# Pyramids of Power: A Statistical Snapshot of Women in Post-Secondary Education in Canada and Some Ideas for Making Change

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## **Abstract**

Women students have made impressive progress in Canadian post-secondary institutions, but change in the professoriate has not kept pace. Systemic biases in university policies and working conditions, problematic notions of excellence, and prejudicial "gender schemas" remain as barriers.

## Résumé

Les femmes on fait des progrès impressionnants dans les institutions post-secondaires canadiennes mais les changements dans le professorat n'a pas pu rester à jour. Les biais systémiques dans les politiques des universités et les conditions de travail, des notions problématiques sur l'excellence, et le schémas préjudiciairies basés sur la différences entre les sexes demeurent des barrières.

#### Introduction

"Is post-secondary education still gendered? Should it be?" These questions dominated the conference Educating Women/Women's Education in the Post-Secondary Context held at Mount Saint Vincent University in February 2007. Despite four decades during which the number and proportion of women students have grown remarkably in Canadian universities, change has been glacially slow in the professoriate, especially at the rank of full professor (Drakich and Stewart 2007, 6). The higher up the academic ladder one climbs, the fewer women one finds. This observation is not just about absolute numbers: one expects fewer professors than students, fewer presidents than deans. But "the higher, the fewer" applies to the proportion of women relative to men on the same rung.

The Post-Secondary Pyramid (Table 1) shows the percentage of women amongst all students graduating in Canada as 58.2%, full professors 18.8% (2004-05), and presidents of universities and colleges 13.0%. For men, the pyramid stands on its head: the comparable figures are students graduating 41.8%, full professors 81.2%, and presidents 87.0%. Some believe it is just a matter of time before equality is achieved at every level, while others point to women's personal choices. However, amongst equity experts, it is widely recognized that this gender hierarchy is the result of long-standing systemic discrimination.

This article has three components: it gives a statistical snapshot of women in Canada as students, faculty, Canada Research Chairs, and senior administrators; it engages the equity and excellence debate;

and it surveys recent research on work-life balance and workplace issues. Ultimately, we want to understand why women - particularly women from non-dominant groups - continue to face widespread systemic discrimination in post-secondary education and what new strategies may be needed to end it.

# **Documenting Critical Masses and Ratios**Students

Grace Annie Lockhart, graduating with a bachelor's degree in 1875 at Mount Allison University, made history: she became the first woman student in the entire British Empire to graduate from a university (Reid 2008). More than a century later, some people are speaking of a "feminizing" of the academy (Woolley 2007), a "changing of the gender guard" (Curran 2007), or a reverse gender gap. This is because, since 1981, more women students than men graduate each year across Canada with a bachelor's degree, relegating male students to about a 40% minority (Statistics Canada, Table 10). In 1995, for the first time, more women than men graduated with a master's degree (Statistics Canada, Table 39). By 2003, women constituted a majority of enrolments at the doctoral level in five of eleven major discipline groups, for a total of 45.6% (CAUT 2008a, 2). Logic suggests that, since women have constituted, for three decades, a majority entering post-secondary education, if academic and social conditions were gender neutral, then women should be a majority all the way up the student ladder, through the ranks of the professoriate, and into senior administration. However, statistics continue to show "the higher, the fewer."

Distribution by discipline is also important. Despite two decades of active promotion of women in science and technology, the proportion of women in some sectors and institutions is persistently low (Williams and Emerson 2001). In fact, between 1992 and 2003 in mathematics, computer, and information sciences, "women's representation actually decreased at the Baccalaureate and Master's levels," and where women's representation did

increase was mostly "in major discipline groups where they are already well represented, such as Education" (CAUT 2008a, 1). The prestige of the discipline and the percentage of women in it continue to be inversely correlated: architecture, engineering, and technology tend to command big grants, have high prestige, and be male-dominant; education, which focuses on teaching children from Kindergarten through grade 12, tends to have low academic status and is female-dominant. Counting in medical-dental positions, for example, lowers the percentage of women full professors nationally from 19.3% to 18.8% (Hollingsworth 2008). Clearly, the changing of the "gender guard" is partial in many ways.

#### **FACULTY**

Carrie Derick, an internationally renowned botanist at McGill University, in 1912 became the first woman in Canada to rise to the rank of full professor, although the principal called it a "courtesy" title and did not raise her salary (Forster 2004, 79). Distribution by rank remains problematic for women and minorities nearly a full century later. At the rank of full professor, Canada has just 18.8% women compared to 28% for the United States (US), probably because of its more aggressive affirmative action policies (CAUT 2006, 6). Drakich and Stewart also document that "women faculty are not appointed to the rank of full professor at the same rate or speed as men" (Drakich and Stewart 2007, 8). Some people call it a "leaking pipeline" or a "second glass ceiling" (Mason and Ekman 2007, 91). As critics point out, "the unique role of the university is that it sits on the supply line for its own workers" (Williams and Emerson 2001, 4); thus it self-reinforces by "groom[ing]" certain members for "positions of power" (Swartz 2008, 413). This is a significant measure of the undervaluing of women's intellectual abilities. A report by senior administrators and science researchers notes the underutilization of women PhDs in the US as well; furthermore, it finds that women are under-represented "even in fields that have

had a large proportion of women doctorates for 30 years" (Shalala et al. 2006, 5). The authors conclude that it is not about "lag time" at all.

Canada's standing amongst its partners in the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) with respect to the proportion of women faculty is middling: Canada ties for tenth place out of 18 member countries (Robbins et al. 2005). In Canada, as in the US, United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand, women are less likely than men to have tenure and more likely to hold part-time and limited-term appointments and to experience a pay gap. Moreover, statistics show that fewer women than men are being appointed in the current wave of hiring (Robbins et al. 2006), so that "women's progress at the assistant level has stalled in most regions over the past ten years, indicating that fewer women are entering the academic profession" (CAUT 2008b, 4).

Few data are available for equity groups other than women. The 2007 CAUT Equity Review acknowledges that data on the status of equity-seeking groups in the academy is poor. There are almost no statistical data on sexual minorities in the Canadian, British, or American academies. Existing data, however, show that Aboriginal people, racialized minorities, and persons with disabilities are chronically under-represented in the academy in Canada compared to the labour force at large (Table 2). "Visible minority" women, for example, are affected multiply, with the one-two punch of racism and sexism. This is reflected in the wage gap for racialized academic women; if we take as a benchmark the average employment income of "non-visible minority" academic men as equaling 100%, then academic women of colour earn only 55.4%, while other academic women earn 68.9%, and "visible minority" men 84.5% (Robbins et al. 2006). Furthermore, in three out of four equity groups, the faculty percentages are significantly below those of students. The one exception is persons with disabilities, because rates of disability increase with age, and academics are older than the average worker given the long training period (Sussman and Yssaad 2005, 18 & 27).

Collections of personal essays and academic life writing help give voice to and reconceptualize the "marginal." Madwoman in the Academy (2003), for instance, is a Canadian collection featuring 43 contributors, including several women of colour, who recount their often painful experiences credentialing for and climbing the academic ladder. Aritha van Herk's "A Guide to Academic Sainthood" describes weathering attacks that come as "a response to your success, hard work, and the small portion of respect you manage to garner within your area" (van Herk 2003, 160). She warns that although "oral thuggery" might seem like professional misconduct, "the institution is perfectly willing to countenance it and will even encourage subtle forms" (2003, 160). Also called "trashing," this is "an increasingly prevalent practice" even among women because of internalized sexism (Freeman gtd. by Gumport 2002, 156). Other collections, including Women in the Canadian Academic Tundra (Hannah et al. 2002), In Our Own Voices (Tagore 2006) and Minds of Our Own (Robbins et al. 2008) confirm that harassment based on race and gender has been and remains troublesome in the Canadian academy.

## STUDENT-FACULTY RATIOS

While both student and faculty numbers have increased for women since the 1960s, student numbers have increased much more dramatically than those of faculty (Table 3). For instance, in 1960, women were roughly 24% of student enrolments and 11% of faculty; by 2005, women were 61% of enrolments and 35% of full-time faculty. In other words, women students' numbers increased by 37%; women faculty's, by 24%. However, the discrepancy between male and female student-to-faculty ratios is startling in its consistency over the years: in 1972, 31:1 for women and 7:1 for men; in 1982, 32:1 for women and 7:1 for men; in 1992, 33:1 for women and 8:1 for men; and in 2002, 42:1 for women and 13:1 for men.

The scarcity of women mentors and models is a central theme in creative writing about academic women. An early example is Marian Engel's Sarah Bastard's Notebook. where the central character is a "lady" PhD, who laments that academic women feel illegitimate, "long[ing] always for nonexistent mothers" (Engel 1974, 8; ours). Similarly, emphasis autobiographical essay about the creation of women's studies at Simon Fraser University, Andrea Lebowitz comments, "when you asked about which theorists we relied upon, my answer would have to be - ourselves" (Lebowitz et al. 2008, 183). Since the 1960s and 1970s, the timeframe of these two observations, larger numbers and a greater diversity of women have claimed academic territory, but many academic women continue to feel this "mother-want." For example, one often hears that the reason there are so few women in science and engineering is that there are so few women in science and engineering, a statement that highlights the dearth of role models and its consequences. Research shows that "women do better when there are more women in an organization. Women law professors, for example, are more likely to be granted tenure in faculties with a higher proportion of tenured women than in faculties with a very low proportion of tenured women. Men's tenure rates are unaffected by the proportion of women" (Valian 1999, 142). Research also shows that students at women's colleges and universities demonstrate higher levels of self-esteem and leadership skills, are more satisfied with their overall experience, and are more likely to major in non-traditional fields, graduate, and attend graduate school (Wolf-Wendel 2003, 39).

Women mentors provide reassurance that women can succeed in academic positions, particularly in fields that are still male-dominated; they may make others feel less reticent about discussing issues such as family obligations; they tend to manage conflict, authority, teamwork, and delegation differently than men do; and they often have

different teaching styles. Because graduate students' success depends heavily on their relationships with their advisors, successful female mentoring may also help reduce the gap between the number of women graduating from PhD programs and the number hired for jobs, especially at prestigious medical-doctoral institutions where women are more poorly represented (CAUT 2008b, 5). Although "unmatching" mentoring relationships can work, the mentor may not be in a position to understand the student's sense of disconnection from the academy (Spafford et al. 2006, 18), may spend less time working with the student, and may believe less in her long-term potential (Wilson 2004). Women professors may be less inclined to share these prejudices, and may encourage women students, even by example alone, to pursue doctoral degrees and academic positions.

Ideally, mentoring should involve collaboration that provides a diversity of mentors, both male and female, within a department and across disciplines. Unfortunately, the lopsided numbers of women graduate students to women faculty, and the preferences of women students to work with women faculty, place heavy demands on these already over-burdened professors. Women academics who are members of a minority group face additional pressures in mentoring minority students and serving as a model of achievement (Acker and Armenti 2004, 14).

# CANADA RESEARCH CHAIRS

The millennium Canada Research Chairs (CRC) Program, an initiative by the federal government to appoint 2,000 scholars to prestigious new research positions, with the intention of boosting Canada's research productivity, promoting "excellence," and positioning Canada as a world leader in the "knowledge-based" economy, has been widely criticized for further "institutionalizing inequities" (Side and Robbins 2007). Women are seriously under-represented amongst CRC researchers, and no data are kept for other equity groups. Program data by gender

are available on the CRC website, although break-downs by tier are no longer listed (CRC 2007-08). In 2008, 75% of a total of 1,829 CRCs were held by men; 25% by women. This is up slightly from the figure of 22.5% reported in 2006; at that time, 16% of Tier 1 appointments (128 chairs) and 28% of Tier 2 appointments (267 chairs) had gone to women. Within Canada alone - and the CRC competition is international - the pool of women faculty (excluding medical-dental positions) at the rank of full professor (required for Tier 1 appointments) is 19.3%. The pool of women faculty at the rank of associate and assistant professor (required for Tier 2 appointments) is 35.2% and 40.9% respectively (CAUT 2008b, 3).

Many argue that a greater diversity of interests, perspectives, and experiences will contribute to greater innovation and better scholarly research (Valian 2004). Lack of such diversity led eight women professors from across the country to lay a human rights complaint against the federal government on behalf of four equity groups and sparked a national controversy (Side and Robbins 2007). A mediated Settlement Agreement, signed in 2006, requires that data be compiled by the CRC Secretariat concerning Aboriginal people, people with disabilities, racialized minorities, and women (CHRT 2006). The CRC Secretariat appointed a consultant in 2007, but no new data have been released nor appropriate hiring targets set. However, CAUT's Alternative Fifth-Year Review surveyed the chairs who had been appointed prior to November 2005, and produced a preliminary picture which suggests multiple inequities (Table 4).

# SENIOR ADMINISTRATION

Sister Mary Evaristus Moran, in 1925 at Mount Saint Vincent University, became Canada's first woman university president. Nearly 50 years later, in 1974 at Simon Fraser University, Pauline Jewett became Canada's first woman president of a co-educational post-secondary institution. Indira Samarasekera, in 2005 at the University of Alberta, is Canada's first woman of colour to

become president. The majority of universities in Canada have yet to appoint a woman president; only fourteen of Canada's more than one hundred universities or colleges had a woman president in 2007 (Robbins and Ollivier 2007). A study of women academic administrators in Canada reports that "women's increasing number in the academy has not translated into a surge in the number of women holding leadership positions" (Grant gtd. in Drakich and Stewart 2007, 8). In explaining the persistent dearth of women at the top, the "leaking pipeline" and "lag time" hypotheses, whatever their merit, certainly do not tell the whole story. Mary Ann Mason and Eve Mason Ekman, for instance, note how "subtle discrimination is rooted in gender stereotypes - especially when it comes to 'leadership issues,'" citing a "conscious or unconscious belief that women do not have what it takes to lead men" (Mason and Ekman 2007, 92). Moreover, while the numbers and percentages of women in the top faculty ranks, well-resourced research positions, and senior administration matter, even more germane is the issue of whether academic leaders - female and male - actively champion feminist and equity causes, so that members of equity groups are hired in numbers significant enough to constitute a critical mass (Kolodny 1998, 51).

# Refuting the Alleged Opposition of Equity and Excellence

In the 1970s, research revealed that "gender schemas" or stereotypes led people to overrate men's abilities and underrate women's when the same academic resumé was rated more highly if assigned a man's name (Valian 1999, 127-8). Most disturbing, though, is that gender stereotyping remains a significant problem over thirty years later. As Shalala et al. point out, "evidence establishes that most people - men and women - hold implicit biases...most of us carry prejudices of which we are unaware but that nonetheless play a large role in our evaluations of people and their work" (2006, 3). Cecilia Ridgeway explains that such biases create employment inequality by causing people to expect greater

competence from men than from women, and thus to expect greater rewards to go to men than to women who are otherwise their equals; biases also lead men, on average, to pay less attention to information that undermines expectations based on gender (Ridgeway 1997).

Furthermore, definitions "excellence" are not neutral and often serve the purpose of exclusion. Jerome Karabel's review of 100 years of admissions at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton records that criteria of merit were systematically manipulated as a means of restricting admissions or as a result of institutional pressures from excluded groups (Karabel 2005). Other research finds corroborating evidence for racial and sexual discrimination in hiring and performance evaluations (Chusad 1988; Olian et al. 1988), as do testimonials by academic women in *The* Politics of Women's Studies (Howe 2000), Tenure Denied (Dyer 2004) and Academic Pathfinders (Gumport 2002). Prejudice, not evidence, accounts for the now infamous remarks of Larry Summers, ex-president of Harvard University, who, in 2005, stated his hypothesis that women scientists simply do not work hard enough and/or are genetically inferior, hence their low representation at top research institutions (Summers 2005). A subsequent review of studies of brain structure and function, human cognitive development, and human evolution clearly shows that there are no significant biological differences between men and women that can account for the lower representation of women in faculty and leadership positions (Shalala et al. 2006, 2). Moreover, although women tend to publish less than men, Virginia Valian has found that what they publish is of higher quality, as measured by the number of times their work is cited by other scholars in their field. Even when productivity is controlled for, women earn less and achieve tenure more slowly than men do because their achievements tend to be less recognized (Valian 1999, 250). Thus, "unintentional biases and outmoded institutional structures...are hindering the access and advancement of women" (Shalala et al. 2006, 1; emphasis ours).

These biases can be addressed with strong and sensitive leadership. Affirmative action policies, which broaden searches to include more women and minority-group members, not only change the interpersonal configurations of actors, but also create more stereotype-disconfirming experiences for all, thereby reducing the impact of stereotypes on our judgments and evaluations (Ridgeway 1997, 232). Blind evaluation methods to screen job applicants are another way to reduce subtle (and not so subtle) gender biases at work. Recent reports demonstrate how this practice is creating opportunities for women in classical music. Many orchestras require a photograph of the applicant, and some European companies refuse to hire women at all (Marks 2001). However, others, including the Toronto Symphony Orchestra, have prospective musicians audition from behind a screen. This has been shown to boost significantly the chances of women's success, from 19% to 29%, and to lower slightly men's, from 22% to 20%. In hiring in the field of music, as in the vetting of academic resumés and research, to not be identified by gender seems a key way to avoid stereotyping. Gender biases create an "accumulation of disadvantage" for women (Valian 1999, 142).

# Understanding Work-Life and Workplace Issues

There are predictably some striking differences, or "gaps," between men's and women's academic responsibilities, household duties, and family situations. Sandra Acker reports that many academic women believe that they have disproportionate responsibilities for service in their departments. She cites one woman, for example, who describes herself as "'the person...who can be called on to do whatever needs to be done'" and refers to herself "'as a departmental resource, like the fire extinguisher'" (Acker 1999). As reported in Ivory Towers audits for 2004-06, academic women in Canada also tend to put in longer hours than their male counterparts for childcare, housework, and eldercare, and they are less likely to ever marry, and almost one and a half times more likely than academic men, if married, to separate and divorce, a finding also documented in the US (Mason and Ekman 2007, 45).

Finally, there is a "baby gap" for academic women - relative to other professional women and to Canadian women in general at all levels of education. Certainly, some professional women are choosing not to have children, but research suggests that academic women have more difficulty combining family and professional life than women in business, law, or medicine: census data for a selected age group of women (35-39) suggest that half of women academics do not have children, in comparison to only a third of women medical doctors (Robbins et al. 2004). The traditional academic career path may be partly to blame, as the tenure clock rarely keeps time with the biological clock. Researchers claim that some professional women experience "hitting the maternal wall," since the campus climate disproportionately affects women with young children (Williams 2004). The most detailed research on this question comes from a 2004 survey by Mary Ann Mason and Marc Goulden at the University of California (Mason and Goulden 2004). Their results are sobering: about half of the women who have a baby within five years of completing a PhD proceed to get tenure, whereas about three-quarters of fathers do. Currently, only a few institutions in North America offer the option of slowing the tenure clock, flexibility that interests both men and women academics. In their first "Do Babies Matter?" article, Mason and Goulden point out that "merely opening up graduate education is not enough to assure equal opportunity in the long run for those women who choose to have children" (Mason and Goulden 2002); they call for institutions to address the issues that the new population of women face in academia. Discounting family-related curriculum vitae gaps in the hiring of faculty and offering flexible leave and tenure policies, part-time options, childcare slots, and re-entry postdoctoral fellowships would help make the campus climate more "family-friendly." Such institutional changes would also reduce the prevalence of fatigue and burnout among women academics (Acker and Armenti 2004; Bracken et al. 2006).

The problems that academic women face are exacerbated in the more élite institutions, as documented by the Ivory Towers Audit, 2006. Not only is there less of a "critical mass" of women at Canada's "G13" research-intensive universities (31% versus 34.3% for "Non G13"), but the rate of progress in hiring women is slower: between 1990 and 2004, the "G13" figure for full-time women faculty rose 11.1 percentage points versus 13.7 for the "Non G13" (Hollingsworth 2007). Moreover, the percentage of women full professors is inversely correlated with the research-intensiveness of the institution: 21.5% at primarily undergraduate institutions, 20.1% at comprehensive institutions, and only 17.2% at medical-doctoral institutions (CAUT 2008b, 5), a situation, sadly, that both reflects and reproduces the "pyramids of power" ideology. Some suggest that women are simply not applying for jobs at the élite universities because these institutions have well-known "toxic atmospheres" for women or because women fear they will not have enough time for their family (Wilson 2004). Yet such interpretations are largely refuted by Mason and Ekman, who claim that "single women are as likely as men to secure a job at a major research institution" (Mason and Ekman 2007, 18), and by the Shalala report, which claims that domestic issues such as marriage, children, and eldercare have "minimal effects" on research productivity. According to Shalala et al., the main issue is "access to institutional resources" (2006, 6). This is a bold shift of emphasis. The research concludes that academics who are women and/or members of racial or ethnic minority groups "have had to function in environments that favor - sometimes deliberately but often inadvertently - the men who have traditionally dominated" the academy (Shalala et al. 2006, 3). In other words, systemic bias in the workplace, not individual life choices, is

principally what holds women back.

Thus, more and more women have been entering the academy, but outmoded policies, traditional ideologies, and subtle discrimination still work to impede or exclude them. Women academic activists may be on a particularly difficult, even a "no-win," course since "movement up the ladder is not easily reconciled with the critique of the ladder itself" (Schnitzer and Keahey 2003, 202). Some of the very people we most need in powerful decision-making positions to effect change in our institutions risk being the least likely to make it to the top, despite the rhetoric of universities' valuing public intellectuals and community service. Moreover, the characteristics the academy generally values. such as persistence and single-mindedness, are stereotyped masculine and are therefore "socially unacceptable" traits for women (Shalala et al. 2006, 4). Working to change the academy often leads to accusations that one is not a "team-player" or worse, disloyal.

Other times, women may be perceived as too passive. A former CRC executive director, René Durocher, repeated a flagrantly male-as-norm complaint: "the big difference between men and women is that men will fight more to obtain something women want to be recognized for their merit and are less likely to fight than men" (Pappone 2003, A-5). That statement ignores the long tradition of women's academic activism: from the early nuns who petitioned kings to be allowed to establish schools for girls; to suffragists, including Emily Stowe, who fought for women's inclusion in the professions; to teenaged Mary Kingsley who sought to cut provincial funding to the University of New Brunswick if it continued to fail to admit duly qualified persons of either gender; to Métis professor of history Olive Dickason who challenged mandatory retirement all the way to the Supreme Court. However, academic change work can amount to yet another unpaid work shift, often marked by emotional trauma, financial burden, and career disruption. We name this the "activism gap."

The people who are victimized by

systemic discrimination are the ones who typically shoulder the burden of finding solutions. Activism may be a career-limiting move, but it may also be the most meaningful work we do. A survey of activists who are part of the online forum PAR-L (Policy, Action, Research List), one of Canada's oldest feminist discussion lists, documents subscribers' feelings of "safety and 'asylum,' the empowerment of having their 'finger on the pulse' of the feminist community, and enhanced 'personal sanity' and groundedness" (Ollivier et al. 2006, 456).

## Conclusions

Thus, as statistics, research, and personal testimony document, in terms of such major issues as rank, discipline, pay, prestige, work-life balance, working conditions, and equity activism, women's realities in post-secondary education continue to differ significantly from men's, and multiply marginalized women's realities continue to differ significantly both from their male counterparts' and from those of women more in the dominant culture. Will they continue to differ? The answers are political and social as much as educational. Rejecting past practices of blaming the victim or measuring women by male norms, contemporary analysts and activists are increasingly turning to the discourse of human rights, the legal system (Dyer 2004), and the court of public opinion they are insisting that leaders be held accountable for institutional fairness. In a panel discussion challenging personal-choice thesis behind the so-called "Opt-Out Revolution," Martha Burk pointed to those in power: "when a work environment is inhospitable to women, it should be taken as a failure of leadership" (Burk 2005). This view is shared by others who "point to the central importance of commitment and support for equity-related change from administrative and academic leaders" (Agocs et al. 2004, 199). CAUT concludes that women will make gains only if "governments, institutions, and academic staff associations press for greater equity" (CAUT 2008b, 5).

Thus, in answer to the question "Is

post-secondary education still gendered?," the answer is demonstrably "yes." For the companion question "Should it be?," the answer needs to be more nuanced: gender-sensitive and gender-inclusive, yes; blind to discrimination based on gender, race, class, sexuality, disability, and other human rights issues, emphatically no.

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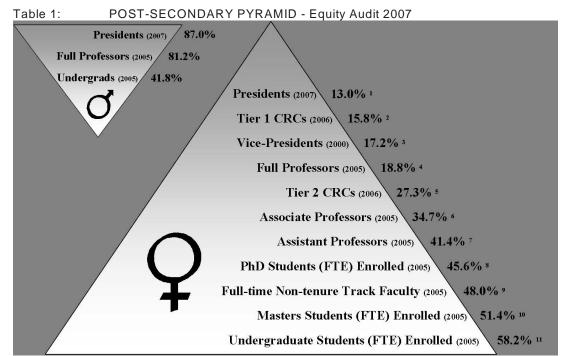
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Compiled by Wendy Robbins & Michèle Ollivier, PAR-L, with assistance from CAUT and CFHSS Sources online at: http://www.fedcan.ca/equityaudit

Table 2:
Labour Force, Professoriate, and Graduating Students by Equity Group.

	All Occupations	University Teachers (full-time)	Students
Women	43.3%	31.7%	59%
Aboriginals	2.3%*	0.7%*	2%
Visible Minorities	12.4%*	12.5%*	17%
Persons with Disabilities	5.8%	9.3%	4%

\*2001, else 2003

# Table 3:

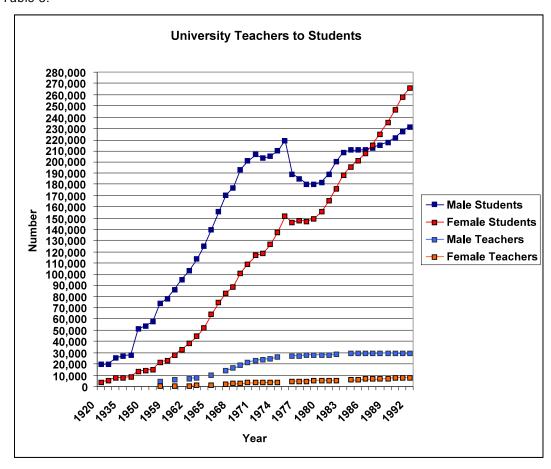


Table 4: Canada Research Chairholders by Equity Group Status (preliminary data, CAUT 2005 survey)

Aboriginal Status	0.2%
GLBT (gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgendered)	2%
Persons with Disabilities	1%
Visible Minorities	9%