

GENDER and WOMEN'S *Leadership*

A REFERENCE HANDBOOK



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Karen O'Connor

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reference

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WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

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This chapter offers a broad-strokes overview of the history and status of women's leadership in political science. It pays special attention to the barriers impeding women's further advancement and to the efforts on the part of women to make the discipline more inclusive both of women as leaders and of scholarship on women's political behavior and issues. I examine four themes: (1) the current status of women in political science leadership, (2) the history of women's leadership in the discipline, (3) women's leadership in scholarship and teaching on women and politics, and (4) resistance and backlash. The chapter concludes with a note on future directions, briefly analyzing persistent problems holding women back from full inclusion in field leadership and offering solutions drawn from research.

The Current Status of Women's Leadership in Political Science

Despite women's advancements as Ph.D. recipients in political science over the past several decades, men continue to dominate the professoriate and the professional leadership positions of the field. Women currently receive 42% of doctoral degrees in political science but hold only about 36% of entry-level faculty positions, a figure that has not changed significantly in the past decade. By a key measure of political science leadership, tenured professorships, women's share (17%) lags even further behind their proportion in the field as a whole (APSA, 2005; ASA, 2008; Sedowski & Brintnall, 2007). In contrast, women remain disproportionately represented among the ranks of lower-status, nontenure-track faculty such as lecturers,

instructors, and adjuncts (APSA, 2005; Sarkees & McGlen, 1999).

Compared with other sciences, political science occupies a middle ground; it is a more "male" discipline (in the sense of men obtaining a greater share of degrees and occupying more leadership positions) than psychology, sociology, or life sciences, and it falls below the social science averages for proportions of women as Ph.D. recipients and professors. It is a somewhat more "female" discipline than economics or the physical sciences (ASA, 2008). Comparison with other disciplines, however, tells us little about the intrafield gender dynamics with regard to women's leadership. With women currently holding less than a fifth of tenured professorships, political science still has a long way to go to achieve equality. And unfortunately for women of color, "Political science has the lowest proportion of minority students in graduate programs of all the social sciences, and lags behind natural sciences and engineering as well" (Brandes et al., 2001, p. 325).

Women's Advancement in the Field: Progress Over Time?

Figure 70.1 depicts changes over time in the proportion of women in political science as Ph.D. recipients, all faculty, tenured faculty only, and winners of national awards from the American Political Science Association (APSA), the premier U.S. professional organization in the field. In the past 3 decades, the proportion of women graduating with political science doctorates has nearly doubled, while the proportion of women as faculty has not kept pace. This discrepancy is due mostly, although not wholly, to the lack of women's

advancement into tenured professor positions. Although we saw an important increase in the very low levels of female faculty in the 1980–1981 academic year, women as of the 2000–2001 academic year were only 14% of tenured political science faculty and only 17% as of 2006 (Brandes et al., 2001; Sedowski & Brintnall, 2007). The slow advancement is not solely about tenure, however. Women's share of assistant professorships has remained relatively constant over the past decade, even as women became a larger proportion of graduate students in the field.

If there is good news in these figures, it is that women seem to be winning national APSA awards at rates roughly equal to their proportion as all faculty, not just as tenured faculty. Unfortunately, however, probably because women's proportion of faculty has not been steadily and substantially increasing over time, women's share of national APSA awards has hovered at a little over 20% for nearly 2 decades. This suggests that women were slightly overrepresented as award winners in the early 1990s, an advantage which disappeared by the end of that decade. The overrepresentation may derive from the women-specific awards or rewards for research on women and gender, which may skew the awards numbers to look better for women as a whole.

As another measure of leadership, we can examine the useful data collected by Martin Gruberg (2009) on the gender breakdown of presenters (panel chairs, discussants, and paper givers) at annual APSA meetings from 1959 to 2008. The comparison in Figure 70.2 shows women gaining ground as presenters over time but not at a pace that tracks their advancement in the field (compare the first column of

Figure 70.1 to the average of the trend lines in Figure 70.2). This finding may relate to the results of the survey data presented by Vicki Helsi, Evelyn Fink, and Diane Duffy (2003a, 2003b) suggesting that female graduate students and assistant professors do not receive enough mentoring, guidance, and support.

In another measure of political science leadership, publishing, women are also underrepresented. One study of articles in eight of the most prestigious journals found that women were only around 20% of authors between 1999 and 2004 (Breuning & Sanders, 2007; see also Kelly & Fisher, 1993). In another study, A. Lanethea Mathews and Kristi Andersen (2001) found that much of the research on women and politics was “ghettoized” into gender-focused books and journals rather than being incorporated into the mainstream (p. 146). If they excluded the women's/gender-focused books, women's proportion as authors in the remaining edited volumes lagged behind their proportion of specialists in the particular subfields of interest. Interestingly, when the volumes were edited or coedited by women, the proportion of women as authors rose dramatically. In volumes edited only by men, authors were 85% male and 15% female; in volumes edited or coedited by women, authors were nearly exactly gender equal (Mathews & Andersen, 2001). Interestingly, Gruberg's (2009) analysis of conference presenters supports the finding that having some women in decision-making positions helps other women advance: “Where women head divisions or panels, there is a greater likelihood of other women being selected for program contributions” (p. 173).

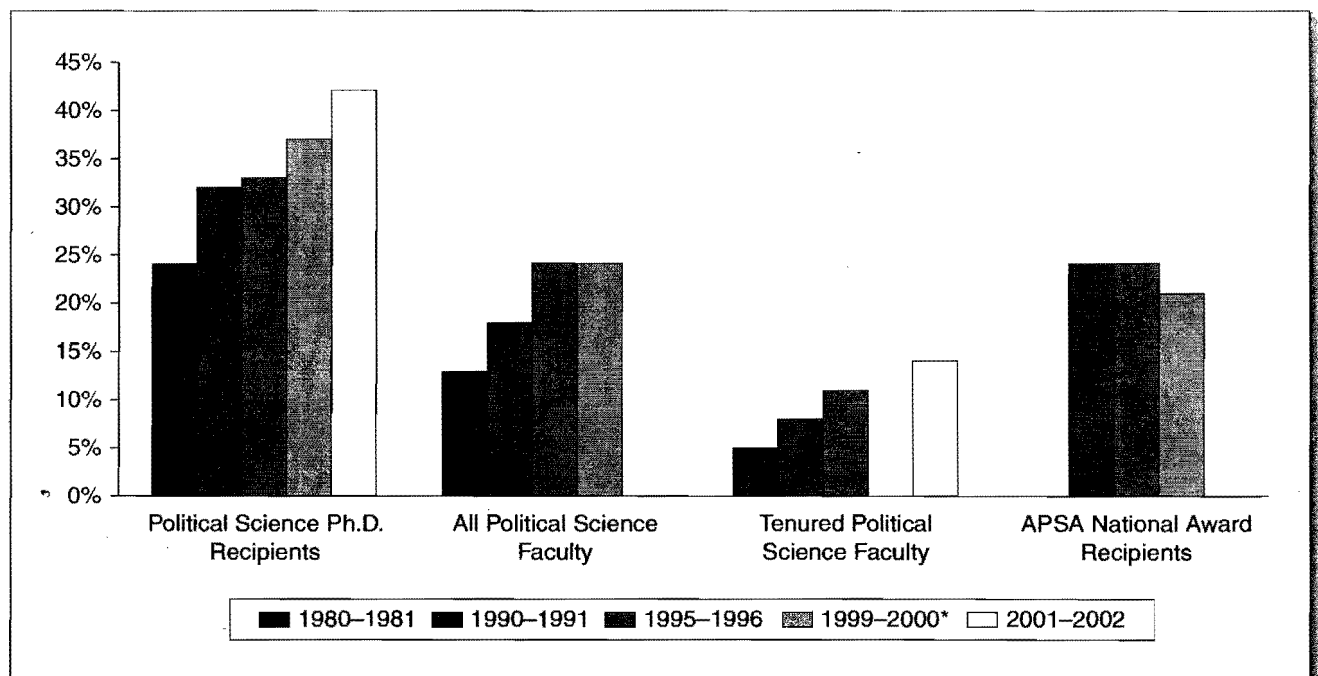


Figure 70.1 Proportion of Women as Political Science Degree-Earners, Faculty, and Award Recipients, Over Time*

SOURCES: Based on data from APSA (2005); Brandes et al. (2001); and Sarkees and McGlen (1999).

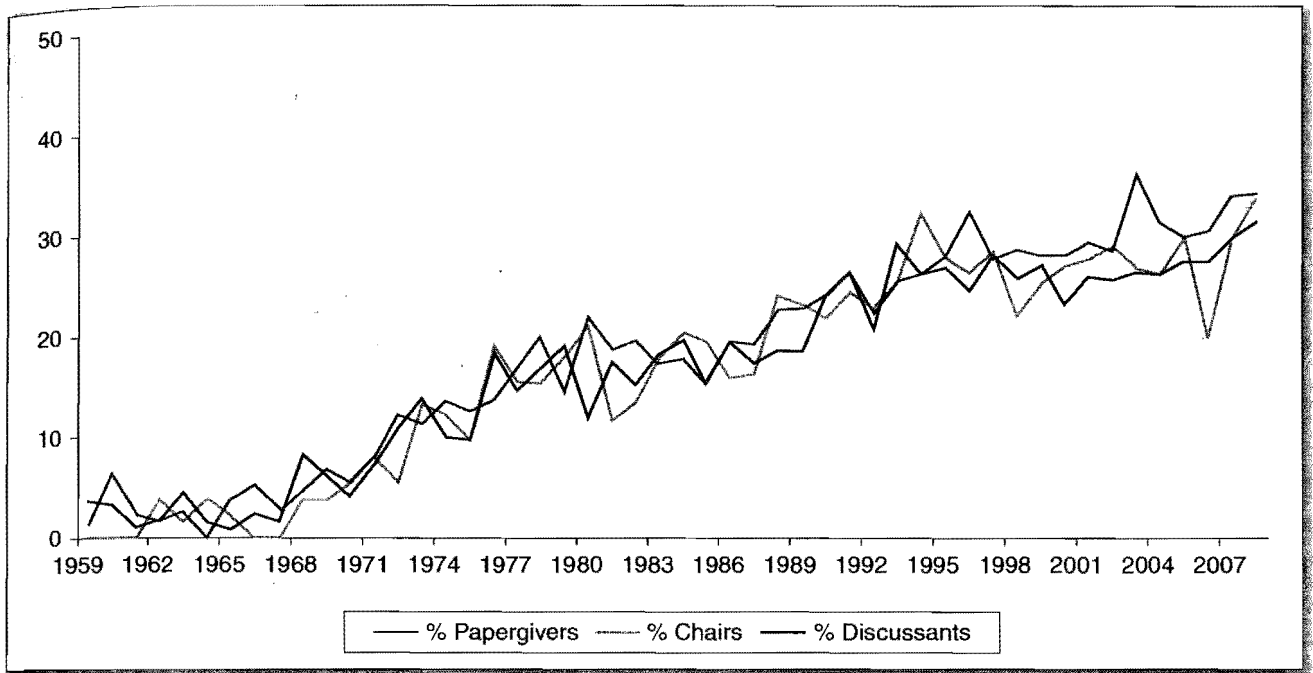


Figure 70.2 Women's Share of APSA Presenter Roles, 1959–2008

SOURCE: Based on data from Gruberg (2009).

Overall the literature and data on over-time trends of women's advancement in political science suggest that change is anything but a straight, upward slope. Rather, declines tend to follow advances, more like a roller coaster track. For example, Figure 70.3 depicts the number of APSA panels awarded to the Organized Section on Women and Politics. Although there was a jump in 1994—due to

increased interest in the topic at the previous conference and to the 1992 redistricting that resulted in a great increase in the number of women Congress members/candidates available to study—this surge of interest did not translate into a sustained focus on women and politics. After 1994 the number of panels declined to a low point in 1996, rising in 1998 and decreasing again in 2000.

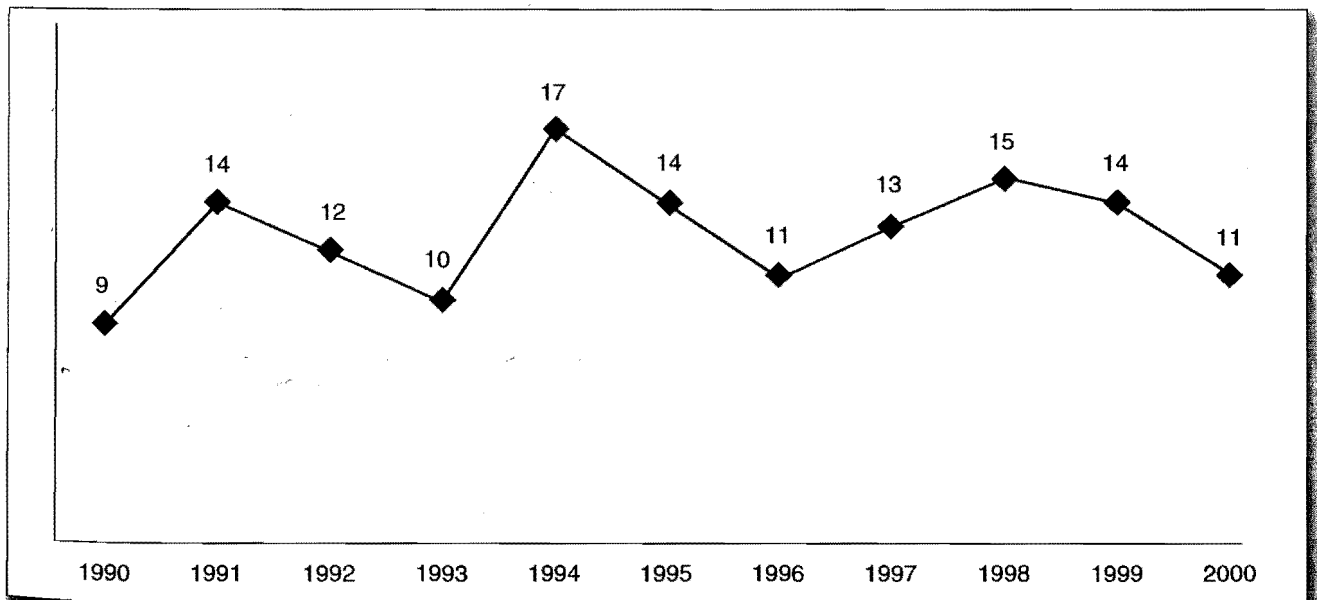


Figure 70.3 Number of Panels Sponsored and Cosponsored by the Section on Women and Politics at APSA Annual Meetings, 1990–2000

Figure 70.3 offers a visual metaphor for women's advancement in all fields, including political science. By no means, and in no field, is women's entrance into leadership positions a linear progression. Rather, advances are often met with resistance and backlash on the one hand or a confidence that leads to apathy and diminished collective action on the other.

Barriers to Field Advancement and Leadership

For many decades and still today, the structure of the pathways to political science leadership (in particular tenured professorship and prolific publishing) have better facilitated men's entry, retention, and success. Between male and female political scientists in the United States there exist sometimes substantial gaps in salary, publishing, tenure rate, and access to resources. For many women, there are also daily instances of informal exclusion from social or professional networks and differential treatment based on gender. Although such experiences can be difficult to quantify or sometimes to describe, collectively they have a large impact on the lives, professional work, and leadership aspirations and opportunities of women political scientists (APSA, 2005; Brandes et al., 2001; Breuning & Sanders, 2007; Matthews & Andersen, 2001; see also Helsi et al., 2003a, 2003b). In addition, research questions related to women and gender, which are of interest to many women political scientists, are marginalized within the field (Brandes et al., 2001; Ritter & Mellow, 2000).

Simultaneously, low proportions of female professors, especially in positions of power, translate into a frequent lack of women as role models and mentors for upcoming female graduate students and assistant professors. The numerical inequality results in disproportionate professional burdens, as the few women who do hold senior appointments are likely to be overloaded with requests to serve as a mentor, to give talks, or to represent "the women's perspective" on university and professional society committees. Women of color are in especially short supply at high levels in political science and may feel a particular responsibility to spend time on mentoring, colleague support, and community enrichment (Harris-Lacewell, 2005). Although this nonresearch work is essential for students, colleagues, departments, and communities, its value too often goes unrecognized by professional gatekeepers, posing an additional hurdle to these women's advancement.

Finally, and importantly, conflict between the tenure clock and critical childbearing and childrearing years disproportionately affects women's retention in the field and their ability to ascend the leadership ladder. Due to these trends and barriers, women tend to leave the profession at higher rates than men, both in and after graduate school (APSA, 2005; Helsi et al., 2003a, 2003b). The problems of women's leadership in the field, then, can be characterized not only as glass ceilings but also as "leaking pipelines" (APSA, 2005), intrafield marginalization (Ritter & Mellow, 2000) and "maternal walls" (Williams & Segal, 2003).

History of Women's Leadership in the Discipline

Early Pioneers

As in most professional fields, women were leaders in political science in token numbers prior to the transformation in gender relations wrought by the national and international feminist movements of the 1960s and 1970s. These early pioneers, though small in number, were large in stature. Early women political scientists who received their Ph.D.s before 1960—the first wave, so to speak—include Sophonisba Breckinridge, Marion Irish, Victoria Schuck, Jewel Prestage, Naomi Lynn, and Jeane Kirkpatrick, among others.

Breckinridge, who in 1901 became the first woman to earn a Ph.D. in political science and also earned a J.D. in 1904, published extensively on women in the family, labor market, and professions. Irish, whose Ph.D. came from Yale, began teaching political science in 1933 in Florida. Schuck, who received her Ph.D. in 1937, played a critical role in opening doors for women in the field and connecting political science to real-life politics. Prestage, who earned her Ph.D. in 1954, became the first African American woman to run a political science association (the Southern Political Science Association) and has been called the "mother of black political science" (Martin, 2005). Lynn also received her Ph.D. in political science in the 1950s and in 1991 became the first Hispanic woman president of an American public university (Sangamon State in Illinois). Kirkpatrick's 1974 book *Political Woman* became an instant classic and further legitimated the study of women as political actors. This wave served as role models and mentors for countless female field leaders who followed them; their leadership helped prop open doors for other women, and their scholarship paved the way for the development of a research genre about women in politics.

Starting in the early 1960s, and then especially in the mid-1970s, inspired by the burgeoning women's movement of the time, a new crop of women began flowing into political science and transforming the field. Instrumental in this second wave were many scholars with a specific interest in women as political actors, including Jane Bayes, Beverly Cook, Peggy Conway, Jo Freeman, Rita Mae Kelly, Ethel Klein, Jane Mansbridge, Susan Mezey, Karen O'Connor, Susan Moller Okin, Wilma Rule, Virginia Sapiro, Kay Schlozman, Judith Steihm, Susan Welch, and Iris Marion Young, among many others.

In addition, in both the first and second waves, several male social scientists helped justify and advance the academic study of the role of women and gender in politics and policy. In 1955 Maurice Durverger published one of the earliest books on this topic, *The Political Role of Women*, a work heavily relied on by those who followed him. Subsequent prominent men in the study of women and politics in the second wave (through the 1980s and 1990s) included Clyde Wilcox, Dudley Studlar, and Richard Matland.

Leadership Through Collective Action Within Associations

One of the most visible sites of women's leadership within political science is in the formation, maintenance, and expansion of organizations that promote the inclusion of women, women's scholarship, and scholarship about women and gender. Faced with an overwhelmingly male professoriate, and therefore a profession dominated by men, women political scientists in the late 1960s began to band together to achieve collective goals, such as improving the status and treatment of women in the field. The first such formalized group was the Women's Caucus for Political Science (WCPS). Although APSA already had a number of such caucuses (internal groups of individuals within the organization interested in a particular set of goals), this was the first dedicated to advancing women within the field.

In 1969, during an annual APSA meeting in New York City, five female political scientists (Carol Barner-Barry, Berenice Carroll, Kay Klotzburger, Judith Steihm, and Audrey Wells) formed the WCPS "to take care of ourselves." The caucus's first *Quarterly* newsletter, published the following year, included an article describing the APSA procedure for handling sex discrimination charges and a description of the WCPS's objectives. A later *Quarterly* added to this mission the support and encouragement of scholarly research on women. Writing in 1977 in *Quarterly*, caucus president Susan Tolchin said, "When you can show me some evidence of real equality in our profession, our group will happily self-destruct."

The caucus immediately involved itself in action to support women, such as advertising cases of equal opportunity complaint against certain universities and lobbying for child care at APSA meetings. Karen O'Connor, who at 26 became the caucus's lawyer, recalled pushing for free child care and receiving support from caucus member Walter Beach. Also in the early 1970s, the WCPS began putting forth names for the APSA nominating committee and council. In 1972 the caucus first offered its own set of events at the APSA meeting, including three panels and a luncheon. By 1975 membership had grown to 375 dues-paying members, and the WCPS first endorsed candidates for APSA office, including two who won election (Barbara Hinckley and Betty Nesvold). The WCPS continued to promote women for election and appointment to APSA leadership, and when Lucius Barker, a WCPS-endorsed candidate, became APSA president, he took seriously the WCPS suggestions and appointed several women.

The caucus is perhaps best remembered for its efforts on behalf of the equal rights amendment (ERA), which APSA endorsed in 1972. The controversy came in 1976 when Jo Freeman proposed a resolution calling for APSA to refuse to meet in any state that had failed to ratify the ERA as long as it was under consideration. Although the APSA executive committee rejected this resolution, it passed on the floor of a business meeting. In 1977 the

executive committee passed an amendment to allow APSA to hold its annual meeting in Chicago in 1979. At the annual APSA business meeting in 1978, Phillipa Strum submitted a resolution calling for the 1976 resolution to guide organizational policy. Over president John Wahlke's objection (and attempts to avoid a vote), Strum's resolution passed, and the conference did not meet in Chicago.

The founding of the Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession, also in 1969, tells a similar story of women's leadership with support from critical male allies. In 1968 women petitioned the APSA president, requesting the creation of a committee on the status of women in the profession to "elicit information about the problems faced by women entering the profession and to suggest a program to the profession for encouraging women to become political scientists" (APSA, 1971, p. 13). The next year, APSA president David Easton appointed the first such committee. In its first-ever report in the summer of 1969, the committee proposed three resolutions:

1. that the APSA support an active recruitment program, especially in the scholarship and fellowship program it administers, and actively take special steps to expand the number of places that are occupied by women;
2. that the APSA, especially at its conventions, provide for more active participation of women political scientists in offices, committee assignments, convention panels, and other programs and activities of the association; and
3. that these and similar programs, to create opportunities for women in our profession and to encourage women to seek them, be continued until some reasonable parity between men and women in the profession is achieved. (APSA, 1971, p. 17)

The women leaders of this committee, along with their male allies, continued to issue reports and make recommendations to APSA leaders and membership on questions ranging from providing free child care at the national meetings to improving the status of part-time professors to conducting surveys of graduate students. Recent committee reports suggest that the reasonable parity sought by the original members of the committee is still to some degree elusive (see "Future Directions" section below).

Finally, the Organized Section on Women and Politics Research, founded in 1986, is another strong example of women's leadership through collective action—in this case to address the lack of research on women as political actors and women's issues within the political sphere. Responding to a paper in the *Quarterly* in 1985 by caucus members Jo Freeman and Sue Tolleson Rinehart, titled "On WCPS Becoming an Organized Section of APSA," caucus member Susan Carroll chaired a committee that urged establishing an APSA section on women and politics instead. WCPS president Rita May Kelly advocated keeping the section separate, as a kind of institutionalized watchdog to support all women in the profession, not just those who study women and politics. The organized section,

on the other hand, would be an academic-focused group to advance the study of women as political actors and the role of gender within politics, writ large. The caucus petitioned APSA for the Organized Section on Women and Politics, and the petition passed the next year. Lisa Brandes et al. (2001) note that the membership of the section grew to 565 members by 1999 (with men making up 13% of members), making it the 8th largest out of the 32 organized APSA sections.

APSA Governance

Recent reports suggest that APSA has worked to eliminate male bias in selection of its national leaders. The largest changes apparently took place in the 1990s:

Among the officers who served from 1990 to 1999, women were 39% of the vice presidents and 38.8% of council members. . . . From 1990 to 1999, a total of 42 individuals served as officers or as president; 13, or 31%, were women. During the same time, 55 opportunities to serve existed (six offices with treasurer appointed for two-year term); women filled 32.7% of the opportunities. (Brandes et al., 2001, p. 325)

Compare this figure to the 1980s when women filled 25% of such opportunities. In council elections since 2003, women seem to fare as well as men in receiving member votes, according to the results published on the APSA Web site. From 2003 to 2008, women averaged 50% of elected members.

APSA did not always take gender equality so seriously. Kirsten Monroe (2002) writes, "APSA was a bastion of male privilege well into the 1960s" (p. 237). Overall the data reveal a "slow rate of inclusion," with the list of "first women" beginning with Gwendolen Carter, who was the first woman elected as a council member in 1955 and then became the first female vice president in 1964. The first female secretary was Gladys Kammerer in 1957, and Betty Nesvold served as the first female treasurer in 1975. "Between 1950 and 2001, 30 out of 153 vice presidents have been women, six of these serving in the last five years. Eleven secretaries out of 51 have been women, five elected during the last five years. And seven out of the 25 treasurers have been women. Of the 400 Council members elected since 1950, 76 have been women" (p. 237).

Nearly solid male control of the APSA presidency throughout the organization's existence represented what seemed a formidable glass ceiling. According to Monroe (2002), "Until 2001, only two women—Judith Shklar and Elinor Ostrom—had served as president in the Association's nearly hundred-year existence. And the WCPS had to mount an extraordinary and controversial effort to secure the nomination of the third" (p. 237). In April of 2001, in response to a request from the WCPS, the APSA council passed a nonbinding resolution

more than two years in a row" (p. 237). As if to make up for lost time, the next 3 years saw the consecutive reigns of three female APSA presidents (Theda Skocpol in 2002, Susanne Hoeber Rudolph in 2003, and Margaret Levi in 2004), followed soon by Dianne Pinderhughes in 2007. Monroe writes that the gender rotation resolution and the subsequent ascension of female presidents "hold tremendous value, both symbolic and substantive, in widening the cracks in the glass ceiling for female professional political scientists" (p. 237).

Women's Leadership in Scholarship and Teaching on Women and Politics

By the mid-1970s, research had begun piling up on women as political actors, and the related discipline of Women's Studies was gaining strength through colleges and universities across the country. The first issue of *Signs*, the premier international feminist journal, appeared in 1975. In 1980 women political scientists founded the first academic political science journal of research about women and politics. The inaugural issue of *Women and Politics Journal* featured articles by Sarah Slavin Schramm, Virginia Sapiro, Barbara Farah, Debra Stewart, Nancy E. McGlen, and Karen O'Connor (several of whom were also on the journal's editorial board). For several decades, *Women and Politics* showcased the kind of scholarship on women, gender, politics, and policy that mainstream political science journals were not publishing.

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. . . . 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. (APSA, 2005)

In 2004 *Women and Politics Journal* stopped publishing as such, changing its name to the *Journal of Women, Politics, and Policy*. Meantime, in 2005, the APSA Organized Section on Women and Politics Research founded a new journal, *Politics and Gender*.

Similarly, we can see indications of women's leadership through the establishment of classes and programs dedicated to the study of women and politics, including women's political leadership. Rutgers led the way in developing an institutional avenue for the formal study of women and politics as its own subdiscipline: "In 1986, Rutgers University's Department of Political Science became the first in the country to offer women and politics as both a major and minor field of study toward a Ph.D." (Brandes et al., 2001, p. 321). As a field leader in the number of faculty and classes offered in the study of women

politics each year and offers a graduate certificate in the field of women, policy, and political leadership. Hundreds of other universities now offer such classes; students may study women and politics as their minor field within a graduate or undergraduate political science program or partner with Women's Studies B.A., M.A., or Ph.D. programs to get joint degrees.

Resistance, Backlash, and Backsliding

In researching the status of women in political science, Meredith Reid Sarkees and Nancy McGlen were surprised and dismayed at the extent of the resistance they found to women's progress. Their research revealed that many men considered women to be advantaged, rather than disadvantaged, in the discipline, in the sense of obtaining a disproportionate share of the jobs (an inaccurate perception). But, believing this to be true, these men were reacting in negative ways to women, feminist scholarship, or proposals of change to improve women's leadership. Sarkees and McGlen (1999) wrote, "This backlash manifested itself to us in a variety of forms, including derisive comments and questionable jokes during panel presentations, hostility from some colleagues over the desirability of such research, and disheartening stories from female graduate students" (p. 100). Such manifestations have added to women's discomfort within already gendered institutional cultures.

In the research world, Sarkees and McGlen (1999) wrote, "the backlash has taken the forms of both creating a 'chilly climate' for women . . . and of hostility toward feminist scholarship," particularly in international relations (p. 100). In addition, they commented that the discipline has, for the most part, ignored the theoretical and methodological contributions of feminist political scientists (p. 107). When the women's caucus conducted a survey of graduate students in 1997, they found that few professors offered women and politics classes or integrated feminist research into courses. The study revealed that students were being dissuaded from doing dissertations on feminist topics, "with the claim that the department lacked the expertise to supervise such dissertations, or with the threat that such topics would impair the students' employment prospects" (Brandes et al., 2001, p. 323). Brandes and colleagues suggested that the dearth of classes on women and politics suggest that "a department either is ignoring or is unaware of the important contributions that this field of study is making to political science. . . . Future political scientists are being trained without sufficient knowledge about women and politics scholarship" (p. 322).

Women often learn from experience not to complain too loudly about such resistance to change, as "overt forms of political action evoke stern reprisals for the agitator" (Monroe, Ozyurt, Wrigley, & Alexander, 2008, p. 231). Yet such resistance to women's advancement and research on women spell bad news for women's leadership within political science. Ridicule or derision from colleagues or

professors can sour professional relationships or a graduate experience, making female political scientists interested in studying women or gender as subjects less interested in leadership within the mainstream of the field. Outright hostility or a chilly climate toward women as a group can make women, even those not interested in studying women or gender, wary of pursuing leadership opportunities or even staying in the discipline.

Overcoming resistance to change, although difficult, is critical to expanding leadership opportunities for women in the field. Writing about the WCPS's 2001 involvement in the promotion of more female APSA presidents, Kirsten Monroe (2002) reflected on the importance of engaging male allies and avoiding blame and its attendant defensiveness. She explained that throughout the process, she, Georgia Duerst-Lahti, Martha Acklesberg, and other feminists tried to work with nominating committee members: "Forget blame; let's fix a situation no one really wants to continue. . . . One of our main concerns was to avoid the psychology of demonization or confrontation, since we believed there was goodwill on all parts. . . . By working together, civilly but with determination and focus, and with the APSA hierarchy, we all helped make it happen" (pp. 238–239).

A final danger to women's progress comes not from intentional resistance but unconscious backsliding and lack of movement forward. As the 2005 APSA report recounts,

A study of the *American 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. (p. 13)

Laura Van Assendelft, Wendy Gunther-Canada, Julie Dolan, Barbara Palmer, and Michele Swers (2003) found the following:

Few departments formally and/or actively recruit women applicants. As many as a third of department chairs are unaware of their college's or university's policies regarding maternity leave or childcare. Few schools offer family friendly policies. There was also a notable absence of formalized mentoring and only limited research support for junior faculty members. (p. 311)

Much as we all might like to think of gender discrimination as a thing of the past, the research indicates that, like boats on a tide, if we are not pushing forward, we will end up slipping back.

Future Directions

Beginning in the early 1990s, political science's institutionalized women's organizations began releasing a series of reports on the status of women in the field (see, among

others, Ackelsberg et al., 2004; APSA, 2005; Brandes et al., 2001; Committee, 1992; van Assendelft et al., 2003). These reports paint a picture of limited progress over time, both for women's advancement into disciplinary leadership positions and for the status of research on women and politics. For more than 3 decades now, women political scientists and their male allies have worked as individuals and through professional organizations to improve the status of women in the discipline and bring women into greater participation in field leadership positions. In many respects, their work has been fruitful. Women have been presidents and other top leaders in the discipline's associations, they serve as top journal editors, and they are steadily, if slowly, increasing their share of tenured professorships. More women than ever are seeking political science degrees. However, the rate of increase at high leadership levels, including tenured professorships, has not kept pace with the entrance of women as graduate students.

Proposed Solutions to Advance Women's Inclusion in Political Science Leadership

Without serious institutional and structural changes to address persisting problems for women in political science, women will not reach leadership levels en masse. Women are more than half of the U.S. population, nearly half of all undergraduate degree recipients in academic political science, and 42% of Ph.D. recipients in the field, yet they make up only about a quarter of the field's full-time faculty and less than a fifth of tenured faculty. Worryingly, women's advancement into assistant professorships seems stalled at around 35%, suggesting that we have hit some kind of wall that time alone will not break down. Previous reports and recommendations highlight similar themes in assessing the current barriers to women's full inclusion in the field and in its leadership. Overall their focus is on the following suggestions: increasing recruitment and retention, especially of women of color; enhancing opportunities for mentoring for women; including women more in professional networks; taking steps to alleviate work-family conflict for everyone subject to such pressures; actively working to eliminate gender bias, sexual harassment, and chilly climates; greater care for and attention to research on women, gender, race, and ethnicity; greater monitoring of the status of women within departments and institutions; reconsidering the assumption that excellence in teaching and in research are mutually exclusive; and making changes to the culture of research that disproportionately disadvantages women (Ackelsberg et al., 2004; APSA, 2005; Brandes et al., 2001; Matthews & Andersen, 2001).

The 2005 APSA report notes,

Interventions to improve the institutional climate for faculty should focus on the first four years on tenure track, the "make

or break years." . . . 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. (p. 17)

Monroe (2002) adds,

There are many choke points in career growth and advancement, but only some occur in the form of outright discrimination prohibited by law. For example, many women become discouraged by the complexities of balancing family life with careers, and drop out or curtail their professional activities early in their professional lives. Role models help tremendously—hence the need for more female APSA officers—but so do explicit encouragement and personal advice. (p. 240)

Female undergraduate and graduate students still tend to flock disproportionately to female mentors and role models, and junior female professors still may feel isolated without the support and guidance of older women in their department. Given the low numbers of women and racial/ethnic minorities in the profession, it is not always possible for mentors to mirror the descriptive characteristics of their advisees. "However, in certain cases, especially in departments with a history of overwhelming maleness—which still exist—same-sex mentoring may be desirable" (Brandes et al., 2001, p. 324).

Brandes and colleagues (2001) write, "Women in political science are by no means ensured equal opportunity by simply being treated the same as men are or have been in the past" (pp. 323–324). Instead, many studies point to hostile institutional cultures or cultures of "benign neglect" as strongly contributing to women's disproportionate dropout rates (p. 325). Components of this hostile or benignly neglectful climate include tokenism; inadequate mentoring and bias limitations on access to informal networks; neglect or derision of research as somehow not serious research work or not central to the discipline; treating teaching on these topics as marginal or devaluing those who do it; the type of sexual harassment that creates a hostile working environment and makes women (or racial minorities or gays and lesbians) feel uncomfortable or out of place (p. 325). Sexual or racial harassment or homophobia in the workplace environment can strain or severely impair working relationship among colleagues. It is also essential to have clear and strong policies against discrimination of any kind, including racial and sexual harassment, and to punish such behaviors decisively. The report concludes that in spite of progress toward a more inclusive political science workforce, "lingering bias may still impede retention and progress of junior faculty women toward tenure, and affect the way that female graduate students are trained and socialized into the profession, particularly in traditional departments" (p. 319).

Other reports call to departmental decision makers' attention the need to ensure that women, especially junior

faculty, are not overloaded with service assignments such as being the token woman on committees or advising too many students. Brandes and colleagues (2001) write,

If, as is often said in response, "there are not enough women to go around," this should serve as a sign that more women need to be hired and retained, not that those who have already been hired should be further worn down. In addition, departments need to reconsider traditional assumptions that excellence in research and teaching are mutually exclusive. (p. 319)

Based on a series of intensive interviews with faculty women at a large research university, Monroe and colleagues (2008) call the underappreciation for service work and teaching part of a larger process of "gender devaluation." They recommend "redefining professional success so it includes those people who worked hard to create a sense of community in the university, whether male or female" (p. 229). In a 2002 survey of female faculty in the APSA's southern region, van Assendelft and colleagues (2003) found that less than a quarter of respondents indicated that their department had a policy about recruiting more women as professors. They found that mentoring programs make a large difference in retaining female faculty, but that less than a third of respondents had a mentor. Large numbers of women professors indicated a continued need for better family leave and child care arrangements, which would assist in retention by allowing them to better balance family and work responsibilities (pp. 312–314).

Lastly, the reports recommend major shifts to better allow work–family balancing. As in most professions, academia has been constructed around the image of an "ideal worker" (Williams, 2000)—traditionally a man with a full-time support person (wife) in the home to take care of children, elders, cooking, cleaning, and social life. Assumptions and practices of the field deriving from a time when men were most or all leaders, though not intended to exclude women, may nonetheless hinder women's full participation and advancement into leadership. Unequal division of household labor and care for children and the elderly creates far greater work–family conflict for women than men, often making women feel that they have to make cruel choices between their professional careers and family responsibilities. If women continue to leave the leadership pipeline in greater numbers than men, and if they take more time off than men for family reasons and are therefore less likely to publish work and to receive promotions, tenure, and awards, we will continue to see a lack of women in leadership.

If women are to achieve full inclusion and the ability to advance up the leadership ladder en masse, paid leave should be available after childbirth or adoption and for any pregnancy-related conditions on the same terms as for illness or injury, for both men and women. Universities need to provide affordable, high-quality child care, including after-school care for older children.

"If parents are confident that their children are well cared for during working hours, they may focus undistractedly on teaching, research, and administration" (Brandes et al., 2001, p. 324). Political scientists who are also parents and spouses need greater institutional support to achieve success in their careers while also fulfilling their family responsibilities. "Institute longer tracks to tenure and allow for maternity and family leave time. . . . As part of this general re-shifting in the professional model, recognize that women who are professional frequently have husbands who also are professionals, and institute career partner-hiring policies" (Monroe et al., 2008, p. 231). Departments should encourage applications from women and people of color by offering more attractive salaries and "announcing positions in established networks that speak to diverse populations in the profession" (Brandes et al., 2001, p. 319), including the internal APSA caucuses and organized sections on women and politics, race and ethnicity, and lesbian, gay, and bisexual rights/status.

Future Directions in Research on Women's Leadership in Political Science

The Women's Caucus for Political Science and the profession's Committee on the Status of Women release periodic reports about the state of women's advancement into the field and its leadership positions. In addition, women political scientists often publish their own research on the status of women in the field in research journals (especially *PS: Political Science and Politics*). Thus far, the focus of these reports and articles has rightly been on the entry and promotion of women more generally. At this point, it would be helpful to have more data available to researchers on the status of women in top field leadership positions, such as department chairs, heads of association committees, named professorships, major journal editors, and the like.

More qualitative research is needed as well; just as we in the profession study women as political candidates or elected officials (see Thomas, in this handbook), so too would it be interesting and helpful to have case study comparisons of women leading departments, schools, professional associations, or top journals. Recent research suggests that women do not run for office as often as men due to underestimation of their credentials, lack of self-confidence, fear of voter and media bias, and work–family conflict (Lawless & Fox, 2005). Future researchers would do well to consider if and how these explanations account for low levels of women in professional political science leadership positions. Other research has stressed the role of recruitment, mentoring, and institutional climate (APSA, 2005). These factors need to be examined more carefully, not just in relation to the retention of women, but also to their effects in helping or hindering women's ascent into leadership positions in the discipline.

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