

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SELECTED
UNIVERSITIES BY SEX AND BY RANK

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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REGINA A. BRUCE



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A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SELECTED UNIVERSITIES
BY SEX AND BY RANK

by

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Abstract

According to the Employment Equity Act and the Federal Contractors Program employment equity is mandatory in universities. The main purpose of the study was to examine the Employment Equity documentation and Compliance Review Reports from eight Canadian universities to determine the employment situation of women. A comparative analysis of variables by sex and by rank was carried out with specific emphasis on salary, age, occupation, years of service and education.

From the documents reviewed, it seems evident that universities have been unable to address inequities amongst their workforce in spite of their significant commitment to the principles of employment equity. These inequities appear in salary and occupational category differences. On average, across all the universities included in this study, males are remunerated significantly higher than females. Women seem substantially excluded from academic positions, from career advancement in non-academic ranks and from most senior academic, administrative and support positions. The data indicate that men are overrepresented in the higher classification ranks and women at the lower. Women are underrepresented in academic departments and salary differentials have indicated the favouring of men in all academic ranks and non-academic

classifications. There are obvious inequities within classification levels as well which cannot be explained by differences in age or years of service. Because the majority of universities surveyed failed to provide data on education levels it was difficult to determine the effect of educational differences. Some of the universities failed to provide any clear distinctions with regard to occupational category, salary, years of service or age for Faculty and Staff employees.

Although it appears that discrimination, as the literature suggests, may be occurring at a variety of levels, at the hiring or promotion stage, for instance, the documents do little to identify specific barriers to women's advancement. This is a key issue. Presumably, employment equity policies have as their goal the elimination of historical inequities, just as compliance review reports are expected to serve as a critical process in the identification of barriers and in the implementation and monitoring of action plans. Yet the documentation implies discrimination, while providing little direction for change.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
LIST OF TABLES	viii
 CHAPTER 1 THE PROBLEM	
Statement of the Problem	2
Research Questions	3
Significance of the Study	4
Limitations of the Study	4
Definition of Terms	6
Descriptive Conceptual Terms	6
Policy Terms	13
Organization of the Study	17
 CHAPTER 2 REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE AND RESEARCH	
Women's Work In The Labour Force	18
Current Thinking On Employment Equity For Women	23
The Current Policy Situation	28
Women Employed in Universities	45

CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Sampling	51
Document Analysis	55

CHAPTER 4 FINDINGS

Atlantic

Dalhousie University: An Analysis of Open Question Responses to the Dalhousie Workforce Profile, January 13, 1993; and Employment Equity Compliance Review Report, June 4, 1992	64
Dalhousie University - Summary	69
University of New Brunswick: Compliance Review Report, Federal Contractors Program, 1991; and Second Compliance Review Report, 1993	73
University of New Brunswick - Summary	76

Quebec

Concordia University: Interim Diagnostic Report on Full-Time Faculty At Concordia University, May 31, 1989; Concordia University Compliance Review Document, April 2, 1991; and Diagnostic Report on Female Administrative and Support Staff, March 4, 1993	80
Concordia University - Summary	86
McGill University: Employment Equity For Women At McGill - Diagnostic Report, May 1991	89
McGill University - Summary	95

Ontario

University of Ottawa: Workforce Analysis of Administrative Staff, 1987	99
University of Ottawa - Summary	103
University of Toronto: Employment Action Plan Annual Report 1988 - 1989; and Employment Equity Annual Report 1992 - 1993	106
University of Toronto - Summary	110

Western

University of Alberta: Opening Doors: A Plan For Employment Equity At The University of Alberta, January 7, 1994	113
University of Alberta - Summary	115
University of Calgary: Employment Equity, Annual Report, 1990 - 1991; Second Compliance Review Report, March 1993	119
University of Calgary - Summary	122
Review of Documentation Summary	125

CHAPTER 5 SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary of Research Findings	127
Recommendations	132
Education and Training	133
Policies and Procedures	134
University Environment	135
Recommendations for Future Research	138
References	140

TABLES

1 - Full-Time Occupational Distributions For Men and Women In The Work Force Under The Act (1991)	35
2 - Labour Force Participation Rate For Men and Women In Canada, Selected Years, 1901 - 1986	37
3 - Unemployment Rates By Sex, 1966 - 1986	39
4 - Full-Time Salary Distributions For Men and Women In The Work Force Under The Act (1992)	41
5 - Summary of the Universities	54
6 - Data Sources	61
7 - Dalhousie University Average Salaries, Average Age and Average Years of Service By Gender	71
8 - Dalhousie University Occupational Distributions By Gender	72
9 - University of New Brunswick Average Salaries, Average Age and Average Years of Service By Gender	78
10 - University of New Brunswick Occupational Distributions By Gender	79
11 - Concordia University Average Salaries, Average Age and Average Years of Service By Gender	87
12 - Concordia University Occupational Distributions by Gender	88

13 - McGill University Average Salaries, Average Age and Average Years of Service By Gender	97
14 - McGill University Occupational Distributions By Gender	98
15 - University of Ottawa Average Salaries, Average Age and Average Years of Service By Gender	104
16 - University of Ottawa Occupational Distributions By Gender	105
17 - University of Toronto Average Salaries, Average Age and Average Years of Service By Gender	111
18 - University of Toronto Occupational Distributions By Gender	112
19 - University of Alberta Average Salaries, Average Age and Average Years of Service By Gender	117
20 - University of Alberta Occupational Distributions By Gender	118
21 - University of Calgary Average Salaries, Average Age and Average Years of Service By Gender	123
22 - University of Calgary Occupational Distributions By Gender	124

APPENDIX

A - Canadian Universities by Geographical Region 146

CHAPTER 1

THE PROBLEM

Since 1970, when the Royal Commission on the Status of Women released its historic report, Canadians across the land have been concerned about employment equity. According to the Employment Equity: The Federal Contractors Program (1986-1991), the Federal Government became involved by introducing the Employment Equity Act and the Federal Contractors Program. These programs, designed to address the elimination of occupational sex-typing imbalances in the proportion of women and men in senior positions, have paved the way for the introduction of affirmative action and employment equity programs in many workplaces. The expectation is that these programs would enable more women to move into senior administration positions. The movement however has been slow to take hold. Why the process seems so painfully gradual is open to various interpretations as some argue that women themselves are partially responsible for being underrepresented while others contend that factors outside of women's control have played roles in restricting female participation in the workforce. Furthermore, in terms of pay equity, women are, on average, still paid less than their male counterparts, even those with competitive educational qualifications and work experience. This thesis will focus on women in the

university setting with particular reference to eight universities in Canada. The main purpose is to examine the Employment Equity documentation and Compliance Review Reports which have been prepared by a sample of universities to determine the status of women employed in these Canadian universities. Employment Equity documents and Compliance Review Reports are documents prepared by university officials to aid in determining if there are employment equities and to indicate the commitment on behalf of the institution to the principles of employment equity. A comparative analysis of variables by sex and by rank will be conducted with specific emphasis on salary, age, occupation, years of service and education.

Statement Of The Problem

According to the Human Rights Act, Employment Equity Legislation and the Federal Contractors Program, discrimination based on gender is strictly forbidden. Although Employment Equity Studies and Compliance Reviews have been conducted at the majority of Canadian universities, the evidence shows that discrimination is apparently still occurring. Universities are unique institutions. Not only do they strive for excellence in teaching and research, but they are also charged by their nature to examine, analyze and criticize the values and goals of society. Thus it is necessary to consider where universities stand with regard to

the participation of women in their ranks.

The general purpose of this study is to identify, describe and analyze Employment Equity documentation and Compliance Review Reports from selected universities to determine the employment status of women.

Research Questions

The overall objective of this study is to conduct a comparative analysis of eight universities in Canada to examine the employment status of women with regard to employment equity. The specific research questions are:

1. According to the information contained within the Employment Equity and Compliance Review Reports from the eight sampled universities, what steps have been taken to implement employment equity?
2. Are there inequities in terms of sex and rank, and if so, where do they occur?
3. For which employment categories of workers, e.g. faculty, administrative staff, do inequities, if any, exist?
4. Are there inequities which are unique to specific institutions or are they common across all?
5. What are the implications of inequities, if any?

Significance of the Study

A significant amount of research has been conducted regarding Employment Equity Programs and Compliance Reviews for many businesses and universities in Canada. However, there is little research focusing specifically on the information provided in these documents. Thus, it is not yet known if these institutions have employment practices, policies and procedures in place that are equitable to all employees. This study will provide a snapshot of women in universities, while heightening awareness of the situation as it currently exists. Thus, this study should provide some incentive for implementing policies which ensure equitable employment practices and procedures that comply with Employment Equity legislation and the guidelines of the Federal Contractors Program.

Limitations of the Study

This study is limited to eight Canadian universities focusing on Compliance Review and/or Employment Equity documentation with respect to employment practices regarding women. The Employment Equity Legislation and the Federal Contractors Program requires employers with 100 or more employees who bid on federal goods and services to certify their commitment to employment equity. The legislation specifically targets four distinct groups: women, aboriginal peoples,

disabled persons and persons who, because of their race or colour, are visible minorities. However, the intent of this examination is to focus specifically on employment equity of female staff in particular Canadian universities.

Several factors will have a limiting effect on the validity, reliability and generalizability of the findings of this study. These factors relate to: 1. documentation comparability; 2. limited access; and 3. the focus of the study:

1. Documentation Comparability:

Certain documents, obtained from the various universities regarding employment equity, may have been completed over five years ago whereas other documents may be fairly current. Although a thorough analysis of the research design undertaken by the various institutions in question is not possible, a content analysis of the information obtained will attempt to compensate for this limitation. Content analysis as a research methodology is aimed at producing descriptive information; it is useful for checking research findings obtained from other studies; and can be used to explore relationships and to test theories.

2. Limited Access:

The researcher will not have access to the information used to produce the final reports from these universities since the data compiled is confidential and not available for viewing. Therefore, the documents reviewed will be, for the most part, without the original statistical data as it was obtained from the employees.

3. Focus of the Study:

The focus of the study is eight Canadian universities selected randomly, stratified by region (two universities each from Atlantic, Quebec, Ontario and Western Canada). Therefore, the generalizability of the findings will be limited to the type of university selected.

Definition Of Terms

As there is standard and legal employment equity terminology used by employers, direct quotes are used. Below is a selection of terms used throughout the thesis:

Descriptive Conceptual Terms

ADVERSE IMPACT: "The negative effect of an employment practice or process on any identifiable group. Discrepancies revealed by data analysis (for instance, of internal data on gender and salary, or of internal and external data on numbers of men and women in the workforce) are an indication of possible discrimination, pointing to a need for further investigation". (Council of Ontario Universities, Employment Equity For Women: A University Handbook, 1988, p. 229)

AVAILABILITY DATA: "Consists of information about the external labour

market and provide an estimate of women and minority group members in the population from which employees are drawn. These data are defined in terms of geographical distribution, occupational groups and qualifications". (Council of Ontario Universities, Employment Equity For Women: A University Handbook, 1988, p. 52)

DESIGNATED (OR TARGET) GROUPS: "Groups selected as the focus of employment equity programmes because their labour market experience reveals long-standing patterns of high unemployment, lower than average pay rates or concentration in low status jobs. The following groups of Canadian or permanent residents in Canada have been designated under the Employment Equity Act and Federal Contractors Program: women, aboriginal peoples, persons with disabilities and persons who are, because of their race or colour, in a visible minority". (Council of Ontario Universities, Employment Equity For Women: A University Handbook, 1988, p. 229)

EMPLOYMENT BARRIERS: "Employment practices, policies, or systems that have an adverse impact on women's participation in the workforce and which are

not related to job needs or to the safety and efficiency of business operations".
(Council of Ontario Universities, Employment Equity For Women: A University Handbook, 1988, p. 230)

EMPLOYMENT EQUITY: "A Comprehensive planning process adopted by an employer to:

- identify and eliminate discrimination in the organization's employment procedures and policies;
- remedy the effects of past discrimination;
- ensure appropriate representation of women throughout an employer's work force." (Council of Ontario Universities, Employment Equity For Women: A University Handbook, 1988, p. 230)

EQUAL PAY FOR WORK OF EQUAL VALUE OR PAY EQUITY:
"Determination of compensation through the comparison of dissimilar jobs within an organization. The value of a job is defined in terms of the value of the work to the employer rather than on the basis of labour related conditions. This compensation process is dependent upon a bias-free job evaluation system. Equal pay for work of equal value is not synonymous with the concept of equal pay for

equal work". (Council of Ontario Universities, Employment Equity For Women: A University Handbook, 1988, p. 230)

FEDERAL CONTRACTORS PROGRAM: "...requires that employers with at least 100 employees who bid on federal goods and services contracts certify their commitment to employment equity." (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1992 Annual report: employment equity act, 1992, p. 3)

"The program requires contractors to implement Employment Equity measures. . . . the identification and removal of artificial barriers to the selection, hiring, promotion and training of women, aboriginal peoples, persons with disabilities, and visible minorities. As well, contractors will take steps to improve the employment status of these designated groups by increasing their participation in all levels of employment". (Employment and Immigration Canada, Federal contractors program fact sheet, 1986)

FLOW OR TRANSACTION DATA: "These terms are used interchangeably. Such data consist of indicators of change or movement into and within jobs and show how women fare in the employment processes". (Council of Ontario Universities, Employment Equity For Women: A University Handbook, 1988, p. 52)

GENDER HARASSMENT: "Derogatory, discouraging comments or attitudes about the members of one sex which make it hard for them to contribute well, to work at an optimum level or to be accepted as equals in the classroom or the workforce." (Council of Ontario Universities, Employment Equity For Women: A University Handbook, 1988, p. 231)

NON-TRADITIONAL JOBS: "Occupations which have generally been filled by either women or men to the exclusion of the other gender." (Council of Ontario Universities, Employment Equity For Women: A University Handbook, 1988, p. 231)

OCCUPATIONAL SEGREGATION: "The tendency to hire either women or men for particular jobs. Occupational segregation is reflected in the fact that women are presently concentrated within a narrow range of occupations -approximately 60% of female workers are clustered in 20 of 500 occupations, primarily in clerical, sales and service occupations. In contrast, male workers are more evenly distributed throughout the occupational structure". (Council of Ontario Universities, Employment Equity For Women: A University Handbook, 1988, p. 231)

PROPORTIONATE REPRESENTATION: "The representation of women within a company's workforce when it is equivalent to the distribution of qualified women within the labour force as a whole." (Council of Ontario Universities, Employment Equity For Women: A University Handbook, 1988, p. 231)

QUOTAS: "Fixed numbers set by an employer to increase the representation of women to a certain level by a certain time. Quotas are often thought to imply imposing a mandatory number of women in positions for which they may or may not qualify." (Council of Ontario Universities, Employment Equity For Women: A University Handbook, 1988, p. 231)

REASONABLE ACCOMMODATION: "Employment practices, systems, and support mechanisms designed to accommodate differences so that no individual or group experiences reduced access to employment opportunities or benefits because of their sex, race or color, or disability. A reasonable accommodation for one individual or group can benefit all employees." (Council of Ontario Universities, Employment Equity For Women: A University Handbook, 1988, p. 232)

SEX DISCRIMINATION: "Any actions which deny opportunities, privileges or

basic human rights on the basis of gender." (Council of Ontario Universities, Employment Equity For Women: A University Handbook, 1988, p. 232)

SEXUAL HARASSMENT: "Any sexually-related act, practice, comment or suggestion that interferes with an employee's job or job performance or threatens his or her economic livelihood." (Council of Ontario Universities, Employment Equity For Women: A University Handbook, 1988, p. 232)

SPECIAL MEASURES OR SPECIAL PROGRAMMES: "Measures, such as targeted recruitment or special training initiatives, aimed primarily at correcting employment imbalances stemming from past discrimination". (Council of Ontario Universities, Employment Equity For Women: A University Handbook, 1988, p. 232)

SYSTEMIC DISCRIMINATION: "Also referred to as structural, constructive or institutional discrimination. Employment policies or practices based on criteria that are neither job-related nor required for safety and efficiency. Such discrimination exists even when there is no intent to discriminate". (Council of Ontario Universities, Employment Equity For Women: A University Handbook, 1988, p. 232)

Policy Terms

CERTIFICATION: "To qualify for a federal contract, a company must be certified. The company must submit its bid with a Certificate of Commitment, promising to abide by specific criteria to implement employment equity. Certificate of Commitment forms accompany the bidding packages and require the signature of the chief executive officer." (Employment and Immigration Canada, Employment equity: The federal contractors program, 1986-1991, p. 7)

CLERICAL WORKERS: "Employees performing predominantly non-manual clerical work, regardless of difficulty; e.g., book-keeping and accounting clerks, word processing operators, clerks and typists, library clerks, telephone operators. (Council of Ontario Universities, Employment Equity For Women: A University Handbook, 1988, p. 64)

COMPLIANCE REVIEWS: "Contractors with 100 or more employees and a government contract of at least \$200,000 are eligible for a compliance review. To ensure fairness, selection of companies is random. The review is a two-part process. The first review checks for a plan of action that meets program criteria. FCP staff first audit all documentation supporting the organization's plan, a process known as a desk-audit. An on-site review follows. There are also follow-

up reviews to determine whether the workforce and employment practices have actually changed for the better." (Employment and Immigration Canada, Employment equity: The federal contractors program, 1986-1991, p. 8)

CONTRACT COMPLIANCE: "A legislated requirement which requires contractors with the federal government or other levels of government, such as municipalities, to have a working employment equity programme." (Council of Ontario Universities, Employment Equity For Women: A University Handbook, 1988, p. 229)

ENFORCEMENT: "A contractor who fails to meet its commitment may face sanctions. In the case of non-compliance, the Minister of Employment and Immigration Canada can ask the contracting department to begin enforcement proceedings. If a contractor's efforts are deficient, a compliance officer may negotiate a reasonable time for certain minimum requirements to be met. As a last measure, companies found in non-compliance can be disqualified from being awarded future federal contracts." (Employment and Immigration Canada, Employment equity: The federal contractors program, 1986-1991, p.8)

INDEPENDENT ASSESSMENTS: "After a compliance review, contractors can

question negative review findings through an independent assessment." (Employment and Immigration Canada, Employment equity: The federal contractors program, 1986-1991, p. 8)

IMPLEMENTATION: "When a contract is received, a certified company must develop a plan of action with goals and timetables to achieve the following results:

- remove barriers to the employment and promotion of designated groups; and
- increase the participation of designated group members throughout the contractor's organization." (Employment and Immigration Canada, Employment equity: The federal contractors program, 1986-1991, p. 7)

MIDDLE AND OTHER MANAGERS: "Those receiving instructions from upper level managers and administering policy and operation through subordinate managers, supervisors or department heads; e.g., assistant and associate vice presidents, directors, deans, vice deans, registrars, managers". (Council of Ontario Universities, Employment Equity For Women: A University Handbook, 1988, p. 64)

PROFESSIONALS: "University graduates or formally trained, often members of

a professional association; e.g. professors, engineers, lawyers, accountants, librarians". (Council of Ontario Universities, Employment Equity For Women: A University Handbook, 1988, p. 64)

SEMI-PROFESSIONALS AND TECHNICIANS: "Employees with knowledge equivalent to about two years of post-secondary education, often with specialized on-the-job training; e.g., technicians and technologists, draft persons, writers and editors". (Council of Ontario Universities, Employment Equity For Women: A University Handbook, 1988, p. 64)

SERVICE WORKERS: "Employees who provide personal services; e.g., chefs, security guards, childcare workers, housekeepers". (Council of Ontario Universities, Employment Equity For Women: A University Handbook, 1988, p. 64)

SUPERVISORS: "Non-management, first line co-ordinators of white collar (clerical and service) employees; e.g., supervisors of clerical staff, of food and beverage preparation". (Council of Ontario Universities, Employment Equity For Women: A University Handbook, 1988, p. 64)

UPPER LEVEL MANAGEMENT: "Employees holding the most senior positions; those responsible for policy and strategic planning, for directing and controlling the functions of the organization; e.g., presidents, provosts, vice presidents", (Council of Ontario Universities, Employment Equity For Women: A University Handbook, 1988, p. 64)

Organization Of The Study

This study is presented in five chapters. Following Chapter 1 which describes the study, its purpose, significance and research questions and provides definitions of pertinent terms used throughout is Chapter 2 which provides a review of policy and academic literature as well as research pertaining to the issue of women's employment and employment equity. Chapter 3 provides an overview of the characteristics and objectives of the research methodology. Chapter 4 provides the summaries of the Compliance Reviews and Employment Equity Studies from the eight Universities and an overall summary regarding the findings as related to the issue of employment equity. An interpretation of findings in relation to the research questions and the broader context of employment equity as well as their practical implications and areas for further research is presented in the final chapter.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE AND RESEARCH

Women's Work In The Labour Force

Women have traditionally worked in all areas of economic life but throughout history they have been excluded from positions of higher authority, clustered in lower occupational classifications and remunerated with wages lower than their male counterparts. Bradley (1989) states that women's work has routinely been seen as less valuable and important than work conducted by men, claiming that during the Victorian era men's work was an important source of social and personal identity, while women were focused on their domestic roles as homemakers and mothers. Klein (1973) claims that "before the agricultural and industrial revolution there was hardly any job which was not to be performed by women" and "No work was too hard, no labour too strenuous, to exclude them" (p. 525). Bradley indicates that industrialization and capitalism increased segregation and destroyed or limited the traditional skills of women and, in fact, that "the 1880s and 1890s were perhaps the key period in laying down the patterns of segregation and sex-typing on which the current sexual divisions in employment are founded" (p. 223). By the beginning of the twentieth century this pattern of segregation was well entrenched and seems to have persisted over the century with

very little change. Bradley concludes that men feared loss of authority and status as women left the home to work; one way to offset this threat was to ensure that segregation at work served to maintain women in an inferior position.

Klein (1973) states that during the twentieth century women's work was inferior and subordinate, compensated at a lower rate, and unskilled. It was the dreadful working conditions during the industrial revolution that increased women's concern about social problems. She asserts that while women were fighting poverty, slavery and disease they were, at the same time, clamouring for equal opportunities and higher education for women. She contends that women felt "by creating new openings for women and by furnishing evidence of their ability to work they contributed to the future improvement of women's position..." (p. 535). Additionally she argues that ideological factors such as individualist philosophy and democratic ideology were important in creating a desire for equal opportunity.

More recently, Ryan (1992) indicates that two important results of women striving for social reform was the development of confidence in their abilities to accomplish goals and the increasing awareness of their personal worth as females. For women's rights activists, education was seen as a chance for women to improve women's lives and a means by which they could change traditional views of women. Thus, according to Ryan, educated women started the women's

movement by educating society about the injustice of women's position, in the hope that their efforts would result in equitable laws and practices. As she describes it, "when the woman's movement began many people had never seriously entertained the thought that women's role might be differently arranged than it was" (p. 10).

The feminist movement of the 1960's gave rise to consciousness-raising regarding women's oppression. Education was one of the first areas which attracted the attention of academic feminists in the 1960's and 1970's, largely because educational practice tended to reinforce gender stereotypes. Crompton and Sanderson (1990), claiming that males were educated for employment whereas females were educated for domesticity, state that "In the 1940s, 1950s and early 1960s, practical subjects for boys were woodwork and metalwork; needlework and cookery were reserved for girls" (p. 54). Males were encouraged to pursue technical careers for long-term careers while females were encouraged to pursue domestic or careers in nursing and secretarial work.

Meyer (1991) states that it was during the feminist movement of the 1960's that women started to realize that their decisions and choices had consequences on a larger social scale and that the personal choices and decisions they made usually conformed to demands from outside sources. Similarly, Cohen (1995) contends that the feminist movement of the 1960's and 1970's centred on the issues

surrounding women's work, with particular attention to paid work, where differences could be measured and made apparent as convincing arguments for change. She further states that "Inequalities are often obscured by what appears to be 'natural' or is customary. Unequal work between men and women was long regarded as a normal feature of our culture" (p. 83).

Equal pay for equal work legislation became a reality in the late 1960's as a result of the feminist movement and research that uncovered vast discrepancies between the incomes of males and females. However, as Armstrong and Armstrong (1992) claim, equal pay legislation was faulty as it was open to liberal interpretations, carried insignificant penalties for noncompliance and applied only to a few organizations. Furthermore, the legislation implied that pay equity was only a slight problem that affected only a few female employees. As they describe it, "In general, the legislation suggested that the widespread practice of paying women low wages was justified and necessary, a matter of women's productivity or women's choices" (p. 297).

As a result of ineffectual legislation and the slow rate of progress in achieving equal pay for equal work, women in central Canada from all areas of the workforce joined together to form the Equal Pay Coalition in Ontario with the objective of putting pressure on government to change its legislation. As a result, the government of Ontario instituted the Pay Equity Act in 1987 which Armstrong

and Armstrong see as a major victory for the Coalition. "No longer could pay differences be dismissed as minor inequities resulting from a few employers underpaying women or from women's choices and inadequacies" (p. 299).

However much a victory the new legislation was in recognizing the right to equal pay for equal work and bringing women's issues in employment to the forefront it is still, according to Armstrong and Armstrong (1992) "unlikely to improve significantly the wages of all women in the short run, although in the long run it may alter "common sense" and enhance women's political strength as well as their consciousness" (p. 313). They declare that although the pay equity legislation implies corrections and amendments to the salaries of females, very few women will gain. There are so few men and women within the same occupational categories that meaningful comparisons and adjustments are difficult. As well, because there are many organizations that are too small to be covered under the legislation, few women in these organizations can expect an equitable work environment. They state as well that while many employers are conducting job evaluations, what these job evaluation schemes serve to do is to expand the control of the employer, make job qualifications more rigid and cause divisions and separations among employees. Finally, Armstrong and Armstrong claim that the battle for improved compensation is not likely to be realized because the overseeing of this is being removed from females and turned over to consultant

firms.

Thus, although women have obtained legal and political rights, have greater access to higher education, professional jobs and legislation is in place to prohibit discrimination in employment, they have seen little change in their situation. Occupational segregation in paid work has diminished very little.

Current Thinking On Employment Equity For Women

As Coyle (1988) suggests "It is tempting to seek a universal 'cause' for the common features of female employment patterns, yet there is no simple explanation for the differentiation of women's employment" (p. 7). Instead, a number of explanations have been put forward in the literature.

One explanation concerns the notion of the "glass ceiling" which is seen as a transparent barrier that restrains women from rising above certain occupational levels in organizations. Morrison, White, Velsor and The Center For Creative Leadership (1987) maintain that numerous women have laboured for a position at the senior classification levels "only to find a glass ceiling between them and their goal" (p. 13). They state that this glass ceiling is not a barrier based on a person's ability to succeed at higher employment levels but rather an obstruction meant to keep females from advancing based on their gender. Hunt (1993) found that men do not experience such a glass ceiling and are able to

advance much faster to top roles in organizations. Morrison et al (1987) claim that although it is hard to break through the glass ceiling, there are a number of women who have been able to accomplish it. However, because the glass ceiling exists at various occupational levels within organizations, the women who do progress through the ranks tend to fall short of the senior management title within each classification. They go on to explain that this occurs because senior executives often promote only males who are like themselves as there is a certain uneasiness about admitting women into the executive group. They contend that "There are still some people who believe that women should be paid and otherwise rewarded less than men" (p. 125). They suggest furthermore that women need more luck and ability to get ahead because of the barriers that they face claiming it is only "luck in combination with competence and support" that makes it possible to break through the glass ceiling (p. 137).

Morrison and her colleagues also claim that even as women break through the glass ceiling they face another obstacle, "a wall of tradition and stereotype that separates them from the top executive level. This wall keeps women out of the inner sanctum of senior management, the core of business leaders who wield the greatest power" (p. 14). They declare that after breaking through the glass ceiling many women realize that they will not make it to the uppermost management circles: they are in a bottleneck with no room to advance further; and any support

they previously had has now disappeared. The positions that women obtain after breaking through the glass ceiling are often those which are not considered crucial to the organization. Furthermore, they are frequently not offered the assignments or experience that would train them for even higher ranking positions. They also state that although male senior executives consider it risky to advocate a woman for a senior position, some do because their own careers would be enhanced if the female succeeded. This type of risk-taking seems rare however at the most senior levels. According to Morrison and her colleagues, it is only with help, encouragement and support from the most senior levels that women will break through both the glass ceiling and the wall of tradition and advance to senior executive positions.

Peitchinis (1989) gives another explanation for employment inequities by stating that "discrimination occurs in the selection, interviewing, and hiring process in the assignment of work responsibilities, in promotions, and in pay" (p. 12). He provides three reasons for occupational and employment discrimination: prejudice, tradition and economic advantage. As he explains it, prejudicial discrimination is of a personal nature. The employer simply does not wish to employ women; men do not wish to work with women; or customers do not like being served by women. Discrimination based on tradition is inflicted by employers who are not willing to treat females as important employees in the workforce. Cohen (1995)

states that male employees hold the idea that women's work is less productive than men's work and women do not need the same pay as males because they only supplement the family's income. Peitchinis states that the worst form of discrimination is that practiced for economic advantage when "the employer is aware of the discriminatory behaviour, knows it cannot be justified on economic grounds, but abides by the prevailing practice for economic gain" (p. 25). Practices for economic gain include paying males and females different wages for similar work; assigning responsibilities to women that are outside of their normal duties and range of pay; and failing to give women the appropriate titles that go with their positions in order to justify their lower salaries.

Peitchinis claims that women experience discrimination of two types: occupational discrimination and employment discrimination. Occupational discrimination occurs in the assignment of work duties which determines the type and extent of experience that women receive. As he describes it, "Since the nature and range of work experience is the most critical criterion for promotions to high-level positions, discrimination in the assignment of work explains the virtual absence of women from senior positions" (p. 31). Regarding employment discrimination, women may gain access to occupational programmes such as law and engineering but have great difficulty in obtaining suitable employment upon graduation. This suggests a very weak link between access to higher education

and the appropriate higher level jobs. The combined effect of both types of discrimination is the segregation of females into narrow occupational categories with negative effects on salary as well as the terms and conditions of their employment.

Another explanation for inequalities in women's employment has been given by Wetherby (1977) who states that the inequitable employment system has been based on the conviction that women are suited only for a narrow set of occupations. Peitchinis (1989) confirms this idea by stating that "The presence of some women in high-level activities is commonly viewed as an aberration, a chance occurrence, a politically motivated token, nepotism, a favour" (p. 10).

Related to this is the idea that there are very few qualified women and even fewer who are even interested in applying for senior level positions. Leck and Brunet (1994) found that employers often give this as a main reason for the underrepresentation of females in male dominated occupations. Hunt (1993) counters this argument by suggesting that "Although there appear to be only minor differences in the educational qualifications, attitudes, skills, and technical competencies that men and women bring to a given occupation, males appear to be advantaged in terms of pay, power and prestige" (pp. 444-445).

According to Forrest (1993), another explanation for gender inequities in the work force is the lack of information about women's work. She indicates that

although authors mention that more women are entering the workforce, they fail to mention the discriminatory practices that affect women. Furthermore, she contends that "The invisibility of women is ensured, as well, when researchers collect data on both sexes but fail to investigate or report their findings as they pertain to women" (p. 413). Reporting in such a fashion serves to reinforce the notion that women play an unimportant role in the workforce and legitimizes the inequitable practices.

The Current Policy Situation

Equity, in the broad sense, refers to treatment that is fair and just. Employment equity is considered to be a commitment on the part of employers to revise where necessary those practices that unfairly impede employment opportunities. It is an approach that makes available to everyone, on the basis of ability, the widest of options.

In 1986, the Employment Equity Act was proclaimed in Canada. The Act requires employers to implement programs ensuring that members of four designated groups: women, aboriginal peoples, people with disabilities and visible minorities achieve equitable representation and participation in the work force. Employees are required to report these results annually. Under the Act, strategies are to be designed to correct the underrepresentation of four designated groups.

Employers must implement special measures in an effort to improve the employment opportunities of designated group members. They are also required to submit annual Compliance Review reports that provide numerical data on the results of their efforts to increase the representation of designated group members within their work forces. Also, because measurements of progress on equity cannot be based solely on numerical change, employers are now being asked to provide a report of special corporate initiatives undertaken to bring about changes which remedy underrepresentation.

The Canadian Human Rights Act, Section 15(1), explicitly permits the implementation of special programs that will prevent or reduce disadvantages to designated minority groups or remedy the effects of past discrimination against disadvantaged groups. Section 41(2) of the Act allows a Canadian Human Rights tribunal to order a special program where such action is deemed necessary to prevent discriminatory practices from occurring in the future. As of April 1985, under Section 15(2) of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, special programs or affirmative action programs are considered legal. Since 1984, recent legislative developments at the federal, provincial, and municipal levels have put increasing pressure on both private and public sector organizations to adopt employment equity programs.

At the Federal level, the Employment Equity Act applies to Crown

corporations and federally-regulated employers with 100 or more employees. A document entitled Employment Equity: A Guide for Employers (1986), states that this Act requires organizations "to report annually according to industrial sector, geographic location and employment status on the representation of members of designated groups by occupational group and salary range and to provide information on those hired, promoted or terminated" (p. 7). Employers are also required to prepare an annual employment equity plan with goals and timetables. Progress toward these goals is expected to be achieved through the elimination of job barriers, instituting positive policies and practices, and making reasonable accommodation to ensure a representative workforce.

According to the Employment Equity: The Federal Contractors Program (1986-1991), two mandatory employment equity programs, namely the Legislated Employment Equity Program and the Federal Contractors Program, were introduced in 1986 by the Government of Canada. Both programs operate differently, but share the same objective of securing fair representation of four designated groups at all levels throughout the Canadian labour market. The Legislated Employment Equity Program established under the 1986 Employment Equity Act covers employers under federal jurisdiction. Under this program, the Employment Equity Branch for Employment and Immigration Canada "monitors, analyzes and publicizes the status of the federally regulated workforce" and the

"results are analyzed in an annual report to Parliament" (p. 5). The Federal Contractors Program established by Cabinet policy applies to organizations that do business with the federal government but are not necessarily under federal jurisdiction. Government contractors and employers covered under this program must, as a condition of their bid, indicate their commitment to employment equity; the awarding of a contract is contingent upon the planning and the implementation of employment equity programs. Employers submitting annual reports as required of the Federal Contractor's Program and the Employment Equity Act must do so according to six standard forms and education is not a requirement in any of these forms. The 1990 Annual Report summarizes the forms and the information that they must contain as follows:

- Form 1 identification of employer, summary statistics and the certification of accuracy;
- Form 2 distribution of all employees by designated group, occupational category and salary quartiles;
- Form 3 distribution of all employees by designated group and salary range;
- Form 4 employees hired, categorized by designated group;
- Form 5 employees promoted, categorized by designated group; and

Form 6 employees terminated, categorized by designated group. (p. A-1)

Contractors covered under the Federal Contractors Program are subject to compliance reviews and a failure to indicate a commitment to employment equity could mean that a supplier will no longer be eligible to receive federal government contracts. Employers falling under federal regulations who fail to report a workforce profile may be subject not only to sanctions but to fines as well.

In conjunction with this legislation, the federal government announced a contract compliance policy requiring that federal government contractors (with 100 or more employees bidding on contracts of \$200,000 or more) implement employment equity. It is estimated that there are some 900 organizations across Canada subject to the Federal Contractors Program. In a News Release (April 1987), it was declared that as of April 1987, over 500 of these 900 organizations had voluntarily signed certificates of commitment to employment equity. Together, the employment equity legislation and the contract compliance program affects in excess of one million employees.

Both the Employment Equity Act and the Federal Contractors Program represent an important step in working toward a representative work force in Canada. According to the Annual Report: Employment Equity Act (1992), "Fairness and social justice are undoubtedly key tenets of the Employment Equity

Act and the Federal Contractors Program". The Report goes on to say, "A representative work force that makes full use of available skills, talents and abilities, benefits not only designated groups but contributes to the effective functioning of the economy" (p. 1). Thus, both the Employment Equity Act and the Federal Contractors Program are important not only for eliminating barriers to employment opportunities but also for providing employers with a flexible approach for responding to changes in the business world and a valuable tool for business planning.

The 1992 Annual Report, Employment Equity Act, indicated that representation of women in the workforce increased from 43.74% in 1990 to 44.11% in 1991 and the 1993 Annual Report, Employment Equity Act, indicates that this figure increased to 44.68% for 1992. Although the representation of women increased in 1991, the 1992 Report, however, is quick to point out that, in general, women in the Canadian Labour Force are disadvantaged in a number of ways claiming that "In comparison to men, women have higher unemployment rates, lower participation rates, and are concentrated in lower paying jobs regardless of their level of education" (p. 27).

The 1992 Annual Report indicates that, in 1991, in nine of the twelve occupational groups the representation of women increased slightly while small decreases were seen in the Clerical Workers, Service Workers and other Manual

Workers occupational groups. However, as Table 1 indicates, women in 1991 were concentrated mostly in the Clerical Workers occupations.

TABLE 1

**FULL-TIME OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTIONS FOR MEN AND
WOMEN IN THE WORK FORCE UNDER THE ACT (1991)**

Occupational Group	%Women	%Men
Upper-level managers	.2	1.5
Middle and other managers	14.9	15.6
Professionals	6.6	6.4
Semi-professional and technicians	2.4	7.6
Supervisors	5.2	2.0
Foremen/women	.2	4.1
Clerical workers	60.9	14.5
Sales workers	2.9	2.0
Service workers	3.9	2.0
Skilled crafts and trades workers	.6	18.5
Semi-skilled manual workers	.9	17.6
Other manual workers	.8	7.5

Adapted from the 1992 Annual Report: Employment Equity Act (p.26).

This continuing occupational segregation has three distinct characteristics: women are overrepresented in Clerical Workers classifications, underrepresented in non-traditional occupations, and underrepresented in senior level classifications. The 1993 Annual Report states that, although the representation of women increased in 1992, women remain "highly segregated in the workforce", and were "employed in subordinate, lower-paying positions - often clerical - that had little chance for advancement" (p. 26).

Calzavara (1983) says that from 1961 - 1983 the labor force participation rate for women in Canada increased at approximately 43% compared to over 77% for men. The 1990 Annual report indicates that from 1983 - 1986 the labor force participation rate for women in Canada increased to over 55%. These figures are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2

**LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES FOR MEN AND
WOMEN IN CANADA, SELECTED YEARS, 1901-1986**

YEAR	(%)MEN	(%)WOMEN
1901-1921	89.6	18.3
1931-1951	85.6	23.0
1961-1983	77.7	43.0
1983-1986	77.5	55.9

Adapted from Liviana Calzavara (1983) in Judge Rosalie Silberman Abella Research Studies of the Commission on Equality in Employment (1985), p. 517 and the 1990 Annual Report, Employment Equity Act, p.27.

Table 3 indicates, that in 1986 regardless of their increased participation, women's unemployment rates were higher than that of men at over 44%. The 1990 Annual Report indicates that despite continuing growth increases women's participation in the labor force continues to remain lower than that of men.

TABLE 3
UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY SEX, 1966 - 1986

YEAR	(%)WOMEN	(%)MEN	% OF UNEMPLOYED WOMEN
1966-1968	3.8	3.9	31.6
1969-1971	5.7	5.3	35.5
1972-1974	6.7	5.1	41.4
1975-1977	8.6	6.6	43.8
1978-1980	8.9	7.0	45.2
1981-1986	11.2	9.6	44.0

Adapted from Liviana Calzavara (1983) in Judge Rosalie Silberman Abella, Research Studies Of The Commission On Equality In Employment (1985), (p. 519) and the 1990 Annual Report, Employment Equity Act, p. 27.

The 1992 Annual Report, Employment Equity Act states that in 1991 the participation rate of women in the workforce increased to 44.11% however, occupational segregation continues to exist. Even with a university education women were three times as likely than men to work in clerical occupations with little chance for advancement. Furthermore, as found in Table 4, the situation has changed little, particularly as it pertains to salary levels.

TABLE 4

**FULL-TIME SALARY DISTRIBUTIONS FOR MEN AND WOMEN
IN THE WORK FORCE UNDER THE ACT (1992)**

Salary Range	%Women	%Men
Under \$10,000	.3	.9
\$10,000 - \$14,999	.6	.6
\$15,000 - \$17,499	1.0	.4
\$17,500 - \$19,999	3.5	1.0
\$20,000 - \$22,499	9.3	1.7
\$22,500 - \$24,999	10.8	2.2
\$25,000 - \$27,499	10.2	2.8
\$27,500 - \$29,999	9.5	3.5
\$30,000 - \$34,999	23.4	20.0
\$35,000 - \$39,999	13.6	15.1
\$40,000 - \$49,999	9.5	24.6
\$50,000 - \$69,999	6.9	19.3
\$70,000 +	1.1	7.3

Adapted from the 1993 Annual Report: Employment Equity Act (p.27).

The 1990 Annual Report indicates that in 1986 "women with a university degree were paid over 29.2% less than men in Clerical Workers occupations; more than 50.7% less than men in Service Workers occupations; 41.8% less than men in Professional occupations" (p. 27). The wage gap was clearly evident in the Upper-Level Managers category where men were paid over 45% more than women. In 1991 full-time salary for women was \$30,418 or 72.70% of the average full-time salary for men, a figure that is less than 1% higher than in 1990. The average earnings of men in 1992 were over 40% higher than those of women. In 1992, the estimated full-time salary for women was \$33,175, or 73.67% of men's average salary, a slight increase of .97% from 1991.

Thus as Armstrong and Armstrong (1994) suggest, the employment situation of women has not changed significantly. Many women continue to be separated from men in that they remain overrepresented in the less skilled and lower paying jobs. Their data indicates that for all workers in 1990, women were paid just 60 percent of what men earned and that "Sex-specific pay accompanies occupational segregation and, to a lesser extent, industrial segregation" (pp. 41-44). Furthermore, the connection between occupational segregation and wages is still more obvious when one considers that men occupy the ten highest paid occupations, and that when women do occupy the higher paid occupations they still earn less than men. The lowest wage for males in the ten highest paid

occupations is \$66,087 whereas the lowest wage for women in these categories is \$31,026. Armstrong and Armstrong also show that, although more women than men are earning undergraduate university degrees, the wage difference between men and women with university education is increasing rather than decreasing; women with degrees are more apt than males to be unemployed or to be underemployed.

Thus, although many organizations covered by the Federal Contractor's Program have responded to Government pressure by adopting employment equity policies, the situation for women has not significantly improved. In an attempt to explain the failure of equity programs, Jain and Hackett (1992) provide data which suggest that this is because employers are motivated more by government pressure than by a true desire to achieve equity. In their survey, over 50% of employers implemented employment equity in order to improve public relations; 96% claimed their prime motivation was government pressure.

In another explanation, Cohen (1995) asserts that pay equity and the notion of a balanced workforce are still opposed by employers in Canada since many employers agree with the concept but wish to protect their right to hire whom they please. Finally, it appears that equal pay legislation can serve to reinforce segregation instead of equalizing pay as described by Armstrong and Armstrong (1994):

The segregation of the labour force is one reason why legislation that required equal pay for equal work had little impact. Rather than raising women's wages to match those of their male counterparts, many employers simply hired women only and paid them all the same low rate. In addition this legislation was largely irrelevant for the many women working in jobs where virtually no men work and meant women would have to move into male-dominated jobs to get good pay. (p. 45)

The employment status of women has undergone many changes within the past century. Smaller families, urbanization, labor-saving devices, and societal change in attitudes toward women workers in general have given women the time and the impetus to get out of the home. Though more of today's women are working outside the home, they are declining proportionately in positions of prominence. The only variable that can fully explain this discrepancy appears to be gender. Despite a reasonable distribution of mental and physical equality between the sexes, traces of past traditions still apparently permeate current thinking and practices. It seems that women continue to fall by the wayside although they have obtained legal and political rights, higher education and access to many professional occupation areas. Sex-typing and segregation in paid work have diminished very little.

Women Employed In Universities

According to the Employment Equity For Women: A University Handbook (1988), universities are distinct institutions consisting of two overlapping, interacting environments: research/teaching/students, and the staff. The Handbook states that students, staff and faculty are all associated with each other in some way. Students must deal with both faculty and staff, staff with faculty and students, and faculty with students and staff. In some instances "students are employed by the university on a part-time basis; many academics have administrative and supervisory duties; support staff may be currently enrolled in university courses or be past graduates of the institution" (p. 145). Experiences of students, faculty and staff in any one section of the institution can have an impact on other areas and affect the environment and provide the climate in which daily business is conducted. This climate has significant bearing on attitudes and competency and is, of course, a basic concern of employment equity programs.

Putting it in strong language, Symons and Page (1984) note that "The under-utilization of the talents of the educated female population, and the discrimination against women in universities, whether practised consciously or unconsciously, is a national disgrace" (p. 201). Similarly, Dagg and Thompson (1988) suggest that the most apparent indicators of sexism occurring in Canadian universities are sexual harassment and violence. They also say that "Although

many women do not become victims of these crimes during their university careers, all university women are subject both to the threat of sex-specific physical violence and to the more subtle sexism that creates an uncomfortable ambience" (p. 94). They also insist that sexist behaviour is still widespread, although it is not as conspicuous as it used to be and that sexual harassment is as rampant in universities as it is elsewhere but remains an under-reported problem. They state as well that although violence against women across Canada is significant, universities seldom see the safety of women as a priority.

In the Fall of 1986, the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, (AUCC) stated that "As educational institutions, universities have a special responsibility to play a formative and exemplary role in shaping a society that enables women to pursue, as freely as men can, careers appropriate to their talents and inclinations" (CAUT, 1987). However, their employment policies do not necessarily reflect this goal (Employment Equity For Women: A University Handbook, (1988). In a speech to the Conference of Ontario Universities' Status of Women Officers in 1985, Lorne Marsden stated that universities are "the descendants of the monastery, the cloister and the club" and this history has served to maintain women's traditional role within the institution (p. 14). The well-known impressions are those of the female secretary and the male professor. University hierarchies are complex and decentralized, with a traditions indicating

that changes achieved in one section of university life may not necessarily extend over to other areas. Although universities have academic units and programmes that specifically study women's issues, it appears for the most part, that in their employment practices, universities have been inclined to be detached.

According to Simeone (1987) women students and women professors have trouble becoming part of the male academic network in university settings. What this means is that women:

have fewer opportunities to work collaboratively on research projects. They are less likely to be informed of the latest developments in their fields and to benefit from informal discussion of their ideas and their work. They are less likely to receive career advice and assistance, and have to "learn the ropes" the hard way. They have fewer political allies to lobby for them or their ideas. They have less influence within their departments and have a harder time being heard by their colleagues. Additionally, women are deprived of a sense of community in their work environment and may feel isolated and unsupported. Obviously, enduring even a few of these hardships puts women at a disadvantage. (p.90)

Armstrong and Armstrong (1993) found that although there are more women employed in universities with teaching positions, they have remained at

the lower ranks. As they put it, being employed in professional occupations does not ensure that women will encounter equitable treatment and avoid occupational barriers and segregation. Quoting Rich (1979), Dagg and Thompson (1988) state that "What we have at present is a man-centered university, a breeding ground not of humanism, but of masculine privilege" (p. 1). They further state that any female who manages to emerge from this system and take on senior positions are exceptions to the rule, women have made it to these positions only because the system has to have some exceptions in order to justify and maintain itself. This view is further supported by the Employment Equity For Women: A University Handbook (1988) which states that the employment of women in universities demonstrates the same pattern as that of the labour force in general where women are employed mostly in clerical and support positions. Also, there are more non-academic than academic staff. Women form the largest majority of non-academic staff, mostly in the lower-level, lower-paid positions. The current flood of women into all parts of the paid labour force, and the even greater influx of women into the formerly male dominated fields of business, law and medicine, demonstrates that women have the competence and the expertise to work in all occupations. However, this document also states that, "Neither the upper levels of academic and non-academic administration nor the rate of appointment of women to the faculty of professional schools reflects the increased percentages of women in the work

force and in non-traditional and professional fields of study" (p. 6).

Looker's (1993) study confirms these views as she states that there has been much attention paid to the employment situation of academic staff at universities with little attention paid to the non-academic staff. In order to get a clear and precise picture of the employment situation of women as it currently exists it is necessary to review the position of all employees. Looker, in reviewing gender issues for academic and non-academic staff in a small Canadian university, found that overall, women are disadvantaged in terms of salary, occupational category, benefits and working conditions. The study found, however, that non-academic women are doubly disadvantaged than female academics as they "tend to be in the lower paid, more restricted secretarial-clerical positions" and that "Regardless of the employee group in which they find themselves, they are at the low end of the wage and benefit continuum" (p. 41).

Dean and Clifton (1994), in a study of models used to produce pay equity reports at five Canadian universities, state that "Our review suggests that many of the models are probably misspecified" and that "We conclude with a call for universities to collect the information which is required to complete these studies expeditiously and accurately" (p. 87). They found that for most of the universities examined there was a failure to examine all the appropriate variables required to determine gender discrimination. They state that "Perhaps the single most

important recommendation to universities is to begin defining the relevant variables, measuring the variables properly, collecting the information, and estimating models that will give reasonable estimates of gender discrimination" (p. 112). They assert that it is ironic that these institutions have not observed such methods as universities are specifically interested in sound empirical research.

Universities would seem, by their current employment practices, to be perpetuating occupational inequities. Now that most universities are covered by Employment Equity legislation, it is important to recognize the customs and habits practiced in Canadian universities and society at large regarding women's employment.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The major focus of this study is the employment situation of women in Canadian universities. This chapter provides a description of data collection and analysis. The data collection began with the identification of a stratified random sample of eight universities, two each from Atlantic Canada, Quebec, Ontario and Western Canada. Officials from each university were contacted and asked to provide their employment equity documentation and Compliance Reviews. The documents were then searched for relevant information about employees on salary, occupation, age, years of service and education. Where possible, missing information was obtained by contacting the Employment Equity Officers at the various universities via telephone or fax. The information was then analyzed by sex and rank.

Sampling

Borg and Gall (1989) state that random sampling techniques produce research data which can be generalized to larger populations and which enables the researcher to make certain inferences. Sampling is a highly sophisticated technique; according to Gay (1987), "Sampling is the process of selecting a

number of individuals for a study in such a way that the individuals represent the larger group from which they were selected" (p. 101). In the simple random sample, Gay states that the sampling occurs in such a manner that all the individuals in the population have an equal chance of being selected for the sample.

While various techniques can be used to derive a random sample; a stratified sample was used in this study. Keeves (1988) indicates that stratification techniques are often used for educational survey research as it is low in cost but high in precision. Borg and Gall (1989) contend that a stratified sample assures that "certain subgroups in the population will be represented in the sample in proportion to their numbers in the population itself" (p. 224). They state that stratified samples are most suitable in studies where the research problem requires comparisons between subgroups as this form of sampling assures that the sample will be representative of the population in terms of the critical factors that have been used as a basis for stratification. Thus, stratified sampling permits subgroup analysis. Keeves (1988) states that stratification may be used in research for reasons other than sampling accuracy and that some typical variables used to stratify populations in research may include location, type, size, and sex of subjects. In determining the selection of universities for the purposes of this study stratified sampling procedures were employed. Eight universities were randomly

and equally chosen from Atlantic, Quebec, Ontario and Western Canada (i.e. two from each geographic location). In choosing the eight universities a stratified random sampling method was applied in order to ensure generalizability of the findings within the limitations of document comparability outlined earlier. The names of all the universities in Canada, (names obtained from the Directory of the Association of Registrars of the Universities and Colleges of Canada, October 1993), were broken into the four categories of Atlantic, Quebec, Ontario and Western (see Appendix A). The names of the universities from each geographic region were placed in a container and two universities were randomly chosen from each of the four geographic regions. Table 5 provides information about each of the sampled universities i.e., the number of students, academic and administrative staff, and the current status of employment equity policies and officers.

**TABLE 5
SUMMARY OF THE UNIVERSITIES**

	DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY	UNIV OF NEW BRUNSWICK	CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY	MCGILL UNIVERSITY	UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA	UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO	UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA	UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
*# OF STUDENTS	10,762	11,953	25,844	27,653	25,014	53,969	28,542	22,190
# OF ACADEMIC STAFF	(1993) MALE: 436 (69.2%) FEMALE: 194 (30.8%)	(1993) MALE: 464 (79.5%) FEMALE: 120 (20.5%)	(1990) MALE: 413 (81.6%) FEMALE: 93 (18.4%)	(1989) MALE: 1128 (83.1%) FEMALE: 230 (16.9%)	(1988) MALE: 906 (78%) FEMALE: 255 (22%)	(1992) MALE: 603 (69.2%) FEMALE: 268 (30.8%)	(1989/90) MALE: 1301 (82.6%) FEMALE: 274 (17.4%)	(1991) MALE: 1064 (78.9%) FEMALE: 285 (21.1%)
# OF ADMN STAFF	(1993) MALE: 302 (32.4%) FEMALE: 630 (67.6%)	(1993) MALE: 353 (46.5%) FEMALE: 406 (53.5%)	(1990) MALE: 454 (42.0%) FEMALE: 626 (58.0%)	(1989) MALE: 1116 (43.7%) FEMALE: 1435 (56.3%)	(1988) MALE: 553 (40.7%) FEMALE: 807 (59.3%)	(1992) MALE: 1476 (48.6%) FEMALE: 1560 (51.4%)	(1989/90) ***MALE: 2128 (50.2%) ***FEMALE: 2112 (49.8%)	(1991) MALE: 742 (37.2%) FEMALE: 1254 (62.8%)
EMPLOYMENT EQUITY POLICY	YES (1989)	YES (1991)	YES (1986)	YES (1987)	YES (1987)	YES (1986)	YES (1990)	YES (1989)
EMPLOYMENT EQUITY OFFICER	YES (1990) (FULL- TIME)	** YES (1988)	YES(1987) (FULL- TIME)	YES(1989) (FULL- TIME)	YES(1986) (FULL- TIME)	YES	YES(1991) (FULL-TIME)	YES(1988) (FULL TIME)

* This information has been obtained from the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, 1992-94 Directory of Canadian Universities, 29th Edition.

** In May of 1992, the Employment Equity Officer at the University of New Brunswick relocated to another province and this position became vacant. Due to budgetary restraints, the position was changed from full-time to part-time.

*** The Administrative staff data for the University of Alberta is based on those employees who completed and returned the Employment Equity Questionnaire and not the base employee population of the university.

Document Analysis

Practically any object or written record is a possible source of information about the past. LeCompte and Preissle (1993) refer to the data collected and recorded by persons as artifacts and claim that, since artifacts are historical collections of society's beliefs and behaviours, they yield data permitting research inquiry. They state that artifacts "provide resources for longitudinal comparisons: reexamining them long after they were collected sheds new light on old observations and sometimes generates entirely new lines of inquiry" (p. 216). Artifacts are good sources for baseline, process, and values data. The authors also suggest that artifact collection and examination involves locating the information, identifying it (by source and use, for example), analyzing and evaluating it. It is the examination and analysis of artifacts that permits interpretation and evaluation. Borg and Gall (1989) use the term "historical documents" and Merriam (1988) uses the term "documents" to describe physical evidence or traces as data sources. Merriam states that in "judging the value of a data source, one can ask whether it contains information or insights relevant to the research question and whether it can be acquired in a reasonably practical yet systematic manner" (p. 105). In her view, if the data source can be judged, in this way, to be relevant and obtainable, then there is no reason not to use the documents as a source of information. Borg and Gall (1989) claim that an important decision involves a

judgement of whether the materials were prepared intentionally or unintentionally. Intentional documents which are prepared as part of a historical record, as was the case in this study, are important for indicating authenticity of the materials. Borg and Gall further state that "The ultimate value of a historical study is determined in large part by the researcher's ability to evaluate the worth and meaning of historical sources that come to light in the process of doing the study" (p. 821). In this view, the evaluation of historical documents is known as historical criticism which includes an external criticism (the evaluation of the document source), and an internal criticism (the evaluation of the information within the source). External criticism questions the nature of the document source in terms of its genuineness, author, and where, when and why it originated. The documents collected for this study can be considered genuine by this criteria: the Compliance Reviews and/or Equity Reports obtained from the universities are clearly dated and contain the names of the author. Most also have a cover letter signed by the Employment Equity Officer for the university. Internal criticism entails evaluating the documents for accuracy and value of the information contained within the source. In evaluating the information presented in the document, the researcher must determine if the information presented is authentic. For this study, the information provided came from reports issued from the universities studied. However, the statements made and data presented within them was obtained from

questionnaires and personnel records, and a complete search through employee records and data bases was not permitted due to the confidentiality of information. Internal criticism is also directed at evaluating the competency of the author of the document. Since the documents were prepared by university Employment Equity Officers and Employment Equity Committees, the authors can be considered competent and credible.

Validity and reliability represent the standards upon which research is judged. According to McCall (1990), reliability is defined as "The relative extent to which the measurement procedures assign the same value to a characteristic of an individual each time that it is measured under essentially the same circumstances" (p. 442). LeCompte and Preissle (1993) contend that reliability allows for replication in that any researcher can use identical methods and obtain the same results as those from an earlier analysis. McCall defines validity as "The extent to which the measurement procedures accurately reflect the variable being measured" (p. 445). Keeves (1988) contends that the reliability of the test is what determines "how faithfully that universe corresponds to the latent attribute in which one is interested" and that the validity of the test is what determines "how accurately the test sample represents the broader universe of responses from which it is drawn" (p. 330). Collectively, reliability and validity are spoken of as the generalizability of the results and the range of inferences permitted.

Research is considered reliable if it measures consistently. Since the Compliance Review Reports must follow a set pattern and standard format, reliability across universities is therefore ensured. The Federal Contractors' Program office monitors how well employers are carrying out their responsibilities to develop and act on an employment equity plan. This office acts on the key parts of the monitoring and compliance process, such as certification, implementation, compliance reviews, appeals and enforcement through sanctions. As well, this office audits all documentation supporting the organization's plan for compliance to implement employment equity. After the employer has submitted the Compliance Review Report an on-site review is conducted by the office of the Federal Contractors Program with follow up reviews to determine whether the workforce and employment practices have actually improved. All universities, as Federal Contractors, are regulated under the Federal Contractors Program and failure to comply with the requirements for implementing employment equity could result in severe sanctions. Employment Equity Studies undertaken by the various universities selected for this study are required to follow a set pattern since they were designed as the preliminary documentation for Compliance Reviews. Thus, it seems safe to assume that as the various reports were conducted in a manner satisfactory to meet the conditions set forth under the Federal Regulations, the data appears to be reliable.

Research is considered valid if it measures what it is intended to measure. Borg and Gall (1989) define construct validity as "the extent to which a particular test can be shown to measure a hypothetical construct" (p. 255). Gay (1987) declares that construct validation takes place when a researcher believes that the chosen test instrument reflects a particular construct, to which are attached certain meanings. Construct validity is most appropriate for most questions in social research as Keeves (1990) found that "it not only has generalized applicability for assessing validity of social science measures, but it can also be used to differentiate between theoretically relevant and theoretically meaningless empirical factors" (p. 329).

The documents used in this study may be considered both reliable and valid because they were prepared by university officials, according to the measurement criteria established by legislation, for submission to personnel in the Federal government. For the purpose of this research, however, this can only be assumed as the actual data used to prepare the documents is not available and information regarding the background and training of the researchers of these documents is not readily known. Nevertheless, the documents contain valid aggregate measures of employment categories, gender, age, salary, years of service, rank and education.

In conducting this study, a variety of documentation was made available, including workplace profiles, compliance review reports, diagnostic reports,

workforce analyses, employment equity action plans and annual reports. Table 6 provides a record of the documentation collected from each university and an outline of the type of information obtained from each document; it also indicates where phone or fax follow-up was required.

TABLE 6
DATA SOURCES

Atlantic

DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY					
	SALARY	OCCUPATION	AGE	YEARS OF SERVICE	EDUCATION
An Analysis of Open Question Responses to the Dalhousie Workforce Profile	X	X			
Employment Equity Compliance Review Report					
FAX		X			
PHONE	X		X	X	

UNIVERSITY OF NEW BRUNSWICK					
	SALARY	OCCUPATION	AGE	YEARS OF SERVICE	EDUCATION
Compliance Review Reports, 1991 and 1993	X	X			
PHONE	X		X	X	

Quebec

CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY					
	SALARY	OCCUPATION	AGE	YEARS OF SERVICE	EDUCATION
Diagnostic Reports, 1989 and 1993	X	X	X	X	

MCGILL UNIVERSITY					
	SALARY	OCCUPATION	AGE	YEARS OF SERVICE	EDUCATION
Diagnostic Report, 1991	X	X	X	X	X

TABLE 6
DATA SOURCES

Ontario

UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA					
	SALARY	OCCUPATION	AGE	YEARS OF SERVICE	EDUCATION
Workforce Analysis, 1987	X	X	X	X	X

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO					
	SALARY	OCCUPATION	AGE	YEARS OF SERVICE	EDUCATION
Annual Report, 1975-1993	X	X			
PHONE	X				

Western

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA					
	SALARY	OCCUPATION	AGE	YEARS OF SERVICE	EDUCATION
Employment Equity Plan, 1994	X	X			
PHONE			X	X	

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY					
	SALARY	OCCUPATION	AGE	YEARS OF SERVICE	EDUCATION
Compliance Review Report, 1993	X	X			
Annual Report, 1990-1991	X	X			
FAX	X				

Following the collection, identification and validation of the documentation, the information obtained from each university was summarized in terms of its commitment to implement employment equity and the means by which they determined the representativeness of their workforce. A brief description of the findings from each document are summarized by university and geographic region. The findings were then analyzed by sex and rank according to the variables of salary, occupation, age, years of service and education, (where provided)¹, and is presented in both written and table form. These findings are outlined in Chapter 4.

¹Although most universities did not provide information relating to education levels, Dalhousie, McGill and the University of Ottawa provided some of this data.

CHAPTER 4**FINDINGS****Atlantic****Dalhousie University - Documents Reviewed:**

- 1. An Analysis Of Open Question Responses To The Dalhousie Workforce Profile, January 13, 1993 (WP)²**
- 2. Employment Equity Compliance Review Report, June 4, 1992 (CRR)³**

Dalhousie University committed itself to implementing an employment equity program on April 27, 1987 by signing a Federal Contractors Program certificate. The Advisor on Women and the Advisor on Visible Minorities, First Nations People and Persons with Disabilities were both hired on one year contracts. In January 1990 and July 1990 respectively, the Advisor on Womens' position was made permanent and an Employment Equity Officer was appointed "to assist all faculties and administrative units to plan and implement programs of

²Information provided by this document is distinguished by (WP, p.#). Data and information reference for this document, related to the variables, is presented at the end of each variable section and is also indicated by (WP, p.#).

³Information provided by this document is distinguished by (CRR, p.#). Data and information reference for this document, related to the variables, is presented at the end of each variable section and is also indicated by (CRR, p.#).

employment equity" (CRR, p. 4). The President established the Committee on Employment Equity through Affirmative Action in January, 1988. As a result of the work conducted by this Committee a policy statement was developed and approved in 1989. In order to comply with the provisions of the Federal Contractors Program, in 1991 an employment equity census was carried out by way of a questionnaire distributed to all employees aimed at evaluating and obtaining attitudes about the workforce (WP, p. 1). It was stated that "Collection of this information was deemed essential to ensure that employment equity policy at Dalhousie incorporated effective and proactive solutions to the problems facing the disadvantaged members of the university workforce" (WP, pp. 1-2). The questionnaire was made up of open-ended questions which permitted respondents to recount any discriminatory incidents that they had experienced at Dalhousie as a result of their being members of one of the designated groups. From the responses received it became apparent that there were five specific categories of concerns. These categories were "(i) pay equity issues; (ii) discrimination against certain employee groups arising from policies that unintentionally disadvantage those groups; (iii) racial/sexual discrimination; (iv) dissatisfaction with the evaluation system for academic employees at Dalhousie; and (v) concerns about the job evaluation system for staff employees at Dalhousie" (WP, p. 2). The documentation also indicated the following:

(a) Salary:

1. Concerns were expressed that gender bias affects salary determination and about the undervaluing of women's education and work experience.
2. Criticisms were made that women have to work longer and harder to obtain the same kinds of occupational rewards given to men and that salary negotiations for women were continually obstructed by the sexist viewpoints of male decision makers (WP, p. 2).

A telephone call to the Personnel Department at Dalhousie University indicated that the average salary for males is \$56,350.00 and \$36,951.00 for females.

(b) Occupational Category:

1. Employees who were members of the designated groups indicated frustration with an institution they perceived as encouraging and supporting the majority group.
2. Some women "found the workplace climate at the university unfriendly in some cases; some women administrators felt they were being characterised as "mean" by male colleagues when they made tough decisions"; and women respondents "often indicated a belief that male colleagues felt threatened by women competing for the same postings and promotions".
3. Some women stated they were being forced to remain at the lower

levels of the administrative category, while men moved up the ranks at a fast pace despite equivalent education and experience. Also expressed was a concern that women were being allocated into support roles and men into professional positions.

4. Regarding racial/sexual discrimination, respondents within all designated groups indicated exposure to discrimination including uncomfortable and demeaning incidents of sexual harassment from superiors, colleagues and students. Threats of violence and rape were encountered by several female respondents and women recounted feelings of helplessness, fear and distrust.
5. Experiences with gender-based discrimination were expressed by many women who indicated they believed males made higher salaries and had favourable workloads while females were given more lowly tasks.
6. Females expressed "concern about the lack of female representation in the upper levels of the university administration"; and frustration that "inappropriate questions were asked of them during job interviews".
7. Academic women are underrepresented at the higher classification levels, as low as 8.5% in the Full Professor category, and overrepresented in the lower classification levels, as high as 76.9% in the Librarian category.

8. Administrative women are underrepresented in the higher classification levels, as low as 7.7% in the Upper Level Management category, and overrepresented in the lower classification levels, as high as 92% in the Clerk category (WP, pp. 2-3).

(c) Age:

There was no information in the documentation regarding employee age. However, a telephone call to the Personnel Department at Dalhousie University revealed that the average age for males is 45.4 years and 40.5 years for females.

(d) Years of Service:

Although data on years of service was not available in the documentation, a telephone call to the Personnel Department at Dalhousie University indicated that the average years of service for males is 12.8 years and 8.9 years for females.

(e) Education:

1. Regarding the evaluation system for academic staff it was felt that the "Y" value system is biased against women and favoured males. The "Y" value system represents the total number of years of work experience, plus other relevant work experience, plus the value of a PhD or equivalent. Women respondents expressed concern "that the components of the "Y" value were being used to undervalue the work experience that they were bringing into the university"; work and other related experience is not

considered as worthy as the number of teaching years and the procurement of a PhD. It was the opinion of the female respondents that the experiences females had acquired were undervalued while the experiences of the males were overvalued.

2. The evaluation system for classifying employees was criticized by Administrative Staff, particularly by those within the clerical/technical designation. Women respondents declared "that they had suffered most from the university's wage freeze because of the fact that they were already in a lower pay category" and further stated that they felt they were being routed into the clerical category regardless of education and expertise (WP, p. 4).

Dalhousie University - Summary:

To summarize, Dalhousie University has indicated its commitment to employment equity by creating employment equity committees, hiring employment equity personnel, creating an employment equity statement, and conducting a compliance review. However, information from the documentation suggests that Dalhousie University has not established the "effective and proactive solutions to the problems facing the disadvantaged members of the university workforce" as indicated as a goal in its Workforce Profile. Females are overrepresented in lower

employment categories and underrepresented in higher employment categories. As well, males are remunerated significantly higher than females although there are no significant differences in age and years of service.

TABLE 7

***DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY AVERAGE SALARIES, AVERAGE AGE
AND AVERAGE YEARS OF SERVICE BY GENDER**

	AVERAGE SALARIES	AVERAGE AGE	AVERAGE YEARS OF SERVICE
MALES:	\$56,350.00	45.4	12.8
FEMALES:	\$36,951.00	40.5	8.9

- * This data from Dalhousie University was not in the documentation but rather was received by phone from the Personnel Department at Dalhousie University.

TABLE 8

***DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTIONS
BY GENDER**

	MALES (%)	FEMALES (%)
FULL PROFESSOR	91.5	8.5
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR	73	27
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR	48.5	51.5
LIBRARIAN	23.1	76.9
UPPER LEVEL MANAGER	92.3	7.7
MIDDLE MANAGER	50	50
PROFESSIONALS	62.4	37.6
SEMI-PROFESSIONAL	30	70
SUPERVISOR	14	86
CLERK	8	92
TRADES	92.1	7.9
MANUAL	68.7	31.2
OTHER	65	35
TOTALS	55.3	44.7

* The administrative data is for 1994 and the academic data is for 1993.

University Of New Brunswick - Documents Reviewed:

- (1) **Compliance Review Report, Federal Contractors Program, 1991 (CR1)⁴**
- (2) **Second Compliance Review Report, Federal Contractors Program, 1993 (CR2)⁵**

The University of New Brunswick announced its commitment to employment equity in March, 1988. The first step in reaffirming its pledge was to communicate to all employees the university's commitment to achieve employment equity. This was accomplished through a number of activities including an article in the official university newspaper; a letter from the university President explaining the university's commitment to employment equity and asking for support from all employees; the appointment of a university employment equity officer; a census of university employees to encourage participation and support; and pilot information sessions for all Faculty and Staff.

⁴Information provided by this document is distinguished by (CR1, p.#). Data and information reference for this document, related to the variables, is presented at the end of each variable section and is also indicated by (CR1, p.#).

⁵Information provided by this document is distinguished by (CR2, p.#). Data and information reference for this document, related to the variables, is presented at the end of each variable section and is also indicated by (CR2, p.#).

The University of New Brunswick committed itself further to implementing employment equity through the hiring of an Employment Equity Officer who was to be "accountable for the development, implementation and maintenance of an employment equity program for all employee groups of the university" (CR1, p. 11). The Employment Equity Officer was to be supported by the professional services of fellow personnel officers as well as secretarial and clerical staff.

As part of the plan to implement employment equity under the Federal Contractors Programme, the University was required to collect information on the employment status of designated group employees. The approach used to collect data, in this case, was through voluntary self-identification.

The University of New Brunswick indicated in a 1990 Compliance Review Report that they were undertaking measures related to and in support of the principle of employment equity. These included increasing the representation of the designated groups among students, faculty and staff. As well, the university has created management development programs for women, an advisor to the President on the status of women, a Women's Studies program, a child care feasibility study and an Employee Assistance Program (CR1, pp. 62-69).

The 1991 Compliance Review Report is essentially qualitative in nature and therefore does not supply numerical data. However, the initiatives previously mentioned suggest that the university has identified inequities in their employee

systems and are in the process of developing and implementing solutions to remove those inequities.

On December 1, 1993, the University of New Brunswick released its "Second Compliance Review Report" required under the Federal Contractors Program. Following is a summary of information from the 1993 document:

(a) Salary:

1. Overall, women fell on the low end of the salary ranges.
2. In the Clerical Workers category, where women were overrepresented, they had the lowest starting and ending salary scale of all categories (CR2, pp. 43-44).

A telephone call to the Employment Equity Officer at the University of new Brunswick indicated that the overall average salary for males is \$56,713.50 and \$25,019.50 for females.

(b) Occupational Category:

1. Women are underrepresented in the Middle and Other Managers category for both Faculty (20%) and Staff (23.1%).
2. Women are underrepresented in the Upper Level Managers (20%), Professional (38.9%), Semi-Professional (40%), Trades (5%) and Manual Workers (0%) categories.
3. Women are overrepresented in the Clerical Workers category (92.3%).

4. Academic women are underrepresented at the higher classification levels (20.5%) (CR2, pp.43-44).

(c) Age, (d) Years of Service; and (e) Education:

There was no information in the documentation regarding age, years of service or education. A telephone call the Employment Equity Officer at the University of New Brunswick indicated that the average age and years of service for males and females is 45.3 and 45.0 years and 12.3 and 15.5 years respectively. Information regarding education was not available.

University of New Brunswick - Summary:

To summarize, the documentation indicates that, in spite of the initiatives described in the 1991 Report, women continued to be underrepresented in higher level occupational categories in 1993 and little change had occurred since 1989. Although the University of New Brunswick has created employment equity committees, establishing employment equity personnel, developing an employment equity policy, and completed compliance reviews, women are underrepresented in the higher occupational classifications and overrepresented in the lower occupational classifications. The university's failure to maintain an employment equity officer on a full-time basis suggests that the University of New Brunswick's commitment may not be as strong as announced. Furthermore, males earn

significantly more money than females in spite of insignificant differences in age and years of service.

TABLE 9

***UNIVERSITY OF NEW BRUNSWICK AVERAGE SALARIES,
AVERAGE AGE AND AVERAGE YEARS OF SERVICE BY GENDER**

	AVERAGE SALARIES	AVERAGE AGE	AVERAGE YEARS OF SERVICE
MALES:	\$56,713.50	45.3	12.3
FEMALES:	\$25,019.50	45.0	15.5

* The data was provided by telephone from the Employment Equity Officer.

TABLE 10

**UNIVERSITY OF NEW BRUNSWICK OCCUPATIONAL
DISTRIBUTIONS BY GENDER**

	MALES (%)	FEMALES (%)
MIDDLE AND OTHER MANAGERS (FACULTY) AND PROFESSIONALS (FACULTY)*	79.5	20.5
LIBRARIAN	80	20
UPPER LEVEL MANAGER	80	20
MIDDLE MANAGER	76.9	23.1
PROFESSIONALS	61.1	38.9
SEMI-PROFESSIONAL	60	40
SUPERVISOR	39.1	60.9
CLERK	7.7	92.3
TRADES	95	5
MANUAL	100	0
OTHER	69.2	30.8
TOTALS	68.0	31.9

* The University of New Brunswick includes Full Professor, Associate Professor, Assistant Professor and Librarian in one category - that of Middle and Other Managers (Faculty) and Professionals (Faculty).

QuebecConcordia University - Documents Reviewed:

- (1) **Interim Diagnostic Report on Full-Time Faculty At Concordia University, May 31, 1989 (IDR)⁶**
- (2) **Concordia University Compliance Review Document, April 2, 1991 (CR)⁷**
- (3) **Diagnostic Report on Female Administrative and Support Staff, March 4, 1993 (DR)⁸**

Concordia University announced its commitment to employment equity in October 1986 by approving an Employment Equity Policy. In 1986 the University signed an agreement "with the Quebec government to undertake a programme d'accès à l'égalité (PAE) in which the single designated group was women" (CR,

⁶Information provided by this document is distinguished by (IDR, p.#). Data and information reference for this document, related to the variables, is presented at the end of each variable section and is also indicated by (IDR, p.#).

⁷Information provided by this document is distinguished by (CR, p.#). Data and information reference for this document, related to the variables, is presented at the end of each variable section and is also indicated by (CR, p.#).

⁸Information provided by this document is distinguished by (DR, p.#). Data and information reference for this document, related to the variables, is presented at the end of each variable section and is also indicated by (DR, p.#).

p. 1). In May 1988, the University signed its Certificate of Commitment to implement employment equity according to the terms and conditions of the Federal Contractors Program. A Task Force was established to answer questions regarding Employment Equity and to develop a self-identification kit that was set for distribution in September 1990. It was initially hoped to complete a diagnostic report for the entire university but this was deemed impossible due to ongoing job evaluation and the lack of availability of information. Therefore, it was decided to produce two Diagnostic Reports, the first dealing with full-time academic faculty and the second with all remaining permanent administrative and support staff. The first report, "The Interim Diagnostic Report On Full-Time Faculty At Concordia University, May 31, 1989", indicated:

(a) Salary:

1. Female faculty earn 13% less than males with an average wage differential of \$8,201.16.
2. Over 66% of the female faculty make less than \$60,000 whereas 35.8% of the male faculty make less than \$60,000.
3. At the salary level of \$50,000 and less, 38.1% of female faculty make less than \$50,000, whereas 14.4% of male faculty make less than \$50,000.
4. At the \$85,000+ salary level, there are 1.8% females compared to 2.9% males.

5. At the salary level of \$35,000 and under, 1.1% of men make less than \$35,000 while 3.5% of women make less than \$35,000.
6. The average salary for academic females is \$55,019.27 and \$63,220.43 for academic males (IDR, pp. 5-9).

(b) Occupational Category:

1. In the academic ranks, men hold 75% of all probationary appointments while women hold 25%.
2. Women are underrepresented at the rank of professor representing 10.3% while men represent 89.7%.
3. Women represent 20% of the positions at the Lecturer rank while men hold 80%.
4. Women hold 26.4% of the Assistant Professorships whereas men hold 73.6%.
5. At the Associate Professor rank, 17.3% are women, 82.7% are men.
6. There are no female Lecturers or Full Professors in the Faculty of Commerce and Administration and no women Lecturers, Associate Professors and Professors in the Faculty of Engineering and Computer Science.
7. There is a lack of women (1.1%) among the professoriate in the Faculty of Engineering and Computer Science, a Faculty which represents the

highest concentration of Professors in the university (IDR, pp.5-9).

(c) Age:

1. Over 61% female faculty are younger than 50 years of age, whereas 50% of men are older than 50; the average age for full-time women faculty is 47.8 years, for men 49.9 years (IDR, pp. 5-9).

(d) Years of Service:

1. Women are widely distributed in years of service while the actual number of women in any given year or range is very low; on the average, full-time male faculty have more years of service than women.
2. Full-time male faculty have 15.6 years of service compared to 13.5 years for females (IDR, pp. 5-9).

(e) Education:

There was no information in the documentation regarding education.

The second report, "Diagnostic Report On Female Administrative And Support Staff, March 4, 1993", which looked at Senior Administrators, Managers, Professionals, Technicians, Administrative Support Staff (Clerks and Secretaries)

and Service and Trades personnel, indicated the following for 1989⁹:

(a) Salary:

1. Women are overrepresented in the salary ranges falling below \$25,000 and underrepresented in salary ranges found above \$25,000.
2. The average salary for administrative females is \$41,572.71 and \$47,324.34 for administrative males.
3. On average, across all employment categories, men earn approximately \$6,300 more per annum than women (DR, pp. 6-22).

(b) Occupational Category:

1. Women held the majority (55.5%) of positions in the administrative and support staff sector which includes all permanent employees.
2. The administrative support category, which comprises all clerical and secretarial employees, represented almost half (48.3%) of all positions and was the only employment category where women represented a majority (84.9%) of the employees within an employment category.
3. The distribution of female employees across employment categories indicate that 73.8% of all positions occupied by women occur in the Administrative Support category.

⁹This report was published in 1993 but contains data for 1989.

4. Of the positions held by women 0.6% and 0.9% were found in the Trades and Services and the Senior Administration categories respectively.
5. Men were much more evenly distributed across all employment categories (DR, pp. 6-22).

(c) Age:

1. Women are overrepresented in the age groups between 20-44 and 60+, and underrepresented in the age groups between 45-59.
2. On average, across all employment categories, men were one year older than women and had two more years of service.
3. In three of the six employment categories (Managers, Technicians, and Services and Trades) where women were both older and had more seniority on average, none had a higher average salary than men.
4. The average age for administrative females is 42 years and 43 years for administrative males (DR, pp. 6-22).

(d) Years of Service

1. The average years of service for administrative females is 10.75 years and 12.78 years for administrative males (DR, pp. 6-22).

(e) Education:

There was no information in the documentation regarding education.

Concordia University - Summary:

To summarize, although Concordia University has committed itself to employment equity by creating of an employment equity policy, establishing employment equity committees, hiring employment equity personnel, and conducting and producing employment equity reports, it appears that Concordia University does not have the equitable employment system it aimed to achieve by the signing of the Certificate of Commitment to implement employment equity. From the information received, it appears that women are underrepresented in higher occupational classifications and overrepresented in lower occupational classifications. Furthermore, males earn significantly more than females in spite of insignificant differences between age and years of service.

TABLE 11

**CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY AVERAGE SALARIES, AVERAGE AGE
AND AVERAGE YEARS OF SERVICE BY GENDER**

	AVERAGE SALARIES	AVERAGE AGE	AVERAGE YEARS OF SERVICE
ADMINISTRATIVE MALES	\$47,324.34	43	12.78
ACADEMIC MALES	\$63,220.43	49.9	15.6
ADMINISTRATIVE FEMALES	\$41,572.71	42	10.75
ACADEMIC FEMALES	\$55,019.27	47.8	13.5

TABLE 12

*CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTIONS BY GENDER

	MALES (%)	FEMALES (%)
FULL PROFESSOR	89.7	10.3
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR	82.7	17.3
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR	73.6	26.4
LIBRARIAN	NA	NA
UPPER LEVEL MANAGER	70.5	29.5
MIDDLE MANAGER	60.5	39.5
PROFESSIONALS	47.0	50.9
SEMI-PROFESSIONAL	44.0	52.3
SUPERVISOR	40.5	57.1
CLERK	13.5	81.7
TRADES	94.1	# too small, <4
MANUAL	100	0
OTHER	80.9	# too small, <4
TOTALS	66.41	30.41

* Faculty data is for 1989 and administrative data is for 1990 and based on data obtained from the completed returned questionnaires for each occupational group and not from the base population.

McGill University - Document Reviewed:

(1) Employment Equity For Women At McGill - Diagnostic Report, May 1991¹⁰

In 1988, McGill University announced its objective to "encourage and facilitate the voluntary implementation of a program of employment equity for women" (p. 4). In order to carry out this objective the university conducted a three phase project.

For Phase I, the University expected to generate a Diagnostic Report on the employment conditions of women at McGill. Phase II required consulting the university community, developing an employment equity policy and detailing recommendations for improvement. Phase III included the publishing of a three-year plan aiming at ensuring the provision of a work environment that did not discriminate against women (p. 4).

In 1989, an Employment Equity Coordinator was appointed. The statistical data was gathered from employment records, a questionnaire survey and individual interviews. As well, "one hundred and thirty-seven people, randomly selected, attended a series of perception analysis workshops designed to elicit personal

¹⁰Data and information reference for this document, related to the variables, is indicated at the end of each variable section.

opinions about the employment of women at McGill" (p. 1).

The following provides information regarding academic women:

(a) Salary:

1. Above average salary differentials favour men at all academic ranks, as high as \$11,139 in some instances.
2. Of twenty-two possible categories across Faculties, men obtained higher salaries in eighteen instances.
3. The average salary for academic males is \$68,429.00 and for academic females is \$58,069.00 (p. 1).

(b) Occupational Category:

1. Women represent 17% of full-time tenure track staff with 7.3% at the rank of Full Professor.
2. Of fifteen Deanships, two are held by women and there are no women at the level of Vice-Principal.
3. At all ranks, men continue to be hired at a higher level than women.
4. Women hold 16% of the positions at the level of Associate Dean, Departmental Chair and Director of School or Institutes, (p. 1).

(c) Age:

There was incomplete information in the documentation regarding age. The information provided for unranked Teaching Staff, Research Staff and

Academic Administration/Professional Miscellaneous Staff indicates no significant difference with average age for males at 47.2 years and for females at 45.8 years (pp. 131-134).

(d) Years of Service:

1. Academic females have an average of 9.5 years of service while academic males have 14.1 years of service.

(e) Education:

1. In the six largest Faculties, the proportion of females on full time academic staff is much lower than the proportion of Ph.D's awarded to women.
2. The comparison of Ph.D's awarded to women with women on the academic staff suggests that female graduate students have access to few female role models (p. 22).

During the analysis workshops, academic women related feeling detached, secluded and hindered regarding salary and advancement. They also stated their belief that they must perform better than their male counterparts to be assessed on an equal basis (p. 1). The examination of academic employment practices and procedures "reveals a decentralized system that allows a great deal of flexibility on the part of individual departments" but "evidence from McGill statistics suggests that the flexible approach is having an exclusionary effect on some women who are not being drawn into the tenure-track stream" (p. 2). As the

proportion of women on the full-time tenure-track staff, at 17%, has changed only slightly over the last twenty years "it appears that current hiring practices are serving only to maintain the status quo" (p. 2).

Following is information on administrative and support staff:

(a) Salary:

1. Average salary comparisons show that men earn higher salaries than women at almost all classification levels except: in the clerical and library assistant classifications and in one of the four lower middle management classification levels.
2. In all but four of the classification groupings, men earn higher salaries than women.
3. The largest differences in salary occurs in areas where women have the least representation: upper-level technicians, unionized positions, upper-level middle management and the executive classifications.
4. In the executive classifications, the difference is an astounding \$26,307 despite the fact that females average four more years of service.
5. Males earn an average of \$41,889.66 as compared to \$37,680.75 for females (pp. 44-53).

(b) Occupational Category:

1. Women make up 55.8% of the population yet are represented at only 20%

in senior administrative positions.

2. Women are overrepresented in the Clerical (88.2%) and Semi-Professional categories (89.5%) and underrepresented in the Upper Level Manager (16.3%) and Middle Manager (28.8%) categories..
3. Women in the administrative and support staff "felt their work is undermined and underpaid, that their positions are classified on the low end of the scale and that the system effectively blocks the possibility of advancement into senior management positions".
4. The job evaluation system has caused inconsistency: "because of its classification system which has resulted in the majority of women being classified at the low end of the scales. Furthermore, "many of the positions in the lower middle management ranges have diverse and complex responsibilities which are not recognized or compensated under the current system".
5. Positions at the upper end of the clerical and library assistant classifications often include management responsibility which is not recognized.
6. In the administrative and support staff areas, there is no natural career path similar to the professorial ranks of the academic staff. Career advancement is self-initiated and entirely dependant on the availability of higher classified positions. Since there is no formal mechanism for career

development, progression for women managers is more difficult and results in salary differentials.

7. Women in the administrative and support staff ranks do not, on the whole, exert much influence when it comes to policy development or decision making, primarily due to their absence from positions of power within the University (pp. 1-77).

(c) Age:

1. On average, administrative females are 40.7 years of age and administrative males are 41.4 years of age.
2. Women in the executive classifications are significantly younger but have more experience than men.
3. In the unionized sector, both males and females have similar years of experience and age (p. 43).

(d) Years of Service:

1. Overall, the average years of experience for administrative males is 12 years and 11.9 years for administrative females.
2. Years of experience is not a factor that can account for such large differences in salaries since in most cases the years of experience differs by no more than one year (p. 53).

(c) Education:

1. The highest level of education for administrative staff upon entering the university was a bachelor's degree (36% women, 41% men).
2. The proportion of men and women with Master's degrees is identical at 8%.
3. Both men and women have upgraded their educational qualifications with the proportion for men and women earning master's and bachelor's degree being almost equal (11% and 6% respectively for men; and 9% and 6% respectively for women).

For academic staff the report indicates that "Information in the McGill data base on education and degrees received is self-reported, and was found to be very unreliable for all types of academic staff" (p. 15).

McGill University - Summary:

To summarize, the information obtained has indicated that, like the universities previously discussed, although McGill University has committed itself to employment equity by hiring employment equity personnel, creating an employment equity policy, establishing employment equity committees, and producing employment equity reports, females are underrepresented in higher employment categories and overrepresented in lower employment categories.

Furthermore, males earn significantly more than females with insignificant differences by age and years of service.

TABLE 13

**MCGILL UNIVERSITY AVERAGE SALARIES, AVERAGE AGE AND
AVERAGE YEARS OF SERVICE BY GENDER**

	AVERAGE SALARIES	AVERAGE AGE	AVERAGE YEARS OF SERVICE
ADMINISTRATIVE MALES	\$41,889.66	41.4	12
ACADEMIC MALES	\$68,429.00	47.2	14.1
ADMINISTRATIVE FEMALES	\$37,680.75	40.7	11.9
ACADEMIC FEMALES	\$58,069.00	45.8	9.5

TABLE 14

*MCGILL UNIVERSITY OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTIONS BY GENDER

	MALES (%)	FEMALES (%)
FULL PROFESSOR	92.7	7.3
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR	80.4	19.6
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR	71.5	28.5
LIBRARIAN	22.5	77.5
UPPER LEVEL MANAGER	83.7	16.3
MIDDLE MANAGER	71.2	28.8
PROFESSIONALS	53.5	46.5
SEMI-PROFESSIONAL	11.5	89.5
SUPERVISOR	30.9	69.1
CLERK	11.8	88.2
TRADES	99.1	.9
MANUAL	82.1	17.9
OTHER	80.9	19.1
TOTALS	60.9	39.1

* The breakdown by occupational group for Academic staff was not provided in the documentation.

Ontario**University Of Ottawa - Document Reviewed:****(1) Workforce Analysis Of Administrative Staff, 1987¹¹**

The main objective of the University of Ottawa's Workforce Analysis of Administrative Staff was to "present an equity audit which provides a comprehensive review of the university's Administrative Staff and its employment structures" (p. 1). The University of Ottawa had committed itself to the principles of Employment Equity in 1985 and in 1986 an Employment Equity analyst was hired. The Vice-Rector Academic formed an employment equity and education committee to examine the situation of women within the Administrative Staff, Faculty and student ranks (p. VII). Prior to the release of this report the university adopted a mission statement which included the idea "to continue to be a leader in the promotion of women in all aspects of university life" (p. VII). This study examined the university's three major employment categories: Managers and Professionals; Technicians and Technologists; and Clerks and Secretaries. Each major category was divided into three groups: Junior, Intermediate, and Senior.

¹¹Data and information reference for this document, related to the variables, is indicated at the end of each variable section.

The report provided the following information:

(a) Salary:

1. For Administrative staff women's mean salary was shown to be between 83% and 96% of men's mean salary; these salary differences are significant within each category.
2. Women tended to be clustered in lower salaried positions.
3. For all administrative employees, the average salary for males is \$47,687.68 and \$38,473.72 for females (p. 64).

(b) Occupational Category:

1. Women represented 63.5% of the university administrative staff; of these 66% fall into the Clerks and Secretaries, 22% in Managerial and Professional and 12% in Technical positions (p. 8).

Due to these inequities, the university undertook a second analysis, claiming the need for an "in-depth analysis of the representation of women among and within employment categories as well as within services" in order to obtain a more accurate depiction of the situation (p. 8). This second analysis revealed that:

1. Women accounted for 87% of Clerks and Secretaries and half of these positions fell within the Intermediate group.
2. Within the Managers and Professional groups, the distribution patterns

tended to be more complex and gender-related. Although women accounted for 44% of Managers and Professional and men for 56%, the overall representation figures seriously masked the realities of distribution patterns within this category. The Junior group contained 67.1% women; Intermediate 27.1%; and Senior 5.8% compared to men representation of 21.9% in Junior; 49.5% Intermediate and 28.6% Senior.

3. In the Junior group, women are overrepresented and comprise small percentages of the Intermediate and Senior groups whereas men are more evenly distributed throughout the three employment levels.
4. The review of the Technicians and Technologists categories indicates that at 24%, women are underrepresented. A further analysis indicated that not only were women predominantly occupying the junior and intermediate groups but also the lower levels of these groups.
5. The profile characteristics differ in both career patterns and education as in the Intermediate and Senior groups there was a significant number of incumbents who entered the university as managers or professional whereas incumbents in the Junior group generally had been promoted from within the university's two other employment categories.
6. The documentation concludes, "systematic discrimination has been manifested through occupational segregation" (pp. 9-14).

(c) Age:

The age data provided was for the four main classification categories: Clerks and Secretaries, Managers and Professionals, Technicians and Technologist and Library Technicians. The data indicated no significant difference between the overall average age of males at 38.5 years and females at 39.1 years (pp. 54-61).

(d) Years of Service:

1. For women at the Junior and Intermediate groups the average years of service for the four main classification areas for administrative staff indicates the males have 11.27 years of service and females 10.09 (pp. 58-62).

(e) Education:

1. There is no significant gender difference in the years of education and years of seniority. Therefore, education and seniority cannot be used to explain why women primarily hold the junior positions within the administrative staff employment group.
2. In terms of education, many employees in the Junior group do not have a post-secondary degree; instead they have acquired relevant experience within the university. In comparison, the majority of Intermediate and Senior Managers and Professionals hold a university degree (pp. 13 - 43).

University of Ottawa - Summary:

To summarize, the information outlined above suggests that although the University of Ottawa has indicated its commitment to employment equity by creating an employment equity policy, hiring employment equity personnel, establishing employment equity committees, and conducting an employment equity analysis, females are underrepresented in higher employment classifications and overrepresented in lower employment classifications. Furthermore, males earn significantly more than females in spite of insignificant differences by age and years of service.

TABLE 15

**UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA AVERAGE SALARIES, AVERAGE AGE
AND AVERAGE YEARS OF SERVICE BY GENDER**

	AVERAGE SALARIES	AVERAGE AGE	AVERAGE YEARS OF SERVICE
MALES	\$47,687.68	38.5	11.27
FEMALES	\$38,473.72	39.1	10.09

TABLE 16

***UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTIONS
BY GENDER**

	MALES (%)	FEMALES (%)
FULL PROFESSOR	78.1	21.9
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR	78.1	21.9
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR	78.1	21.9
LIBRARIAN	78.1	21.9
UPPER LEVEL MANAGER	77.4	22.6
MIDDLE MANAGER	61.1	38.9
PROFESSIONALS	49.7	50.3
SEMI-PROFESSIONAL	62.8	37.2
SUPERVISOR	30.0	70.0
CLERK	13.5	86.5
TRADES	84.4	15.6
MANUAL	72.2	27.8
OTHER	46.8	53.2
TOTALS	62.33	37.67

* Faculty data is for 1989-90 and administrative data is for 1992. The University of Ottawa includes Full Professor, Associate Professor, Assistant Professor and Librarian in one category - Teaching Staff.

University Of Toronto - Documents Reviewed:

- (1) Employment Action Plan Annual Report 1988 - 1989 (EAP)¹²**
- (2) Employment Equity Annual Report 1992-1993 (EER)¹³**

The University of Toronto announced its commitment to implementing employment equity in September, 1986 by signing a Federal Contractor's Program certificate and approving an Employment Equity Policy in March of 1986. In the Fall of 1988, the University's Employment Equity Action Plan was released. The Action Plan included conducting a workforce survey, an evaluation of current workforce information and reviewing formally and informally human resource employment policies and practices in order to identify barriers to employment equity. This internal analysis required "collecting data on the participation of designated group members in the University's workforce by occupational groups and salary level" (EAP, p.3). This analysis was conducted with a questionnaire survey aimed at obtaining information to aid in identifying possible problems and

¹²Information provided by this document is distinguished by (EA, p.#). Data and information reference for this document, related to the variables, is presented at the end of each variable section and is also indicated by (EAP, p.#).

¹³Information provided by this document is distinguished by (EER, p.#). Data and information reference for this document, related to the variables, is presented at the end of each variable section and is also indicated by (EER, p.#).

successes regarding the distribution of designated groups members. Also intended to reveal what and where, barriers might exist, and to provide the context and rationale for developing employment equity goals and timetables, the analysis was aimed at establishing a baseline against which to measure progress (EAP, p. 3).

During one week in March, 1989, over 9,000 employees in nearly 300 departments received survey kits. Approximately two-thirds of these were completed and returned and it was the intent of the Committee to contact the non-respondents during the Fall of 1989 (EAP, p. 4). Examination of the Report failed to provide information regarding salary, age, years and service, or education. However, a telephone call to the Employment Equity Officer at the University of Toronto indicated that the average salary for males and females. The Employment Equity Officer was unable to supply the other information.

Although statistical data was not provided by the Action Plan, a second document, the Employment Equity Annual Report, 1992-1993 indicates that some progress was made between 1989 and 1993. Evidence of this progression occurred with the Employment Equity working group releasing a report focusing on Faculty and Librarians aimed at setting goals and strategies for achieving employment equity. A similar report for Non-Unionized Administrative staff was completed in 1992. In another effort employment equity seminars were developed and provided for all senior administrators and, as a pilot, to a group of senior academic

administrators. Also, 1992 was the first year that the university had been able to measure advancement towards established targets in accordance with the university's Employment Equity Policy (EER, p. S1).

In keeping with the three of the four key components of the Employment Equity Policy which are directly related to women, the advancements occurred as follows:

Component 1 of the policy required "Endeavouring to ensure that the University policies and practices do not have an adverse impact on the participation and advancement of designated group members" (EER, p. S1). In this regard three reviews were conducted: the Non-unionized Administrative Staff Policies Review; the Academic Staff Policies Review; and the Unionized Administrative Staff Collective Agreements Review. The Non-Unionized Administrative Staff Policies Review was completed and submitted to the Vice-President of Human Resources in 1992 as well as to the university staff association. This review was to be used by both parties to assist in examining existing policies and for developing new policy. The Academic Staff Policies Review has resulted in revision to the Policy and Procedures on Academic Appointment and revisions to the Policy and Procedures on the Appointment of Academic Administrators. The Unionized Administrative Staff Collective Agreements Review indicated that, as the collective agreements came up for

renewal, the negotiated contracts would contain an increased commitment to achieving employment equity. As well, most negotiated contracts included arrangements for the creation of a joint Employment Equity Committee, consisting of management and union representatives, for the purpose of developing employment equity programs for each union.

Components 2 and 3 required "Setting goals consistent with the Policy, and timetables and plans for achieving them" and "Implementing programs to facilitate the participation and advancement of designated groups" (EER, p. S2). In this regard, two strategies were implemented. First, advertising for Faculty now conveys that the University is actively interested in hiring members of designated groups to its academic staff. Second, statistical tables are now required displaying the number of applicants by gender, as well as the number of interviewees coming from each of the four designated groups (EER), (pp. S1-S2).

Representation data for the workforce from May 1, 1991 to April 30, 1993, while failing to provide information on age, years of service or education, indicates the following:

(a) Salary:

1. The salary data available is for academic staff only and indicates, on average, males earn \$83,734.78 and females \$69,462.34 (EER, p. S4).

(b) Occupational Category:

1. For all Staff there was a slight increase in representation of women from 23.26% to 23.82%.
2. For Faculty and Professional Librarians there were slight increases in the representation of women from 23.26% to 23.82%.
3. For Non-Unionized Administrative Staff there was a slight decrease in the representation of women from 67.61% to 67.58%.
4. For Administrative Unionized Staff there was a slight decrease in the representation of women from 42.71% to 40.72% (EER, p. S4).

University of Toronto - Summary:

To summarize, although the University of Toronto has indicated its commitment to employment equity by creating an employment equity policy, forming employment equity committees, hiring employment equity personnel, and producing employment equity documents, females are underrepresented in the higher occupational classifications and overrepresented in the lower occupational classifications. Salary data indicate that males earn significantly more than females. The Employment Equity Officer was not able to provide information regarding age and years of service.

TABLE 17

***UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO AVERAGE SALARIES, AVERAGE AGE
AND AVERAGE YEARS OF SERVICE BY GENDER**

	AVERAGE SALARIES	AVERAGE AGE	AVERAGE YEARS OF SERVICE
MALES	\$83,734.78	NA	NA
FEMALES	\$69,462.34	NA	NA

* Salary data is available for academic staff only.

TABLE 18

**UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTIONS
BY GENDER**

	MALES (%)	FEMALES (%)
FULL PROFESSOR	90.7	9.3
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR	77.0	23.0
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR	68.2	31.8
LIBRARIAN	21.6	78.4
UPPER LEVEL MANAGER	80.5	19.5
MIDDLE MANAGER	55.1	44.9
PROFESSIONALS	51.0	49.0
SEMI-PROFESSIONAL	45.6	54.4
SUPERVISOR	21.1	78.9
CLERK	14.2	85.8
TRADES	94.6	5.4
MANUAL	97	3
OTHER	41.4	58.6
TOTALS	58.3	41.7

Western Region**University Of Alberta - Document Reviewed:****(1) Opening Doors: A Plan For Employment Equity At The University Of Alberta, January 7, 1994¹⁴**

The University of Alberta committed itself to developing and implementing employment equity by signing a Certificate of Commitment on March 24, 1987. The University's commitment was further confirmed with the announcement of the establishment of the President's Employment Equity Implementation Committee which was to develop an employment equity plan for the university (p. 7). The Employment Equity Policy was approved on June 25, 1990. The Employment Equity Plan included a criterion for the "Collection and Maintenance of Information on the Employment Status of Designated Group Employees, by Occupation and Salary Levels and in Terms of Hiring, Promotion and Termination in Relation to all Other Employees" (p. 13). On October 7, 1991, an employment equity census questionnaire was distributed to all employees. Reminders and new census questionnaires were sent to all who did not return by October 31, 1991.

¹⁴Data and information reference for this document, related to the variables, is indicated at the end of each variable section.

The final return rate was 83.0 percent, a rate that this university considers significant and one of which they are proud (p. 14). Results from the survey indicate the following:

(a) Salary:

1. On average, males earn \$43,081.60 and females earn \$35,897.60.
2. In all categories, women were paid less than men.
3. In some cases, such as the Middle and Other Managers, Professionals, Semi-Professionals and Technicians, Foremen/Women and Skilled Crafts and Trades Categories, women were being paid significantly less than their male counterparts (p. 25).

(b) Occupational Category:

1. "The representation of women, at 49.8% of the University of Alberta's workforce, is greater than their representation in the local, provincial and national labour forces". However, the University of Alberta stated that although this may indicate there is little or no cause for concern regarding the representation of females in this university's workforce, a careful examination of the data revealed that women are not well represented in all occupational groups.
2. Women were underrepresented in the Upper Managers (16.6%), Middle and Other Managers (35.1%), Professionals (26.6%), Trades (4%) and Manual

Workers (14.3%) Categories and were overrepresented in the Clerical (91.8%) category (pp. 16-20).

(c) Age:

There was no information in the documentation regarding age. However, a telephone call to the Employment Equity Officer indicated that, the average age for males stands at 44.7 and 42.0 years for females.

(d) Years of Service:

There was no information in the documentation regarding years of service. However, a telephone call to the Employment Equity Officer indicated that, the average years of service for males is 19.9 years and 18.4 years for females.

(e) Education:

Information regarding education was not available.

University of Alberta - Summary:

To summarize, although the University of Alberta has committed itself to employment equity through the creation of an employment equity policy, establishing employment equity committees, hiring employment equity personnel, and conducting and producing employment equity reports, women are underrepresented in higher occupational classifications and overrepresented in lower occupational classifications. Salary data indicates that males earn

significantly more than females in spite of insignificant differences between age and years of service.

TABLE 19

***UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA AVERAGE SALARIES, AVERAGE AGE
AND AVERAGE YEARS OF SERVICE BY GENDER**

	AVERAGE SALARIES	AVERAGE AGE	AVERAGE YEARS OF SERVICE
MALES	\$43,081.60	44.7	19.9
FEMALES	\$35,897.60	42.0	18.4

* Salary data for Upper Level Managers is not included due to the population being less than five.

TABLE 20

***UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTIONS
BY GENDER**

	MALES (%)	FEMALES (%)
FULL PROFESSOR	91.0	9.0
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR	77.5	22.5
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR	60.8	39.2
LIBRARIAN	NA	NA
UPPER LEVEL MANAGER	83.3	16.6
MIDDLE MANAGER	64.9	35.1
PROFESSIONALS	73.4	26.6
SEMI-PROFESSIONAL	58.0	42.0
SUPERVISOR	13.5	86.5
CLERK	8.2	91.8
TRADES	96	4
MANUAL	85.7	14.3
OTHER	49.4	50.6
TOTALS	63.5	36.5

* Librarians are included in Middle and Other Managers and Professionals Occupational Groups. The data is based on the number of completed returned questionnaires for each occupational group and not the base population.

University Of Calgary - Documents Reviewed:

- (1) **Employment Equity, Annual Report, 1990-1991 (AR)¹⁵**
- (2) **Second Compliance Review Report, March, 1993 (CR)¹⁶**

The University of Calgary consented to achieve employment equity by signing its Certificate of Commitment on June 2, 1987. The University reaffirmed its commitment by submitting a Compliance Review Report in June of 1990. Prior to submitting its report, an Employment Equity Survey was conducted in January, 1990 and the results from the survey provided the initial employment equity data base.

The data obtained from the survey indicated that women are underrepresented in the Upper Level Managers, Semi-Professionals and Technicians, Foremen/Women and Skilled Crafts and Trades occupational areas and overrepresented in the Supervisors, Clerical Workers and Service Workers occupational groups. The data also indicates that in 1990, there was a "problem

¹⁵Information provided by this document is distinguished by (AR, p.#). Data and information reference for this document, related to the variables, is presented at the end of each variable section and is also indicated by (AR, p.#).

¹⁶Information provided by this document is distinguished by (CR, p.#). Data and information reference for this document, related to the variables, is presented at the end of each variable section and is also indicated by (CR, p.#).

with the salary analysis using the employment equity occupations groups" as the groupings "are too broad to be of much use" (AR, p. 13).

Although all universities are required under the Federal Contractor's Program to implement employment equity in order to obtain a representative workforce, the University of Calgary's Second Compliance Review Report of March 1993 indicates that between 1990 and 1992, the overall change in designated group representation was minimal:

(a) Salary:

1. Data for the period from 1990 to November 1992 demonstrate that men's salary remained greater than women's in all occupational categories except for the category of supervisor.
2. The average salary for males and females between 1990 and 1992 was \$43,582.90 and \$35,979.40 respectively. Upper Level Managers were excluded from this analysis because the population was considered to be too small (CR, p. 14).

(b) Occupational Category:

1. The overall representation of women in the University's work force decreased between 1990 and 1992 from 50% to 48%.
2. Female representation in the Middle and Other Managers occupational group increased from 41% in 1990 to 43% in 1991 and to 44% in 1992.

3. The representation of women in the Professionals category decreased from 46% in 1990, to 43% in 1991 to 44% in 1992.
4. The representation of women in the Semi-Professional and Technicians group increased slightly from 26% in 1990, and 1991 to 27% in 1992.
5. The representation of women in the Supervisors category increased from 87% to 91% in 1992.
6. The representation of women in the Foremen/Women group increased from 11% in 1990 to 22% in 1991 and 1992.
7. Little change has occurred in women's representation in the Clerical Workers category; the figures show from 93% in 1990, to 91% in 1991 to 92% in 1992.
8. The representation of women decreased in the Service Workers area from 60% in 1990 to 56% in 1991 and 1992.
9. The representation of women decreased from 21% in 1990 to 20% in 1991 to 14% in 1992 in the Skilled Crafts and Trades group.
10. The representation of women decreased from 43% in 1990 to 41% in 1991 and 1992 in the Other Manual Workers category (CR, pp. 18-23).

(c) Age. (d) Years of Service and (e) Education:

There was no information in the documentation regarding age, years of service and education. A telephone call to the Employment Equity Officer failed

to provide this information.

University of Calgary - Summary:

To summarize, like the other universities previously discussed, although the University of Calgary has indicated its commitment to employment equity by creating an employment equity policy, establishing employment equity committees, hiring employment equity personnel, and conducting employment equity audits, no widespread improvement had occurred between 1990 and 1992; the overall representation of women in the University actually decreased by 2% during this time. Women remain underrepresented in the higher level occupational categories and overrepresented in the lower level occupational categories. Finally, salary data indicates that males earn significantly more than females. Information regarding age and years of service was not available. The University of Calgary and the University of Toronto were the only two universities of the eight surveyed that failed to provide data on age and years of service.

TABLE 21**UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY AVERAGE SALARIES, AVERAGE AGE
AND AVERAGE YEARS OF SERVICE BY GENDER**

	AVERAGE SALARIES	AVERAGE AGE	AVERAGE YEARS OF SERVICE
MALES	\$43,582.90	NA	NA
FEMALES	\$35,979.40	NA	NA

TABLE 22

***UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTIONS
BY GENDER**

	MALES (%)	FEMALES (%)
FULL PROFESSOR	80	20
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR	80	20
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR	80	20
LIBRARIAN	80	20
UPPER LEVEL MANAGER	75	25
MIDDLE MANAGER	55	45
PROFESSIONALS	59	41
SEMI-PROFESSIONAL	76	24
SUPERVISOR	11	89
CLERK	10	90
TRADES	89	11
MANUAL	100	0
OTHER	60	40
TOTALS	65.8	34.2

* The University of Calgary includes Full Professor, Associate Professor, Assistant Professor and Librarian in one category that of University Teachers. As well, the Administrative data is based on the number of replies returned from the Employment Equity Questionnaire and not the base population of the university.

Review of Documentation Summary

From the documents reviewed, it seems evident, that universities have been unable to address inequities amongst their workforce in spite of their significant commitment to the principles of employment equity. These inequities appear in salary and occupational category differences. On average, across all the universities included in this study, males are remunerated at approximately \$55,201.00 and females at \$43,412.00. Women seem substantially excluded from academic positions, from career advancement in non-academic ranks and from most senior academic, administrative and support positions. The evidence indicates that men are overrepresented in the higher classification ranks and women in the lower. Women are underrepresented in academic departments and salary differentials have indicated the favouring of men in all academic ranks and non-academic classifications. There are obvious inequities within classification levels as well which cannot be explained by differences in age (44.42 years for males and 42.36 years for females) and years of service (13.84 for males and 12.31 for females). Because the majority of universities surveyed failed to provide data on education levels it is difficult to determine the effect of educational differences. Some of the universities failed to provide any clear distinctions with regard to occupational category, salary, years of service or age for Faculty and Staff employees. Of the eight universities analyzed, Concordia and McGill

universities were the only two that provided this information; the others grouped Faculty and Staff together for all the variables. As well, the breakdown by occupational distributions were not the same for the eight universities. The University of New Brunswick, University of Ottawa, University of Alberta and the University of Calgary did not provide occupational distributions for Faculty by the categories outlined by the Federal Contractors programme but rather include Faculty in one category. Concordia University, University of Alberta and the University of Calgary provided occupational distribution data based on the number of questionnaires returned by employees and not on the base population of the university.

Thus, although it appears that discrimination, as the literature suggests, may be occurring at a variety of levels, at the hiring or promotion stage, for instance, the documents do little to identify specific barriers to women's advancement. This is a key issue. Presumably, employment equity policies have as their goal the elimination of historical inequities just as compliance review reports are expected to serve as a critical process in the identification of barriers and in the implementation and monitoring of action plans. Yet the documentation implies discrimination, while providing little direction for change with regard to specific practices, such as promotion and tenure, the assignment of the 'Y' value and so on.

CHAPTER 5
SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary Of Research Findings

The examination of the documentation and information obtained from the various universities, as shown in Chapter 4, clearly indicates continuing inequities in the university workforce. Following the research questions posed earlier, this section provides an overview of the current situation.

1. According to the information contained within the Employment Equity and Compliance Review Reports from the eight sampled universities, what steps have been taken to implement employment equity ?

This analysis indicates that all the universities surveyed have followed the guidelines set out in the Federal Contractors Program by collecting data and publishing the results, by hiring employment equity officers and by developing employment equity policies. Despite these initiatives, however, there is little indication that barriers to employment equity have been removed.

2. Are there inequities in terms of sex and rank, and if so, where do they occur?

As indicated earlier not all the universities surveyed provided the necessary information and some only partial information was presented. Nevertheless, this analysis has demonstrated that, for all universities which rendered information in terms of salary, occupation, age, years of service and education, inequities continue to exist. All universities remunerate males at a significantly higher level than females; the average wage differential is over \$11,000. These inequities appear across all but one of the occupation groups with males, for the most part, occupying the higher academic and administrative employment categories and women the lower in spite of similar years of age and years of service; on average men are 44.4 years of age and hold 13.8 years of service, while women are 42.8 years of age and hold 12.3 years of service. The documentation summarized for education information obtained from Dalhousie University, McGill University and the University of Ottawa establishes that education levels cannot be used to explain why women occupy lower positions within the university or why they receive salaries lower than their male counterparts within the same employment categories. As shown the other universities surveyed failed to provide information regarding education levels.

3. For which employment categories of workers, e.g. faculty, administrative staff, do inequities, if any, exist?

Most universities provided data on employment categories since this was a requirement under the Federal Contractor's program. This information indicates that, on average, women are overrepresented in the Supervisor (74.6%) and Clerk (88.5%) categories and underrepresented in the Full Professor (13.35%), Associate Professor (21.47%), Assistant Professor (29.97%), Upper Level Manager (19.65%), Middle Manager (38.16%), Trades (6.22%) and Manual Workers (11.77%) Categories. The gender distribution for the Librarian employment category appears, on average, to be equitable across universities at 49.11% female and 50.89% male. However, as the University of New Brunswick, University of Ottawa and the University of Calgary include Full Professor, Associate Professor, Assistant Professor and Librarian in one category, the data for these universities is difficult to interpret by occupational grouping. For the universities which provided this information, Dalhousie University, McGill University and the University of Toronto, indicate that women are overrepresented at 77.6% in the Librarian category. The Semi-Professional category, for these universities, is the only one that seems equitable at 51.17% female representation.

4. Are there inequities which are unique to specific institutions or are they common across all?

Gender inequities exist in all but one of the employment categories, the

Semi-Professional category, across all the universities surveyed. Inequities are particularly evident in the Full Professor, Associate Professor, Upper Level Manager and Trades categories, where, on average, for all universities that reported this information, over 70% of all workers are male. Furthermore, in the Clerk category and Supervisor's categories, over 80% and 70% respectively of all workers across the universities surveyed are female. As noted previously, there is an imbalance within and across universities regarding the reporting of information for the Librarian employment category. Based on the information obtained, however, women are overrepresented in the Librarian category at over 75%. Again, it seems evident that males are clustered in the more prestigious and higher paying classification categories while females are often most found in the less distinguished and lower paying categories.

5. What are the implications of these inequities, if any?

This study implies that gender discrimination against women, in terms of employment equity, is noticeably present in university institutions, a finding which tends to confirm the idea that gender inequities are not unique to the private sector but apply to universities as well. Since the analysis indicates that women are consistently clustered in lower paying and less prestigious occupational categories, the concepts of glass ceiling and wall of tradition seem appropriate for describing

the situation. Women in universities apparently face severe barriers to obtaining higher paying and senior positions; they seem unable to progress to the most senior ranks. It also appears from the virtual absence of women in higher paying and higher ranked positions that occupational and employment discrimination may be occurring in the selection, interviewing and the hiring process as well as in the assignment of duties, promotions and pay, although it is worth repeating that it is difficult to determine exactly where the barriers lie. Nevertheless, the view that women are only suited for lower level occupational positions appears to be supported by this analysis, a finding which has strong implications for women, universities and the entire workforce.

It is not hard to imagine how the clustering of women in lower occupational categories with mediocre salaries and little or no chance for promotion can serve to reduce the quality of women's lives economically, professionally and personally. It has been argued that any environment that condones gender inequality not only contributes to, but also maintains the attitude that women's inferior status is part of the natural order and the normal way of life. Any male-dominated institution may have difficulties overcoming discriminatory behaviour towards women and correcting the prejudicial environment.

Universities may be viewed as stiff elitist institutions engrossed in conservative and traditional values through inequitable employment practices. It

seems fair to say that any organization that discriminates for any reason is far from being progressive as this behaviour only serves to ensure the status quo and encourage a stagnant environment. The message that women are not sufficiently qualified to take their place in the upper ranks is quickly dispersed through the student and workforce network and can affect the recruitment of superior academic students and highly competent Faculty and Staff. The institution's credibility as a dynamic and progressive institution is therefore questioned, doubted and jeopardized. By implication, the act of keeping women at lower employment categories, regardless of their education and experience, devalues their experience and expertise. The overall result may be that the university and society are deprived of the full talents and the potential of the female population resulting in a society that fails to produce at full capacity. Economic inequality affects not only the female employee but may affect the Canadian economy as a whole if women are not encouraged to develop to their full potential.

Recommendations

Although all of the universities examined have documented their commitment to employment equity by creating employment equity committees, policies and positions, it appears, for the most part, that universities have been historically uninterested in women employees and have not traditionally had a

strong desire to achieve equality for women. Therefore, although academics and administrators within these universities have examined, analyzed and criticized society's views of women, it appears that they have done so while continuing to maintain gender bias in their own institutions. Genuine equality for all employees at universities can only be achieved by eliminating systemic discriminatory barriers. Now more than any other time in the past, universities need to be able to draw on the abilities and skills of all people, just as all human beings must have the right to develop their potential and strive toward their own aspirations. It seems absurd and unfair to intentionally interfere with the complete development of any individual, female or male. The following recommendations are aimed at providing counsel and advice to universities regarding the overall issue of employment equity.

Education and Training:

Equity education is essential if everyone is to be informed of the Employment Equity Act and its importance to the organization. As well, equity education would help everyone recognize that employment equity provides opportunities and benefits for all employees. Therefore, universities must provide opportunities for women employees to be retrained for positions which have typically been male-dominated perhaps even providing employees with the

qualifications they need. Employment equity education is essential for providing opportunities for women to advance to senior positions, but this advancement must be accompanied by comparable salaries.

Policies and Procedures:

Employment equity legislation requires revision so that all employers, not just those covered under the Federal Contractors Program, could be expected to implement employment equity policies and procedures. This revised legislation should have guidelines, such as those provided by the Federal Contractor's Program, requiring employers to collect and analyze data on a regular basis for a determination of whether equity has been established. As well, strong penalties for not complying with the legislation should be clearly stated. It would be helpful as well if the reporting procedures, as required under the Federal Contractors Program, could be modified to contain both quantitative and qualitative measures. Although the gathering of numerical data is important, the identification of systemic barriers requires a full qualitative analysis of all policies and procedures. Qualitative measures would allow women to speak out on issues encountered in the everyday activity of the workplace perhaps revealing more specifically where such barriers exist. All employers should be required to provide reporting information that is consistent. As indicated in the information

obtained from the universities studied, a number of universities failed to provide certain pieces of information while other universities combined data which resulted in data which is difficult to analyze. The compliance review analyses should be based upon a standardized survey form for use by all employers in preparing annual reports and designed to ensure that the data gathered conforms to standard definitions. The survey form should also include a means of identifying people who are members of more than one designated group so that their numbers can be identified separately. The measure of education levels obtained by employees is not a requirement under the Federal Contractors Program and therefore, for the most part, the majority of universities failed to provide this information. This information is critical in order to conduct a thorough review for determining inequities and should be made mandatory under the Federal Contractors Program. Although there are fines and sanctions applied to Federal contractors that fail to implement employment equity, it is recommended that penalties be increased dramatically in order to communicate clearly the seriousness of discrimination and inequality in the workforce. Such increases in fines and sanctions would provide a strong message that discriminatory practices will not be tolerated.

University Environment:

In order to create an environment that is free of gender bias all universities

should have a well-publicized statement of their commitment to achieving gender equity. Gender neutral language in all university publications, documents, curricula and classroom and work settings would confirm this commitment as would gender-sensitive counselling, career-opportunity and other services. Employment Equity Officers responsible for the collection and maintenance of employee data should be further empowered to monitor and aid in the implementation of all recommendations for the achievement of employment equity. Advancement and hiring practices should be addressed. In terms of advancement, programs should be created that provide for the instruction and development of women in areas that would provide upward mobility. These programs should be developed to suit the needs of females by providing temporary assignments, job rotation and on-the-job training. In terms of hiring, managers should be encouraged to seek capable and competent women applicants. As well, some thought should be given to selecting women when there are two identically trained and capable candidates and the female representation within the occupational category is significantly lower than the male representation. Women chiefly occupy the lower positions within junior and intermediate groups. To ensure the progression of women into higher positions within their occupational categories, career streams should be developed and progress assessed in terms of increased responsibility and complexity of duties. As women are underrepresented at the

Full and Associate Professor levels as well as the Intermediate and Senior groups of the Managers and Professionals category, there is a great need to ensure a more balanced representation of women among the professoriate. As such, the university should aim to equalize the male/female numbers and set time lines under which this is to be accomplished. As one way of doing this, special financing could be provided for the establishment of new positions for females and for the provision of incentives for the employment of more women. In this regard, universities should establish search and recruitment approaches that are more likely to encourage applications from women candidates. As well, in order to encourage the consideration of women for employment and administrative positions, universities should do their best to place women on all appointment, tenure and promotion committees; this process would become easier as more women are hired to the professoriate. An examination of specific policies and practices must be conducted in order to develop and implement employment equity. Such an examination could consist of a review of job descriptions, classifications, recruitment, promotion and tenure procedures with the aim of abolishing any obstacles in the form of gender based assumptions, language or stereotyping. Funding for training programs should be made available to enable women within the university system to advance. In order to encourage the implementation and continuance of employment and equity measures, universities

should conduct, and provide for public viewing, an annual report of the female/male breakdown of applicants, short-listed candidates, interviewees, offers and appointments. This report should also provide a breakdown by rank, tenure, salary, full-time and part-time.

Recommendations For Future Research:

This study should be repeated within five years in order to ascertain if significant progress has been achieved regarding employment equity.

The information gathered by universities on employees largely focuses on full-time workers to the exclusion of part-time. Therefore, it is recommended that a study be undertaken to determine the status of all employees, both part-time and full-time, regarding the issue of employment equity. In light of the data presented in this study, it is also recommended that steps be taken to provide role models for women in university settings thereby helping to raise the employment expectation levels for women. This study only focused on eight Canadian universities whereas there are approximately 65 universities and 80 colleges in Canada. A future study should be conducted to survey the issue of gender equity among the academic and non-academic staff of all these institutions. Items to be included in the study should include such things as those previously discussed as well as education, career aspirations, and any other barriers perceived to hinder the

employee's advancement. This would be a major undertaking but worth the effort if the results succeeded in bringing the inequities to the forefront.

Women are not newcomers to the world of work as it is a rare organization that has no women in it. The full integration of women into all levels and occupations of the work world is not solely the responsibility of individual women desiring entry nor is it the responsibility of the employers. Rather, it is a shared responsibility. Successful integration of women into the workforce means providing a work environment that is equitable. The process should begin with the provision of clear, accessible information about the current situation.

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Appendix A

Canadian Universities By Geographic Region

ATLANTIC UNIVERSITIES

ACADIA UNIVERSITY	UNIVERSITY OF NEW BRUNSWICK
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF CAPE BRETON	UNIVERSITY OF PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND
DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY	UNIVERSITE SAINT-ANNE
UNIVERSITY OF KING'S COLLEGE	ST. FRANCIS XAVIER UNIVERSITY
MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY OF NEWFOUNDLAND	SAINT MARY'S UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITE DE MONCTON	ST. THOMAS UNIVERSITY
MOUNT ALLISON UNIVERSITY	TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY OF NOVA SCOTIA
MOUNT SAINT VINCENT UNIVERSITY	

QUEBEC UNIVERSITIES

BISHOP'S UNIVERSITY	UNIVERSITE DU QUEBEC ECOLE NATIONALE D'ADMINISTRATION PUBLIQUE
CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY	UNIVERSITE DU QUEBEC A CHICOUTIMI
UNIVERSITE LAVAL	UNIVERSITE DU QUEBEC A HULL
MCGILL UNIVERSITY	UNIVERSITE DU QUEBEC A MONTRIAL
UNIVERSITE DE MONTREAL	UNIVERSITE DU QUEBEC A RIMOUSKI
UNIVERSITE DU QUEBEC	UNIVERSITE DU QUEBEC ECOLE DE TECHNOLOGIE SUPERIEURE
UNIVERSITE DU QUEBEC - TELE-UNIVERSITE	UNIVERSITE DU QUEBEC A TROIS RIVIERES
UNIVERSITE DU QUEBEC EN ABITIBI - TEMISCAMINGUE	UNIVERSITE DE SHEBROOKE

ONTARIO UNIVERSITIES

BROCK UNIVERSITY	SAINT PAUL UNIVERSITY
CARLETON UNIVERSITY	UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
UNIVERSITY OF GUELPH	TRENT UNIVERSITY
LAURENTIAN UNIVERSITY OF SUDBURY	VICTORIA UNIVERSITY
MCMASTER UNIVERSITY	UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO
NIPISSING UNIVERSITY	THE UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA	WILFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY
QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY AT KINGSTON	UNIVERSITY OF WINDSOR
RYERSON POLYTECHNIC UNIVERSITY	YORK UNIVERSITY

WESTERN UNIVERSITIES

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA	THE UNIVERSITY OF LETHBRIDGE
ATLANTIC UNIVERSITY	THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA
AUGUSTANA UNIVERSITY COLLEGE	THE UNIVERSITY OF REGINA
BRANDON UNIVERSITY	COLLEGE UNIVERSITAIRE DE SAINT-BONIFACE
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA	UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN
UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN BRITISH COLUMBIA	SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY	TRINITY WESTERN UNIVERSITY
THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF THE CARIBOO	UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF THE FRASER VALLEY	THE UNIVERSITY OF WINNIPEG

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