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Kia Lindroos
Linda Cardinal
Marian Sawer
Mathieu St-Laurent

## IPSA AISP



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# IPSA <br> Gender <br> Monitoring <br> Report 2013 

Kia Lindroos
Linda Cardinal
Marian Sawer
Mathieu St-Laurent

## IPSA (f)AISP

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|$s$ the climate changing for women in political science? For many years political science was a male-dominated discipline and one that rarely questioned the male domination of politics. Assumptions about women's political behaviour were summed up in the subtitle of a 1975 study, Mindless matrons or sexist scientism? (Goot and Reid 1975).

The International Political Science Association (IPSA) was to depart from this disciplinary bias, undertaking a study of women's political participation as one of its very first research projects. On the other hand it was more than 40 years before a woman reached the position of IPSA President.

IPSA's current gender monitoring process, including the biennial surveys of national associations, is conducted under the auspices of the Committee on Participation and Membership. Its aim is to raise awareness of issues of gender equality and to promote an inclusive political science community. The IPSA Secretariat has been monitoring the number of women members of IPSA since 1995, and began reporting on the membership and gender balance in its affiliated national associations in 2011. This new global overview helps us understand the situation in a comparative perspective. It is a part of raising awareness of gender equality and especially progress in the status of women and their involvement in national associations

IPSA's previous global gender monitoring survey was conducted in August-November 2011 and the results were published and presented at the IPSA World Congress in Madrid 2012.It was decided the survey should be conducted every two years and that the next survey report be for the IPSA World Congress in Montreal. The gender monitoring process is of crucial importance to track the impact on gender equality of changes in the world of political science and academia more broadly. IPSA will continue to provide comparative data in order to monitor both the global situation and regional and national changes. It is evident that gender balance still varies considerably between regions and among national political science associations. Thus the biennial surveys are important both to keep track of changes and to enhance discussion and awareness of issues of gender equality.

The intention of the survey is also to draw attention to special measures that have been adopted to promote equal opportunities in national PSAs. The survey provides information about good practices in developing and ensuring gender balance and diversity within national organisations and the integration of gender perspectives into the discipline. While a number of the larger associations are undertaking a range of initiatives for these purposes, this is not always the case.

The survey was conducted by IPSA during in late 2013, early 2014, and received responses from 38 national PSAs, including associations in all continents (see Appendix).

The survey provides information on gender balance in leadership positions in national political science associations (PSAs) and on when women first entered such positions. The survey covered the number of women members in national associations and their representation in leadership positions, the existence of a women's caucus or specialist group on gender and politics, gender balance in participation in annual conferences and on editorial boards, the existence of diversity and gender monitoring and other initiatives. To facilitate future surveys, IPSA requests national associations to undertake their own gender monitoring where this is not already in place and maintain information on initiatives undertaken to improve gender balance.

Survey responses suggested that in some countries gender issues are yet to be seriously addressed through measures taken by national associations. For instance, while several associations have women's caucuses only three - South Africa, Germany and Australia - include representation from their women's caucus at the executive level of the association. Some do not even maintain gender-disaggregated data on their membership or activities.

We hope that both the comparative data on participation and the best practice examples of measures adopted to address the issue will stimulate further reflection within national associations on how to ensure that women are fully included in the profession and in the subject matter of the discipline.

## Women's participation as members and leaders of national political science associations

National political science associations (PSAs) affiliated to IPSA range greatly in size. The largest association, the American Political Science Association (APSA), had around 13,600 members at the time of the survey. Unfortunately some of the largest PSAs were unable to provide gender-disaggregated membership data at the time of the 2013 survey (see Table 1).

Table 1 Membership of the largest PSAs, 2013 Survey

| Name of Association | Total Membership | \% Women |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| American PSA | 13,588 | 29.4 |
| Indian PSA | 2800 | Not known |
| Korean PSA | 1983 | 11.7 |
| UK PSA | 1975 | Not known |
| Japanese PSA | 1772 | Not known |
| German PSA | 1750 | 29.1 |
| Canadian PSA | 1308 | 34.1 |
| Brazilian PSA | 1009 | 37.5 |
| Argentine PSA | 900 | 51.1 |
| Russian PSA | 725 | 41.4 |
| Swiss PSA | 603 | 37.0 |
| Mexican PSA | 566 | 44.5 |
| French PSA | 520 | 40.0 |

Most of the PSAs affiliated to IPSA have between 100 and 600 members. However, there are also some with less than 100 members such as those of Cameroun, the Czech Republic, Kazakhstan, Lithuania, Slovenia and Tunisia.

Not only are there variations in the size of PSAs, but also very significant variation in the participation and inclusion of women both as members and in leadership positions. In rare cases such as the very new Tunisian PSA women form a majority of members. Women form around half of the membership of the Argentine, Bolivian and Turkish PSAs. In contrast, women formed only 12 per cent of the Korean PSA and the Japanese PSA had no data on women's membership. The more usual pattern, for the majority of national associations, is for women to form around one third of total membership.

In terms of leadership positions, at the time of the 2013-14 survey women were President or Chair of PSAs in 13 of the 38 responding countries. This was the same number of PSAs with a woman president as in 2011, but there had
been considerable changeover, with only the Russian and Turkish associations reporting a female president in both surveys. In 2013-14 women held the position of PSA president or chair in the following countries:

| - Bolivia | - Brazil | - Chile | •Columbia |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| - Czech Republic | - Finland | - France | - Germany |
| - Portugual | - Russia | - Slovenia |  |
| - Switzerland | - Turkey |  |  |

At the time of the 2013-14 survey women were vice-presidents or vice-chairs in 18 PSAs, a significant increase over the 12 in 2011. Women held the position of vice-president or vice-chair in the following countries:

| - Australia | - Canada | - Chile | - Croatia |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| - France | - Germany | - India | - Ireland |
| - Kazakhstan | - Lithuania | - Poland | - Portugal |
| - Russia | - Slovenia | - South Africa | - Tunisia |
| - UK | - USA |  |  |

Women held the position of PSA secretary or secretary-general in the following 10 countries:

| - Brazil | - Canada | - Greece | - Ireland |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| - Kazakhstan | - Lithuania | - Mexico | - Poland |
| - Portugal | - Ukraine |  |  |

In general, almost all national PSAs had women on their executive bodies and as members of advisory boards: the associations that did not have women members on their executives were the Bolivian and Mexican associations. Where national PSAs publish a journal, it is common for women to constitute about one third of members of the editorial board. However in some countries such as Cameroun, Ireland and Mexico, the representation of women on editorial boards is much lower.

Some PSAs took a long time to elect a woman president (see Table 2). The largest and oldest PSA, the American Political Science Association (APSA), was founded in 1903 but took until 1989 to have its first woman president. However change has now come and women have been six of the 14 APSA presidents since the year 2000. The Canadian PSA, founded in 1912, took until 1959 to have its first woman president and has had seven women out of its total of 80 presidents. The Australian PSA, founded in 1951, had its first woman president in International Women's Year (1975) and from 1998 has had the convention of
alternating male and female presidents. There had been 13 women out of 49 presidents by the time of survey, with another to take up office in 2013.

Table 2 First women PSA presidents or chairs, selected countries

| Country or international | Date PSA established | Date first woman <br> president/chair |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| USA | 1903 | 1989 |
| Canada | 1912 | 1959 |
| India | 1938 | 1966 |
| Japan | 1948 | - |
| France | 1949 | 2005 |
| IPSA | 1949 | 1991 |
| UK | 1950 | 1993 |
| The Netherlands | 1950 | - |
| Australia | 1951 | 1975 |
| Germany | 1951 | 1988 |
| Korea | 1953 | - |
| Greece | 1955 | 2002 |
| Russia | 1955 | 2008 |
| Turkey | 1964 | 2009 |
| Italy | 1973 | - |
| Argentina | 1982 | - |
| Brazil | 1986 | 1996 |

Carole Pateman has played an exceptional leadership role in more than one PSA. In 1980 she was elected President of the Australasian Political Studies Association. In 1991 she became the first woman President of the International Political Science Association. In 2010 she was elected President of the American Political Science Association.

In most of the national PSAs two or three women, if any, have ever held the presidency. However, our survey data show that six long-established PSAs have never had a female president or chair. They are the Japanese Association, established in 1948, the Netherlands Association (1950), the Korean Association (1953), the Italian Association (1973), the Hungarian Association (1982), and the Argentinian Association (1982).

Among PSAs established since 2000 the Israeli (2000), Cameroun (2006), Kazakh and Tunisian (2011), and the Mexican association (2013), have not had a female president as yet.

## Institutional structures and good practices

The 2011 survey found that 13 national PSAs had some institutional structure such as a specialist group on gender and politics and/or a women's caucus. Generally women's caucuses have been initiated by women members of national associations and acted as a 'ginger group' in improving the status of women in the discipline and the integration of gender perspectives into curriculum. The first women's caucuses were founded in the American Political Science Association (1969), the UK (1977), Canada (1978), Australia (1979) and Germany (1995). Specialist groups on gender and politics followed in the UK (1979), USA (1986), Germany (1991), Ireland (1993) and Canada (2000). Specialist groups were responsible for organizing conferences, conference streams and prizes in the area of gender and politics (for more on the history of gendered institu-tion-building in national, international and regional political science associations see Matonyte et al 2012).

Despite the existence and activity of specialist groups on gender and politics, it is often reported that mainstreaming of gender perspectives across the discipline has failed to occur (for example, Bayes 2012). Some have pointed to the impact of new frameworks of research governance and research evaluation that privilege publication in high-impact international journals. In the UK, Emma Foster and her colleagues have suggested that such frameworks may encourage 'a movement in focus far removed from the everyday relationships, localised political processes and personal subjectivities that are key to analysing the full impact of gender relations' (Foster et al. 2013, 582).

The 2013-14 survey found that 14 national associations had either a specialist group on gender and politics or a women's caucus or had both kinds of institutional structure. In a number of cases the existence of such structures had encouraged national associations to undertake regular monitoring of the status of women in the profession and to sponsor roundtables and workshops on the reasons women do not advance at the rate that might be expected from their presence in the ranks of PhD students. In some cases such monitoring and events cover diversity more broadly. Associations that have held recent surveys and events include the UK, US, Canadian Australian and NZ PSAs (for a good overview see Curtin, 2013;Timperley 2013). These associations stress the importance of regular monitoring, to raise awareness of the 'leaky pipeline' or the 'glass ceiling' and the stalling of women's progress.

In this period the Greek and New Zealand associations also prepared special issues of their journal on women and politics. A number of associations recommended the election of women to leadership positions as a means to promote
gender equality and some, like the Australian PSA, alternated men and women in the position of president. In Australia, Ireland and Turkey women led the majority of specialised groups/research committees within the association

Many associations emphasized the encouragement of women to participate in conferences; those reporting on conference participation showed women playing an active role as participants and panel chairs, in some cases notably higher than their representation in association membership. For example, women were two-thirds of paper givers and panel chairs at the most recent annual conference of the Turkish PSA and almost half the panel chairs at the Uruguayan PSA's conference. A few of the larger associations provided childcare at conferences. Some associations stressed the importance of having mentoring systems within the profession, to ensure women received the informal advice and support often crucial in careers. Awards or scholarships for gender or feminist research were also one of the measures undertaken and supported, in order to increase recognition and status of such research.

## IPSA research on the status of women in political life and women's participation in IPSA

The global gender monitoring surveys now being undertaken by IPSA are part of a long history of gender initiatives. Since its foundation IPSA has encouraged women to participate in its scientific projects, research committees and world congresses and has also paid particular attention to the subject of women and politics. As noted in the introduction, one of IPSA's very first projects, initiated by a request from the UN Commission on the Status of Women and directed by Maurice Duverger, was an examination of the participation of women in political life. This study, published in 1955 was the first cross-national survey-based research on women's electoral participation and a pioneering work, despite subsequent criticism from a feminist perspective of its failure to distinguish between sex and gender.

The involvement of women in politics, the study of politics by women and the integration of feminist critiques into political science are, of course, separate matters. By the 1970s IPSA was responding to the arrival of the 'second wave' of the feminist movement and claims by women for greater voice both within politics and the way politics was conceptualized within political science. A Study Group on Sex Roles and Politics was established in 1976 and became a Research Committee in 1979. As Drude Dahlerup has observed $(2010,89)$, this opened up new opportunities for global research co-operation on introducing gender perspectives to political science.

Not surprisingly, IPSA also took up concerns about the status of women in political science and in 1978 commissioned a report on the subject from its study group on Sex Roles and Politics. This was later followed by the creation of a special subcommittee of the executive committee with terms of reference designed to promote the role of women in the association. At the time the IPSA Executive was an all-male body; the only woman to have served on it was Sirkka Sinkkonen in 1973-1976.

The creation of the subcommittee was prompted by Carole Pateman's report on the status of women in IPSA and she went on to chair the new Committee on Women's Issues. Its objectives were to monitor the position of women in IPSA and to recommend ways to improve the situation.

In 1985, the era of all-male Executive committees came to end. With the election of Carole Pateman to the Executive and then as First Vice-President in 1988, change was under way. She became the first woman IPSA President in 1991. The number of women on the Executive continued to rise thereafter. In 1995 IPSA began monitoring the level of involvement of women in IPSA and to provide regular reports with sex-disaggregated data of its membership.

In 1998, the Committee on Women's Issues was replaced by the Committee on the Status of Women and Diversity of Participation (to be known in abbreviated form as the Committee on Participation), a continuation of the former committee, but with extended terms of reference, chaired by Renato Boschi. The IPSA subcommittee on participation strives to encourage the participation of women in the association and beyond it, with a view to facilitating contacts between women political scientists throughout the world.

## IPSA Council

The Council is the General Assembly of the IPSA and is its highest decision-making body. It is composed of representatives of each collective member, who have an assigned number of votes in the Council. Council representatives from each country are named by their association. In the 1990s, the number of women representative rose from around $15-20$ per cent to $25-30$ per cent in the first decade of the new millennium. In 2012 the percentage rose to 52.9 per cent (see Table 3). This reflects a general trend of improvement in women's status in political science associations around the world but also IPSA's recommendation that national associations ensure gender balance among their representatives (and alternates) to the IPSA Council.

## IPSA Executive Committee

Since the election of Carole Pateman in 1985, a little more than 25 years ago, there have been impressive improvements in women's participation in the IPSA Executive Committee (EC). Since 2006, Women have made up at least one third of the IPSA EC (see Table 3).

Moreover, from 2012 to 2014, two out of five key positions in the IPSA EC were held by women: Helen Milner (President) and Teresa Sasinska-Klas (Vice-President for Europe and Africa). The election of Helen Milner to the presidency signalled a new trend where the presidency alternates between men and women, a trend that started with the election of Lourdes Sola in 2006 (2006-2009 period).

## IPSA Gender Research Committees

IPSA sponsors three research committees with a specific interest in applying a gender lens to politics. In 1976 the study group on Sex Roles and Politics was established. In 1979, it was given research committee status as RC19. In 2003, after a vote by its members, RC19 changed its name to Gender, Politics and Policy.

Another initiative was the creation in 1988 of a study group on Women, Politics and Developing Nations, which became a research committee in 1992. Finally in 2002, IPSA recognized the research committee on Gender, Globalization and Democracy. The three gender-oriented research committees have collaborated in running pre-Congress workshops on different themes. In 2012, for example, the theme was intersectionality and women's movements. In 2013, RC19 ran an inter-Congress meeting in Helsinki on the potential and limits of Nordic equality politics in times of globalisation and in 2014 a large pre-Congress workshop in Montreal on gender and nationalism.

## IPSA Membership

In 2012, IPSA reached its highest proportion of women members to date with women forming 39.1 per cent of members (around 16 percentage points higher than a decade earlier), breaking the 2009 record of 36 per cent (see Table 3). The percentage stabilised at 37 in 2013. As the individual membership in IPSA had more than quadrupled during this period (from 822 in 2002 to 4,045 in 2012; and 3,485 in 2013) this represents hundreds (if not thousands) of women political scientists joining IPSA for the first time.

## IPSA World Congress of Political Science and Research Committees

For the 2006 Congress IPSA produced a directory of 701 women political scientists from within its membership. Participation of women in IPSA Congresses has continued to rise. From 26 per cent at the Fukuoka Congress in 2006 and 37 per cent at the Santiago Congress in 2009, it jumped to 42 per cent in Madrid in 2012 (see Table 3). This represents a substantial upswing in women's participation to IPSA Congresses since the 14.2 per cent in 1988 and the around 20 per cent in the 1990s and early 2000s.

Additionally, IPSA was able in 2012 to compile the number of congress panel convenors for the first time since 2000. Close to 33 per cent of congress panel convenors in Madrid were women, a considerable rise from the 24 per cent in Quebec in 2000 and the average 16 per cent registered during the 1990s.

Closely related to the rise in women's role as panel convenors at IPSA Congresses is their enhanced role in IPSA's research committees. While women were less than 20 per cent of research committee chairs between the late 1980s and 2012, in 2012-13 this figure rose to 33.3 per cent (see Table 3).

## IPSA Awards

## Wilma Rule Award

In 2000, IPSA introduced an award for best Congress paper on gender and politics, to recognize and highlight the contribution of gender scholarship to the discipline the Wilma Rule award. The award was established in honour of the pioneering work by Wilma Rule on the impact of electoral systems on women's legislative representation.

The award has been made to six women since 2000, the most recipient being Amanda Gouws for her paper 'Multiculturalism in South Africa: Dislodging the Binary between Universal Human Rights and Culture/Tradition' (2012).

## Other IPSA Awards

Many women have won IPSA awards in recent years but until 2014 no women had been awarded the most prestigious IPSA awards, such as the Karl Deutsch Award and the Prize of the Foundation Mattei Dogan. Finally, in 2014, Pippa Norris was awarded the Karl Deutsch Award, which honours a prominent scholar engaged in cross-disciplinary research. Norris has won many honours, including the Johan Skytte Prize with Ronald Inglehart, and is known for bringing a gender perspective to her authoritative work on public opinion, voting behaviour and electoral integrity.

Women's share of other IPSA awards has been as follows.

- Stein Rokkan Award:30\% of recipients; since 1982.
- Francesco Kjellberg Award:33.3\% of recipients; since 1988.
- RC01 Award for Concept Analysis in Political Science: 25\% of recipients; since 2003.
- RC27 Ulrich Kloeti Award: 25\% of recipients, since 2009.


## International Political Science Review (IPSR)

In 1995, 15 years after its creation, the International Political Science Review (IPSR) named its first women co-editor, Nazli Choucri (1995-2001). Since then, three more women have served as editors of IPSR:, Kay Lawson (2001-2009), Yvonne Galligan (2007-2012) and Marian Sawer (2012-). The percentage of women as IPSR authors has fluctuated (see Table 3), with no discernible trend.

Table 3 Percentage (\%) of women in various IPSA activities

| Year | IPSA <br> members | Congress <br> papergivers | Congress <br> convenors | Council <br> members | RC/SG <br> chairs | IPSR <br> authors | EC <br> members |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1988 | N/A | 14.2 | 15.6 | 13.8 | 13.3 | 6.0 | 11.1 |
| 1991 | N/A | 18.4 | 14.9 | 15.3 | 16.3 | 14.3 | 27.8 |
| 1994 | N/A | 20.3 | 19.3 | 20.8 | 12.2 | 17.3 | 27.8 |
| 1995 | N/A | - | - | - | 12.2 | 19.2 | 27.8 |
| 1996 | 19.4 | - | - | - | 10.0 | 7.1 | 27.8 |
| 1997 | 22.7 | 20.2 | 13.1 | 14.9 | 12.0 | 7.7 | 27.8 |
| 1998 | 19.0 | - | - | - | 14.0 | 19.2 | 16.7 |
| 1999 | 20.3 | - | - | - | 14.6 | 16.0 | 16.7 |
| 2000 | 24.2 | 20.1 | 23.5 | 28.6 | N/A | 31.0 | 33.3 |
| 2001 | 23.0 | - | - | - | N/A | 27.3 | 33.3 |
| 2002 | 23.1 | - | - | - | N/A | 35.5 | 33.3 |
| 2003 | 26.2 | 20.0 | N/A | 24.0 | 19.4 | 10.0 | 23.5 |
| 2004 | 20.6 | - | - | - | 19.4 | 8.4 | 23.5 |
| 2005 | 25.6 | - | - | - | 19.4 | 17.5 | 23.5 |
| 2006 | 29.7 | 26.0 | N/A | 31.9 | N/A | 16.7 | 33.3 |
| 2007 | 26.4 | - | - | - | N/A | 13.8 | 33.3 |
| 2008 | 23.9 | - | - | - | N/A | 17.6 | 33.3 |
| 2009 | 36.0 | 37.0 | N/A | 27.9 | 16.0 | 24.3 | 38.8 |
| 2010 | 30.8 | - | - | - | 16.0 | 32.6 | 38.8 |
| 2011 | 29.9 | - | - | - | 16.0 | 18.4 | 38.8 |
| 2012 | 39.1 | 42.0 | 32.6 | 52.9 | 33.3 | 29.2 | 33.3 |
| 2013 | 37.0 | - | - | - | 33.3 | 33.3 | 33.3 |

* It should also be noted that the data are indicative rather than definitive, in that in many cases analysis is based on probabilistic assumptions about gender based on first names. In the case of "IPSR authors", the data refer to the proportion of articles authored by women, making appropriate allowance for multi-authored articles.


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## Appendix 1. Associations responding to the 2013 IPSA Gender Monitoring Survey

North America

American Political Science Association Canadian Political Science Association

## South America

Asociación Uruguaya de Ciencia Política Asociación Chilena de Ciencia Política Asociacion Boliviana de Ciencia Politica Associação Brasileira de Ciência Política Asociacion Colombiana de Ciencia Politica Asociación Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas Sociedad Argentina de Análisis Politico

## Europe

Associaçao Portuguesa de Ciencia Politica Association Belge de Science Politique Association Française de Science Politique Association suisse de science politique Association of Political Sciences of Ukraine Czech Political Science Association Croatian Political Science Association Dutch Political Science Association Finnish Political Science Association German Political Science Association Hellenic Political Science Association Hungarian Political Science Association Lithuanian Political Science Association Polish Association of Political Science Political Studies Association of Ireland Political Studies Association (UK) Russian Political Science Association Slovenian Political Science Association Società Italiana di Scienza Politica Turkish Political Science Association

Asia and Pacific
Australian Political Studies Association Indian Political Science Association Israel Political Science Association Japanese Political Science Association Korean Political Science Association Kazakhstan Association of Political Science

## Africa

Association tunisienne d'études politiques Société Camerounaise de Science Politique South African Association of Political Studies

## Appendix 2. Survey Questionnaire

## Gender Monitoring 2013

Name of your political science association *


Your E-mail *


1. How many members did your association have in 2013 ? How many women?

2. How many women currently hold a leadership position in your association?

3. In what year was your association established?
$\square$

In what year did the first woman become President of your association? (state clearly if your association has never had a woman President)


How many women have held the positions of President and Secretary General since your association was established?

4. Does your association have:A women's caucus (a group concerned primarily with the status of women in the discipline)A specialist group on gender and politicsA research committee on gender and politics or feminism and politicsA working group on gender representation

[^0]5. If your association has specialist groups or research committees, how many women hold leadership positions (convenor, chair etc.) in these? Please fill in the numbers if you have the data.No data available

6. How many women participated in your last national conference? How many presented a paper? Please fill in the numbers if you have the data.

7. Does your association publish a scholarly journal? If so, how many women are current members of the editorial board?No journal published

|  | Total Women |
| :---: | :---: |
| Members of editorial board |  |
|  | $\square$ |

8. Does your association undertake one or several of the following strategies to promote equal opportunities? Please check more than one box if appropriate.Commitment to gender representation and other related issues in a code of conduct (e.g. sexual harassment, equal opportunities for women and men, policy on the representation of women)Convention that women and men alternate in leadership positions (such as President)Commitment to gender representation and other related issues in the association's statutesTools or mechanisms for the promotion of gender representation and equality and other equity issuesMonitoring or regular reporting on gender representation and other related issues in the disciplineMentoring system for women including for female studentsEncouraging women to participate in call for papers for conferences or publicationsProvision of childcare at conferencesAwards, scholarships or fellowships for women of for gender / feminist researchMonitoring or regular reporting on other diversity issues

* Please name the type of diversity monitoring undertaken.

Other strategies to promote equal opportunities such as:
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
9. Among the strategies you use to promote gender equality in your association, which do you regard as most successful? Which would you recommend to other associations?

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[^0]:    If yes, when was it established? (Year)

