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Gender in Bethel University's Political Science Department: A Qualitative Study of the
Experiences of Female Political Science Students

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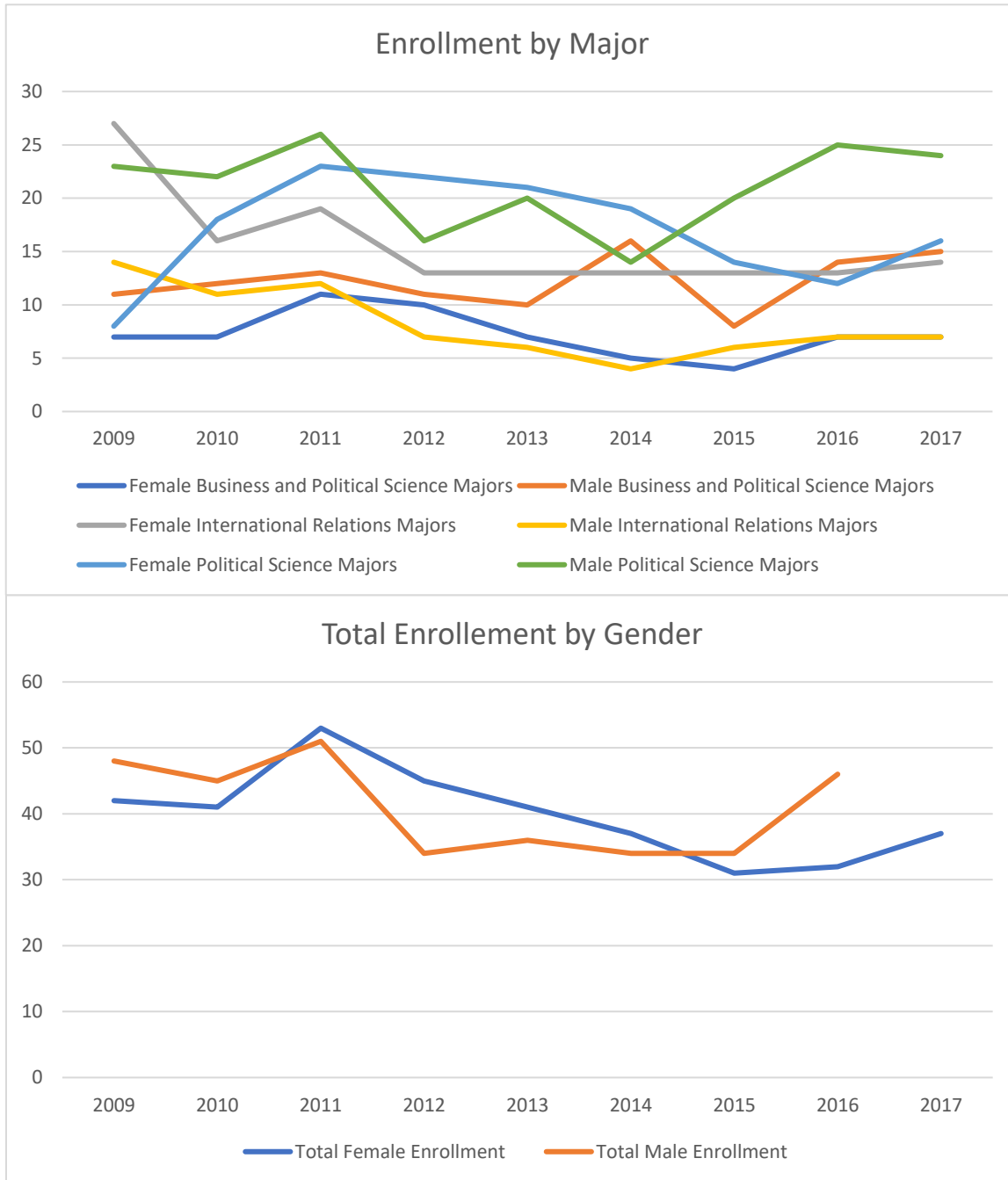
May 2018

Introduction

In one political science class I took recently, I noticed some interesting behaviors among myself and my classmates. I initially observed that most of the women were sitting on one side, while most of the men were sitting on the other; my initial thought was “this is typical of Bethel,” but then I began to think more critically about what I was observing, and I noticed some other behaviors. For example, I picked my spot according to where I wanted to sit, and then other students began to sit around me, and all those students were men. For small group discussion, I was in a group with four men. In this group, if we had to take notes or write on the board, all but once I was the group “scribe”—supposedly because I had the neatest handwriting. Now, I am trusting that none of my classmates were maliciously trying to relegate me to a secretarial position, but that is essentially what happened, and none of us realized it or questioned it—myself included.

This situation got me thinking about the role that gender plays in politics, and this course gave me the opportunity to closely examine how gender may be playing a role in the Political Science Department at Bethel. Currently, Bethel has no female political science professors, despite intentional efforts to look for female candidates during the most recent hiring process. Statistically speaking, the Political Science Department, which consists of three majors: Political Science, Business and Political Science, and International Relations, is comprised of 45% female students and 55% male students; the average between Fall 2009 and Fall 2017 is 49% female and 51% male. So, although almost half of students in the department are female, the faculty does not reflect that. (Note that the above data does not fully account for variables such as undeclared but pursuant majors, adding or dropping the majors, it just gives basic, cold numbers.) Gender parity is a prolonged and serious issue in political science, political science departments, and the

political arena throughout the United States. This begs the question: where does Bethel fit into this? The intention of this paper is not to be a diatribe against Bethel’s Political Science Department, but to explore how gender affects the department.



This paper will explore a survey of literature pertaining to women in political science and politics, the results of my observations and findings, and the implications and conclusions thereof. The main questions I seek to answer are as follows: Is there gendered cultural behavior occurring within the department? If so, what is the nature of this behavior? What are the experiences of female political science students here at Bethel?

Literature Review

Through a survey of relevant literature, some common themes that emerged were marginalization, mentorship (or the lack thereof), gender imbalance, the “Leaky Pipeline,” and gender socialization. These themes were taken from literature that generally addressed post-graduate students or women in politics. These themes inform my research in that they study, describe, and explain factors and events that are also occurring here at Bethel to certain degrees. If nothing else, the Political Science Department at Bethel is one part of an extensive web in the world of American political science, an area which still does not fully reflect demographics, and where women face structural challenges to success.

Bethel is not in isolation in this area; more men teach political science than women, hold senior positions, publish, are cited and assigned, run for office and get elected—despite women constituting roughly half the population. Through a survey of diverse literature, I examine a variety of sub-topics to inform the rest of my research about the experiences of female political science students here at Bethel.

On the macro level, there is a “leaky pipeline” for women in political science and politics.¹ This means that female political science students have fewer female role models in the upper echelons of political science and politics to look up to and see themselves occupying those positions in the future.² When more women are voices in the field of political science or as politicians, more women elsewhere will be on a better footing as well.³ There are factors that are contributing to this, and this research and literature review will explore some of those factors.

The first area to look at is role models and mentorship. Research suggests that “female instructors do positively influence course selection and major choice in some disciplines, thus supporting a possible role-model effect.”⁴ Some of this occurs in the lack of citation assignment of female authors as well.⁵ “According to citation-based measures, very few women are intellectual models or leaders.”⁶ Under-citation and under-assignment has other negative repercussions for women in the field because it stalls their reputational growth which perpetuates gender inequalities, but in this particular area, it subliminally tells female students that there are not women already in the field and actively contributing, which may deter some women from pursuing a career in political science, if they anticipate they will be an outsider.⁷ Fewer female role models and leaders also means that fewer women serve as “gatekeepers” into the field,

¹ Eric P. Bettinger and Bridget Terry Long, “Do Faculty Serve as Role Models? The Impact of Instructor Gender on Female Students,” *The American Economic Review*, 95, no. 2 (2005): 152.

² *Ibid.*, 153-154.

³ Michele Swers, “Understanding the Policy Impact of Electing Women: Evidence from Research on Congress and State Legislatures,” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 34, no. 2 (2001): 218.

⁴ Eric P. Bettinger and Bridget Terry Long, “Do Faculty Serve as Role Models? The Impact of Instructor Gender on Female Students,” *The American Economic Review*, 95, no. 2 (2005): 153, 156.

⁵ Jane Lawrence Sumner, “The Gender Balance Assessment Tool (GBAT): A Web-Based Tool for Estimating Gender Balance in Syllabi and Bibliographies,” *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 51 no. 2 (2018): 396.

⁶ Jill Vickers, “Can We Change How Political Science Thinks? ‘Gender Mainstreaming’ in a Resistant Discipline.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 48, no. 4 (2015): 761.

⁷ Jane Lawrence Sumner, “The Gender Balance Assessment Tool (GBAT): A Web-Based Tool for Estimating Gender Balance in Syllabi and Bibliographies,” *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 51 no. 2 (2018): 396-399.

which can also limit the access and success of future women.⁸ “If the current rate of progress is maintained, it will not be until the late 2030s that the percentage of female academics in political science is comparable to the percentage of female undergraduate students.”⁹ The “leaky pipeline” is less leaky than before, but women still have a long way to go,¹⁰ and one way to do this is to provide mentorship and encouragement.¹¹

A second area of significance is gender stereotypes and socialization, and gendered institutions. Men and women view politics differently,¹² and men and women are socialized differently.¹³ More attention needs to be given to the role of gender in political institutions.¹⁴ Gender can be defined “as a set of social norms based on accepted ideas and practices about femininity and masculinity; norms that can be, but are not necessarily, aligned with and assigned to women and men. How men and women situate themselves in relation to masculine and feminine institutional norms is a dynamic political process.”¹⁵ Gender is embedded in political institutions through ongoing practices, value and expectations of appropriate behavior. The products of these institutions—laws, policies, and rules—are imbued with these internal values and come to shape societal norms and expectations that are then reflected back on to institutions;

⁸ Jill Vickers, “Can We Change How Political Science Thinks? ‘Gender Mainstreaming’ in a Resistant Discipline.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 48, no. 4 (2015): 747.

⁹ Stephen Bates, Laura Jenkins, and Zoe Pflaeger, “Women in the Profession: The Composition of UK Political Science Departments by Sex,” *Politics* 32, no. 3 (2012): 150.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 143.

¹¹ R. Fox and J. Lawless, “Gaining and Losing Interest in Running for Public Office: The Concept of Dynamic Political Ambition,” *The Journal of Politics*, 73, no. 2 (2011): 446.

¹² Jill Vickers, “Can We Change How Political Science Thinks? ‘Gender Mainstreaming’ in a Resistant Discipline.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 48, no. 4 (2015): 752.

¹³ K. L. Fridkin and P. J. Kenney, “Examining the Gender Gap in Children’s Attitudes Toward Politics,” *Sex Roles*, 56, no. 3-4 (2007): 135.

¹⁴ Louise Chappell, “Comparative Gender and Institutions: Directions for Research,” *Perspectives on Politics*, 8, no. 1 (2010): 183.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 184.

in this sense gender and institutional outcomes can be seen as mutually reinforcing.”¹⁶

“Institutions are gendered, meaning, gender is present in the processes, practices, images, and ideologies, and distributions of power in the various sectors of social life. Thus, male behavior is regarded as the norm in legislative institutions and women feel pressure to adapt to those expectations.”¹⁷ The gendering of institutions is perpetuated by stereotypes and socialization, weaving a complicated web that is difficult to change, which continually inhibits the progress of women, albeit subliminally.

“Whether right or wrong, stereotypes are part of shared cultural knowledge, and stereotypes, such as those about women, even span cultural boundaries.”¹⁸ “Stereotypes are ubiquitous cultural constructs defining the appropriate social roles and behaviors for women.”¹⁹ “Stereotypes about women are multidimensional constructs reflecting beliefs about traditional gender roles, behaviors, and traits. As definitional boundaries, gender role stereotypes relegate women to positions in the home as mothers, wives, and caregivers.”²⁰ “The stereotype socialization process is self-reinforcing: individuals learn to expect women will embody a set of characteristics, many women *do* embody these characteristics, and this cyclical process confirms the preexisting beliefs and thus reinforces stereotypic expectations.”²¹ “Prescriptive gender stereotypes have the greatest potential for limiting the success of women attempting to take on nontraditional leadership roles that might require them to behave in counter-stereotypic ways;”

¹⁶ Louise Chappell, “Comparative Gender and Institutions: Directions for Research,” *Perspectives on Politics*, 8, no. 1 (2010): 185.

¹⁷ Michele Swers, “Understanding the Policy Impact of Electing Women: Evidence from Research on Congress and State Legislatures,” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 34, no. 2 (2001): 218.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 24.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 28.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 24.

²¹ Michele Swers, “Understanding the Policy Impact of Electing Women: Evidence from Research on Congress and State Legislatures,” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 34, no. 2 (2001): 26-27.

however, the consequences thereof are often negative for female candidates because they have to come across as assertive and tough, but in the next breath may be accused of being unfeminine.

“Previous research on women in academia has shown that structural factors that reproduce men’s dominance hinder women’s career aspirations in universities. Key features that contribute to women’s slow career development include unofficial flows of information, the invisibility of women to their male colleagues, disrespect of women’s scientific merit, the segregation of women’s and men’s jobs and the difficult position of young female researchers.”²² “Gender differences and hierarchies are produced through a gendered division of labor that defines women’s and men’s jobs and the different values attached to them.”²³ “Gendered symbols could be seen to operate on two levels. They define both what is legitimate political science and what a proper political scientist looks like. Both definitions were based on masculine norms.”²⁴ It is problematic if those high up in the hierarchy value women’s and men’s expertise in different ways, because this places women and men in different positions at the very start.”²⁵

Methods

For my research, I conducted interviews with female political science students and political science professors. The student interviewees had a variety of backgrounds, experiences at Bethel, and majors. These interviews were kept confidential, and interviewees were presented with and signed informed consent forms clearly explaining the nature of my research. I also conducted participant observations, in which I observed the behavior, language, and participation

²² Johanna Kantola, “‘Why Do All the Women Disappear?’ Gendering Processes in a Political Science Department,” *Gender, Work & Organization* 15, no. 2 (2008): 203.

²³ Johanna Kantola, “‘Why Do All the Women Disappear?’ Gendering Processes in a Political Science Department,” *Gender, Work & Organization* 15, no. 2 (2008): 207.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 213.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 216.

levels of students in several political science classes and compared the behavioral differences between men and women.

The questions I asked interviewees, with some variation depending on the direction conversation went and whether the interviewee was a student or a professor were as follows:

- What piqued your initial interest and motivated you to pursue a degree in political science?
- What are your career plans?
- How would you describe your experience as a female student in the Political Science Department here at Bethel? How would you describe teaching here at Bethel's Political Science Department?
- Have you found it challenging to be a female political science student here? How so? What challenges do you think female political science students face?
- Have you ever observed gendered behavior either in yourself or your peers in political science classes or departmental activities? In your students?
- How do you think your male peers perceive you? /How do you think male students perceive their female peers?
- How connected or integrated into the department do you feel?
- Do you think Bethel's history and/or culture have contributed to how the department currently is?
- What do you think would happen if Bethel were to hire a female political science professor?
- Some female students have shared that they have a hard time contributing in class or to the department. How do you try to make class or department activities a place where students feel comfortable enough to participate meaningfully?

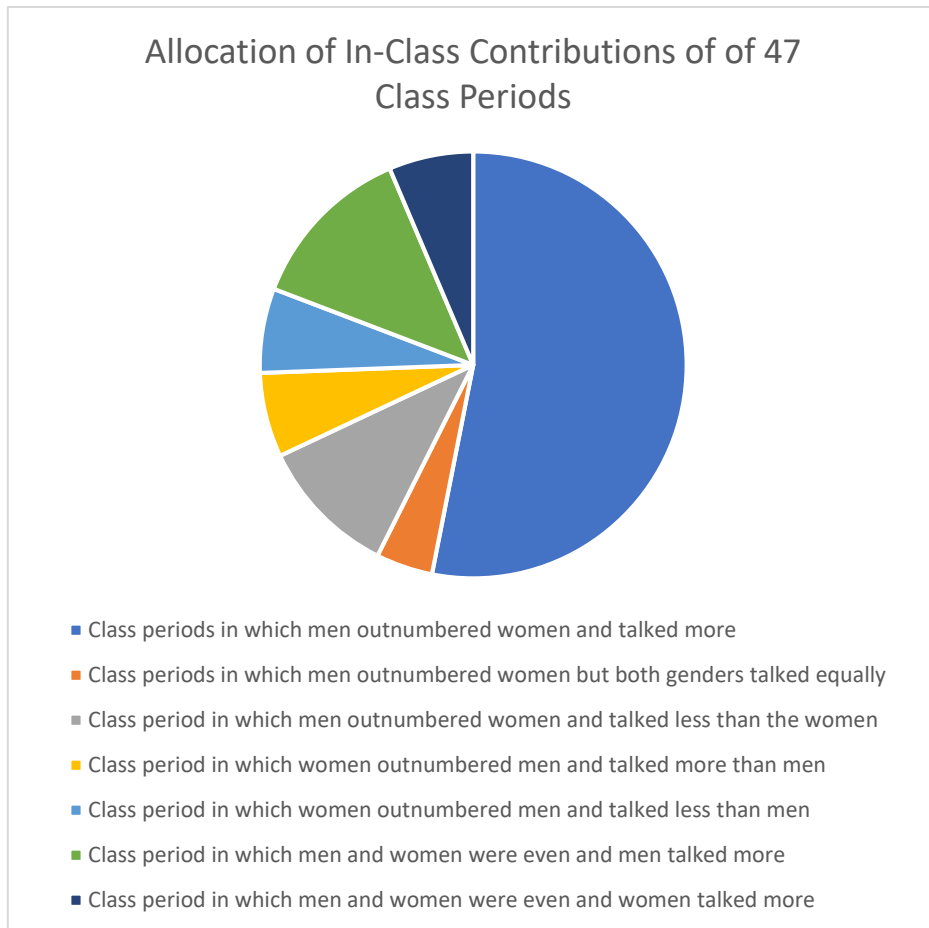
The classrooms I observed were classes in which I was enrolled, and I did my best to participate as I normally would in a classroom setting. Class 1 has 45.2% female students, and 54.8% male students. Class 2 has 45.7% female students, and 54.3% male students. Class 3 has 43.8% female students, and 56.2% male students. Each class period, I counted how many male and female students were present, dividing those numbers by total attendance to obtain percent men and women present. Then, over the course of class, I would tally each time (to the best of my ability) a student spoke, recorded if they were male or female, and often recorded the nature of their comments. I would then divide the number of times men and women contributed by the

total number of contributions to obtain percent men and women speaking in class. These results and observations were used to determine how much men and women were contributing in class, and the nature of those contributions.

Findings

The findings of my research have been organized into a series of themes that I will explicate based on data from interviews and observations.

The first theme we will discuss is the *participation levels and the nature of participation*. I considered participation to be raising one’s hand to share an answer or ask a question or calling out an answer when it was prompted. More often than not, men talk more than women in class. Most female student interviewees described the struggle to contribute in class, either because of



concern for how they would be perceived by others, their own insecurities about their competence and grasp of subject matter, or the fact that they do not feel the need to process verbally. Several female student interviewees explained that it was easier to contribute if they had

a means of being drawn out into the conversation, or once they developed relationships with their classmates, especially their female peers, or when the classes were smaller, and the overall dynamic was much more close-knit. Professor interviewees also consistently noted that generally speaking, male students tend to dominate class discussion, and they have used varying approaches in efforts to account for that. However, these systems are not perfect, but on the other hand, they arguably do not need to be, since not every student is inclined to or able to contribute at the same level or in the same way as their peers, so some sort of “class-participation affirmative action” would be arguably absurd.

There were also some consistent classroom behaviors that I observed. Generally speaking, women sat next to other women, and men sat next to other men, often this would result in a predominately female side of the classroom and a predominantly male side of the classroom; if nothing else, students were almost always sitting at least adjacent to someone of the same gender. Although there is nothing inherently wrong with this behavior, and it is not exclusive to the Political Science Department, it limits the voices and perspectives from which students hear in small group discussion for example. Male and female students often did not talk to each other unless there was a preexisting relationship, but cross-gender interactions in the classroom also increased as the semester went on, presumably because some level of relationship developed over the course of the semester. Another classroom behavior that I observed was how women speak up: often it was less assured, or quiet at first, and then the professor would draw them out. Or female students would preface their question or comment with something along the lines of “this might be a stupid question, but...” There were multiple female student interviewees that were concerned with how their peers and professors perceived them, in that they did not want to come across as stupid or ignorant, or that they have already spoken too much, which often

precluded them from speaking. Needless to say, there is a lack of self-confidence in the classroom in female students, thus limiting their engagement and integration into the class and subject matter.

The second theme is the *challenges that female political science students face*. As the previous theme implies, female students face challenges in the classroom when discussion is dominated by men. Several interviewees, both student and professor noted that many female students tend to defer to their male peers for various reasons, such as a personal sense of incompetence in a subject area, concern about the perceptions of others, concern about having the “wrong” answer, etc. Furthermore, some interviewees also asserted that some male students may assume that women are deferring to them because they prefer not to contribute. One professor described that when discussion is dominated by men, it often causes women to defer further to men, thus creating a vicious cycle of cross-purposes and decreasing female classroom participation. Professors and students alike also identified the challenge women face of subliminal sexism and poor representation in upper echelons of academia and politics. Subliminal sexism may manifest itself in micro aggressive comments, that often go unnoticed because we are desensitized to them, unsuccessfully eradicated sexist practices in hiring or institutional norms, which often results in poor representation of women and People of Color.

The lack of women and People of Color in positions of leadership and authority makes relating to goals, ideologies, and narratives more challenging for some groups, and it is harder to picture oneself in a similar position because there is not a picture to which they can aspire. One female student interviewee directly described this as a significant challenge for her, in that she found it difficult to enter into narratives, picture herself in the future, and see how some topics applied to her because the voices of women and People of Color were not included in the

narrative. Another component of the challenge that comes with having insufficient female role models is that fewer women are cited and assigned in the courses taught in this department; therefore, at least in class, women are exposed to few voices and perspectives that are closer to their own. Additionally, when asked to describe a “typical political scientist,” almost every female student interviewee said something along the lines of “white, middle-aged man who is relatively well-dressed, is well-read, and kind of nerdy.” The frequency of this response demonstrates that female political science students do not picture someone representative of themselves when asked to describe a political scientist.

Another challenge that female political science students face is sexism and incredulity. Although each interviewee could not point to instances or practices that they found to be overtly sexist, many mentioned subliminal practices, such as how some of Bethel’s culture and history promotes college as a dating or match-making service or relegates men and women to particular gender roles. Professors described comments their female colleagues have shared with them about having children or male students challenging their authority and expertise. When interviewees were asked about a hypothetical situation in which Bethel hired a new professor who was female, there were two common parts to their responses: first, that it would be an excellent addition, because it would add relational depth and a new perspective; and second, there is concern about how they would be received, and interviewees did not want to assume that simply the presence of a female professor would fix all of the other issues and challenges female students face.

A third theme that has arisen through my research is the *institutional factors* that have contributed to the current condition of the Political Science Department. Due to the hiring practices, parameters, and applicant pool for hiring over the last several years, the department is

staffed how it is today. Attention and concern was intentionally given to diversity, but because of other factors, the pool of qualified applicants was limited. This should not be taken as a critique of any of the current faculty, rather it is a brief explanation of the recent history of the department. The professors also shared that they are acutely aware of the demographic within their department, and they have striven to be sensitive to the implications thereof.

Fourth, throughout interviews with female students, the existence of a *set of assumed knowledge and behavior* has surfaced, which has contributed to *marginalization* and *limited integration* within the department. Several female student interviewees, especially those who are double majoring, have described an assumed set of knowledge and behavior that helps one be socially and intellectually integrated into the department. First, one is expected to be very up to date on current events. Second, one is expected to participate in certain department activities, such as Model United Nations, Pi Sigma Alpha, College Democrats or College Republicans. Third, unless one is a declared major, they may not receive all relevant department news, and for students who are double majoring, they feel spread thin and often forced to choose between their two majors.

This assumed knowledge and behavior can be incredibly marginalizing if one does not participate or buy in in the same or expected way. This lack of social integration can limit the social and professional connections students may develop, or if they cannot picture themselves like everyone else or they feel that the narratives do not represent them, social and intellectual integration can be severely stunted. This is especially harmful when you consider the mental, emotional, social, and intellectual growth that occurs during college, and it can also affect how female students pursue post-graduate degrees and careers.

The problem for the department with marginalization and limited integration is that even if a student is double majoring and may therefore have other networks, or they choose to withdraw or only partially integrate, they are still connected with the Political Science Department of Bethel University, so if there are social and intellectual issues and disparities, it behooves the department in multiple ways to change that trend.

The above themes have portrayed a multifaceted assessment of the current state of the department, but the next two themes indicate what the department is doing well and what it can continue to do to improve. Some other manifestations of the department's health include relative gender parity among students statistically speaking, and the variety of ideas and perspectives among students and professors, academic rigor and ideological humility and curiosity, and sensitivity to areas of need and growth just to briefly name a few.

The fifth theme is that of *relationship*. Without exception, every interviewee at some point mentioned the value of relationship between colleagues, peers, and in student-professor relationships. Several interviewees described in detail how much the relationships they have formed within the department have been meaningful to them, and how Bethel's intentionality surrounding relationship contributes to these relationships. Interviewees shared how relationships with their peers affected their inclinations to respond in classes, as well as their desire to be involved in the department in other ways. However, due to challenges of cross-gender relationships, there are limits to the relationships between female students and male professors. Since the power and value of relationships in the department has been thoroughly established, this provides great optimism and potential when viewed considering the other aforementioned themes. Increased and enhanced relationships within the department will benefit the department

by promoting social and intellectual growth, and there is significant potential for growth to occur because of the existing relational foundation of Bethel and the department's culture.

The final theme flows directly from the previous one: *mentorship*. As previously established, there are limits to the current professor-student relationships, but relationship is a key factor in the social and intellectual success of students, and some female students' needs are not being met currently. Multiple professors described certain situations where they have addressed the need for female students to have female mentors. Furthermore, almost every female student interviewee discussed their desire for female mentorship in their field, and for some, how they have pursued that and how it has helped them to grow for the better. Some have found mentorship in other departments, through family and other social connections, other female supervisors, and they have extrapolated the lessons they have learned upon their engagement with political science. Mentorship has also proven to be a significant component to retention according to my preliminary research and can help prepare female students for their future goals and endeavors.

Discussion

Ultimately, there are significant connections between relationship, mentorship, confidence, and social and intellectual integration. When students feel more integrated, they are more inclined to be meaningfully engaged, which may contribute to the improvement of gender parity in class discussions and prepare students to be stronger leaders and interlocutors. Confidence in one's own skills and knowledge are also a significant factor in female contributions, so it is important to foster an environment in which encouragement and empowerment are key, otherwise these trends may never change.

In comparison to other political science departments I encountered in my preliminary research, Bethel is doing exceptionally well. The department has relatively close gender parity between its majors, is sensitive and curious about gender and its role in the department, has a legacy of strong female political scientists, both in Stacey Hunter Hecht and alum. Bethel is a product of broader social norms about the role of women in academia, politics, and the home that is informed by gender socialization, evangelicalism, and history. Bethel as an institution and the Political Science Department as subordinate institution perpetuate these norms, and the various aspects of this reality complicate one another. Since Bethel is not in isolation in this issue, students will be continually faced with these realities once they leave; therefore, there is a need to address them at the level where we have the capacity to do so and contribute to positively preparing and equipping female students to encounter those future situations with confidence and a sense of empowerment and dignity.

Conclusion

Throughout this project I was able to answer my main research questions about the role of gender in the Political Science Department here at Bethel, and I learned meaningful lessons about the experiences of women within the department. Further research could entail studying more classes and engaging in broad surveys of the major about gender and gender roles. Research could also extend to examining how students have connected to female mentors from other departments. It would also be interesting to hear from female Bethel alum about their stories and how they have dealt with similar situations, or how they have dealt with challenges in their fields. This study is not exhaustive, nor were my methods foolproof, but it has served to explore the nature of gender in the Political Science Department and has shed some light on some occurrences within the department that deserve further attention. Overall, the department

was very self-aware, in that every professor commented on how they are acutely aware that their all-male faculty can present some challenges, and that it is something to be carefully examined. This self-awareness is vital to the continued growth and health of the department, both in areas pertaining to gender and those that do not and shows Bethel's overall health in comparison to other schools studied in my preliminary research in which the role of gender is not critically examined or observed.

Suggestions

My research has led me to make some suggestions that may improve relational dynamics within the department and create space in which to discuss the issue of gender in political science. First, based on female student interviewees' responses to the questions about a female professor and female mentorship, it would behoove the department to explore possibilities of developing a mentorship or female focus group program for female political science students. Consider how in the Business Department or in STEM majors they have events and programs for female students. Clearly, political science is still a field that presents various challenges to women simply because of their gender. The Political Science Department should seriously consider ways in which it can encourage female students and prepare and equip them to enter a field that is still often dominated by men. Providing mentorship and development opportunities, this department could be an important part in changing the lasting trends of gender inequalities in political science.

Second, a mentorship or community programs would help to increase social capital within the department. Although some students felt very well integrated, included, and respected within the department, there were others that did not. Increasing social capital has the potential to help students invest more in subject matter, relationships, and other department activities. In

conjunction with increasing social capital within the department, I would argue that the department would benefit from a shared space which allows for easy student access to news, opportunities, professors, and peers—arguably this already exists in AC second floor, but it is often disrupted, and the department informational boards are somewhat disjointed because they are not very close to each other. There is not a designated space for the department, which limits spontaneous interactions and growth of social capital.

During interviews with the professors, some ideas that frequently surfaced were the value and unique type of education that a liberal arts education like what Bethel provides, and the fact that although political scientists like to consider themselves socially enlightened and progressive, it is a slow-moving field when it comes to meaningful gender parity. The problem is no longer getting female students into the major, but making sure that if that is their desire, that they can obtain senior leadership positions in their fields without the subliminal challenges that persist because of normative gender ideologies.

Liberal arts schools, because of their emphasis on diverse points of views and multi-disciplinary approaches makes them an environment ripe for critical political discussion. The discipline of political science, “is particularly well placed to provoke examination of political values and of competing claims about political goods, and of how competing claims shape politics.”²⁶ Furthermore, “political science has studied itself with respect to women’s advancement far less than economics, sociology, and a number of the hard sciences.”²⁷ As mentioned previously, “If the current rate of progress is maintained, it will not be until the late

²⁶ Carol Nackenoff, “Why Liberal Arts Colleges Can Often do Political Science Better than Big Research Institutions: A Reflection from an Americanist,” *Polity*, 46, no. 1 (2014): 105.

²⁷ Stephen Bates, Laura Jenkins, and Zoe Pflaeger, “Women in the Profession: The Composition of UK Political Science Departments by Sex,” *Politics* 32, no. 3 (2012): 139.

2030s that the percentage of female academics in political science is comparable to the percentage of female undergraduate students.”²⁸ “It is perhaps curious that a profession that is often concerned by these inequalities has not accorded more attention to its own backyard.”²⁹

²⁸ Stephen Bates, Laura Jenkins, and Zoe Pflaeger, “Women in the Profession: The Composition of UK Political Science Departments by Sex,” *Politics* 32, no. 3 (2012): 150.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 150.

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***A special thank you to each student and faculty member who took the time to participate in an interview, and for the support of various professors throughout this process—this paper would not exist without you.