Who Studies Canadian Politics? Faculty Diversity in a Political Science Subfield

Kenny William Ie, *University of British Columbia*

Abstract

This note assesses faculty diversity in the Canadian politics subfield of political science. It examines the numerical presence of women and racialized scholars in the subfield using publicly available data on permanent faculty at Canadian universities. These data indicate that Canadian politics has thus far underperformed in both areas. At 36 per cent of permanent faculty, women are significantly underrepresented in Canadian politics, though they constitute a higher share of early career faculty compared to mid or late career, suggesting improvements over time. Meanwhile, racialized scholars are almost invisible in the subfield, constituting less than four per cent of permanent faculty, far below figures for both the discipline and university professoriate. These findings should inform equity, diversity and inclusion efforts within the Canadian politics subfield and political science generally.

Introduction

This research note assesses the demographic diversity of faculty in the 'Canadian Politics' subfield of political science. To examine this, I compiled information from public online sources on permanent faculty working at Canadian universities in the subfield, in total identifying 256 scholars. These data show that Canadian Politics significantly underperforms expectations relative to population diversity along two dimensions: the presence of women and racialized scholars. Women are significantly underrepresented in permanent positions, at about 36 per cent, though constituting a higher share of early career faculty (44 per cent) compared to mid or late career, suggesting improvement over time and into the future. However, racialized persons are almost completely invisible: less than four per cent of permanent Canadian Politics faculty are of racialized status. As far as could be determined, Indigenous scholars constitute little more than two per cent of subfield faculty. These results indicate that Canadian Politics lags representational trends in the broader discipline and in academia generally. The goal of this study, then, is to call

attention to this state and encourage efforts to diversify both scholars and scholarship in the subfield.

Why Faculty Diversity Matters

Faculty diversity matters for both normative and instrumental reasons. As Hero (2015: 469) argues, diversity is "required by fundamental values", especially in a discipline that "takes questions of equality very seriously and is imbedded in a political system" with equality as a core belief. Valuing diversity is "a matter of justice" (Mershon and Walsh, 2016: 463; Lake, 2016: 1119). Instrumentally, diversity strengthens a discipline's intellectual development through expanding its questions, approaches, and methodologies (Maliniak et al., 2013; Mershon and Walsh, 2016). Conversely, underrepresentation undermines the emergence of innovative ideas by limiting the 'talent pool' of disciplinary contributors (Barnes, 2018). Hesli Claypool and Mershon (2016) show that diversity within departments has positive effects on collegiality and attitudes towards minority groups. Smith (2017) argues that the lack of racialized and Indigenous faculty diversity reproduces existing, entrenched colonial perspectives and social hierarchies that originate in Canada's founding (Abu-Laban, 2017).

While faculty diversity itself does not guarantee an inclusive intellectual environment, presence in sufficient numbers can send powerful signals against a status quo in which "Indigenous and racially and ethnically diverse students in political science… never experience someone like themselves as university professors, mentors, and leaders, and as researchers and knowledge producers" (Smith, 2017: 261). This absence compounds perceptions of exclusion, discouraging students and potential scholars from entering, or remaining in, academia (Reid and Curry, 2019). Political science has shown recent commitment to examining faculty diversity, through journal symposia (see Garcia and Alfaro, 2021; Mershon and Walsh, 2016), organizational reports and addresses (CPSA Diversity Task Force, 2010, 2012; Everitt, 2021; Mealy, 2018), and other work

(for example, Abu-Laban, 2016; Ghica, 2021; Rocha Carpiuc, 2016; Smith, 2017). These efforts show that faculty diversity clearly does and should matter.

The question of faculty diversity within subfields, as opposed to broader disciplines, has seen comparably less attention (but see Reid and Curry, 2019). Subfields merit attention because they still constitute the dominant disciplinary structure. As Graham et al. (2014) note, political science is "fragmented" along subfield divisions that continue to organize professional development, journal audiences and research agendas; they constitute "vehicles of power", critically shaping scholarly identities, training and curriculum, departmental cultures, scholar networks, and perspectives (Kaufman-Osborn, 2006: 45). Notably for faculty diversity, most recruitment into the professoriate is tailored to subfield specializations even as hiring and promotion are assessed more widely, by departments and faculties. Thus, probing beyond overall patterns in our concern for diversity and representation is crucial.

This concern is not unique to Canadian Politics as a subfield, but the specific context of Canada highlights the challenges of diversifying the academy to reflect an increasingly heterogenous and pluralistic society. Canada is highly ethnically and racially diverse: as of 2016, 'visible minorities' constitute 22 per cent of the population, projected to be one-third or more by 2036 (Statistics Canada, 2017). By that same date, almost 50 per cent of Canadians will be immigrants or second-generation individuals. This demographic change runs parallel to growing recognition of Canada's settler-colonial origins and present, which Abu-Laban (2016) argues contribute to the "evident and persistent structural inequities in the Canadian academy and the discipline of political science" (494-95). Scholars such as Nath (2011), Nath et al. (2018), and Thompson (2008) have insightfully argued that the dominant narratives and methodologies in Canadian political science have largely excluded or limited race, ethnicity, and Indigeneity as

important subjects of study. Nath et al. (2018) show that most research that does consider gender, race, or intersectionality is firmly within the orthodox behaviour and formal politics realms, rather than anti-oppression, "insurrectionary" approaches which fundamentally question structures and modes of power in the Canadian state. Thompson (2008) forcefully demonstrates that denial of racism infects both Canada and Canadian political science, such that race is seldom regarded as politically important or theoretically interesting. This absence is reflected, and arguably driven by, the absence of scholarship and of racialized faculty in Canadian political science; Tolley (2020: 62), for example, finds that only 2.4 per cent of authors of 'supplemental readings' in Canadian Politics textbooks are of racialized status, compared to 17 per cent in political science departments generally (Smith, 2017).

The study of Canadian Politics also highlights disparity between the academy and society regarding gender. While far from ideal, Canada ranks relatively highly on such measures as the Global Gender Gap Index and the UN's Gender Inequality Index, composite measures of economic participation, educational attainment, health outcomes, and political empowerment. And, as described below, Canadian political science has seen increasing numbers of women in the professoriate and in positions of leadership (see Everitt, 2021). However, as Vickers (2015) and Tolley (2017) suggest, the 'mainstreaming' of gender is far from complete; work from feminist or gendered perspectives continues to be 'siloed' within 'gender and diversity' sections, rather than informing the broader 'mainstream' discipline. Nath et al. (2018) show that gender articles in general Canadian political science journals "remain rooted in political behaviour and political institutions", while work that is explicitly feminist or non-state centred "is less likely to be recognized as being part of the discipline" (632). Certainly, Canadian political science has become more theoretically and methodologically open and pluralistic, and more demographically diverse,

over time (Abu-Laban, 2017; Everitt, 2021). However, if it wishes to remain relevant to the society it purports to produce knowledges for, Canadian Politics must continue to focus efforts on strengthening these trends.

Diversity in Canadian Political Science

The goal of this note, then, is to illuminate faculty diversity in Canadian Politics. Overall data on political scientists working in Canada – in all subfields – is available from several sources. CPSA's Diversity Task Force produced two reports (2010, 2012) demonstrating underrepresentation in the discipline. The 2010 report surveyed department chairs and showed that women constituted 28 per cent of all faculty, 'visible minority' persons 13 per cent, and Indigenous persons less than 2 per cent (CPSA Diversity Task Force, 2010: 3). The figures for tenure-track or tenured faculty were almost identical (5). The 2012 report was based on a survey of CPSA members. While not fully representative, respondents accounted for more than 35 per cent of CPSA membership in 2010. 40 per cent identified as women, 13 per cent as 'visible minority' persons, and 1 per cent (5 respondents) as Indigenous persons. As Abu-Laban (2016) suggests, these figures constitute significant improvement since the 1970s but remain underwhelming.

More recently, Smith (2017) examined thirteen political science departments across Western Canada and found that 39 per cent of full-time faculty were women and 23 per cent racialized persons (including 6 per cent Indigenous). For an international 'Gender and Monitoring Report', based on a survey of national associations, the CPSA reported that 40.9 per cent of its members were women; other aspects of diversity were not examined (Abu-Laban et al., 2018: 11-12). Everitt's (2021) recent CPSA Presidential Address found evident progress in women's representation: almost half of faculty in tenure track positions were women in 2020, dramatically higher than the 7 percent in 1971 and even the 30 per cent as late as 2010 (753). She also found

that the number of racialized scholars has grown in recent years, though slowly (757). Additionally, racialized (and Indigenous) faculty are especially well-represented in non-tenure track precarious employment (757-58). Finally, APSA's organized sections data is useful because it is subfield-specific, though many political scientists studying Canadian Politics are not members of APSA, nor are all members of APSA's Canadian Politics section at Canadian universities. 37 per cent of members of this section identified as women; 28 per cent identified as a race/ethnicity other than 'non-Hispanic White or Euro-American'. While most of these data do not speak specifically to the Canadian Politics subfield, they are useful in setting baseline expectations, namely, that both women and racialized scholars are underrepresented in the subfield, relative to population shares, but that progress may be evident.

Data

This assessment of faculty diversity in Canadian political science is based on information obtained from faculty profiles on department websites. I visited the websites of every autonomous degree-granting institution in Canada in April 2021. Most were political science departments; some were broader social science or interdisciplinary units. In total, departments within 54 institutions were examined. For each department, I identified all tenured or tenure-track members whose interests, teaching, or publication record mention or imply study of Canadian politics, aiming to be as inclusive as possible. Where "Canadian Politics" was not explicitly named as a field or specialization, an individual is included if Canada is a consistent context for their research: this criterion was most relevant for public policy, public administration, and political behaviour scholars. For each, I coded gender expression and racialized status through examination of visual elements, self-description in biographical information, and online search where necessary. Racialized status follows Canada's *Employment Equity Act* definition of 'visible minority' as

'persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour'. Rank (Assistant, Associate, Full Professor) was also coded directly from department websites.

While the dataset includes coding of Indigenous individuals using multiple markers, including self-description and online mentions, this aspect of diversity is not emphasized in the study because of greater uncertainty in visual ascription and small group size: only six individuals were so coded, almost identical to the CPSA 2012 report, where only five respondents self-identified as 'Aboriginal'. These individuals should not be aggregated with individuals of racialized status, as this unjustifiably conflates substantively different circumstances and relations of groups to Canadian politics and the State. Certainly, inclusion of Indigenous voice in Canadian political science must be a central goal of the subfield; indeed, this programme is underway (for example, Gabel and Goodman 2021). In total, then, this search resulted in 256 total (non-Indigenous) individuals who are permanent faculty studying Canadian politics.

This ascription method enables a relatively comprehensive roster of permanent faculty in Canadian political science and has been frequently used in similar work assessing diversity in academia (for example, Henry et al., 2012; Johnson and Howsam, 2020; Smith, 2017). It avoids potential problems of self-selection, selective reporting, and response rate issues to which voluntary surveys are vulnerable. All departments examined have websites with complete faculty lists as best as can be determined, especially for permanent members, though a few do not identify members by rank. In such cases, sources such as LinkedIn or Google scholar were examined.

The data is representative of the target population of faculty studying Canadian politics. Indeed, it captures very close to the entire population. Individuals not captured are those at non-autonomous institutions (for example, affiliated schools), community colleges, institutions outside Canada, and non-tenured faculty. These were excluded for both practical and substantive reasons.

Inclusion of the first two groups would not substantively change the results, given their relatively small number and absence of evidence that they are significantly more or less diverse. Inclusion of non-tenured faculty would likely induce some change in the results, since women and racialized scholars tend to constitute larger shares of non-tenured faculty. Practically, inclusion of this group is more difficult because of inconsistency in how or even whether departments list these faculty members. Substantively, any difference in results by exclusion of non-tenured faculty only strengthens our concerns about underrepresentation of diversity since non-tenured faculty are less likely to have status and influence in the discipline or even remain in academia. If we are genuinely concerned about diversity and inclusion in Canadian political science, the permanent faculty ranks should be the most pressing arena.

Despite its frequent use in studies of faculty diversity, the method used here raises at least three concerns. First, it inherently involves subjectivity on the coder's part. Second, it may ascribe characteristics which do not correspond to how some individuals would self-identify. Third, it may "reproduce the very process of representation" at the core of gender construction and racialization (Henry et al., 2012: 5-6). I try to mitigate the first issue by requiring visual evidence for all ascriptions of gender and racialized status, and using any other indicators, such as pronouns in faculty profiles. As Johnson and Howsam (2020: 681) suggest, "[g]endering and racializing are, in large measure, visual processes", so using visual evidence is appropriate, if not ideal. The challenges of the second and third issues - ascription of characteristics such as gender (particularly as binary) and minority status and reproduction of problematic cultural processes - are well-taken. Certainly, critical accounts of the construction of gender and race in the academy, such as Ashencaen Crabtree and Shiel (2019) and Monzó and SooHoo (2014), demonstrate that these ascriptions are often used to perpetuate stereotypes and place increased and disproportionate

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burdens on gendered and racialized faculty. However, given the problems of other methods, such as surveys, and the urgency of systematic data collection on these issues (Johnson and Howsam, 2020: 681), the present method and analysis is a useful supplement to critical accounts and shares the goals of illuminating issues of diversity and representation of marginalized voices in academia.

Several summary aspects of the data are notable. First, Ontario universities account for 43 per cent (N = 111) of permanent faculty, by far the largest share and slightly greater than the province's population share (39 per cent). Most provincial shares roughly correspond to population shares, though New Brunswick and Nova Scotia are notably overrepresented, with 3.9 and 6.6 per cent, respectively (vs. population shares of 2.1 and 2.6 per cent). Their combined count of 27 faculty members exceeds British Columbia's (25), for example, despite having one-third the population. The largest subfield contingent is at the University of Toronto, inclusive of all campuses (18), followed by Université de Montréal (13) and York University (12). The mean size is 4.7 members. Finally, the rank distribution is 15.2 per cent Assistant Professor, 39.1 per cent Associate Professor, 45.7 per cent Professor. This departs from overall trends which show that more than 20 per cent of permanent faculty in Canada are Assistant Professor rank, while full Professors constitute about 40 per cent, as of 2019-2020 (Statistics Canada, 2021).

Diversity of Permanent Faculty in Canadian Politics

I first assess gender diversity in Canadian Politics permanent faculty. Overall, only 36.3 per cent of tenured or tenure-track faculty studying Canadian politics in Canada, 93 of 256, are women. This is below the 40 per cent reported in the 2012 CPSA survey, suggesting that women are somewhat underrepresented in the subfield relative to other subfields, and the 39 per cent share of full-time faculty in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2021). There is significant variation across provinces, though most have small totals so differences can be overstated. Still, Table 1 indicates that institutions within some provinces have been much more successful at recruiting women to

permanent faculty positions than others. Notably, among the larger provinces, Ontario and Quebec

perform relatively well (44.1 and 34.5 per cent, respectively), while British Columbia and Alberta

perform poorly (16.0 and 19.0 per cent, respectively).

Province	No. Women Faculty	Total Faculty	Percentage
British Columbia	4	25	16.0
Alberta	4	21	19.0
Saskatchewan	2	4	50.0
Manitoba	4	7	57.1
Ontario	49	111	44.1
Quebec	19	55	34.5
New Brunswick	2	10	20.0
Nova Scotia	7	17	41.2
Prince Edward Island	0	1	0.0
Newfoundland & Labrador	2	5	40.0
Total	93	256	36.3

Table 1. Number and Percentage of Women Faculty in Canadian Politics, by Province

The fact that the subfield's 'centre of gravity' is Central Canada (with 65 per cent of

scholars) is reflected in the disproportionately high share of women scholars at departments in

Ontario and Quebec. 73 per cent of women scholars in Canadian Politics are in these two

provinces. This regional concentration of women Canadian Politics faculty may generate more

favourable conditions for networking, mentoring, and positive feedback loops. Institutions outside

of Central Canada, then, may need to be more intentional and pro-active to overcome these

structural disadvantages. While not especially evident in the cross-province data, institutions in

rural, remote settings may also face unique difficulties in recruiting and retaining underrepresented

scholars.

The share of permanent Canadian politics faculty who are women varies significantly not

only by province but across departments. Figure 1 displays these shares by department, grouped

by department size. I consider size because larger departments arguably have more opportunities

to attract and promote women faculty, on average. Departments were categorized as large (ten or

more faculty members in the Canadian Politics subfield), medium (5-9), and small (1-4). In four departments, all permanent faculty in Canadian Politics are women: all are small departments. Conversely, seventeen departments have no women Canadian Politics scholars: all but one are also small. Given that small departments are spread across the range of outcomes, there is no clear relationship between smallness and women faculty proportion – not surprising, given that the presence or absence of one or two women scholars shifts the share considerably.[1]

Medium-sized departments perform relatively well, on average. The overall mean for these departments, 45 per cent, exceeds small and large departments by around 14 and 9 per cent, respectively. Windsor (80 per cent) and Queen's University (67 per cent) are well above the 50 per cent parity level and several other medium-sized departments fall in the 40-50 per cent range. Large departments also range widely, but generally perform less well than medium-sized departments. On the positive side, York stands out, with 2/3rds of its Canadian Politics faculty being women; Concordia and Guelph, both at 50 per cent, also perform well. These data clearly show that political science departments in Canada vary considerably in their inclusion of women scholars. However, variation within groups of departments of similar size is also evident. In fact, the within-group variance far exceeds the between-group variance, rendering department size statistically insignificant (ANOVA: $F_{(2,50)} = 0.9$, $p = 0.41$). Thus, there is no clear association between department size and diversity as regards gender, although more medium-sized departments can be found amongst the best-performing units than large departments, and the variation suggests room for sharing of institutional best practices more widely.
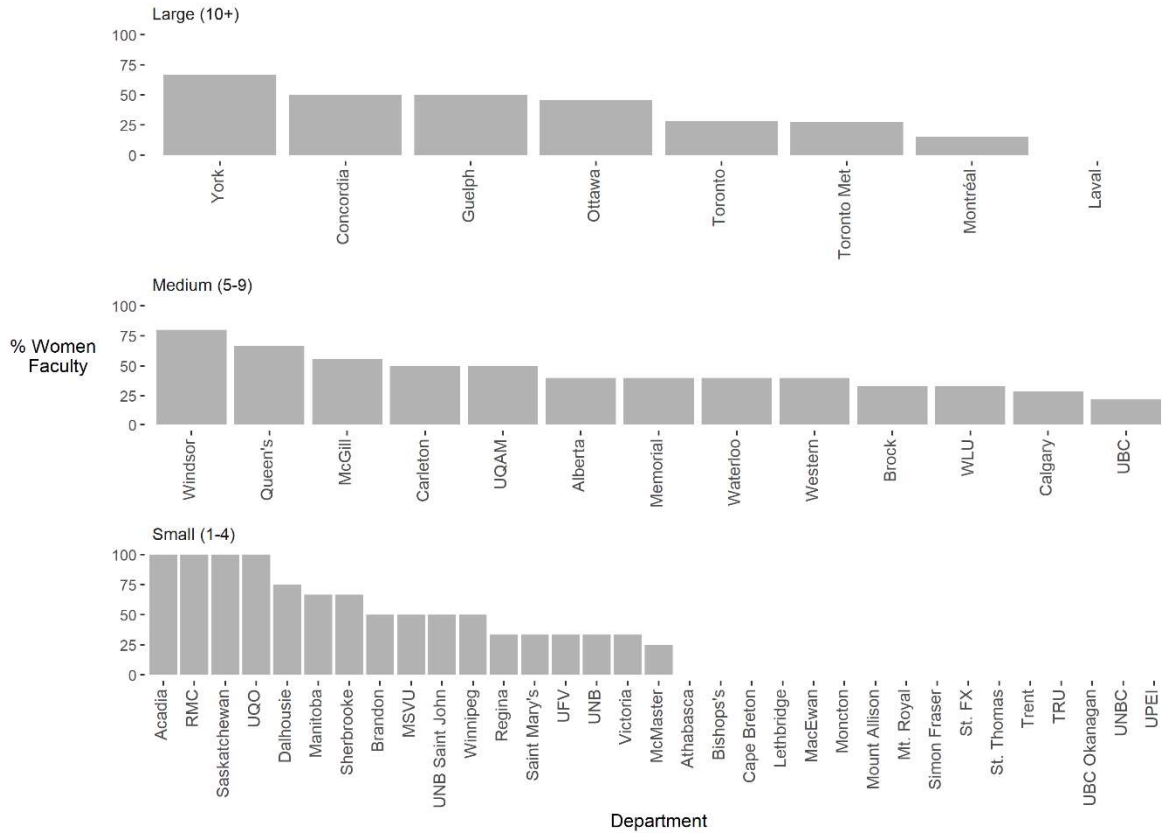
Figure 1. Percentage of Women Faculty by Department and Department Size

Finally, I consider the gender distribution of Canadian Politics faculty by rank, shown in Table 2. I also stratify by department size, despite the earlier non-significant association, because research indicates that larger departments, at least in the United States, are more likely to deny tenure (Marshall and Rothgeb Jr, 2011), and women and racialized scholars are less likely to obtain tenure, controlling for research productivity (for example, Weisshaar, 2017; Wijesingha and Ramos, 2017).[2] I expect that the gender distribution will be more imbalanced among larger universities than among smaller institutions. On the other hand, smaller departments may offer fewer incentives or opportunities for promotion to higher ranks; this may mean that women, and faculty generally, remain at lower ranks, or move to larger departments when obtaining higher ranks.

	Professorial Rank			
	Assistant Professor (N = 39)	Associate Professor (N = 100)	Professor (N = 117)	Overall
Large (10+ Members) (N = 95)	33.3	36.1	34.0	34.7
Medium (5-9 Members) (N = 84)	66.7	42.5	40.0	44.0
Small (1-4 Members) (N = 77)	33.3	37.5	22.9	30.0
Overall	41.0	39.0	32.5	36.7

Table 2. Percentage of Women Faculty by Rank and Department Size

The table shows the percentage of women permanent faculty within each department size category of a given rank. For example, about 42 per cent of Associate Professors in Canadian Politics in medium-sized departments are women; 23 per cent of full Professors at small universities are women. The overall figures show that the percentage of women faculty decreases at higher ranks: it is highest at the Assistant Professor rank, 41 per cent, decreasing to 39 per cent at the Associate level and only 32 per cent at the Full Professor level. It is encouraging that more recent entrants into the permanent faculty demonstrate greater demographic diversity by gender. As these individuals move into the most senior positions in the subfield and currently senior faculty move out of the ranks, the gender balance in Canadian Politics should continue to improve.

Finally, I suggested there may be a relationship between department size and gender-rank balance, given previous research which indicates that larger departments generally have higher tenure and promotion standards and are more likely to reject tenure cases, and that gendered and racialized faculty are less likely to obtain tenure for reasons unrelated to research productivity. Breaking down rank by department size produces unclear results in this regard. If large departments were systematically less likely to tenure and/or promote women faculty, we would expect to see drop-offs in the percentage of women faculty moving from assistant to full professor.

In fact, while the share of assistant professors in large departments is far smaller than in medium-sized departments (33 versus 67 per cent), the women share of associate and full professors in large departments barely changes. Indeed, while two-thirds of assistant professors in medium-sized departments are women, only 42 per cent of associate professors, and 40 per cent of full professors, are. This may be a temporary state as the large cohort of women faculty in medium-sized departments filters through to higher ranks. Finally, it is notable that the lowest share of women faculty by rank and department size belongs to the small department / full professor group. This may be evidence that women faculty at smaller universities encounter, on average, more barriers to promotion to the highest professorial rank.

The second dimension of demographic diversity assessed is racialized status. How well does the Canadian Politics subfield perform in terms of inclusion of racialized scholars? The overall result is well below expectations: racialized scholars constitute only 3.9 per cent of the permanent Canadian political science professoriate (N = 10). Indeed, several departments, *on their own*, have a larger number of white male Canadian politics scholars than there are racialized scholars in the subfield in the entire country. This compares poorly with the 13 per cent of respondents to the 2012 CPSA Diversity Task Force survey who identified as 'visible minority' scholars, the 17 per cent identified by Smith (2017), and the 21 per cent in the professoriate broadly (Canadian Association of University Teachers, 2018). Because of the small numbers, disaggregated patterns are not especially useful, though I note that rather than the linear decrease for gender, 50 per cent of racialized scholars are at the associate rank, compared to 30 per cent assistant and 20 per cent full professor. Second, 70 per cent are at Ontario universities; Quebec and BC are the only other provinces with racialized Canadian Politics scholars. Finally, it is worth noting that Smith's (2017: 250) finding - that the pool of women political science scholars is more

diverse than the pool of male scholars - is also supported here. In the Canadian Politics subfield, 7.5 per cent of women scholars are of racialized status, while only 1.9 per cent of male scholars are.

The failure of representation is highlighted by the fact that 45 per cent of graduate student enrolment and 40 per cent of undergraduate student enrolment is identified as having racialized status overall (Universities Canada, 2019). While discipline-specific data for Canada is unavailable, if they are close to these overall figures, the disparity with faculty diversity is striking.[3] If they are not close to the overall trends, the question becomes why racialized students tend not to pursue the study of Canadian Politics at the undergraduate or graduate levels, or why they exit at some point in their academic careers. Comparison to the broader population only highlights this failure, as more than 20 per cent of Canadians are of racialized background currently; this is only increasing. Thus, while the professoriate is broadly reflective of Canadian diversity, notwithstanding concentration in more precarious employment positions (James and Chapman-Nyaho, 2017), Canadian political science is clearly failing to attract, retain, and promote racialized scholars.

Discussion

This note asks the question: "Who Studies Canadian Politics?". It concludes that the face of Canadian politics is still overwhelmingly white, and predominantly male: less than four per cent of Canadian Politics scholars are of racialized status, about two per cent are Indigenous persons (N = 6), and women constitute only about 36 per cent of faculty. The subfield has thus far failed to meet expectations, notwithstanding invaluable efforts to challenge 'mainstream' Canadian political science and its resistance to change (Nath et al., 2018; Vickers, 2015). Nonetheless, progress in some areas is evident. While women remain underrepresented at all ranks of permanent

faculty studying Canadian Politics, the evidence suggests improvement over time and into the future, since women constitute almost 45 per cent of assistant professors in the subfield. Since this rank contains the most recent entrants into the profession, who will fill leadership roles in the field over the coming decades, the trend of growing women's representation is likely to continue. However, this conclusion is tentative given the possibility of a gender gap in obtaining tenure (Hesli et al., 2012; Weisshaar, 2017) and in promotion to full professor (Kim and Grofman, 2019).[4] The picture for racialized diversity is bleaker: despite an institutional environment which has nominally committed to diversity, equity and inclusion, the Canadian Politics subfield is woefully unrepresentative of the country's growing racialized populations. Simply put, racialized scholars are mostly invisible in Canadian Politics teaching and research.

These findings call attention to the dissonance between demographic realities, institutional commitments to diversity, and the state of the Canadian Politics subfield. While the intent is not to disparage or undervalue contributions in the subfield from any background, or to discount ongoing efforts to recognize and address diversity concerns, it is evident that more needs to be done if Canadian Politics wishes to be a vibrant, appealing option for students and aspiring academics, and be relevant to the broader polity. What strategies for change are possible?

First, we need more data of the kind presented here; such data is how we will better understand the overall scope and nature of the problem. CPSA should renew its efforts to collect, analyze, and publicize demographic data on its members. This could include asking for these data upon membership registration, as APSA does, and by publicly releasing the information gathered on the yearly surveys of departmental chairs (see Everitt, 2021). In particular, we need data concerning multiple points in the academic pipeline, from undergraduate political science students to tenured faculty. We also need to strengthen efforts to gather comparative data across subfields

and disciplines. This quantitative data should be accompanied by qualitative, experiential data that deeply probes the perspectives of gendered and racialized individuals at multiple levels of the subfield, while also incorporating perspectives of those in positions of leadership. How are mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion experienced in the study of Canadian politics? What does an institutional or departmental commitment to equity and diversity mean to those tasked with pursuing them?

Second, resources need to be directed towards outreach, recruitment, and mentoring programs and professional support. We do not need more data to recognize the "leaky pipeline" in Canadian politics: that groups are underrepresented because there are insufficient numbers of qualified individuals to fill permanent faculty positions from these groups (for example, Fries-Britt et al., 2011; Monforti and Mickelson, 2008). This is because at each career stage, from undergraduate through graduate and tenure-track to tenured professor, fewer scholars from underrepresented groups remain in the pool. The CPSA Diversity Task Force suggests this in showing much higher rates women, Indigenous and racialized respondents considering leaving the profession, compared to men (2012: 13). This urges the prior question of why individuals from underrepresented groups choose to exit the pipeline; part of the answer must be perceptions of a lack of opportunities and resources. Thus, CPSA, political science departments, and individual faculty should consider where and how initiatives to engage, recruit, and mentor students from underrepresented backgrounds can be implemented. APSA may serve as an example in creating funding and mentorship opportunities for such students and faculty (see https://www.apsanet.org/diversity/Diversity-and-Inclusion-Programs). APSA's Ralph Bunche Summer Institute, for example, is designed to introduce "doctoral study in political science [to] undergraduate students from under-represented racial and ethnic groups". Adidas et al. (2020)

conduct a similar program based at UC San Diego for undergraduates from Morehouse and Spelman Colleges, two Historically Black Colleges. CPSA has limited resources, but a collaborative effort should be possible. Another idea is that of 'sponsors' or 'champions' as enhanced mentorship of graduate students and junior faculty (Sinclair-Chapman, 2015; Zambrana et al., 2015). Mentorship places the onus on the mentee to seek guidance and accept rewards and failures on their own, while a sponsor or champion shares them. This incentivizes those in positions of power to proactively advocate and provide opportunities for those they sponsor, rather than placing that responsibility solely on the marginalized and relatively powerless.

Finally, and perhaps most challenging, are strategies to rethink processes of recruitment and promotion. There is now a body of evidence showing biases in ostensibly neutral recruitment and promotion processes, including such aspects as the composition of hiring committees, the wording and marketing of job ads, and measurements of merit and productivity (for example, Orupabo and Mangset 2022; Sensoy and DiAngelo, 2017). Women and racialized scholars, on average, tend to enter the job market with fewer publications and less 'accomplishment', often because of structural disadvantage (Brunsma et al., 2017): discrimination, isolation or lack of social integration, and inadequate professionalization. This productivity gap continues; women, for instance, tend to publish and be cited less often than male counterparts (Dion et al., 2018; Teele and Thelen, 2017). While the Canadian politics subfield cannot unilaterally rethink how Canadian politics scholars are recruited, trained, and promoted, surely its contributions to these processes can better recognize these issues.

Unfortunately, such efforts encounter the context of the "neoliberal" university in which departments and faculties face significant constraints on their ability to provide fairly compensated and permanent academic employment (Brownlee, 2015; Everitt, 2021; Rose, 2020). Such

employment has not kept pace with the number of post-secondary students in Canada, or the number of PhDs produced: university undergraduate enrolment increased 55 per cent from 2000 to 2019, 68 per cent in the social sciences (Statistics Canada, 2020). PhD enrolment increased by 107 per cent in the same time frame, 102 per cent in the social sciences. However, permanent faculty increased by only 27 per cent, and since 2009, only 2.8 per cent (Statistics Canada, 2021). Thus, for many, it is rational to seek other employment and exit the academic pipeline. So, the "pipeline" problem today is characterized not only by limited pools of candidates from underrepresented groups, but the pipeline itself being narrower and more precarious than it has been. Addressing these concerns rests on actors at all levels: governments, universities, departments, the Canadian Politics subfield, and the political science discipline broadly. The first step, though, is to recognize the problem, and to then invest resources towards solutions.

Competing interests: The author declares none.

Endnotes

[1] 19 departments have only one or two faculty in the Canadian Politics subfield: these departments can only have shares of 0, 50, or 100 per cent.

[2] Larger departments tend to be more research-oriented, have greater competition for permanent positions, and are more often more able to sustain 'losses' in human resources than smaller institutions. That is not to say that larger departments are objectively better or worse for diversity, or that any tenure and promotion expectations are flawed, only that conditions may systematically differ by department size.

[3] While we lack Canadian data, APSA (2011) indicates that about 28 per cent of political science majors in the United States are racialized (28). APSA (2020) indicates that in 2017-18, undergraduate completions were over 40 per cent non-White; incoming PhD students show a similar rate. For PhD recipients the rate falls to 33 per cent, and for faculty it falls again to under 25 per cent.

[4] Hesli et al. (2012), however, find no significant difference between men and women in promotion to full professor.

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Online Appendix

Province	University	No. of Canadian Politics Faculty
Alberta	Alberta	5
	Athabasca	1
	Calgary	7
	Lethbridge	4
	MacEwan	2
	Mount Royal	2
British Columbia	British Columbia	9
	British Columbia – Okanagan	2
	Fraser Valley	3
	Northern British Columbia	3
	Simon Fraser	4
	Thompson Rivers	1
	Victoria	3
Manitoba	Brandon	2
	Manitoba	3
	Winnipeg	2
New Brunswick	Moncton	2
	Mount Allison	2
	New Brunswick	3
	New Brunswick – Saint John	2
	St. Thomas	1
Newfoundland & Labrador	Memorial	5
Nova Scotia	Acadia	2
	Cape Breton	3
	Dalhousie	4
	Mount Saint Vincent	2
	Saint Mary's	3
	St. Francis Xavier	3
Ontario	Brock	6
	Carleton	8
	Guelph	10
	McMaster	4
	Ottawa	11

	Royal Military College	2
	Toronto	18
	Toronto Metropolitan	11
	Trent	2
	Waterloo	5
	Western	5
	Windsor	5
	Wilfrid Laurier	6
	York	12
Prince Edward Island	Prince Edward Island	1
Quebec	Bishop's	1
	Concordia	10
	Laval	10
	McGill	9
	Montreal	13
	Quebec à Montreal	8
	Quebec en Outaouais	1
Saskatchewan	Regina	3
	Saskatchewan	1

Table 1. Universities in the Dataset, by province, including Number of Canadian Politics Faculty