

RÉSUMÉ

*examine les progrès accomplis dans une université
l'élimination des discriminations sexuelles parmi les
professorat, d'une part quant à leur participation,
perception qu'ils ont de leur participation aux
les domaines de l'administration, de
et des autres activités professionnelles au
auprès des membres hommes et femmes
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prises de décisions dans
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sein de l'université. Une enquête a
du corps professoral d'une université
de données, à laquelle s'ajoutent des don
subséquentement par un groupe de trava
intention. Un certain nombre de recommandat
devaient être mises en vigueur durant l'année un
Les progrès sont évalués en fonction des critères d'int
des procédures, d'équité dans la manière de traiter les
climat d'accueil apporté aux principes d'intégration. Ce
termine par une discussion des aspects de la participation
pertinence dépasse les limites de cette étude.*

*Statistics indicate that in Canada, as elsewhere, women are the
minority in tenured and tenure-track faculty positions and few are man-
agers. They are found disproportionately at the junior ranks and in the
part-time/sessional instructor positions (CAUT, 1997; Reynolds &
Young, 1995; Rosenblum & Rosenblum, 1994). Previous studies have
shown pay inequalities (Dean & Clifton, 1994; Guppy, 1989) and dis-
crimination in the hiring and tenure of female faculty (Rees, 1995). This
is a feature of education systems, not only in Canada, but also in the
USA, Europe, Australia, and in developing countries (Brooks, 1997;
s, 1997; Singh, 1998; Wilson, 1997).
is paper we take a step beyond those issues and focus on gender
in the participation of faculty in decision-making, administra-
research, and other professional activities. The purpose of
analyze gender patterns in participation, and in the experi-
over the 1988-98 period in a mid-sized university.
of participation and the experience of participa-
gap, and sometimes a chasm, separates them.*

believe that our findings will contribute new knowledge on gender in university faculty participation. Inclusion of the experience of women conveys a more complex reality of participation than does a focus on level of participation, hence opening new avenues for action. In this paper, our goal is to place the findings in the changing university's environment and discuss the findings and implications in light of four principles of integration: (1) inclusion, (2) visibility of procedures, (3) equitable treatment, and (4) climate of support.

Following these four principles of integration and a discussion of factors that affect faculty participation, we present the 1988 survey findings on gender patterns in faculty participation in practice and the 1992-93 Task Force on the Integration of Female Faculty recommendations, and the survey. We conclude with a discussion of our findings showing their relevance beyond the specifics of this case study university.

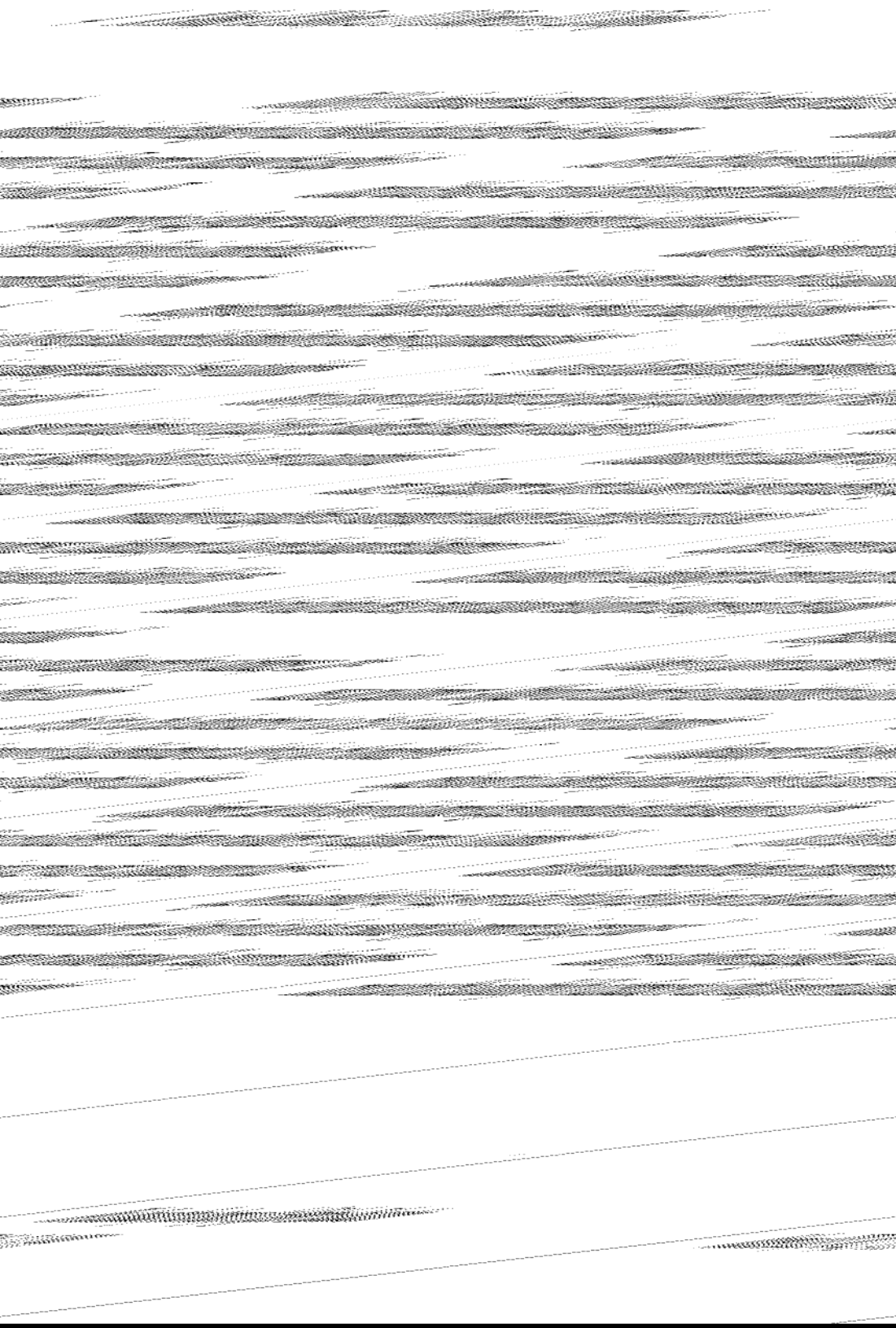
We begin with a discussion of gender patterns in faculty participation, followed by a brief literature review of participation. Following identification of data sources, we present survey findings on gender patterns in faculty participation and experience (perceived), then discuss the Integration of Female Faculty findings and recommendations, and updates of gender representation of faculty since the survey. We conclude with a discussion of our findings showing their relevance beyond the specifics of this case study university.

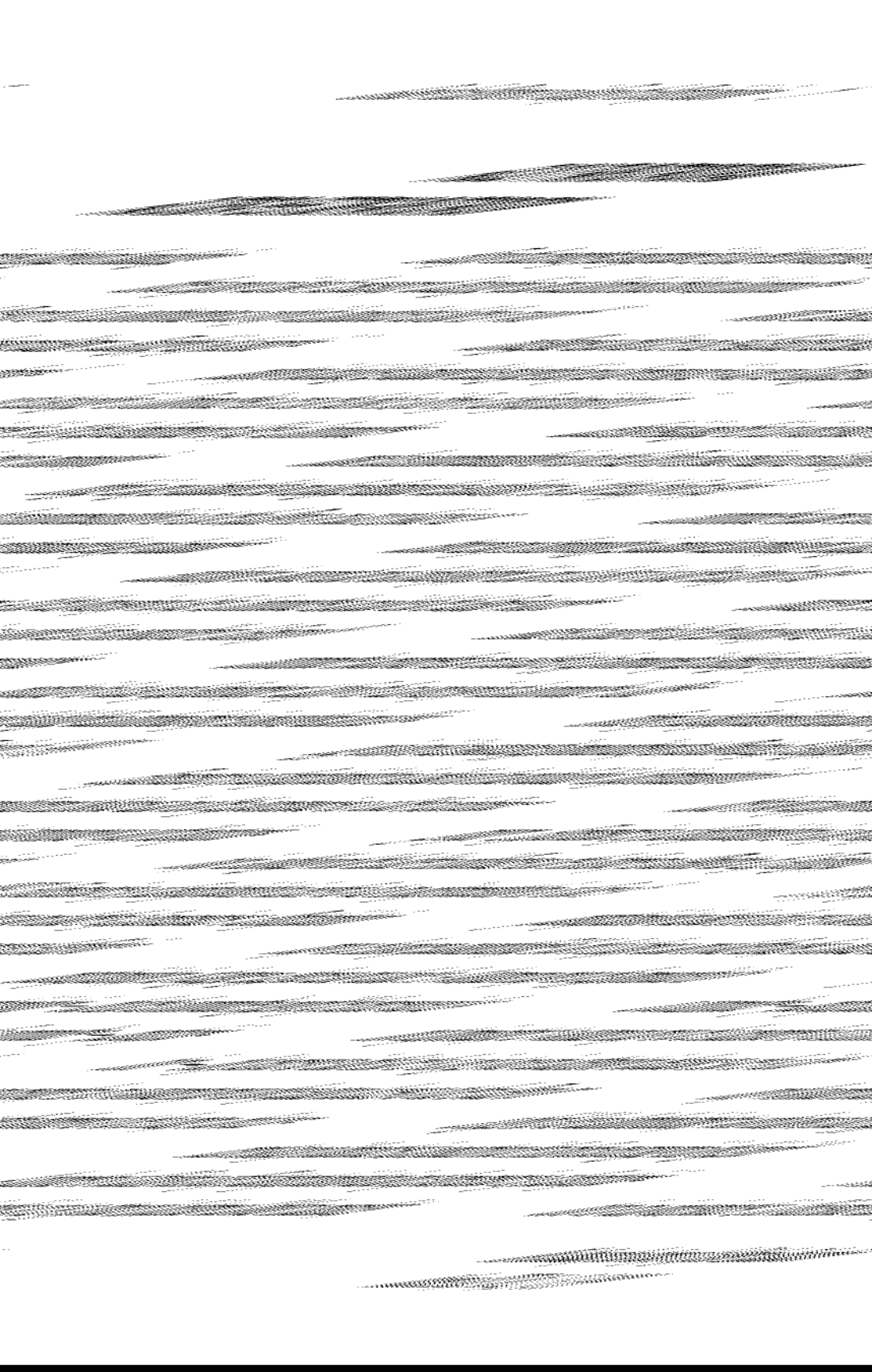
PRINCIPLES OF INTEGRATION

Integration, for all equity seeking groups, should be based on four principles: (1) inclusion, (2) visibility of procedures, (3) equitable treatment, and (4) climate of support (Task Force on the Integration of Female Faculty, 1990).

Inclusion means that all eligible candidates should be considered for positions of power, trust and prestige and that persons should be excluded only for cause. This means that formal non-discriminatory criteria should be the basis for selection and/or nomination for all positions. These are related to the chairing of Ph.D. defence, senior administrative positions and membership on various committees. The inclusion should be based on mandatory membership of women in powerful committees of the perception of tokenism and the danger of overburdening a small number of women. However, qualified women who meet the necessary criteria for membership should be sought and included in decision-making committees.

The inclusion should not be based on mandatory membership of women in powerful committees, because denying a small number of qualified women the necessary criteria for membership in significant decision-making committees.





with controls for entry to various ranks, and promotion based on internal rules. As Smith (1975) notes, the structure of ranks, and admission procedures are powerful systems of professional control. Universities make rational decisions in appointments and choose only those with the best qualifications for the job. Applying Becker's (1975) human capital theory, we expect the participation and the experience of participation to be influenced by education level and job experience. Job experience is measured at universities by the number and type of academic publications, rank and teaching experience.

Another factor that might influence the experience of participation is the small percentage of female faculty relative to male faculty. Using Kanter's (1977) argument on representativeness, in numbers, in organizations, one can argue that women's acceptance in university participation will be lowest in faculties where there are few women and in ranks where there are few women.

Having mentors and networking influence one's experience of participation. Those that have strong mentors and are members of important networks are promoted to important positions in organizations (Burcke & McKeen, 1994; Vinnicombe & Colwill, 1995). Having a mentor and networking will influence faculty members' experiences of participation.

Research indicates that more men than women are assigned to tasks considered important for their organization (Goffee & Nicholson, 1994; Vinnicombe & Colwill, 1995). Developing firm-specific skills is one of the crucial factors for job security and promotion in internal labour markets (Dobbin, Sutton, Meyer, & Scott, 1993). It is well known that historically in organizations, women were assigned to nurturing and caring jobs and men to challenging, problem solving jobs. In universities, influenced by societal gender-based beliefs, administrators often perceive female faculty to be more suited to undergraduate teaching, perceived to be a caring position, than to graduate training or membership in important committees, which are perceived to more challenging.

Harassment and discrimination are also factors used for controlling individuals (Zeytinoglu, Denton, Hajdukowski-Ahmed, & O'Connor 1997), and female academics who are members of visible/ethnic minority face double barriers in the workplace (Ng, 1993).

DATA SOURCES

... uses three data sources: a 1988 survey to assess gender participation of faculty and how this participation was experienced; a University level Task Force Report on the Integration of Female Faculty, issued in 1993; and data on gender representation in the 1993 Task Force report. Each of these is discussed

This study... terms in the participation... experienced; a University... Faculty, which was... faculty since the survey... in the following sections.

SURVEY OF FACULTY

... from the State Secretariat, the committee conducted a survey of participation of faculty and how related to the participation in teaching, research, and other experiences of faculty participation, the survey and

THE SURVEY

Questionnaire Design

In the Fall of 1988, with a grant from the Faculty Association's Status of Women Committee, a survey of faculty to assess gender patterns in the participation in this participation was experienced. Questions referred to participation of faculty in decision-making, administration, teaching, and other professional activities along with faculty members' experiences of their work environment. To find whether female and male faculty participated in proportion to their numbers in the university's administration, the survey included questions about their participation in committees, their election and/or appointment to administrative positions. The questionnaire did not include measures of job performance, such as the number of publications; rather the study assumes equal competence of faculty members at each rank. The draft questionnaire was pre-tested on twelve faculty members. These included males and females from different Faculties. Based on the results of the pre-test, and the comments of other faculty members, revisions were made to the questionnaire.

Study Population and Sample

The data on faculty employment status indicated that 14% of all faculty were female in the 1989-90 academic year — the year the survey was reported — this excludes Health Sciences.¹ The percentages by Faculties ranged from 2% to 24%. There was considerable variation across Faculties and ranks: women were concentrated in the Health Sciences Faculties and at the assistant professor

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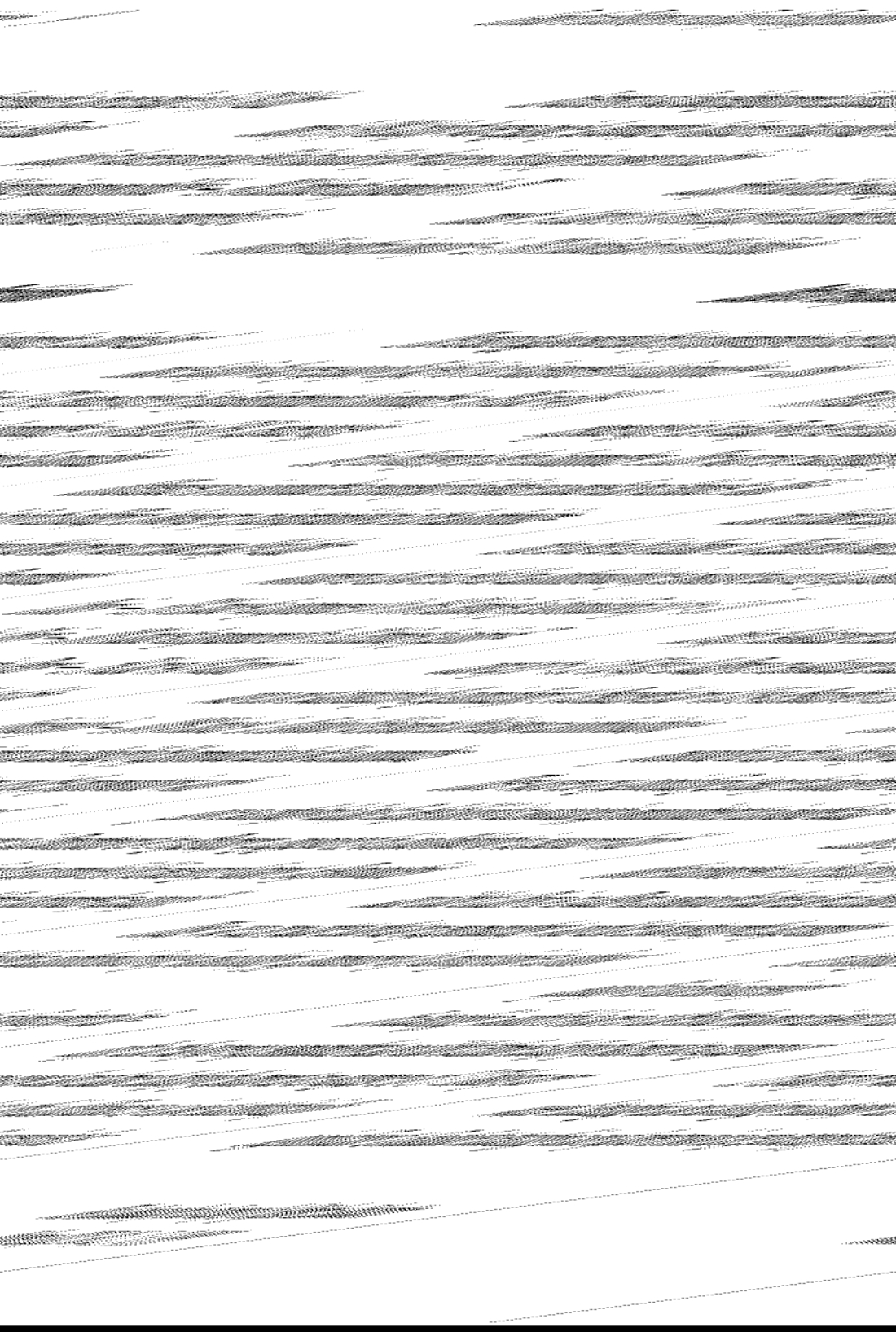
er ranks. Women's representation was particularly low in Sciences and Business Faculties, and at the full professor professor ranks (Office of Analysis and Budgeting, 1997). covered all full-time female faculty (154) and a random (232). Since the survey was originating from the eee, we anticipated a lower response rate on the uity. Thus, male faculty members were over approximately equal numbers of females though it may have been preferable to dgeet constraints did not allow this University asking faculty mem- ed with each questionnaire. ow up. More than half of d as predicted, more ded. Of the males,

and lectur Engineering, and associate pro The survey cov sample of male faculty Status of Women Commi part of some of the male facu sampled for the study to ensure and males responding to survey. At send the survey to all male faculty, bu option. A letter from the President of the bers to participate in the study was include Usual surveying methods were used for the follo those surveyed returned their questionnaires an female faculty (65%) than male faculty (44%) respon assistant professors had the highest response rates.

Characteristics of the Sample

Responses to the survey showed that female faculty tended somewhat younger than male faculty — 31% females versus 21% ma were under age 40. Women also had fewer years of university teaching experience — 14 years of full-time teaching experience for females ver- sus 17 years for males. Overall, more men (77%) than women (53%) were tenured, and 83% of female and 93% of male faculty held Ph.D. degrees. Faculty members were also asked the year in which they received their highest degrees. Proportionately more males (45%) than females (13%) received their highest degrees prior to 1970, while proportionately more females (52%) than males (23%) received their high- degrees in the 1980s. This pattern reflects the greater proportion of at the rank of full professor. In terms of rank, proportionately he male faculty members were at the rank of full professor — ed to 19% of female faculty — while proportionately more uity were assistant professors or lecturers — 48% com- male faculty. About equal proportions of male and ssociate professors — 28% and 33% respectively.

p- est e males more of the 51% compar of the female fa- pared to 21% of n female faculty were as



...rding and prestigious than undergraduate teaching. On this
...re differences between the experiences of men and women.
...level, male faculty said that they spent on average more
...culty in teaching, advising and supervising students
...per week, significant at $p < .06$ level). Male fac-
...re likely than their female counterparts to be
...Chair of a Ph.D. defence in which they had
...- 50% compared to 35% (significant at
...many women as men said that they
...evening courses — 38% compared
...men were more likely to teach
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... At the graduate le-
... time than female fac-
... (4 hours versus 2 hours
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... asked to be an examiner or C-
... not previously been involved —
... $p < .06$ level). In addition, twice as
... were required to teach summer and eve-
... to 19% (significant at $p < .05$) — while
... the regular fall and winter courses and during
... that of the males, assistant professors had the
... our survey.

Experiences of Participation

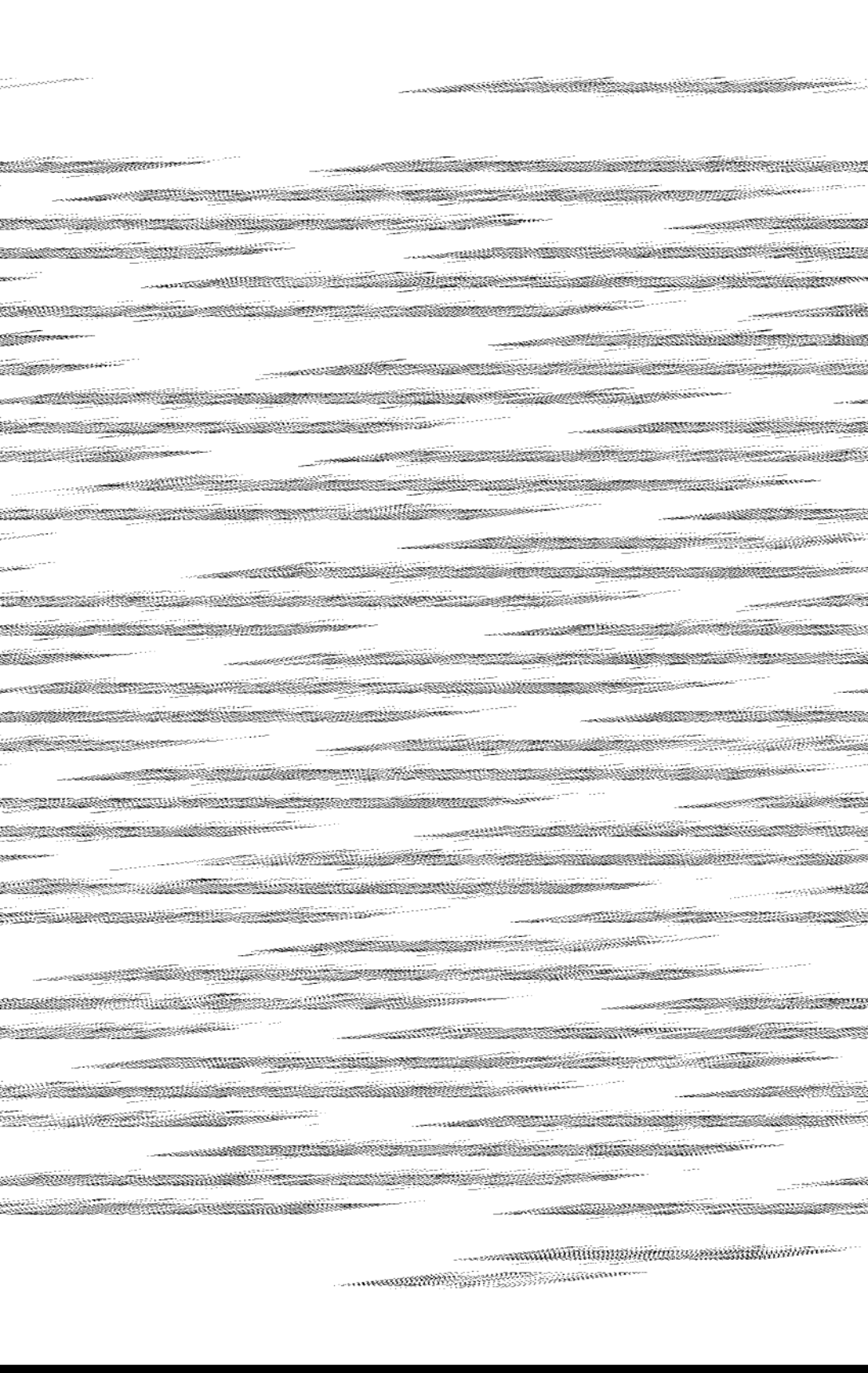
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... While approximate equality in reports of participation by
...men in the functioning and administration of the university was
...the picture changed significantly when we addressed the questio-
...experience of participation. More women than men were of the opinio-
...that they were not fully participating in the University's decision-making.

... For example, more women than men believed that they were not given
...serious consideration for administrative positions in the University.

... At the Faculty and University level, the experience of estrangement
...from the decision-making group increased. Female faculty members were
...more likely to say that they neither knew their Dean well nor did they feel
...supported by their Dean or Senior Administrators. In a study we con-
...ducted on experience of participation, our regression analysis (controlling
...other variables), showed that female academics were much less likely
...their male colleagues to feel that they participated (significant at
...level) (Denton & Zeytinoglu, 1993). Academic rank, visible or
...ity status, and membership in networks were also significant
...full professors, and to a lesser extent, associate professors
...an assistant professors or lecturers to experience par-
...making committees. Those who were members of
...ity perceived themselves to be participating.

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... than the
... $p < .01$ level
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... ($p < .01$ level). Fa-
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ed from the Council of Ontario Universities (1988) and reads
ally related act, practice, comment or suggestion that inter-
employee's job or job performance or threatens his or her
d." Five percent of female and 3% of male respon-
y were sexually harassed (the difference between
ally significant). Furthermore, 28% of female
reported the occurrence of inappropriate
and/or clothing made by colleagues of
01 level).

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and 13% of male faculty r
remarks about their appearance
the opposite sex (significant at $p < .$

All these findings were summar
University Faculty Association. In summar
women considered themselves isolated from
prestige in the institution and that their scholarly
It also demonstrated that they, along with many of
believed that decisions affecting their academic lives a
tion were taken according to principles and processes th
The fact that these findings relate not only to women but to n
the view that if we correct practices that disadvantage a particu
all members of the community will benefit from the improvement.

We now turn to the follow up to the survey report, the recommen
tions that emerged, and their implementation. We also ask what is the
relevance of our work for other institutions?

TASK FORCE ON THE INTEGRATION OF FEMALE FACULTY

A report of the survey findings, along with a set of recommendations,
were made available to Faculty and administrators and the Status of
Women Committee. The report recommended that the University set up a
task force to implement the recommendations. A workshop was orga-
nized by the Faculty Association to present the report and recommenda-
tions. The workshop was well attended by the Faculty and administrators.
In response to the report and workshop, a Task Force on the
Integration of Female Faculty was set up jointly by the Administration
and the Faculty Association. Its terms of reference were to examine the
policies and procedures to eliminate inequities in the
treatment of female faculty and to reduce their dissatisfaction
with the university. The composition of the Task Force was decided by

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the Administration and the Faculty Association. It had six members, three women and three men, representative of the Faculties/Schools and all levels of faculty from assistant professor to dean.

The Task Force began its work with the data from the integration report and collected additional information on the employment status of faculty from various offices within the University, such as the Office of Institutional Analysis, and from interested individuals (such as Director of Women's Studies). It reviewed several reports on the status of women in universities in Canada. It concluded that the problems identified at this University proved to be neither unique nor insoluble.

Four inter-related themes were identified in these reports: (1) the marked under-representation of female faculty; (2) the low level of integration of women faculty; (3) the issue of apparent versus real integration, that is, attempts to create the appearance of integration without increased representation; this was identified as imposing a disproportionate share of administrative work on a small percentage of female faculty; (4) the negative consequences of under-representation and poor integration not only for women within universities but for men and women at a wider societal level. The solutions proposed in these reports include not only specific policies relating to hiring and conditions of employment, such as employment and pay equity, parental leave, child care and sexual harassment but also involve perception and attitude changes (CAUT 1986, Council of Ontario Universities 1988, OCUFA 1989). Similar solutions were proposed by the Task Force. In addition, it identified four principles which should underlie policy and practice, and made several recommendations under each of these headings. We have outlined these principles above (See PRINCIPLES OF INTEGRATION). Before discussing the application of these principles, we discuss the integration and hiring practice issues identified by the Task Force.

Integration and Hiring Practices

The hiring practices at the University indicate that, with the exception of the Science Faculty, hiring of assistant professors in tenure-track positions in the period 1985/6 to 1989/90 reflected to a large extent the available pool of graduates in their disciplines. However, when men and women applicants were compared, female Ph.D.s were hired less often than were male Ph.D.s. This was also evident in the

overall high percentage of men with tenure. It was also noteworthy that very few of the 40 new full and associate professors appointed in the second part of the 1980s were women.

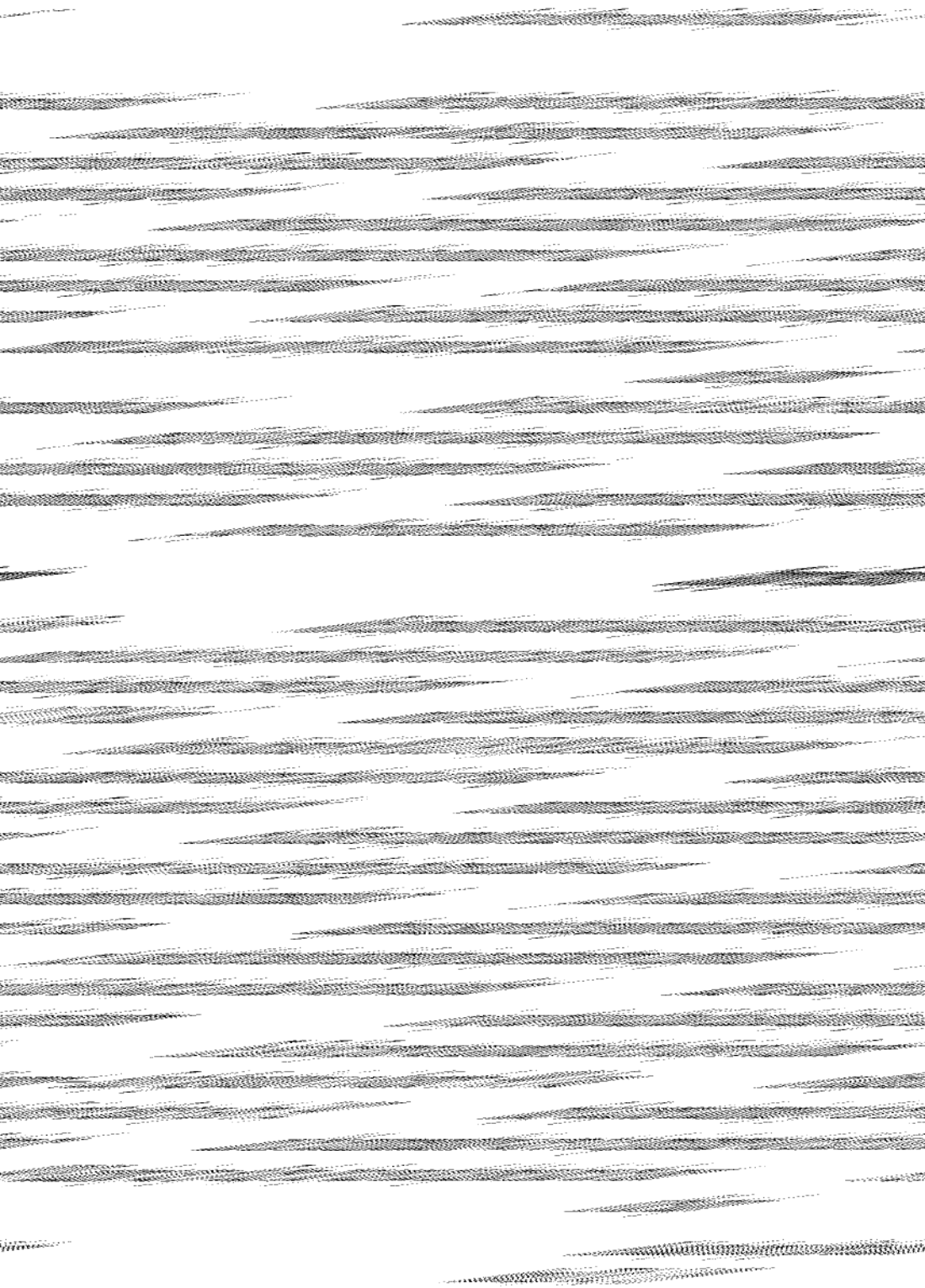
The Task Force concluded that if these patterns were maintained a considerable period of time would elapse before the gender distribution in senior ranks could be altered. It also pointed out that to increase numbers, particularly in some disciplines, the enrolment of women in doctoral programmes should be encouraged and their interest in academic careers should be fostered.

The Task Force analysis indicated that integration and hiring were linked. As long as women remained a small proportion of the total faculty complement, full integration would be impossible and to a large extent the integration achieved would be apparent rather than real and might in fact have negative consequences for women. Having a woman on every committee may give the appearance that practices are changing; but if the women are drawn from the same small pool, the integration may be more apparent than real. Pressure to serve on several committees is likely to have negative consequences for the research productivity and private lives of the women involved. Given the present employment situation there is a need for innovative solutions to the dilemma of small numbers of female faculty and a commitment to employment equity.

The Task Force argued that commitment to equitable hiring was compatible with and, in fact essential for, hiring the best possible candidate. While it rejected quotas and preferential hiring of women to any particular specified number of vacancies, it made several recommendations aimed at achieving equity in the hiring process at all levels. In addition, for example, it recommended that the Provost should include in her/his annual report to Senate, data on the percentage of women hired, by Faculty (and areas within the Faculty where feasible), by type of appointment, and by rank, to ensure that the hiring of women to tenure-track positions does not fall below their proportion in the available pool.

Recommendations and Principles Underlying Recommendations

The Task Force made 31 recommendations in all. The recommendations were intended to change the practices and environment that gave rise to the gender differences in perceptions identified in the "Integration



THEN AND NOW: GENDER REPRESENTATION OF FACULTY SINCE THE SURVEY AND TASK FORCE REPORT

As discussed at the beginning of this paper, women were 14% of total faculty in 1989-90 academic year, excluding Health Sciences faculty. Starting with 1990-91 academic year, the percentage of female faculty slowly increased each year, while the percentage of male faculty declined. According to data provided by the Office of Analysis and Budgeting (1997) of the University studied here, in 1992-93 academic year, the year the implementation of recommendations started, 16% of all faculty were women. In 1996-97, this percentage increased to 18%. This increase might be interpreted as an indication of equitable hiring practices, though it may also be due to the increased rate of retiring male faculty members particularly in the year 1995-96 when generous retirement packages were offered to those eligible, who were mostly men. Replacements were reduced to a trickle. The data show that between 1989-90 and 1996-97 academic years, total faculty numbers decreased from 613 to 516, a decline of 16%. For the same time period, total male faculty numbers decreased from 529 to 422, a decline of 20%, while total female faculty numbers increased from 84 to 94 which represents an increase of 11%.

In the 1996-97 academic year, Engineering (1%), Business (11%), and Science (13%) have the lowest percentage of female faculty. This is very unfavourably low compared with the available female candidates with Ph.D.s in these fields. At least for the last two decades, females with doctorate degrees earned in these fields are consistently higher than the universities' hiring records. For example, between 1993-94 and 1995-96 about 8-9% of doctorates in engineering and applied sciences were women, about 33-37% of business and commerce doctorates were women, and about 19-21% of mathematics and physical sciences, about 35% of biology and 67-68% of psychology doctorates were women (CAUT, 1997).

In comparison with Engineering, Business and Science Faculties, in the 1996-97 academic year, Humanities (28%) and Social Sciences (28%) have a large minority of female faculty. Compared with the available pool of female Ph.D.s in these fields (CAUT, 1997), Humanities and Social Sciences still fall behind in hiring females. For example, in

1994 and 1994-95 academic years, percentage of women with Ph.D.s in the Sciences and 40%, respectively for Humanities, and 43% for both years in the Sciences.

How does the university studied here compare to other Ontario universities in the integration of female faculty? The progress made in the past ten years broadly reflects the situation observed in other Ontario universities. In the province's universities, the Council of Ontario Universities (COU) reported that in 1985-1986:

... of total new appointments; by 1992-1993, this percentage had increased to 38.4%. Although the percentage of female professors has gradually increased from 5.7% in 1985-1986 to 9.7% in 1992-1993, the most significant increase in women faculty is with the assistant professor category, an increase of 58%. (COU, 1996)

... concentration of female faculty in the Social Sciences, and Business and Administration. The overall picture

... If one looks at the breakdown by faculty, the concentration of female faculty remains the highest in the Humanities and Social Sciences. Between 1986 and 1996, the increase in Engineering, Technology, and Physical Sciences is minimal or non-existent (COU, 1996). The overall picture has remained the same, as:

... no matter what the discipline, women's participation in faculty declines from the bachelor's degree level through each level of graduate study. The percentage of women faculty is lower still. Even in discipline groups such as education and the humanities, where women have long been a majority of students at the undergraduate level, fewer than one-third of the full-time faculty in 1992-1993 were women. (COU, 1996, p. 4)

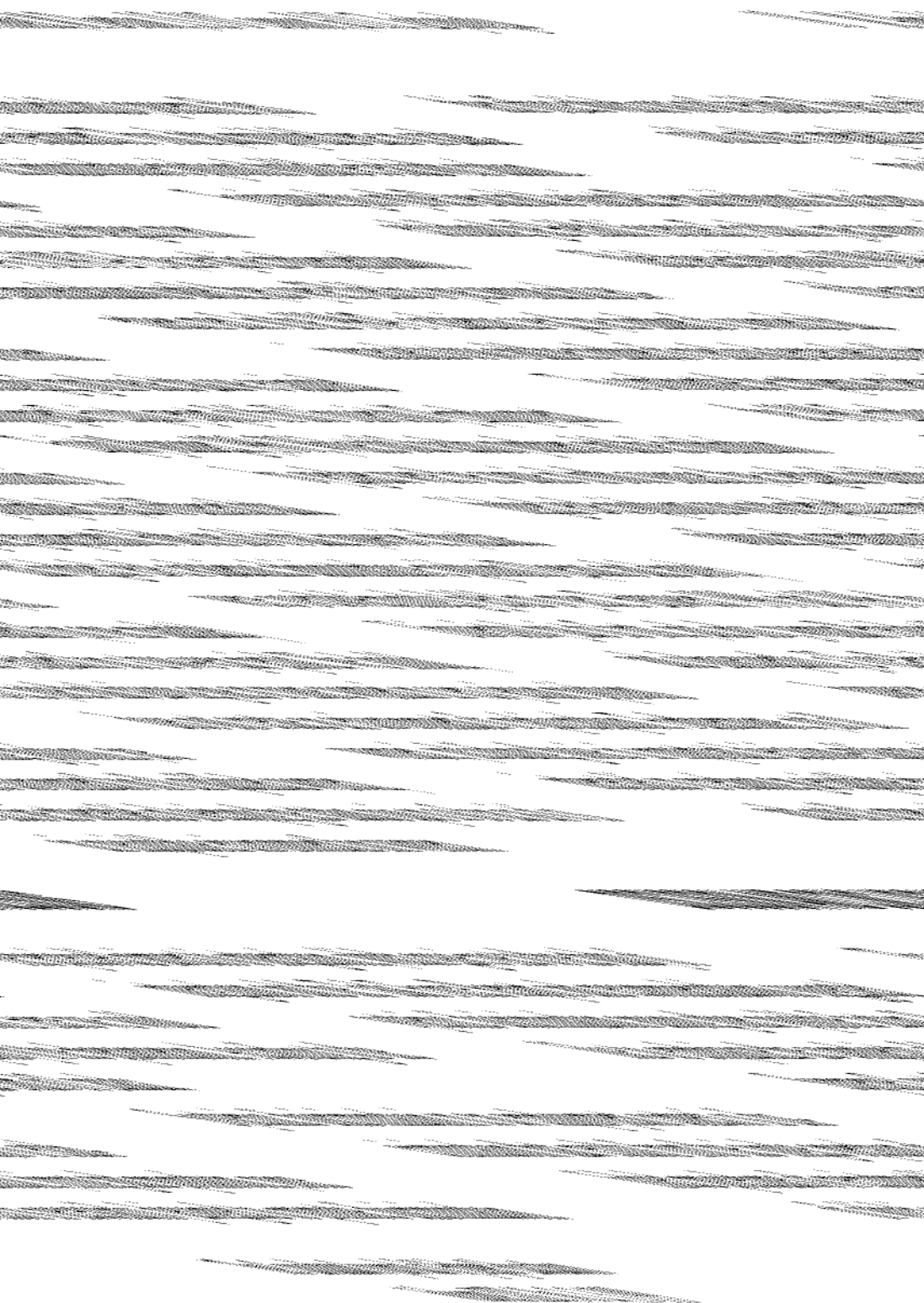
While overall this university is still lagging behind many others in terms of the representation of female faculty, the high percentage of women in tenure-track positions (45%) is an indication of potential for equitable participation at all levels.

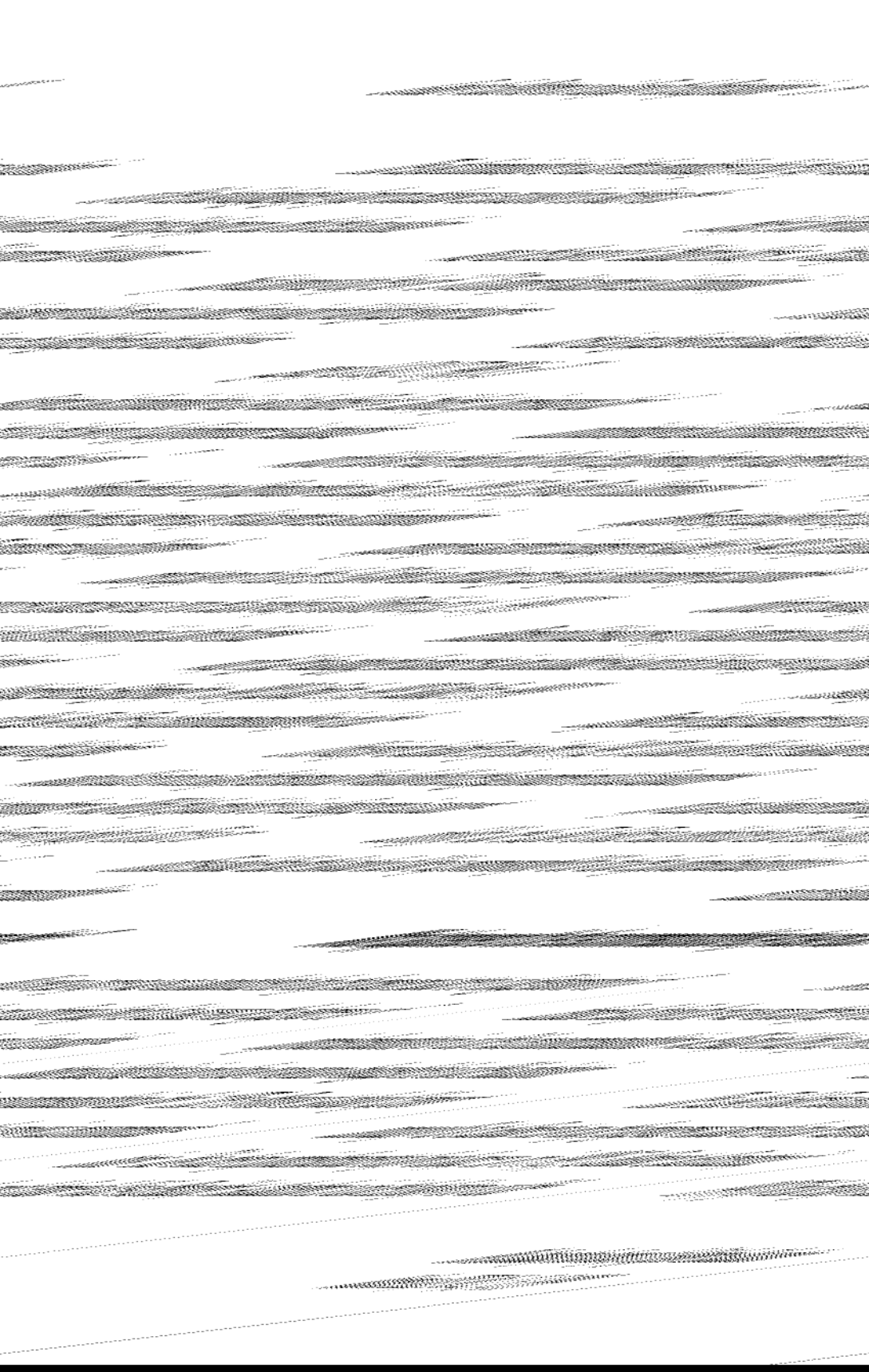
The study also attempted to examine faculty data at this University by gender and administrative responsibility. The Office of Analysis and Planning (1997) was helpful in generating data for us. However, the data are not perfectly reliable since they are not collected regularly nor is it possible to do so. Though reliable data might be gathered from the Human Resources Office, it would require manual coding by

1993-94, women were 45% of the total for Social Sciences.

How does this university compare to other Ontario universities on the issue of female faculty in the past ten years broadly reflects the situation observed in other Ontario universities. Focusing on the province's universities, the Council of Ontario Universities state that in 1985-1986: ... women were 31.3% of total new appointments; by 1992-1993, this percentage had increased to 38.4%. Although the percentage of female professors has gradually increased from 5.7% of the total in 1985-1986 to 9.7% in 1992-1993, the most significant increase in women faculty is with the assistant professor category, an increase of 58%. (COU, 1996)

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2 This recommendation is important as it enshrines the notion of accountability in the implementation of the recommendations. The recommendation suggested that the progress report be published in the University newspaper. Neither this report, nor any other report published in the University newspaper, although the editor, the authors (University Newspaper, 1997) indicated that if such reports existed and if they were published in the University newspaper for the year 1998 information related to the participation in the Budgeting generates annual data including the faculty numbers disaggregated by gender, rank and age. These annual reports have restricted access to Deans, Directors of Faculties. Faculty members can access them and only if an administrator grants access to them. The recent annual report by the Vice-President, Academic:

Recommendations pertaining to structures and practice of decision-making committees, doctoral theses committees, sponsors, publication of professional achievements appear to have been largely implemented. For example, the office of Graduate Studies in this university regularly issues an electronic distribution list of upcoming theses defences requesting volunteer examiners. Professional achievements are listed in faculty bulletins and in the university newspaper. However, one notes that at the level of important decision-making committees, there appears to be a two-tier system: the elected bodies such as the Senate can claim representation but are perceived to have largely a rubber-stamping function, whereas appointed ad hoc committees have an important decision-making mandate such as choosing new senior administrators. There is generally one appointed female faculty on such committees, which does not represent a guarantee of effective participation. Efforts were made to implement recommendations pertaining to the procedures and the distribution of tasks. For example, the increase is based on a specific formulae proposed by the Faculty Association and is implemented. Recommendations referring to the visibility of procedures for the awarding of merit in the Faculty Association and

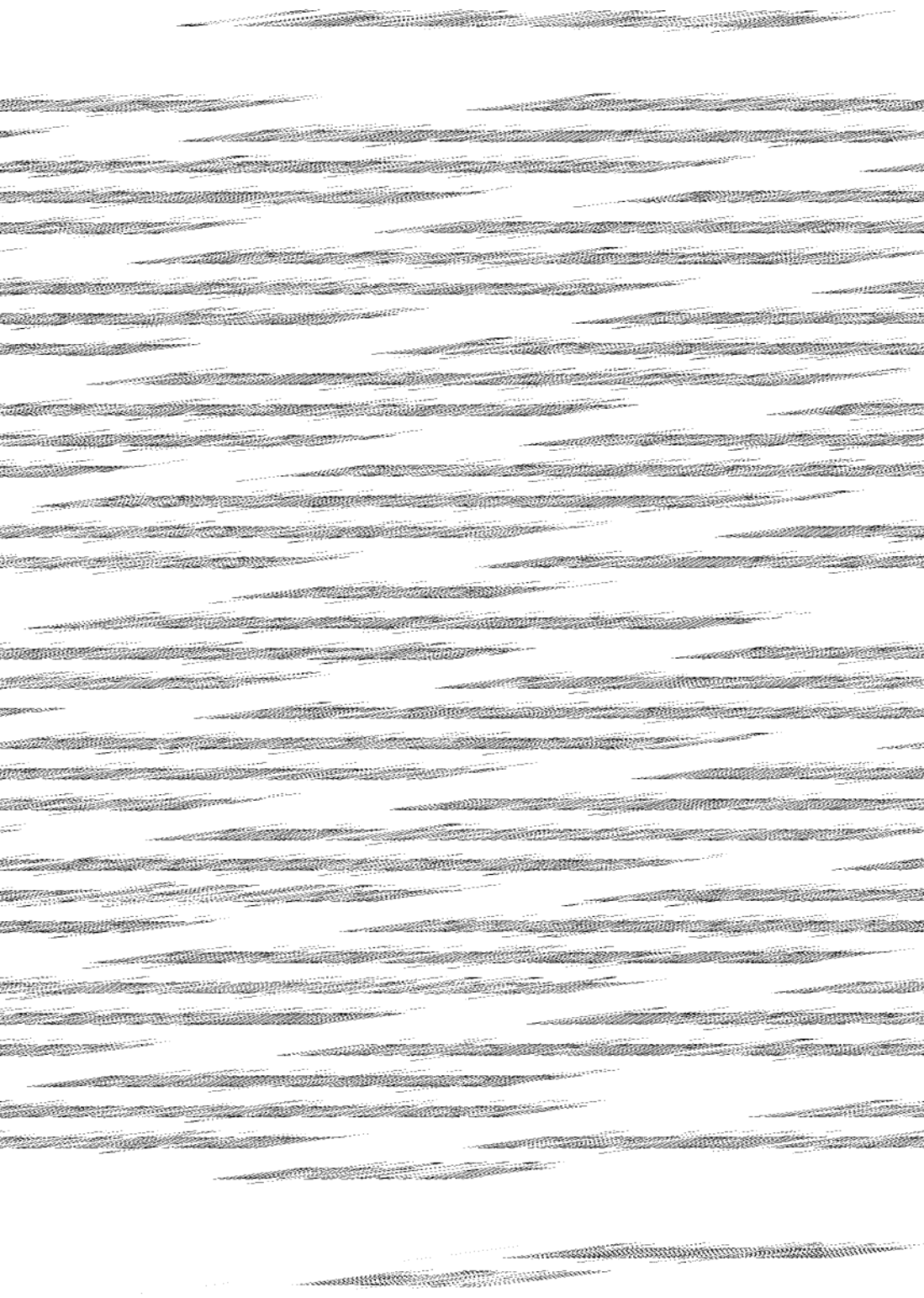
University of public access. In addition, the progress reports were published in communication with the Faculty Association. The Faculty Association expressed interest in doing so, and was expected to publicize them. In the year 1998, the participation of female faculty was published for the first time. The Office of Analysis and Planning provided information on many aspects of University life including the distribution of faculty by gender, rank and age. These data were distributed to the President, Vice-President, Deans, Academic Programmes, and Department Chairs. Faculty members can have access to these reports if they know of their existence and only if an administrator gives permission. In our case, we were granted access and permitted to use the raw data presented in the most recent report by the Vice-President, Academic.

to equitable treatment in the distribution of undergraduate and graduate teaching appear to be largely implemented. However, due to budgetary constraints, many newly hired faculty are contractually limited or seasonal appointees with no choice of courses and no input in the governance of the institution.

The implementation of recommendations which pertain to fostering a "climate of support" and "an environment that nurtures and recognizes its members equally" are the most problematic. During the past several years, some faculty and staff in this university have created grassroots groups such as the "Equity Committee" which comprises women and employees with disabilities, and the "Rainbow Committee" which comprises ethno-culturally diverse employees, in order to raise awareness in the university about equity issues. This is in itself indicative of a perceived malaise in the area of equity within the University. We shall look later at the possible reasons for this malaise.

In summary, progress was made in the implementation of recommendations relating to visibility of procedures, in participation at the graduate teaching and supervision levels, and the number of female faculty has increased. Yet, progress is slow and despite the recommendation of reporting on progress on various recommendations to Senate and publicizing this widely within the university community, it is clear that monitoring of the implementation process will have to be ongoing. This raises several issues, which have relevance beyond the specifics of this case.

First, it appears that the integration of female faculty is considered to be an issue and is acted upon when women faculty take the primary responsibility for it. Action has been dependent on the presence of a woman committed to gender equality as Chair of the Status of Women Committee. In 1993, the Faculty Association abolished the Status of Women Committee and established a Human Rights Committee. The mandate of the new committee is to address issues of equal rights and opportunities, as well as issues involving harassment, discrimination, employment equity and the status of women (Faculty Association, 1997). Since its inception, this Committee has been active primarily on academic freedom issues (Faculty Association, 1997). The Human Rights Committee has not opened the integration of female faculty as a specific issue.



What women learn about the subordination of women in the university, men also learn. . . The university is a gate keeper for many of the decision making positions in our society; what the university teaches has a tremendous impact on our whole society. And the university teaches in more ways than the course syllabus (Fulton, 1989).

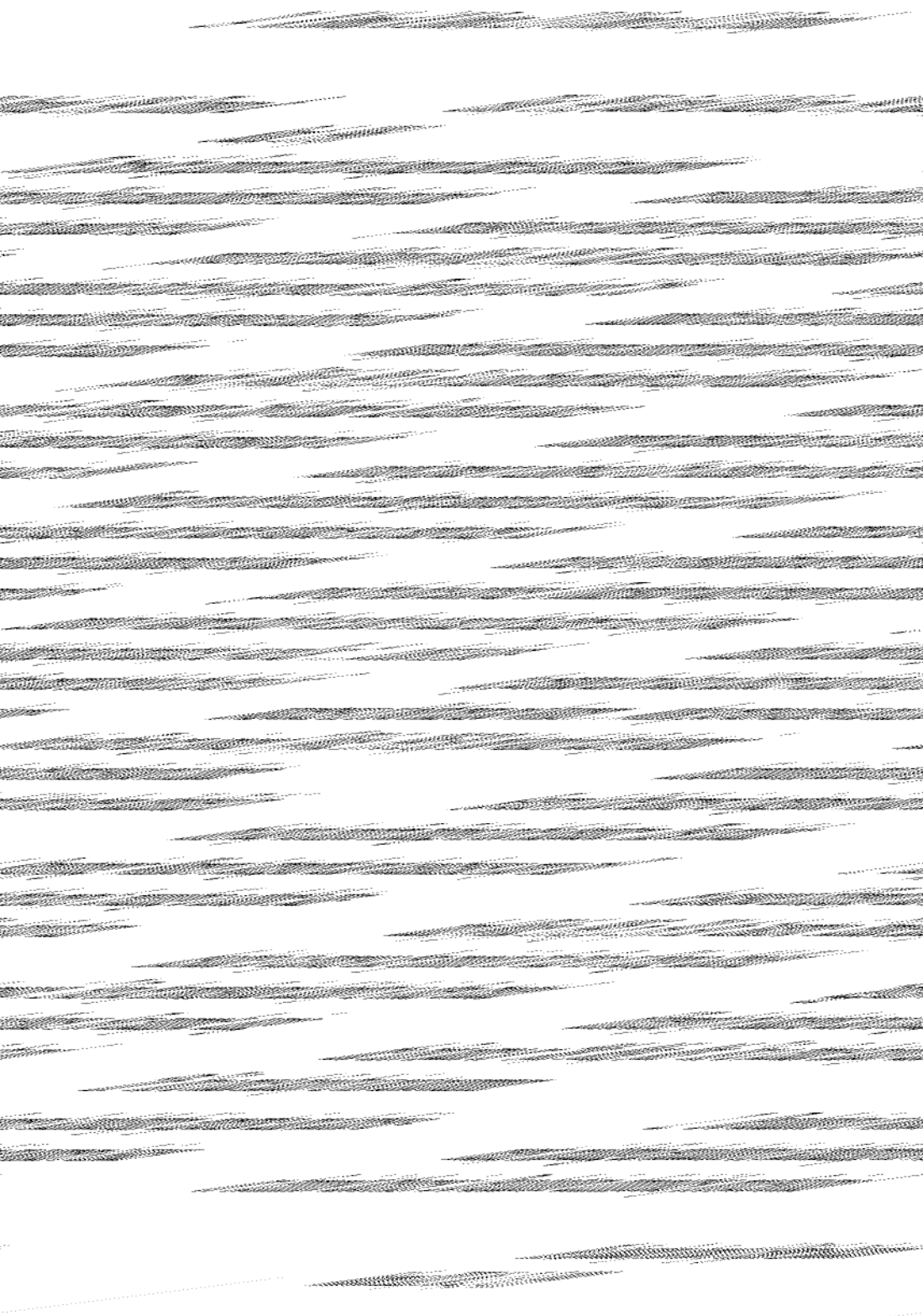
Sexual harassment policies, equity policies and human rights policies and procedures were put into place across the universities in the province during the past decade, including this institution (COU, 1996). However, financial constraints have frequently been identified as obstacles to changes and these are likely to continue to influence the possibilities for change in the foreseeable future. There is a visible change at the structural level, both in the province and this institution, which appears to stand somewhat in the middle. But this institution, like many of its counterparts has not succeeded yet in fostering a climate of integration. Despite an increase in the number of female faculty hired they are still poorly distributed through faculty ranks.

Why such a slow progress?

Reports, books and articles on the issue of female faculty integration and related issues published over the past decade give us insight as to the reasons why more change has not been made in this area. Those reports are remarkably consistent. It is our contention that barriers to progress listed in the literature are to be found to different degrees in all institutions, including the one studied here. Prentice (1996) presents a report on the preliminary research on what happened to all the reports written in the 1980s and what kind of difference it has made in institutions. Her first findings confirm her initial hypothesis:

. . . simultaneous with equity initiatives undertaken in good faith, there are concomitant institutional and individual practices which obstruct campaigns for visibility, recognition and power made by women, people of colour and other marginalized groups. (Prentice, 1996, p. 8)

Her words are echoed by Wylie (1995) in her review of literature on the subject and are supported by several other contributions (Carmen, 1991; The Chilly Collective, 1995; Drakich et al., 1990;



credibility, can affect promotions and constitutes a barrier to integration (Feldthusen, 1995).

to the notion of "academic freedom": Using academic to suppress women's and other minorities views consistently reported. It creates a favourable ground for by protecting discriminatory discourses (Feldthusen, 1995). The frequent appearance of (Prentice, 1996), raises the concern that it may not at discarding gender discrimination been dealt with. Academic freedom for the purpose of fostering individual option and pro- (Prentice, 1996, p. 8). Through an advantaged groups

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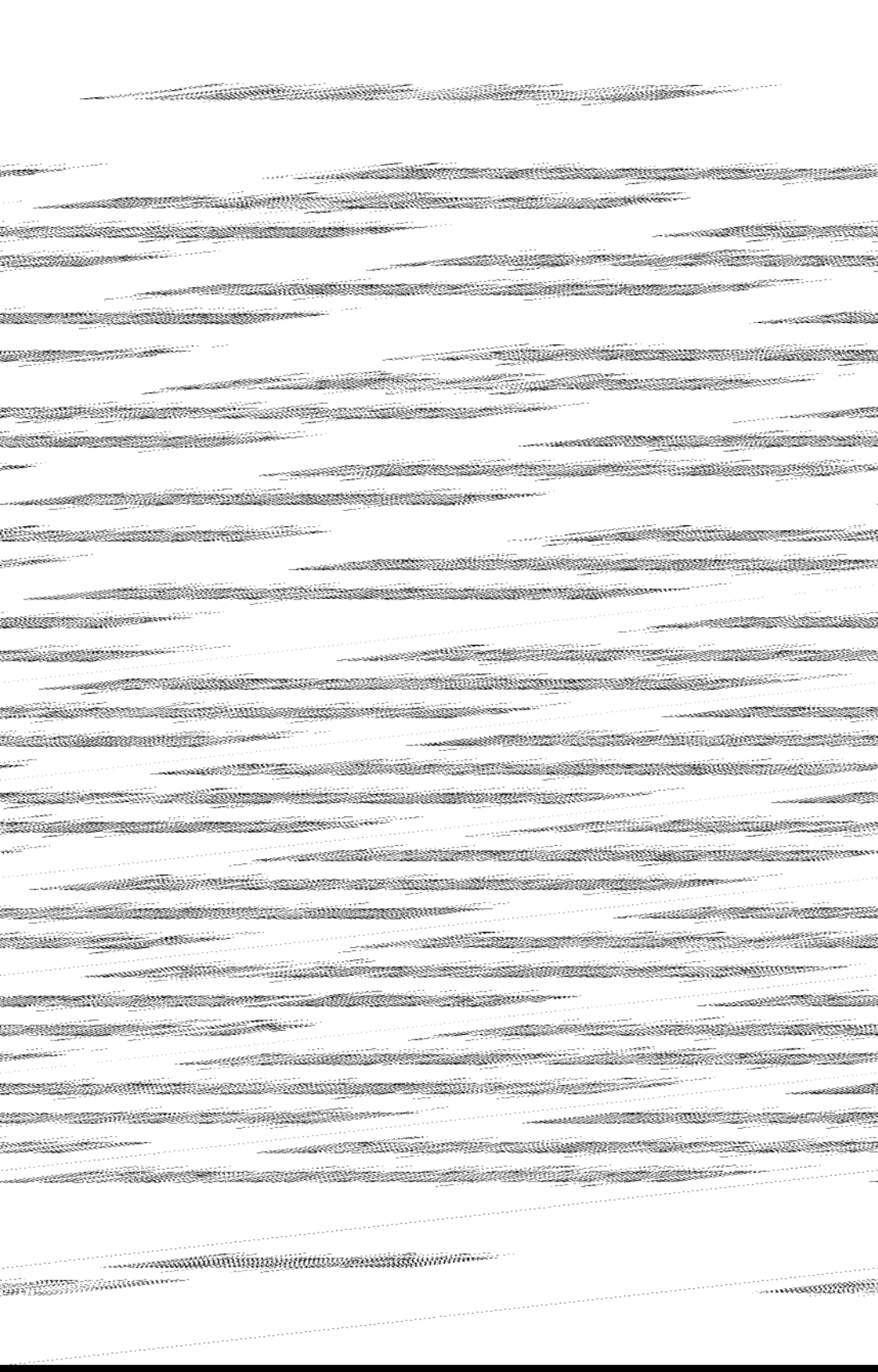
3. *Recourse to academic freedom*: This expression has been consistently used for backlash politics (Prentice, 1996; Why this expression (COU,) be indicative of an attempt to avoid the issue before it has been fully addressed. Academic freedom prevents sensitivity training and inclusivity which becomes then an unspoken "business as usual" (Prentice, 1996) ideologically charged semantic shift, discrimination became "special interest groups".

4. *Dismissal of female faculty issues as exaggeration*: These accusations, manifestation of collective paranoia or time waste would be better spent on "real" scholarship. According to Feldthusen (1995, p. 289), the significance of gender as a factor in discrimination is denied and the plague of "genderitis" spread by activists is denounced by some male faculty, who also trivialize sexual harassment, intimidate female colleagues, or remain silent when they witness those behaviours. Such an attitude renders the reality, and the research on it, invisible. Suggestions for constructive change can thus be ignored or can be implemented selectively as a token gesture.

5. *Marginalization*: This includes marginalization of women, people of colour and other identified groups into relatively powerless positions while maintaining that the institution observes objective neutrality and is "colour blind".

6. *Meritocracy*: This is the belief that ascribed characteristics and biases associated with them do not play any role in evaluation and only merit affects decisions. Such a belief dismisses any concern related to possible discrimination as illegitimate.

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questioning an ideology that is perceived as objective and pervades structures, opinions and practices.

According to Smith (1991), ideology means that "Images, vocabularies, concepts, knowledge and methods of knowing the world are integral to the practice of power" (p. 233). Women have learned to live within structures and within an ideology that predated their inclusion. Changing those structures and the ideology that sustains them is difficult, because "the closer positions come to policy-making or innovation in ideological forms, the smaller the proportion of women" (Smith, 1991, p. 244).

Part of the ideological process of exclusion could include what is called "selective reality", which Elliott (1995) analyses as "a kind of collective neurosis in which we participate when confronted with structures of oppression we prefer not to acknowledge" (pp. 3-4). It can explain failures to change inequities, be they structural or systemic. The following remark, presented as a joke, by a male colleague constitutes an example of selective reality: "Our department includes 30% of women faculty, isn't it? This is more than half! This is more than enough." It denies inequity, expresses the dubious satisfaction that "one has done one's share" as well as trivializes the issue through the verbal form of the joke.

Finally, it is a "fait accompli" that universities have become corporations in structure (corporate ladder) and in culture (boardroom cultural practices and language), thus reinforcing what has been a traditional male professional territory. To create a professional structure that would be more inclusive of women and diverse university populations, Fulton (1991, pp. 61-71) proposes an "interactive circular" model of a "university as a universe", which renders obsolete the vertical hierarchical ladder and the gender dichotomy it supports. Spheres of activities and functions such as "faculty", "students", "public relations", "research", "administration" would intersect and create a process of exchange. Between those spheres circulates a flow of energy — as opposed to the will of power — which will be used for the common good. Such a model would also facilitate alliances and collaboration between groups that share common interests and vision. It would also facilitate their integration, as dichotomies and power differentials — therefore potential marginalisation — would be erased, or at least considerably reduced. But, as Prentice (1996) suggests, the first step would be to legitimize research on institutional climate and inclusion in all our institutions. Inclusion would be greatly

facilitated if the present trend of granting sessional appointments was to be reversed in favour of tenure — track appointments.

There is now an awareness that women's issues should be dealt concurrently with issues related to visible minorities, gay and lesbians, and persons with disabilities. This inclusion of diversity might have contributed to the reduction the salience of women's issues, but it was promoted by women faculty who are critical of the reports from the 1980s which addressed women's issues only (Wylie, 1995). As a result, female faculty have created constructive alliances with those diverse groups.

In conclusion, the results of this study are relevant for other institutions. This study demonstrates and validates the importance of perceptions and their contribution to enriching quantitative information. As we know problems faced by female faculty are not specific this institution. We also have reasons to be even more concerned about this issue, in the context of the major structural changes universities are undergoing. According to Rosenblum and Rosenblum (1994) who have undertaken a study of part-time instructors in Ontario, those changes create a segmented and flexible labour-market, with the result that "both part-timers and non-tenure stream full-time appointments appear to be becoming increasingly important in contemporary universities" (p. 64). New managerial and employment policies affect younger Ph.D.s, particularly women, since research shows that "at each age, men obtain a far greater proportion of those jobs which are ports of entry to the internal labour market" (p. 62). It is our hope that the diffusion of our work will initiate similar studies on gender patterns in faculty participation and experience in other post-secondary educational institutions and show how the question of integration affects the entire career progress of female (and to a lesser degree male) faculty. If other studies corroborate our findings, a concerted action of policies and changes in attitudes would be in order, to ensure integration of all faculty for the benefit of institutions and society at large. ♣

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