Unfortunately, we have no more recent data.

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, the total number of Ph.D.'s granted in political science dramatically increased. Since 1985, the number of Ph.D.s granted in political science steadily rose from 276, peaking in 1999 at 1016. In 2002, political science granted 938 Ph.D.s. (Committee on the Status of Women 2001; NSF 2003a).

The number of women earning Ph.D.s shows a pattern of dramatic increases in the 1970s, stagnation during the 1980s, and substantial fluctuation thereafter. In 1970, women earned 10% of Ph.D.s. In the subsequent decade, that number nearly doubled; by 1980, almost 20% of Ph.D.s were earned by women. During the 1980s, however, the number stagnated, growing only by 3%; by 1990, women earned 23% of Ph.D.s.

The 1990s showed a swift, dramatic increase; by 1992, the number of Ph.D.s to women jumped 7%, to 29% (Hesli, DeLaat, Burrell, and Lewis 2004). In the early going, this century shows great fluctuations in numbers of women earning political science doctorates. By 2000, women earned 37% of Ph.D.s (NSF 2001). In 2001, this dropped to 33% (NSF 2002). In 2002, it increased to 42%, indicating dramatic recent fluctuations in numbers, making it difficult to assess women's progress in reaching parity with men in the number of Ph.D.s granted in political science (NSF 2003a).

Unfortunately, there is also evidence that women may abandon the academic pipeline in political science more often than men do. The *APSA Survey of Political Science Departments, 1972 – 1998*, found that 45% of the men who left a department did so because they had been offered a position in another department. In other words, almost half of the men who left an academic position found another academic position. This was true for only one-third of the women who left. Two-thirds of women who left a position in political science withdrew from the academy altogether. (APSA 1972-1998; see also Sarkees and McGlen 1999)

The 1993 Midwestern survey suggested that, overall, while men and women were equally likely to be employed, women were less likely to hold faculty positions than men. Younger cohorts of women, however, were more likely than older cohorts of women to hold faculty positions. Among the respondents in non-faculty positions, women were substantially more likely than men to hold other kinds of academic staff

positions, while men were more likely than women to occupy government jobs. Equal numbers of men and women were working in the non-profit sector (Hesli and Burrell 1995, 109).

While the overall proportion of women in political science faculties has been growing, the proportion of women in full-time junior faculty posts has remained stagnant in recent years. Women are more and more likely to be hired as full-time lecturers or instructors, or in part-time positions, while the percentage of men in these positions has been declining. Women are more likely to be hired on non-tenure-track lines than men, a fact which likely influences their departures. The experience of women in graduate school differs from men as they prepare for political science careers. Their experiences appear more negative in several respects, which may influence their failure to persist in the discipline. Research presented by Vicki Hesli extends an analysis of a 1997 panel study of graduate student satisfaction commissioned by the executive council of the Midwest Political Science Association. This survey of graduate students at Midwestern universities revealed that, in general, women were less satisfied with their graduate school experiences. While roughly equal numbers of men and women left graduate school at some point without completing the degree (20% of men and 22% of women), women were much more likely to have “seriously considered leaving graduate school” (72% compared to 60%) (see Hesli, Fink, and Duffy 2003a, 2003b).

When departing graduate school, men cited lack of employment opportunities as the main reason. The primary reason women offered was an unfriendly or unsupportive work environment. Women graduate students were also somewhat less satisfied and more negative about the mentoring they had received from faculty in their departments. Women were also more likely to have been exposed to behavior they considered inappropriate (28% compared to 18%) (Hesli, Fink, and Duffy 2003a, 2003b).

As Maresi Nerad noted in her workshop research presentation, a 1997 survey by the Center for Research and Innovation in Graduate Education (CIRGE) indicated that men and women took approximately the same amount of time as men to finish their degrees (Nerad 2004). However, another CIRGE study in the same year found that women graduate students had markedly different experiences regarding their professionalization.

Nerad also found that women graduate students were substantially less likely than men to report being encouraged to publish (39% of women compared to 61% of men) or to receive help in publishing (17% compared to 29%). Women also reported fewer opportunities to present their research (35% compared to 40%) and less likelihood to receive funds to attend professional meetings (17% to 25%). Women graduate students were substantially more likely than men to report receiving no help obtaining information about the political science job market (41% of women compared to 25% of men), no help composing their resumes (69% compared to 55%), no help writing their cover letters (78% compared to 59%), and no help preparing for interviews (60% compared to 48%). (Nerad 2004)

While many graduate students in political science reported that they receive no assistance in preparing for the job market, about two-thirds of women reported that they never received any help, even when they had sought it. Compared to men, the survey showed also showed that men employed on political science faculties tended to

have higher levels of job satisfaction than women; 80% of female tenured faculty and 88% of male tenured faculty reported that they were satisfied with their current jobs. Only 67% of untenured women compared to 78% of untenured men reported that they were satisfied with their current jobs. (Nerad 2004)

Mary Frank Fox's workshop presentation on location, gender, and rank of women in scientific fields (including social sciences) reinforced these observations. She noted that gender disparity in career attainments points toward some of the same negative experiences during professional training. Focusing broadly across physical, life, and social sciences, Fox finds negative training experiences an important nuance. Women in sciences are less likely than men to report that they are taken seriously by faculty, and that they are respected by faculty.

Fox makes the important point that such observations of social context, gender, and participation are important because science is a social process—a system of communication, interaction, and exchange, as Robert Merton pointed out. Repairing today's leaking pipeline in academic political science depends upon improving the experience of professional preparation for women graduate students, and the employment experience of young faculty as well.

2. A Dual Burden of Tenure Track and Family

Responsibilities

A second force augments the problem of a leaking pipeline. There is heavy timing pressure on women, as demands requisite to attaining tenure coincide with the years of peak demands on their time for meeting family responsibilities remain the norm.

The dual burden includes:

- Women face greater time pressure in the run-up to tenure, and are less well positioned to succeed in meeting that pressure.
- Large gaps exist across institutions in policies that might mitigate pressure, such as family leave, stopping the tenure clock, and family-care reimbursement accounts; this is aggravated by tacit penalties on some who use such policies.
- Women faculty are far more likely than male faculty to have spouses who work full-time outside the home.

Evidence was presented at the workshop by Maresi Nerad that women in political science are somewhat less likely than men to hold tenured or tenure-track academic positions, and women are less likely to be tenured at a research institution 10 years after their Ph.Ds. These same women Ph.Ds were also less likely than men to be married or have children at the time of obtaining their doctorates, hinting at the more difficult choices women confront in choosing between work and family. Ten years into their careers, women were still substantially less likely than men to have children. They are also more likely than men to be have professional partners who are currently in the work force.

The academy creates considerable institutional and cultural pressure for women to “become a professor, marry a professor, and don't have kids” (Nerad 2004). According to the CIRGE study, 45% of women were single and had no children when they completed their Ph.D.s in political science, while 33% of men were single

and had no children when they completed their Ph.D.s. In stark contrast, only six percent of women were married and had children, but 24% of men were married and had children, when they completed the doctorate. As faculty, women were substantially more likely to have spouses with a Ph.D., M.D. or J.D. than men— 41% compared to 16%. In addition, 89% of female political science faculty had a spouse who worked full time, while only 50% of male faculty had a spouse who worked full time (Nerad 2004).

The Southern Committee's survey of chairs at different institutions found large gaps in family leave policies. Only 20% of departments had a formal family leave policy. About 10% had informal policies (van Assendelft, Gunther-Canada, and Dolan 2001, 336). In the 2002 survey of women faculty, almost half reported that their institution had a formal family leave policy. Many women, however, indicated that the federal Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) was the only policy in effect. As one respondent noted, this can be a problem, because the FMLA allows 12 weeks of unpaid leave, but semesters last 15 or 16 weeks. About one-third of women reported that they could stop the tenure clock for family leave, one-third reported that they could not stop the tenure clock, and the remaining third did not know, or were employed at institutions without any formal policies. Approximately 40% of the respondents had child care facilities on their campuses, and 28% had dependent-care reimbursement accounts available (van Assendelft et al. 2003, 314).

Major differences in perceptions of university leave policies have been found. In the 1993 survey of Midwestern universities, over a third of women felt that their institution's policies were neither progressive nor flexible; only 14% of men felt the same (Hesli and Burrell 1995, 105). A new phenomenon related to family leave has recently been documented in a 2001 study by Penn State: "discrimination avoidance," or "behaviors intended to minimize any apparent or actual intrusions of family life on academic commitments" (Faculty and Families Project 2001, 4). Faculty with families may perceive discrimination against caregivers; faculty who use family leave policies may be seen by their colleagues as uncommitted or substandard. Thus, deciding to take a leave for legitimate family reasons can subtly damage one's tenure prospects.

3. The Institutional Climate

A third force that affects the advancement of women in the profession is the warmth or chill of the institutional climate within which they work.

Institutional climate and the working environment involve matters such as:

- Mentoring and collegial support
- Appropriate treatment of sexual harassment and discrimination
- Proportionate movement of women into the higher ranks, and out of part-time and non-tenure-track jobs
- Advancement for minority women

Because political science has long been, and remains, a male-dominated profession at the top, the discipline has a distinctive culture and organizational structure, particularly compared to other social science disciplines such as psychology, which has more women in the professoriate.

A critical mass of women colleagues is a goal to be sought. It is not uncommon for a woman to be the only woman in a political science department or for her to have only one female colleague. This is problematic for women's research productivity if, as suggested by evidence Mary Frank Fox presented at the workshop, women political scientists are similar to other female scientists in that they are more likely to collaborate with other women. The presence of a critical mass of women also bears on how appropriately departments handle gender and sexual harassment issues, as discussed below.

Surveys of academic faculty in political science have shown that women encounter a wide variety of departmental climates. Women are less likely than their male colleagues to view their departments and university institutions as "female-friendly." Even when departmental family leave policies are in place, as mentioned earlier, some women—and men—feel that if they take leave or are seen as taking time off for family reasons, they will be perceived as substandard academics. The climate of political science departments thus seriously affects job satisfaction and productivity, as well as recruitment and retention of women graduate students and faculty.

Data cited by Fox Network at the workshop indicate that women graduate students report receiving less assistance than men in key areas like learning how to design research, write grant proposals, and co-author publications. Nerad and Hesli's research findings further substantiate this problem in the job market. Their research showed that women in departments are less likely than men to receive help obtaining information about the job market, writing their resumes or cover letters, or preparing for interviews, even when they asked for help. This research reinforces Fox's findings on women's graduate school experience across the sciences and social sciences. This suggests that women may have to work much harder in order to be hired at equal rates with men. More importantly—all findings presented to the workshop highlight the need to address issues beyond the size of the education pipeline by improving the institutional climate of political science departments and the support they offer to all their colleagues and graduate students.

One troubling research finding is the substantial gender variation in perceptions of institutional environment and job satisfaction (van Assendelft et al. 2003, 314). For example, a 1993 survey of Midwestern universities indicated that, while well over a majority of faculty felt that students were equally respectful of male and female faculty, male faculty were 22% more likely than female faculty to feel this way. Strikingly similar patterns were found in assessments of whether the administration at their institutions treated male and female faculty equally, and whether male faculty treated women faculty with respect. A multivariate analysis showed that male faculty members tended to perceive their institutions as more "female friendly" than women did (Hesli and Burrell 1995).

A more recent 2002 survey of women faculty at institutions in the South revealed a wide range of departmental climates: "Some women are quite content and feel both valued and respected in their departments, while other women report far less positive experiences" (van Assendelft et al. 2003, 315). In general, respondents in departments with at least one senior woman or women in administrative positions more positively judged the institutional climate. The presence of other women faculty, particularly at the senior level, "was perceived as increasing the likelihood that a junior woman would be tenured and promoted" (van Assendelft et al. 2003, 313).

Some women noted that discrimination is much subtler now. One woman explained,

“As I see it, the problem is no longer in hiring women or even getting them to complete a Ph.D. Rather it is in keeping them up with the men offered tenure in terms of salary, respect, rewards, awards, acknowledgment and power... Discrimination and disrespect are now subtle, rarely written, often silent, and simply consist of being ignored, excluded, buried—but then used every time they need a woman on a committee” (van Assendelft et al. 2003, 315; see also Anonymous and Anonymous 1999).

Still other women described extremely hostile situations; some mentioned they had filed sex-discrimination lawsuits.

Furthermore, a backlash against women professionals has surfaced in recent reports. In 1999, Meredith Reid Sarkees and Nancy McGlen reported that they were “unprepared for, and were dismayed to discover, the existence and the extent of the backlash against women in our field” (Sarkees and McGlen 1999, 100). The foundation for this backlash was the belief that “men are suffering increased discrimination due to women’s success at obtaining a disproportionate share of the jobs.” The authors were particularly disturbed by “the degree to which these attitudes are being transmitted to graduate students, who thus gain a distorted picture of the profession and their chances of success” (Sarkees and McGlen 1999, 100). The 1997 CIRGE survey asked an open-ended question: “What would have helped you in your job search?” Several white men responded, “Being a woman or minority” (Nerad 2004).

Sarkees and McGlen (1999) suggest that these perceptions are largely a function of the status of the academic job market in political science, particularly in the late 1990s. The number of available jobs declined. The perceived status and financial reward of academic positions also fell, just as the number of applicants increased and more departments offered only temporary jobs. As the job market improves, perhaps this backlash will subside.

Another troubling facet of institutional climates for women faculty is their disproportionate representation in non-tenure-track jobs.

True, the percent of full-time female faculty in political science has grown slowly over three decades. In 1973, 9% of all full-time faculty in political science were women. A decade later, this had only grown to 12%. In 1992, women were 18% of full-time faculty. During the late 1990s, the number of female full-time faculty remained constant at 21% (Sarkees and McGlen 1999, 103). By 2000, women constituted 24% of all full-time faculty (APSA 2002).

Largely related to the sustained decline in political science majors, the outlook for job placements, particularly in the early 1990s, was not good (see Sarkees and McGlen 1999). From 1991 to 1995, the number of academic jobs fell by over 10% (Sarkees and McGlen 1999, 101). Success rates in finding positions bottomed out in 1996, with only 65% of those on the job market obtaining full-time positions. Placement success, however, has steadily improved since then. In 2002, overall placement success reached a ten year high of 79% (Lopez 2003).

The number of women job candidates has steadily increased over the last twenty years. In 1982, women were 21% of all candidates; in 1992, 30% (Sarkees and McGlen 1999, 102). By 2002, women comprised 37% of all job candidates (Lopez 2003, 823). As the number of women candidates has grown, women have found positions at rates similar to men, and, for some placement classes, women have been slightly more successful. In 1982, 64% of women and 61% of men found positions (full-time and part-time). In 1992, 75% of women and 73% of men found positions (Sarkees and McGlen 1999). In 2002, 78% of women candidates and 80% of men candidates found jobs (Lopez 2003).

During the 1980s and early 1990s, there was some evidence that women were less likely to be hired at the most prestigious Ph.D. granting departments (see Hesli and Burrell 1995; Sarkhees and McGlen 1992), but this is no longer the case. In 2002, no differences appeared in the types of institutions where men and women found positions; 34% of men and women found jobs in Ph.D.-granting departments, 13% of men and women found jobs in master's departments, and 28% of men and 27% of women went to undergraduate departments (Lopez 2003, 823).

For the 2002 placement class, slight differences appear between men and women across the subfields. Thirty-one percent of men and 26% of women found positions in American Politics, while 28% of women and 23% of men found positions in Comparative Politics/Area Studies. Thus, the top subfield for women was Comparative Politics/Area Studies, although virtually equal numbers of women found positions in American Politics. For men, the top subfield was American Politics. Equal numbers (19%) of men and women found positions in International Relations. Slightly fewer women than men found positions in Political Theory (13% compared to 17%). (Lopez 2003, 827)

Since the 1970s, the percent of junior full-time faculty has steadily risen, but appears to have stalled in the last five years. In 1973, women were 10% of full-time assistant professors. In 1982, women were 20% of full-time assistant professors. In 1992, women were 30% of full-time assistant professors (Sarkees and McGlen 1999, 103). From 1997 to 2001, the number of full-time female assistant professors leveled off at 35% (Sarkees and McGlen 1999; APSA 2002).

As more women entered the field in the past thirty years, they became more and more likely to be hired as full-time lecturers/instructors, while the percentage of men in these positions has declined. While men have always been more likely to be hired in these positions, there is evidence that, as more women finish their Ph.D.s, they are more likely than men to take full-time non-tenure track positions. From 1973 to 1994, women were an increasingly high percentage of full-time lecturers and instructors: in 1973, women were 19% of them; in 1982, 22%; in 1992, 27%. By 1994, nearly half (46%) of lecturers and instructors were women. In 1998, this briefly dropped back to 32% (Sarkees and McGlen 1999, 103). In 2001, women once again filled slightly less than half of full-time lecturer/instructor positions (42%) (APSA 2002).

In fact, women have always been slightly more likely to be full-time lecturers/instructors than full-time assistant professors. From 1973 to 1998, women have formed a larger proportion of full-time lecturer/instructors than full-time assistant professors in all but three hiring cycles (Sarkees and McGlen 1999; APSA 2002).

Similar trends are apparent among part-time faculty. As more women have entered political science, their share of part-time positions has slowly increased, while the percentage of men in part-time positions has steadily declined. In 1973, women were 19% of part-time faculty. In 1982, they were 21% of part-time faculty. In 1998, the most recent year data are available, women were 27% of part-time faculty (Sarkees and McGlen 1999, 104). Although men outnumber women as part-time faculty, in proportion to their representation in the profession, women have always been more likely than men to hold part-time positions. In 1973, 32% of women held part-time positions compared to 16% of men. Since then, the number of men holding part-time positions grew steadily, to 26% in 1998.

The number of women holding part-time positions, however, shows a very different pattern. During the early 1970s, the number of part-time women dropped and leveled off around 25%. In the early 1990s, the portion of women in part-time positions began climbing back to its original rate; it reached 33% in 1998—virtually the same rate as in 1973 (Sarkees and McGlen 1999).

Tenure rates appear to be equal for men and women. Further, male and female political science faculty are equally likely to go up for tenure early and be granted it. In Midwestern departments in 1993, women who obtained their Ph.D.s after 1980 were equally likely to get tenure within the same time frame as men (Hesli and Burrell 1995; McBride Stetson, et al. 1990). In 2000, women and men in Southern departments showed the same rates of attaining tenure (van Assendelft, Gunther-Canada, and Dolan 2001).

Interestingly, the 1993 survey revealed that, though men and women were equally likely to go up for tenure early, men were twice as likely to report making this decision on their own (68% compared to 36%). Women were twice as likely to go up early after having been told to do so (64% compared to 32%) (Hesli and Burrell 1995, 103). Such a finding suggests that a supportive institutional climate may be especially important to women's advancement.

Mentoring and other programs to assist junior faculty are important to improving institutional climate. One study found that many Southern departments have such programs to assist junior faculty prepare for tenure and promotion. For example, almost half of the women surveyed in 2002 reported that their department or university had mentoring programs, and nearly half of all junior faculty had mentors. Respondents often noted the lack of a critical mass of senior women, and thus, senior men mentor many junior women. (van Assendelft et al. 2003, 313).

Further up the academic ladder, the number of female full-time associate professors began rising steadily in the late 1970s, but appears to have stalled by the late 90s at 23% (Sarkees and McGlen 1999, 103). In 2001, women were 26% of female full-time associate professors in political science (APSA 2002).

The percentage of women full-time full professors remained relatively flat until the mid 1980s, rising slowly but steadily since. (Sarkees and McGlen 1999, 103) In 2001, women were 14% of female full-time full professors (APSA 2002). Although the data are over ten years old, it appears that, when women apply for full professorships, they have been granted promotion at the same rates as men (Hesli and Burrell 1995, 103).

Salaries for full-time faculty in political science stalled in the late 1990s, but for the most part, the wage gap in median salary between men and women has disappeared.

Median salaries for all levels of faculty—instructors, assistant professors, associate professors and full professors— have been virtually equal since the early 1980s. In 1998, the median salary for both male and female instructors was \$31,000. Male assistant professors made \$41,000 and female assistant professors made \$39,000, but the year before, both men and women made \$39,000. In 1996, female assistant professors did better than males, averaging \$38,000 compared to \$36,000. Median salaries for both male and female associate professors dropped \$5,000 in 1998 to \$41,000. That year, male full professors earned \$67,000 and female full professors earned \$65,000 (Sarkees and McGlen 1999, 107). Donna Ginther's workshop research presentation created lively discussion around its finding that the salary gap in 2001 between men and women in political science was 12%; yet, after accounting for all observable factors, women at the highest levels of political science, full professors, earned five percent more than their male counterparts.

Gender differences in salary and promotion in political science were further explored in Ginther's presentation, using data from NSF Surveys of Earned Doctorates (SED) and Doctorate Recipients (SDR) from 1974 to 2001. Her analysis assessed salary gaps and tenure rates for men and women political scientists, comparing them to the same phenomena in other disciplines such as economics (Ginther and Kahn 2004). The 2001 salary gap in political science, at 12 percent, was the smallest observed among economics, sociology, and anthropology. Her analysis of the 1974 to 2000 data suggests that women in political science were slightly more likely to get tenure than men, in stark contrast to women's experience in economics and the humanities.

Women of color remain very substantially underrepresented among political science faculty, overall. The body of research on women of color and their experiences in political science contains serious gaps. It cannot be assumed that their experiences are the same as those of white women. The isolation experienced by women of color is often exacerbated by departments that channel them into minority service activities.

Minorities are still underrepresented in the job candidate pool, but about half of minority candidates are women. Thirteen percent of those on the academic job market in 2002 were minorities; 100 out of 729 candidates were African American, Latino/a, Asian American, or some other minority. Forty-six percent of minority candidates were women (Lopez 2004).

Overall, women of color were much less likely to find a position than white women. There was, however, substantial variation among minority women and their success in finding positions. The most successful women of color were Asian American. White women had a success rate of 79%, while minority women had a success rate of 67%. Of the 15 African American women who were on the academic job market, 8 found positions, for a 53% success rate. Of the 15 Latinas on the market, 10 found positions, for a success rate of 67%. Of the 10 Asian American women on the market, 8 found positions, for a success rate of 80%. (Lopez 2004)

The African American women who found positions, however, were the most successful in finding permanent positions. Asian American women were substantially more likely to have obtained temporary positions. Thirty-one percent

of white women obtained temporary positions. Of the 8 African American women who found positions, only one had taken a temporary position (13%). Of the 10 Latinas who found positions, 4 took temporary positions (40%). Half of the Asian American women who found positions (4 of the 4) were placed in temporary positions. Almost all of the African American women found positions in American politics (5 of the 8), while Latinas and Asian American women were spread across the subfields (Lopez 2004).

In 2000, there were 65 women of color tenure-track assistant professors, 20 African American, 17 Latinas, 26 Asian American, and 2 Native American. Women of color were 6% of all tenure-track assistant professors and 18% of all female tenure-track assistant professors (APSA 2002).

Women of color are substantially underrepresented among senior faculty. In 2000, there were 45 women of color who held associate professorships in political science. Women of color were four percent of all associate professors, and 14% of women associate professors. There were 14 women of color who were full professors—less than 1% of all full professors and 6% of women full professors. Among minority full professors, 11% were women. There were no Latina full professors (APSA 2002).

4. The Culture of Research

Workshop participants are convinced that the fourth force creating problems for the advancement of women in political science is a “one size fits all” culture of research. In a provocative essay Helene Silverberg grounds this observation not only in cultural norms in play when the profession developed early in the twentieth century, but also in the way questions and concepts were framed and constructed as legitimate for political science inquiry in the early years of the discipline. Political science long ignored gendered topics such as family or sexuality. In Silverberg’s words:

“[Political science] institutionalized a narrow conception of political activity and implicitly excluded a range of questions that have only recently been revived by scholars interested in women’s history and gender studies. The discipline of political science has not yet fully recovered from these formative years.” (Silverberg 1988)

Overall, the discipline has evolved with a distinctive culture and organizational structure that has perhaps been less appealing to generations of female scholars than other opportunities for professional achievement this women have had. As Silverberg asserts, it is only in the last several decades that women were “beginning to recover lost ground.”

The traditional model of political science research has tended to favor the approach or co-authorship with one’s immediate departmental colleagues.

Mary Frank Fox found that women in departments are less likely to report that they are taken seriously by other faculty members, and less likely to report that they are respected by other faculty members. Women report collaborating with fewer male graduate students and male faculty in research and publications over a three-year preceding period. In advisor-advisee relationships, women are less apt to report receiving help from advisors in crucial areas such as learning to design research, write grant proposals, co-author publications, and organize people.

A study of the American Journal of Political Science Review (APSR) from 1993 to 2003 revealed unexpected trends. The number of articles with at least one woman author peaked in 1998 at 52%. In 2003, 29% of articles had at least one woman author, the same rate as ten years before, in 1993. The number of single-author articles by women has also fluctuated, but in 2003, there were only two such articles by women (Hicho 2003).

There is some evidence, that at least in 1994, women were publishing in APSR at rates proportional to their representation in the discipline.

A survey of nearly 100 years of publications in the top 15 political science journals found only 433 articles on women and politics or feminist theory before 1990, and almost half of these appeared in the 1980s (Kelly, Williams, and Fisher 1994, 10-11). In the first 12 years of its existence, *Women & Politics* published one-third of all women and politics articles that appeared in the top 15 journals (Kelly, Williams, and Fisher 1994).

Others have documented outright hostility toward feminist scholarship (see Sarkees 1995; Smith 1998). At a mentoring session sponsored by the APSA Women's Caucus for Political Science in 1997, graduate students discussed how "they were dissuaded from doing dissertations on feminist subjects, either with the claim that the department lacked expertise to supervise such dissertations, or with the threat that such topics would impair the students' employment prospects" (Committee on the Status of Women 2001, 323).

The APSA organized section on Women and Politics was founded in 1986. Within five years, it had almost 500 members (Committee on the Status of Women 2001, 321). In 2000, the Women and Politics section had 629 members, making it the 10th largest organized section (Rudder 2000). Between 1990 and 2000, an average of nine Women and Politics panels (13 with co-sponsorship) appeared at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting. At the 1999 Southern Political Science Association Meeting, the Women and Politics section sponsored 11 panels (Palmer 1999). Clearly, these sections and committees play a strong continuing part in changing the culture of research to support all members of our profession.

Part Two: Next Steps Toward Solutions

A. In General

The workshop divided our analysis of the problem of under-representation of women into four contributory forces, detailed in Part One. This section reports the next steps participants proposed toward solving each problem we identified.

In general, participants recommended energetic translation of the Association's status and authority into persuasive power to urge and cooperatively develop more effective interventions with departments, programs, and institutions, as well as in APSA's annual meetings of department chairs and directors of graduate studies.

A participant in the early stages of her career thought "there would be great enthusiasm for interventions for female junior faculty." Then she added a realistic cautionary note about "female grad students and junior faculty who resent any implication that gender may hinder—or particularly, that it may help—their careers. Thus, in designing interventions, keep in mind that some would-be enthusiastic participants might be excluded, while skeptics we include may decline to participate."

Another note of realism was sounded by a participant about differentiating approaches to women of color in these matters: "Straightforward attention to gender should be balanced with an understanding that women of color's advancement will also be supported by minority programs" and all other categories of APSA programs need to be reviewed in this light, giving thought to ways of integrating the status-of-women priority into all these programs."

Participants also stressed the importance of recognizing that "some issues cross gender lines," and by the same token, some problems negatively affect everyone in a department. A set of policies framed to think about how changes may also affect men and minorities might bring about change more rapidly and more effectively, with stronger backing from everyone involved, than policies "targeted in a way that makes it appear only women are affected" by the problems defined here.

B. Better Information, Earlier

The leaking pipeline that now brings fewer women into the discipline, from undergraduate majors through doctoral studies and junior faculty appointments, will in part be repaired by delivering better and fuller information to women, earlier in their progress. To do so, we must deploy a variety of means that technology now offers, and press our colleagues at each level of the profession to become more inventive in their outreach and monitoring of women's progress.

Participants agreed that clearer information should be offered earlier to prospective women political scientists (undergraduate and graduate). A balance should be struck between offering career advice, suggesting "best practices" for new faculty, and providing substantive advice on research processes and funding. One graduate student participant reminded the workshop that sometimes the most elementary information bears repeating: such as that personnel or student-related resource judgments based on per-

sonal plans, pregnancy, marriage and the like, are plainly illegal.

One veteran political scientist emphasized focusing on interventions during the first four years on tenure track. “There is so much that beginners do not know and are too afraid to ask. Part of our strategy should be to put information into their hands; they don’t have time to look for it. They don’t subscribe to *The Chronicle* or look for advice books. We need to identify information, vet it, and put it in their hands.”

The Association might develop “a self-training module” to help people ponder career choices and learn best practices of mentoring, among other things. Such a Web-based module could move through each stage of a professional career and frame a series of questions that users should ask themselves. The common format of many such Web-based training modules could be adapted to APSA purposes: users may start at any point on the continuum to track appropriate questions and training tips.

New professors need help in navigating the system. Several participants also suggested preparing a brief manual that could list mentors, interactive Web facilities, and other avenues of support. Similar information could be prepared for new political science undergraduate majors and new doctoral students. Pre-conference information sessions were suggested.

It was suggested that a primer for new professionals could be created from existing columns in APSA’s journal *PS: Political Science & Politics* for print and online use, including tips on topics such as mid-career development, leadership, grant-writing, etc. If sold, proceeds from such a publication could fund future professional development activities. Another suggestion was to prepare a list of common questions with answers encountered by graduate students and faculty in their first years on the job, making it Web-available. Such “Q&A” resources might be the professional development panels prepared for the APSA and the Midwest PSA by both associations’ women’s caucuses; knowing one’s department is key to answering any question, this participant maintained.

Close coordination of Web publications and pre-conference workshops was recommended to reinforce delivery of thorough information. Web publications and workshops must be designed so that one supports the other, not as separate projects. Workshops, for example, could be used to drive the content of Web pages and informational publications. In the other direction, the Web’s interactive nature could be exploited to poll junior faculty about their pressing issues and preferred workshop formats. Or, for example, add one open-ended question on career advice to the end of a Web publication for students: “If you could talk with a group of great political scientists on what it’s like to work in their field, what would you say?”

One participant suggested the Association support its younger members with information and helping them to find and understand non-academic career alternatives. “If women with graduate degrees are more likely to seek non-academic careers, the Association could publicize those opportunities.” Another participant suggested the Association seek ways to link Ph.D.s working in government and the non-profit sector to the APSA, while continuing to encourage and support alternative careers for political science doctorates.

Providing news and narratives about successful women political scientists to undergraduates, and perhaps offering special sessions at national conferences on the graduate experience they might wish to choose, might improve entry-level numbers

into graduate programs.

C. Professional Interventions and Mentoring

Participants recommended pursuing a number of interventions to address the chronological crunch of overlapping pre-tenure and family responsibilities, while improving the institutional climate for political science faculty women.

The Association should advocate and promote model family leave policies such as those of Duke and Minnesota, mentioned by one recommender as models. It should work with department chairs, administrators and other senior faculty on these policies and their positive use, recognizing that formal policies mean little if collegial opinion subverts them. Importantly, the benefits to all members of a disciplinary community should be forcefully communicated: men as well as women are often overstretched by conflicting responsibilities.

Interventions to improve the institutional climate for faculty should focus on the first four years on tenure track, the “make or break years” as one senior participant put it. Mentoring and strengthening techniques and programs for doing so was almost universally recommended by participants. Mentoring involves not just “tools of the trade,” but teaching techniques, grant-writing, handling committee duties, and the like.

Making full use of Web interactivity and its ability to connect far-ung professionals in dialogue is necessary. One novel suggestion was that APSA not only publish a brief manual for new faculty (*How to Succeed in the Profession While Really Trying?*), but put up a “Ms. Mentor” area on the Association website, where women faculty could seek and find advice and answers.

Reaching out beyond our discipline to seek best practices in improving institutional climates in departments was urged. APSA might convene a gathering of equivalents in other disciplinary association of its own Women’s Caucus/Status Committee, e.g. the Society for Women in Philosophy, the Gender and Diversity in Organization unit (formerly Women in Management) of the Academy of Management, and other professions. Workshops were recommended, but with the caution that setting up a panel of senior faculty to discuss personal career paths before junior faculty “would be a mistake.” Anecdotal evidence is unlikely to involve junior faculty enough, and it would be difficult to show outcomes. Interactive approaches work better, giving all participants opportunity to support each other—building networks of similar experiences, challenges, and research interests. As two of many existing models, the fields of economics and management have done pre-conference workshops and mentoring with some success.

One participant suggested borrowing from the research project funded by the Council on Graduate Schools, which includes many case studies and pilot projects on women’s advancement in ten institutions. This ongoing project should be monitored for innovations in intervention that APSA could learn from and adapt.

The Association’s leadership should make improving institutional climate a top priority, raising expectations that senior faculty and administrators will be alert to early-career needs: mentoring, training, and conducting more professional interventions to help early-career political scientists. This should be a norm of regular practice for chairs, not a special magnanimity beyond one’s job description. APSA’s annual meetings that

convene Department Chairs and Directors of Graduate Studies are a good place to begin delivering this message. A manual of best practices in mentoring for department chairs was put forward.

Some colleges have campus-wide mentoring programs for new teachers, which purposely match mentors and mentees across disciplines but with congenial interests. Such a program combines well with in-department mentoring. Sometimes the advice or critique of a person who has no influence over a young faculty member's fate at tenure review can be seen as coming from an unbiased advisor-colleague with whom it may be easier to be candid about, for example, weaknesses in pedagogy or department problems.

The APSA Task Force on Mentoring could compile a list of mentors for various career stages, and in various subfields of the discipline. Workshops should be held at the Annual Meeting to address mentoring and introduce best practices to chairs and senior faculty. A pre-Annual-Meeting conference for junior faculty (in the first four or five years of academic appointment) was supported by participants in the workshop. Such meetings should be sought at regional as well as national level conferences.

In planning conferences on women's career progress and institutional climate change, the variations in women's "locations within political science," as one participant put it, must be programmed in. This includes variation by subfields, ranks, and type of institutional setting (large research university, teaching-intensive small liberal arts college).

Vigilance in enforcing the universal written policies about appropriate handling of sexual harassment and other illegal behaviors within departments is, unhappily, still necessary. APSA should make the topic a part of every program of institutional climate change, including information for both officials and potential complainants.

D. Creating Research Networks

Creating intentional networks for faculty development is necessary. Research on publishing rates indicates that men are more likely than women to co-author with colleagues in their home departments. Thus, new research networks should be built for women in the first four years of their careers to promote interaction and collaboration. Several existing formal networking models could be used, such as the Presidency Research Group (PRG 2004) and the Society for Political Methodology (SPM 2004). Each of these sections of the APSA offers mentoring as part of their programming, as well as the opportunity for scholars to present their research.

Creating intentional networks for faculty development was suggested. At least one informal research network for junior faculty exists, created by Rorie Spill (Oregon State University), the Judicial Working Group. Originally, this was a group of twelve to fifteen junior women faculty in the subfield of judicial process. The group has since grown to 20 and includes men, and recently-tenured faculty—which signals that the felt need for a more congenial culture of research is not just a junior women's issue. The group's purpose stays the same: "to promote scholarship, camaraderie and mentoring" and ultimately to assist group members in achieving tenure (Spill 2004). Members are separated into subgroups of four. Each month, one of the subgroup's members presents a paper to the other three, and the paper is discussed via an Internet chat room.

Every semester, each participant has a deadline to present a paper and gets immediate feedback from other scholars in the field. Moreover, a network of scholars is created, which is a tremendous resource for junior faculty. The group works best when it is relatively small, but this model could easily be replicated and adopted in other subfields.

E. More Research on Status and Effective Interventions

National and regional professional bodies such as the Association must resolve to seek, encourage, and reward research on the status of women in political science, and possibly effective interventions to promote it. Particular attention is needed to the diverse needs of women of color. Other suggested issues to be investigated and/or surveyed:

- Numbers of women in endowed chairs and distinguished professorships, departmental chairs, and administrative positions; including a longitudinal look at progress.
- Studies of publication rates are a decade out of date; also dated are studies examining citation of women authors.
- Unique dilemmas of minority women faculty in the all-important “make or break” years, the first four in faculty positions.
- Factors in failure to finish doctoral programs or to seek academic positions in political science; rates of women political scientists going into other fields, and knowledge of where they go.
- Research differentiating between factors that account for women’s entry into, and retention in, doctoral programs, and factors that govern advancement in academic rank.

Part Three: Conclusion

Workshop Findings and Action Steps

Even within the leaking pipeline, there are promising trends such as the proportion of women receiving undergraduate degrees in the discipline, women's success in the job market, and the steady growth in numbers of senior women faculty.

Less happily, the proportion of women entering graduate school shows no steady growth, and the proportion of junior and mid-career faculty women has stalled. The numbers of minority women in the profession, and their special needs, need more attention and tailored action.

We must continue to refine our understanding of the dynamic factors that affect women's advancement through the kind of detailed research agenda discussed above, and then apply that knowledge to crafting more successful interventions and assistance. We can surely shorten the lag time between defining problems and acting to develop interventions that help to resolve them.

The profession must improve:

- the graduate school experience
- the institutional climate
- the early professorial years leading up to tenure, and
- the culture and style of performing our research.

Appendix A: List of APSA Workshop Participants

APSA Workshop on Women's Advancement in Political Science March 4-5, 2004

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Appendix B: Workshop Agenda

APSA Workshop on Women's Advancement in Political Science March 4-5, 2004 Washington, D.C.

AGENDA

Thursday, March 4 7:00 p.m. Dinner at Odeon Café
1714 Connecticut Ave, NW, Washington, D.C. (202/328-6228)

Friday, March 5 American Political Science Association
APSA Centennial Center for Public Affairs (3rd Floor)
1527 New Hampshire Ave, NW, Washington, D.C.
202/483-2512

8:30 a.m. Welcome and Opening Statements
Michael Brintnall, Executive Director, APSA
Bonney Sheahan, Program Director, NSF, Office of
Cross-Directorate Activities

9:00 a.m. Goals of Workshop
Leonie Huddy, Director of the Center for Survey Research and
Professor of Political Science, SUNY, Stony Brook

9:30 a.m. Defining the Problem
Presenter: Maresi Nerad, Director of the Center for Innovation in
Graduate Education and Associate Dean, University of Washington
(25 mins)
Discussion (35 mins)
Moderator: Susan Clarke, Director of CARTSS and Professor of
Political Science, University of Colorado at Boulder

10:30 a.m. Lessons from Other Social Sciences
Presenter: Donna Ginther, Associate Professor of Economics,
University of Kansas (25 mins)
Discussion (35 mins)
Moderator: Leonie Huddy

11:30 a.m. Break

11:40 a.m. Diagnosing the Problem
Presenter: Mary Frank Fox, Co-Director of the Center for Study of
Women, Science, & Technology and Professor of Sociology, Georgia
Institute of Technology (25 mins)
Discussion (35 mins)
Moderator: Leonie Huddy

12:30 p.m. Lunch

1:30 p.m. Possible Strategies in Political Science
Presenter: Vicki Hesli, Professor of Political Science, University of Iowa (25 mins)
Discussion (35 mins)
Moderator: Susan Clarke

2:30 p.m. Discussion and Follow-up
Moderators: Susan Clarke and Leonie Huddy

3:30 p.m. Break

3:45 p.m. Recommendations and Strategies for Intervention
Moderators: Susan Clarke and Leonie Huddy

4:45 p.m. Wrap-up
Michael Brintnall
American Political Science Association

Appendix C: Summary of Papers

APSA Workshop on Women's Advancement in Political Science
March 4-5, 2004
Washington, D.C.

The Advancement of Women Ph.D.s in Political Science: Defining the Problem

Presented by Maresi Nerad
University of Washington

The Center for Research and Innovation in Graduate Education (CIRGE) has conducted extensive surveys of Ph.D.s in six fields at 61 universities. A study of political scientists was done in 1996-97, assessing their experiences during graduate education, their transition from graduate students to faculty members, and the intersection of family and career. While both men and women in the study held similar career goals as graduate students, they reported substantially different experiences with respect to receiving encouragement and assistance in publishing and presenting their research. Men and women completed their degrees in the same amount of time, but women were significantly more likely to report not receiving help in their first job searches. Finally, there were substantial differences between men and women in family status: women were far more likely to take into consideration career opportunities for their spouses when they were seeking their first jobs. If they had children, women were also far less likely to have spouses who worked part-time or primarily in the home.

Gender Differences in Salary and Promotion in Political Science

Presented by Donna Ginther
University of Kansas

Using data from the NSF Surveys of Earned Doctorates (SED) and Doctorate Recipients (SDR) from 1974 to 2001, this analysis assesses salary gaps and tenure rates for men and women in political science and compares these factors to other disciplines, such as economics (see Ginther and Kahn 2004). In 2001, the salary gap in political science was 12%, which was the smallest compared to salary disparities in economics, sociology, and anthropology. This gap was almost completely explained by observable factors: demographics (race, marital status, number of children), years of experience, rank, and type of institution at which employed (liberal arts college or research university, public or private institution). After accounting for these factors, women full professors in political science earned five percent more than their male counterparts. Many of these observable factors, however, could be indicators of discrimination—for example, the possible clustering of women at liberal arts teaching institutions. An analysis of the 1974 to 2000 data suggests that women in political science were slightly more likely to get tenure than men, which stands in stark contrast to women in economics and the humanities.

Women in Scientific Fields: Doctoral Education and Academic Careers

Presented by Mary Frank Fox
Georgia Institute of Technology

Based on an analysis of eight scientific fields, this research addresses three questions:

1. How does gender shape location and rank in academic careers?

2. What accounts for the career attainments of women in scientific fields?
3. What are the implications for improvement and advancement?

Scientific fields include a wide range of disciplines, including the life and social sciences, engineering, and psychology. Women's Ph.D.s, however, are far more concentrated in particular fields than men's. Further, despite growing proportions of women with doctoral degrees earned over the past three decades, and the passage of years allowing these women to mature in professional experience, the proportion of women who are full professors has not kept pace. Although women were as likely to earn their degrees from top-ranked institutions and to receive research and teaching assistantships, women did report that they were less likely to be taken seriously by faculty and were less comfortable speaking in group meetings. Women were also likely to publish less, particularly in the physical sciences. Given all this, we need to address matters beyond numbers in the educational pipeline (see also Fox 2001).

Understanding the Graduate Student Experience: Survey Results from the Midwest Region

Presented by Vicki Hesli

University of Iowa

Written by Vicki Hesli, Jacqueline Delaat, Barbara Burrell, and Kimberly Lewis

The goal of this research is to provide an empirical foundation for improving completion rates in Ph.D. programs. The first wave of a panel survey of graduate students in Midwestern Universities was conducted in 1997 to assess decisions about leaving graduate school (see also Hesli, Fink, and Duffy 2003a; Hesli, Fink, and Duffy 2003b). For men, the single most frequently cited reason was the lack of employment opportunities; for women, it was an unfriendly or unsupportive work environment. Women were more likely than men to speculate about dropping out because of dissatisfaction with political science as a field of study, problems with relations in their departments, and reappraisal of their choice of career track. The best predictor of dissatisfaction with graduate school is receiving insufficient encouragement, mentoring, and consultation from faculty. The second best predictor is women's perceptions about appropriate departmental handling of incidents of sexual or racial harassment.

The second wave of the panel survey occurred in fall 2003, after the graduate students we surveyed had finished their programs. This study is unique, in that the second wave includes respondents who did not obtain academic jobs. Preliminary analysis of this data suggests that one of the best predictors of whether graduate students will leave a program is whether or not they participated in an orientation program. In addition, students who completed Ph.D.s were more likely to evaluate positively their faculty advisors' support and encouragement, particularly in their own research. Thus, the role of faculty advisors is key in determining satisfaction with the graduate school experience and retention in the discipline.

This study was commissioned by the Executive Council of the Midwest Political Science Association.

Appendix D: Participant Comments and Suggestions

**APSA Workshop on Women's Advancement in Political Science
March 4-5, 2004
Washington, D.C.**

To minimize repetition, we have edited commentaries for format and content.

Martha Ackelsberg

Smith College, Department of Government

This was one of the more rewarding academic experiences in recent memory: the workshop was well-organized, presenters offered cogent remarks and fascinating research, and participants were engaged with the materials and each other. It was a very exciting, worthwhile day.

Both Fox's and Nerad's presentations suggested that the situation of women faculty members in academia is far from equal. While women in political science may have achieved somewhat greater success than women in economics and the "hard" sciences, they lag considerably behind women in other social sciences.

Donna Ginther's research refers to the "unrivalled" success of women in political science. It is important to keep in mind, however, that she compared women in political science to women in economics and other "hard" sciences, rather than to women in other social sciences—in the selected context, political science looks pretty good. Ginther's reason for making that comparison is that statistics for women political scientists are more like those for the hard sciences and economics than they are for the other social sciences. Yet the question remains: Why do women in political science lag behind women in other social sciences? Ginther's findings that women do not face significant discrimination in salary and rates of promotion are, perhaps, the result of controlling for many of the variables we need to examine: e.g. the clustering of women in less-prestigious, teaching-intensive institutions; the presence of children; and issues of balancing work and family.

If Vicki Hesli's research on the political science profession in the Midwest holds true for the rest of the country, we have a significant problem: women are entering grad school in numbers roughly equal to those of men, but a very significant proportion are not completing their programs. Many of these findings are confirmed by Nerad, who demonstrated that women received far less mentoring and other forms of support than did men. Taken together, and viewed with Mary Frank Fox's research, these studies stress the importance of the graduate school experience as one of the most significant sources of "leaks in the pipeline."

Nerad's research makes clear that the experiences of men and women in academic careers, in general, and in political science particularly are very different: women are much more likely than men to be juggling two-career families; women report significantly higher rates of family "interference" with their careers than men do; and women are much less likely to have a partner/spouse who is employed only part-time or not at all, a spouse who could help with child-care and other family responsibilities. In short, the "intersection of family and career" affects women differently than men.

What this means is that men's and women's experiences of the day-to-day realities of academic life differ significantly. Thus, men (who still make up the majority of senior faculty in the field) who are in positions of responsibility and authority in the political science academic workplace are unlikely to be aware of the specific obstacles that academic women face. Indeed, Nerad's research suggests that white men think that women and members of minority groups "have it easier" than they do in finding and holding onto jobs—perceptions that are not validated by research findings. Thus, it seems clear that major educational and consciousness-raising efforts are necessary if we are ever to make progress in these areas.

Finally, Mary Frank Fox's comments about evaluative criteria and collaboration are significant, even if they need to be adapted for the political science context. Criteria for evaluation at all levels of the job process, from hiring to reappointment to tenure and promotion, tend to be all-too-subjective, even though the claim is that there are "objective" and clear criteria. There is a critical need for clear, transparent processes and criteria. Overcoming the isolation that is so commonplace is paramount. Fox points out that women lose out in the sciences because they do not have the same training in, or opportunities for, collaboration. Political science does not necessarily value collaboration in the same way. Nevertheless, networks of colleagues and friends with whom to discuss ideas, research, and writing are critical to success.

Suggested Interventions

Change the climate for women generally, and grad students in particular, to be sure that incidents of harassment and other inappropriate behaviors are dealt with promptly and effectively.

Change the behaviors of departmental chairs and, especially, of faculty advisors to provide adequate mentoring and collaboration for graduate students in general, but female graduate students in particular. Get information out to department chairs and senior faculty members about the "leaky pipeline" and its implications for the profession's long-term health. Make clear the responsibilities of chairs and faculty advisors for mentoring grad students and new faculty, including learning the "rules of the game," and helping them surmount obstacles and barriers.

Learn about policies that exist that provide released time or extra time before tenure consideration to faculty members who are parenting or undertaking significant family responsibilities such as child-rearing or caring for ailing family members.

Eleanor L. Babco

Commission on Professionals in Science and Technology

It appears from the data that women political scientists in general are progressing up the career ladder and achieving tenure at a pace commensurate with their proportion of the profession. That does not mean, however, that there are no problems for women in political science.

One goal of the workshop was to explore the origins of women's differential rate of advancement by prestige of university and by subfield of political science. However, this was not addressed very thoroughly. Although many at the workshop alluded to find-

ings, no data were presented that showed while women's progress and advancement in political science overall appeared bright, if the numbers were disaggregated, definite problems emerge. For example, several attendees noted that women of color have particular issues that fail to show up and are thus not addressed when the data are not disaggregated. It was also mentioned a number of times that geography matters, yet no specific regional data or information was provided. It may be important to look specifically at women in political science by geography as well as by type of institution.

Identification of key barriers to women's academic success in political sciences at the different transition points has not been addressed sufficiently.

Comparing the progress of women in academic political science with the progress of academic women in the other fields, such as economics or sociology, provides an important benchmark. In the academy, women in political science are doing well when compared with women in economics or sociology. However, little effort has been made to compare these fields in non-academic settings, where problems might exist for women in political science.

Suggested Interventions

Compile a list of individuals who could serve as mentors at various career stages. Perhaps this could be a promising project for the APSA Task Force on Mentoring.

Hold workshops at the local level on various subjects, such as career development and leadership development, and provide an avenue for networking. Hold workshops at the APSA Annual Meeting that address the same issues.

Prepare and distribute a pamphlet aimed at new professors to help guide them in navigating the system. This publication could list mentors or other avenues of support. It might include a primer for department chairs to suggest how they can help in positively guiding new faculty.

Study the issue more, including early career paths (the first four years) and differences between academic and non-academic careers for women.

Mary Frank Fox

Georgia Institute of Technology, Center for Study of Women, Science, & Technology

In considering the advancement of women, the variation in women's "locations" within political science is important. This includes variation by subfields within political science, institutional settings (large and small institutions, research-intensive, teaching-intensive), and ranks. Institutional and organizational factors are key elements of women's advancement in academe.

In accounting for women's status in political science, explanatory factors particular to the field of political science should be addressed.

Salary outcomes are governed by rank, but rank is closely associated with gender. Thus, in analyses of salary, if rank is controlled, rank operates in part as a proxy for gender.

Suggested Interventions

Hold workshops on these issues at meetings, not only for women faculty, but for chairs and deans.

Use the status and authority of APSA to raise awareness of the issues of women's status and advancement in political science.

Differentiate between factors that account for women's entry into, and retention in, doctoral programs and factors that govern advancement in academic ranks.

Donna K. Ginther

University of Kansas, Department of Economics

I enjoyed being part of the provocative discussion at the NSF Workshop on Women's Advancement in Political Science. Research by Ginther (2003, 2004) and Ginther and Hayes (1999, 2003) suggests that women face different advancement challenges in each academic discipline. This response will discuss the particular challenges confronting women in political science and potential remedies for these challenges.

Vicki Hesli's research underscored the problems women in political science face in graduate school. Women are much more likely than men to drop out of graduate programs. However, my own research shows that, after women enter tenure track jobs, they are more likely to receive tenure than their male counterparts, and their salaries compare favorably to men's. Taken together, these results suggest that the important bottleneck for women's advancement in political science occurs during graduate study.

Suggested Interventions

Provide incentives or compensate women faculty who mentor women graduate students. Women faculty may be overburdened by time commitments compared with their male colleagues, which would severely limit a woman faculty member's ability to mentor graduate students. This intervention could be targeted at the larger graduate programs.

Host a mentoring workshop for graduate students at the APSA meeting or regional meetings.

Host a mentoring conference for more senior-level faculty. Women in political science may be less likely to become full professors or move into administrative positions, and thus, a program for senior-level faculty may address these potential problems.

Virginia Gray

University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, Department of Political Science

As possibly the oldest political scientist in attendance at the conference, I tend to see things a bit differently than other participants. Specifically, I see tremendous progress since I entered graduate school in 1967 and got my first job in 1971. However, that progress has not been linear. I have watched different generations of female graduate

students come through the pipeline: we went from 1) being on the barricades to 2) the female faculty at Minnesota having meetings to welcome and socialize women graduate students to 3) the grad students not showing up for such meetings because there was “no problem for women any more” to 4) the grad students organizing dance events at a lesbian bar, at which point the faculty stopped coming.

We have to look at the current stall in progress in light of the times. Younger women no longer believe that they can do it all: have a high-powered career and raise a family. They are dropping out of law firms after making partner; they are quitting corporations after achieving top executive positions. This generation does not have the same values as an earlier generation of women, so why would we expect female academics to behave any differently, especially when the financial rewards are so much less than in law or corporate America? Academia is a less attractive career now, both in terms of prestige and in the ratio of work to financial reward. My female graduate students on the market, as well as my young colleagues, are agonizing over whether political science is worth it, as their “biological clocks tick away.”

Suggested Interventions

Focus on the first four years in the tenure track. These are the “make or break it” years. There is so much that beginners do not know and are too afraid to ask. Part of our strategy should be to get information into their hands; they do not have time to look for it. They do not subscribe to *The Chronicle* or look for advice books. We need to identify information, vet it, and put it in their hands. Some of this could be done by workshops at the Annual Meeting, but most could be done online.

Create a mentoring system that matches women by subfield and by institutional type. For example, I would not give useful advice on how to get tenure at a liberal arts college, nor do I believe I would be a good source of advice on where to publish in political theory.

Emphasize the importance of time off and course releases. There are a number of policies, some institutional and some departmental, permitting time off from teaching. It has become standard practice at research universities to grant a course off in the first year of teaching and a full semester off by the third year, in order to help research productivity. At the annual department chairs’ workshop, APSA could emphasize the importance of such policies, especially for women, and encourage more chairs to adopt these practices. APSA could also reinforce the norm that assistant professors should be expected to do little service, by pointing out that women are often called upon for more service than men.

Publicize the parental leave policies of universities such as Duke and Minnesota and urge department chairs to lobby their universities for modern policies. Lack of family-friendly policies is a major deterrent to women’s advancement (and to feminist men’s advancement).

Lori Homer & Maresi Nerad

University of Washington, College of Education and
Center for Research and Innovation in Graduate Education (CIRGE)

Given our background in organizational behavior analyses and development, we base

our comments on what the group said during the workshop, what energized them, and our thoughts about how to turn that energy into an action plan.

Suggested Interventions

Coordinate Web publications and pre-conference workshops. Workshop members felt mentoring mechanisms for young faculty were a key leverage point to address the status of women in the field. Mentoring mechanisms could take the form of Web publications on career management and planning, or pre-conference workshops before annual national meetings, to avoid competing with the regular sessions. Mentoring “programs” are problematic and not very successful. For effectiveness, the two previous options, Web publications and pre-conference workshops, must be designed so that one supports the other, not as separate projects. Together, they would be more effective than either effort alone. For example, pre-conference workshops could be used to drive the content of the guidelines and publications. The Web’s interactive nature could be exploited to poll junior faculty who visit the Web resource about their pressing issues and preferred workshop formats for annual meetings. For example, add one open-ended question at the end of a Web publication on career advice: “If you could talk with a group of peers in political science about your greatest career challenges, what would you say?”

Create interactive workshops. Setting up a “panel” of senior faculty to discuss their career paths before junior faculty would be a mistake. Such anecdotal evidence is unlikely to involve junior faculty enough to affect their own careers; it would be hard to show results. The workshop session should be highly interactive. Design it to draw out people’s stories (junior and senior), but not in an “I’m telling you how I did it” kind of way. Give all participants opportunities to support each other – e.g., build support networks of similar experiences, challenges, and research interests. As two of many available models, the fields of Economics and Management have done pre-conference workshops and mentoring with some success.

Create mentoring mechanisms to benefit all graduate students and faculty. Good resources would benefit both men and women, but particular outreach could be made to women. Segregation and stigmatization of women is part of the problem, but an integrative, equal gender opportunity career-building resource would do more to advance women than a program for women alone. However, given the way institutional mechanisms replicate themselves, there would have to be built-in mechanisms to ensure that women are well represented within the activity or program, with outreach targeted toward women.

Engage women (and men) of color as separate entities with separate interests. If their needs are to be addressed, special outreach would be needed to encourage these groups to give input and participate, due to the long history of white hegemony in most institutional practices, including the awarding of graduate degrees and tenure, and even the standard workshop format. This issue of disaggregating the category “woman” was raised a few times by a couple of lonely voices during the workshop, but it should be addressed more fully. This seemed to be more a function of not knowing how to deal with conversations about race. There are people, in women’s and ethnic studies for example, who could help facilitate such a discussion.

Offer a career workshop addressing the great variety of career models and challenges—and how these differ for white women, white men, black women, black men, Hispanic

women, Hispanic men, etc. This may have to draw on senior faculty, as junior faculty of color may not be or feel safe in raising race as a career issue. There are many ways to “include” minorities, several of them destined to offend and fail. Get input from women and men of different ethnicities and put careful thought into minority outreach. At CIRGE, we recently ran across a very interesting article suggesting that black women attorneys have a very different model for the relationship between their work life and their family life; it’s very different from the typical white woman’s model.

Conduct further research. Our research center would like to offer analytical support—both through deeper analysis of the existing data Nerad presented, and through analysis of the data we have been collecting in fall 2004 on social scientists (political scientists included) who are 5-7 years after degree completion. Our new sample is ideal for addressing some current questions about junior faculty members’ greatest career challenges and the career decisions they are making to stay in or leave academia. However, we are a self-sustaining research center, and would have to work out a contract with APSA for performing such analyses. With a contract, we could support both the grant application and the grant implementation (providing information for workshops or publications).

Kent Jennings

University of California-Santa Barbara, Department of Political Science

The preparation, caliber of the presentations, and the content of the discussion were all first-rate. It was a great learning experience and also an encouraging one, in the sense that it demonstrated the concern of both APSA and the NSF regarding the topic.

The situation for women in academic political science is not ideal. The data presented in the workshop and several papers indicate that women are faring well once the threshold of faculty status has been attained, but there is some evidence that women may not be placed quite as prestigiously as men, and that women have more complaints about treatment. Clearly, the Association should continue to monitor that situation and work especially through department chairs to address those issues. Well-publicized factual information is a key to addressing inequities. Anecdotal evidence may be moving, but the bulk of APSA membership will be more persuaded and motivated by more comprehensive research.

The greater problem appears to lie in the recruitment and graduate-level training of women. The most dramatic single datum from this Workshop was that only 35% of Ph.D.s have been awarded to women over the past several years. We are suffering in particular compared to sociology and psychology. Moreover, while half of political science majors are women, the proportion of females entering graduate school is considerably lower. Other data show that dissatisfaction at the graduate level runs higher among women than men. Thus, the crucial problems are at the graduate school level, and they center on supply and treatment.

Suggested Interventions

Conduct surveys of majors. The supply side is dictated in part by personal tastes. It would help if we knew what it is about political science as a career that attracts more men than women. Information obtained by survey or other means could be used to craft techniques to attract more women. Suggestions or models for course content could be

devised, drawing on existing resources. It would be enormously helpful to base some strategies on what we hear from undergraduate women themselves.

Advertise non-academic careers. If women with graduate degrees are more likely to seek non-academic careers, the Association could publicize those opportunities.

Provide examples of successful women political scientists to undergraduates. It might be worthwhile to somehow put in the hands of undergrads news about outstanding scholars, leaders in the Association, and other accomplished women, such as university presidents. Learning about role models might encourage more women to go on.

Disseminate relevant research, but understand that reliance on recipients' good will is not enough. The problem lies as much or more with male graduate students as it does with male faculty. There is a bit of a backlash phenomenon at work, in addition to the usual rivalry that often develops along gender lines. Workshops at the departmental level might help. Perhaps guidelines or scenarios prepared by the Association would be useful.

Paula McClain

Duke University, Department of Political Science

Suggested Interventions

Update our research and data. While I truly enjoyed the meeting and think that many exciting things will come of this grant, some of the material was dated. We need more recent data to see what is going on and how women faculty and graduate students are being treated. For example, I cannot believe that departments are not doing a better job of professional training than the data from the anthropology and other departments collected in the 1980s would suggest. Duke University, for example, spends a good amount of time on these issues, and I suspect that others do as well. This does not mean that women graduate students might not get as much training as others, but I do not believe that it is as dire as the presentations suggested.

Explore the impact of increasing numbers of women in the profession. We need to know what difference the hiring of female faculty over the past two decades has made and is making on departmental environments and the training and mentoring of female graduate students. Are women more supportive of certain issues than male faculty? Even if female graduate students do not work with female faculty, do they benefit by the presence of women faculty in their environment? Does female faculty increase the probabilities that female graduate students will choose a particular program? These are but a few of the questions that we need data on in order to get a better picture of the situation of women in political science.

Address the issues of women of color. This is one of the most important issues for the discipline. All of the workshop presentations failed to address women of color in the social sciences in general, and within the discipline in particular. For example, Mary Fox stated that the numbers were too small for her to do any analysis on them. Small numbers should raise questions for an empiricist. Moreover, we cannot make the assumption that, by knowing what factors affect white women, we can generalize that knowledge to factors that affect women of color in the discipline. APSA needs to gather data on wom-

en faculty and graduate students of color and to recognize that differences exist among women. Women of color contend with both gender and race.

Nancy McGlen
Niagara University

Most of us who have been in the profession for 20 or 30 years and have looked at the literature on women's progress in the discipline firmly believe that many barriers to women's progress exist. We have either experienced discrimination as students or faculty members or have friends who have had such experiences. For those of us who have lived through the largest demographic change in our discipline's history, it is hard to accept that the problems encountered by women in political science are not still large and daunting. The most important lesson learned from the data presented at the conference is that, compared to our sisters in many other professions, many of the most serious barriers in our discipline are modest in size and impact.

The research presented by Donna Ginther was perhaps most telling about the relative advantages of women in political science, particularly compared to economics. Once in a tenure track position, there are only small and mostly explained salary gaps between "similarly situated" women and men in political science. Of course, the "similarly situated" attributes masks important differences. Other data show that women are less likely than men to attend graduate school, more likely to experience problems in graduate school (Hesli, et al. 2004; Nerad 2004), probably less likely to finish graduate school (Nerad 2004), and perhaps also less likely to be appointed to tenure track lines.

It seems clear that the problem in political science, unlike some other social sciences, is the pipeline. Women are not going to graduate school at the same rate as men and, most ominously, the rate of increase in the percentage of women entering graduate school and continuing into their first academic appointment is not growing at the pace of the 1970-1990 period or at the rate in similar fields. It might even be argued that, with women nearly 60% of undergraduates, women are not majoring in political science at the undergraduate level at a rate proportionate to their numbers.

If problems exist mostly in the pipeline, then solutions should be directed towards "fixing the pipeline." While Ginther's data is encouraging, securing an academic appointment on a tenure-track line in a prestigious department, successfully achieving tenure, and securing promotion to full professor or administrative position, is still difficult for most women. The data at the Workshop and in other publications made clear that family concerns, lack of support networks, and even possible backlash against women's progress are problems that, while not fully documented or understood, must be addressed.

Suggested Interventions

Find out why women are less likely to major in political science and attend graduate school. Some possible reasons may be that the discipline's questions, content, and methodology may not be as interesting to women as to men; women may not "find" themselves in their political science courses; and other career choices, especially law and government service, may be more attractive to women. The solution may lie in adopting the model developed by the American Sociological Association (ASA). The ASA found that five changes made by departments produced more diversity at the undergraduate and

graduate levels. These changes were as follows: *curriculum changes* including more rigor, direct research experiences, and the integration of race, gender, ethnicity and class; *improved research training and the opportunity to do research with faculty*; *mentoring* by all faculty of all students; fostering a *climate* sensitive to issues of diversity and multiculturalism; and developing a *pipeline* designed to increase the number and diversity of those in academia and in other leadership positions. The success of these strategies in sociology in a wide variety of departments makes them a possible model for increasing the diversity of political science. A related strategy could be to develop a program for young women like the Bunche Institute.

Reduce or eliminate part-time and off-the-track positions. If these non-tenure positions are allowed to increase, the career opportunities for Ph.D.s in academia will continue to decline. Salaries, compared to other professions, especially law and government, will also continue their relative slide. This is especially true for fields like political science where there is no accrediting body to require that most positions be filled by full-time faculty. The AACBS, the NCATE, and the State of New York, for example, are setting some limits on hiring part-time faculty in many business and education programs. The APSA should also continue encouraging departments and universities to adopt family-friendly policies.

Continue to encourage and support alternative careers for political science Ph.D.s, and seek ways to link Ph.D.s in government and the non-profit sector to the Association.

Continue educating chairs and other department leaders on positive climates in graduate programs for women and minorities. Systematic help is critical for directors of graduate programs and job candidates on how to prepare for the job interview process. For example, applicant files I receive from candidates in mathematics and other fields where job prospects are poor are good models. All include a cover letter focused on why they want the particular job we are offering; all contain a personal teaching philosophy statement and a statement on the candidate's current and future research. Letters of support are another area where the Association could educate graduate program faculty. All departments today require faculty to teach well, to do research, and to serve the university and the community. Letters by advisors that assume that a non-Ph.D. institution cares only about a candidate's teaching do a great disservice to that candidate.

Prepare a list of common questions with answers encountered by graduate students and faculty in their first six years on the job. A good place to look for such a "Q&A" are the professional development panels prepared for the APSA and the Midwest PSA by the women's caucuses of both associations. I have participated in several. All contained a wide variety of answers from many different perspectives for some of the most pressing of questions faced by advanced graduate students and junior faculty. It is important in preparing the questions and the answers to make very clear that knowing your own department is key to answering any question. This information can be distributed using three tactics: workshops before conferences (APSA, Midwest, smaller regional associations) for graduate students and junior faculty; a pamphlet (online and print) perhaps titled *How to Succeed in the Profession*; and putting up an online Q&A "Ms. Mentor" section for the APSA website. Ideally, all three formats would feature a panel consisting of several faculty mentors from a variety of schools. Perhaps the "Ms. Mentor" panel could have anonymous mentors who could answer each month some of the most common questions faced by future and new faculty.

Kristen Monroe

University of California-Irvine, Department of Political Science

Suggested Interventions

Extend the APSA Mentoring Program to graduate students, both female and minorities. The Program should contact students directly. The Program should also work with the Minority Caucus members.

Continue mentoring meetings at APSA and turn them into networking workshops. These could focus on a variety of topics, e.g., mid-career development, leadership, writing grants, etc. A subset of this could be the kind of Young Scholars Program the International Society of Political Psychology offers, which has been very successful.

Create a “primer” for new professionals from existing *PS* columns, and print a book. The proceeds could fund future activities. Include tips on topics such as mid-career development, leadership, grant-writing, etc.

Create a “best practices” manual for placement directors, department chairs, and job-candidate interviewers. Every time anyone approaches me, the first question they ask is what my husband does. It is not legal to ask this, but they still do it. We still need information about this out there. The kinds of issues Vicki Hesli mentioned should also be included, such as what are the clear standards we want to convey on how to deal with sexual/ethnic/racial harassment and discrimination? What roles can faculty members play in students’ life? What can APSA do? What can departments do? Also, what kinds of questions should a candidate ask during the job interview?

Kathryn Pearson

University of California-Berkeley, Department of Political Science

My reaction to the workshop reflects the fact that I am in the early stage of my career. I am finishing my dissertation and looking forward to starting as an assistant professor at a large research institution in the fall. While some of the data presented illustrates women’s progress within the discipline, even more suggested that there is much to be done. More importantly, the data and discussions illustrate that there is much that can be done. Thus, I am particularly enthusiastic about the workshop’s potential for creating interventions at the junior level.

In some respects, the data were heartening: women have made considerable progress in the discipline over the last several decades, particularly compared to economists. Yet the data presented that shows women’s progress in political science relative to other social sciences, stalled rates of advancement, and differences between women’s and men’s graduate school experiences, raises questions about why women have not made more progress by 2004. The data presented shed some light, though they do not capture the entire picture of women in the discipline. As was often noted, political scientists do not study themselves during their “day jobs,” as some labor economists or sociologists do, and thus our understanding of systematic differences in the trajectories of male and female political scientists at every stage is somewhat lacking. After the presentations, which touched on a range of issues from collaboration to leave, questions remained about both the causes and manifestations of systematic gaps. Clearly, more research is neces-

sary. The workshop, however, offered sufficient evidence of the importance of collaboration, encouragement, mentorship, and other forms of support to move to the next step: interventions to further women's progress in the discipline.

Much of the strategy discussion centered on interventions at the junior level—during the first four years as an assistant professor. As someone entering this stage, the discussion of the difficulties junior faculty face was somewhat anxiety-producing, but also helpful and encouraging. Knowledge is power: knowing what is expected to get tenure, what it requires, and having a strategy to maximize progress, while balancing teaching and committee requirements, will surely make a difference. A successful basic intervention would thus entail senior scholars sharing their knowledge—both professional and substantive—to help junior scholars to strategize their own careers.

My unscientific sense from my female graduate school colleagues is that there would be great enthusiasm about interventions for female junior faculty. I, along with many others, would appreciatively attend a conference a day early or attend a separate conference altogether, viewing it as time well spent. However, I do know female graduate students and junior faculty who resent any implication that gender may hinder—or particularly that it may help—their careers. Thus, in designing interventions, we have to keep in mind that some would-be enthusiastic participants might be excluded, while skeptics we include may decline to participate.

The workshop was devoted to a serious inquiry of women's progress in the discipline—understanding the data that have been collected, determining what needs to be collected, and most significantly, what next steps to take—and the tone reflected this systematic approach. Considering the next phase of my career, I found the day particularly helpful, and I hope to have the opportunity to participate in any future intervention. Although some of the data were disheartening, it was very encouraging to be in a room full of collegial senior scholars spending their time and energy addressing women's advancement in political science.

Suggested Interventions

Strike a balance between providing career advice and specific substantive research advice. The career advice might come from a panel of senior scholars, and the specific advice from scholars in the same area of research. Matching junior scholars with senior scholars for substantive research advice and mentoring, at conferences and beyond, would be especially helpful. Ideally, this component would build lasting mentor relationships.

Dianne Pinderhughes

The University of Illinois, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

One of the introductory remarks made by Michael Brintnall was very telling: “political science has a gender.”

Participants used the phrase, “this isn't our day job,” a great deal, alluding to the fact that few scholars in political science study the status of women in the discipline. This is an important theme because it underlines the fact that scholars who are women, especially women of color, take on institutional and disciplinary reform responsibilities that

require a very different volume and quality of work if they are to function.

Donna Ginther's presentation was interesting, in that she found that women are doing well in political science. There are, however, other factors that could contextualize her findings and raise new questions. We still need to explore time to tenure and to promotion to full professor. In addition, currently, there is also no way to compare the proportions of women who have, like the long-term unemployed, fallen out of the academic political science labor market. Finally, the differences in the size of the two fields and in the distribution of academic vs. non-academic jobs may also be important factors in comparing the two disciplines and women's qualitative experiences.

Suggested Interventions

Borrow from the research project funded by the Council on Graduate Schools, which includes a large number of case studies and pilot projects in ten institutions. This project should be monitored for effective innovations that APSA could learn from and adapt.

Examine APSA's existing programs. Straightforward attention to gender should be balanced with an understanding that women of color's advancement will also be supported by minority programs. This would mean not only reviewing programs that already give explicit attention to the status of women, but also those with implicit attention, e.g. programs to increase the yield of women, such as the Bunche Summer Program, which tends to attract a significant number of women, although the program is open to both genders. In addition, programs with neither implicit nor explicit attention to the status of women should be examined. This third category would presumably cover the rest of the APSA's programs. Some thought should be given to ways of integrating the status of women priority into these programs, as this will be the largest category. Some examples in this area might be the Annual Departmental Chairs meetings and the proposed Directors of Graduate Study meetings. The APSA might experiment with varying ways to communicate with these two groups that would involve them in improving their production and status of women faculty and graduate students. The outcome of this project might be a set of organizational recommendations for the Association to implement, along with recommendations for universities and departments.

Promote collaboration with the APSA's new Task Forces, such as President Theda Skocpol's Task Force on Inequality and American Democracy. This Task Force, chaired by Larry Jacobs of the University of Minnesota, is considering a variety of issues, including gender and how it affects the political and economic status of American citizens.

Conduct additional research. Other regional studies comparable to Vicki Hesli's would be appropriate. A review of the existing literature on women's performance in political science would be useful.

Recognize that some issues cross gender lines. A set of policies framed to think about how changes may also affect men might effect change more rapidly and more effectively than policies targeted in a way that makes it appear only women are affected.

Build institutional redundancies. One reason for the Civil Rights Movement's success was that mobilization efforts often involved highly redundant organizational strategies: individuals received the same message from a number of organizations simultaneously. We should try to develop short- and long-term efforts to build in institutional redundancies, without making the message overwhelming, in order to really bring about the

changes we seek.

Borrow from the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. It is a wonderful resource for scholars on fellowships and in a variety of areas of activity. The Center's Division of U. S. Studies is headed by Philippa Strum, a well-known and well-published scholar who asked to be kept informed about this project.

Virginia Sapiro

University of Wisconsin–Madison

The primary problem for achieving women's full representation among academics in political science is the pipeline: the transitions from college to graduate school, and from graduate school forward. There are many more subtle issues that have to do with career choices and support that may lead to a difference in the quality of professional life, morale and respect, but those are not easily measurable.

Suggested Interventions

Develop a self-training module to help people think about career choices and mentoring, among other things. Imagine a Web-based module that went through each stage of the career and framed a series of questions that people should ask themselves. It would have the format of many Web-based training modules that allow you to start at any particular point and track the questions and training tips. These questions would be geared toward urging participants to think about priorities, possibilities, and questions they should ask of departments where they study and work. The framework should be questions, because it is intended to be a mentoring tool, and mentoring is mostly about guided self-reflection. The training module should have a branching format; the next question should be contingent on an answer just given. For example, if someone is contemplating being an assistant professor and starting a family, there is a further set of questions to ask, for example, about support policies at the institution where the participant works. This module could be used at any stage of the career. It should also be able to be used by mentors, who can use it to learn what questions they should be asking, and how to think about responses. It can also be used by graduate programs and departments to evaluate how they are doing, what questions they should be asking themselves, and steps they might take to create more opportunities.

Dvora Yanow

University of California-Berkeley, Center for the Study of Law and Society

What stands out for me across all our discussions is the sense that we have made little progress, or much less than I previously thought. Particularly telling, for example, was hearing from Rose Harris that she and her colleagues felt compelled to organize a new association to try to stem the outflow of black female political scientists, by countering the advice they are being given not to do work of interest to them, because that work is about black women and politics. This is the sort of thing one heard 20 or 30 years ago as advice to white women: "do not research women... that's not a 'real' area of research." In addition, Lori Homer commented that pregnant students are not taken seriously by potential advisors, that they are seen as a waste of time and other resources. While her

comments were not from a political science department, I am concerned from things I have heard elsewhere that such a situation is not unique and that it does infect political science departments.

I am troubled not just by the numbers and the story they tell of a decline in women in the professoriate in higher ranks, but by a professional culture that may be the reason for this thinning of the “non-suits.” Women still take on, or are assigned, the majority of caring tasks and responsibilities, whether that be in the office (advising students, serving on committees, etc.) or at home (tending to children, spouses/partners, or parents). Women academics already put off child-bearing on the annual calendar to time it with summer vacation and on the academic calendar to time it post-tenure. The age-related requirements of child-caring and other caring activities may intersect with career decisions. If, indeed, we still have chilly climates for women, minorities, and minority women, it should be no surprise that women are leaving the professoriate. Many corporate workplaces provide childcare and other benefits, not to mention higher salaries, which could make them more attractive workplaces than our universities and colleges. Mentoring might help, but not if such advice reflects a narrow vision of what constitutes a political science career.

Suggested Interventions

Compose or re-issue a statement sent to all departments and posted on the website, reiterating that resource judgments (personnel, or student-related) based on pregnancy, etc. are illegal.

Find out what doctoral students are experiencing. To access such information, ask some doctoral students to organize the research project. Several, for example, who have been involved with Perestroika might be tapped.

Involve Rose Harris’ group and work with the other caucuses to get a clearer sense of the issues faced by women of color.

Make available the findings of Barbara Gross’s study of women scientists at Harvard and the MIT study that reported on discriminatory resource practices (in lab space, office space, funding, etc.), along with those institutions’ policies and the steps they took to address deficiencies. The problems they identified had less to do with numbers of women than with organizational culture. This is where I think APSA can step in, not in changing departmental cultures, but in making a clear case for the impacts of organizational cultures on all department members: students, faculty, and staff.

Convene a gathering of the Women’s Caucus/Status Committee equivalents in other disciplines, such as SWIP (The Society for Women in Philosophy), Gender and Diversity in Organizations (formerly Women in Management) of the Academy of Management, CSWEP, AEA, ASA, and the American Planning Association, so that we might learn from each other what the issues are, and how to address them best.

Fund and commission a life history interview research project on this topic.

Appendix E: References

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