

## Where do tenured and tenure-track faculty in Canadian Ph.D. programs get their degrees?

Grant Otsuki  
University of Toronto  
grant.otsuki@utoronto.ca  
January 4, 2010

A story at *University Affairs* by Groarke and Fenske (<http://www.universityaffairs.ca/phd-to-what-end.aspx>) a few weeks ago suggested that nearly 70% of philosophers in tenure-track positions at Canadian universities have received their degrees from non-Canadian universities. The suggestion by the authors was that Canadian Ph.D. programs might be a wasted expense since Canadian schools don't seem to be hiring Canadian graduates. While the data by Groarke and Fenske is by no means unequivocal (see <http://www.winnipegfreepress.com/opinion/westview/bizarre-academic-proposal-71382577.html>), I became curious about how things look in Canadian anthropology departments, albeit for different reasons than Groarke and Fenske. As a student in a Canadian anthropology department, I was interested in my own employment prospects in a market in which I imagine I have the best chances for finding a job, but also whether there were salient disciplinary differences. If anthropology follows a different pattern than philosophy, what might account for those differences? Following the same general method presented by Groarke and Fenske, I spent several days in December going through the web pages of the anthropology departments at every four-year degree granting university in Canada to look for patterns in the hiring practices of Canadian departments. I wanted to find out where Canadian and non-Canadian Ph.Ds were getting hired, which departments in Canada produce the largest number of graduates who successfully attain tenured or tenure-track jobs at Canadian social-cultural-linguistic anthropology (SCL) programs, and where non-Canadian graduates and current tenure-track SCL faculty tend to get their Ph.Ds. The result is that compared to Groarke and Fenske's finding that about 70% of tenured and tenure-track philosophy positions in Canada go to graduates of foreign institutions, the figure in social-cultural and linguistic anthropology (SCL) stands at about 52%. I go over the results in more depth below, and end with a brief speculation about why conditions may be different in SCL.

### ***Disclaimer***

*I am not a statistician or trained in quantitative methods. This data was collected under questionable circumstances, without a rigorous methodology, and out of boredom. I attempt to interpret some of the data, but don't claim much validity for them. I have rounded all percentages in the body text to the nearest percent, but left figures to the nearest hundredth in tables. Feel free to comment or e-mail if you have any*

*criticisms, suggestions, or would like to see the raw data gathered.*

### **Data Collection**

The departmental websites of 37 anthropology departments in Canadian universities were surveyed. In all cases, I recorded the name of every regular tenured or tenure-track faculty member in social-cultural anthropology. (I excluded all sessionals, adjuncts, and any cross-appointed faculty, as well as retired or emeritus status faculty, and regular faculty members without Ph.Ds.) This resulted in 270 individuals. Of these, I was able to determine the Ph.D. granting institution for 268. Where available, I also recorded the year the Ph.D was received (161 individuals). This resulted in a table recording the name, current institution, Ph.D.-granting institution, country of Ph.D.-granting institution, and year graduated.

This data is certainly inaccurate in a number of ways. First, I was working out the criteria for inclusion as I gathered the data, which means that the same definition for "regular SCL faculty" was not applied for all schools. (This is probably most reflected in the inclusion of linguistics-oriented people in schools gathered later.) Also, I don't read French well, so the figures for Montreal and Laval are likely to be somewhat inaccurate. Finally, a number of departments have a combined sociology/anthropology program, and in some cases I made rather arbitrary decisions about whether a person was a sociologist or anthropologist. (Other sources of error may include inadvertent exclusion of universities or satellite campuses, inclusion of biological anthropologists or archaeologists, and data entry misses.) This data also doesn't take into account people who may have received a Ph.D. in social-cultural anthropology, but have entered non-anthropology departments, or faculty at interdisciplinary programs (e.g. cultural studies at Queen's University). Similarly, the data doesn't distinguish between SCL and non-SCL Ph.Ds in SCL departments. However, as a *general* indicator of Canadian university hiring practices, I think this data has some utility.

I am much less confident about graduation year data, as graduation date was only recorded for 161 of the 260 people. In addition, because the availability of this data tended to differ by department, some schools are overrepresented in this data while others don't appear at all.

### **Results**

129 of the 268 members with data available received their degrees from a Canadian university. This accounts for 48% of all SCL jobs in Canada. Second place is the US: 92 people or 34% received their Ph.Ds from an American school. Third place is the UK with 34 (13%), followed by France (7 people), Australia (4), and Germany and Norway (1 each.) (I have counted one joint degree with the Open University of Brussels and École pratique des hautes études under France.)

If departments that teach primarily in French are excluded (Montréal, Laval), then the percentage of Canadian Ph.Ds drops to 46%. (US rises to 15%, UK to 38%). This still reflects a lower percentage of foreign Ph.Ds than Groarke and Fenske indicate in philosophy departments.

The University of Toronto has the largest number of SCL faculty at 26. The second largest group is at York University with 18, followed by Université de Montréal at 18, McGill University at 15, and Carleton and Laval at 13 each. All of these programs are Ph.D. granting programs. The smallest Ph.D.-granting institutions are the University of Calgary, which has 5 SCL faculty (they have a large biological/archeological contingent) and McMaster (6 SCL faculty.) The University of Victoria also has 5 but their Ph.D. program is not beginning until 2010.

Table 1: Top 5 institutions with graduates in Canadian SCL programs

Ph.D. Granting Institution	Number
University of Toronto	37
McGill University	15
Université de Montréal	12
McMaster University	11
York University	11

The top 5 universities with graduates in regular SCL jobs are all Canadian and, with the exception of McMaster, are also among the top 5 largest departments. Carleton is missing from this list, despite being the fifth largest department; they only have one Ph.D. currently placed in Canada. On the other hand, McMaster is hitting above its weight. Despite being a relatively small department, they have 11 Ph.Ds at Canadian schools. Carleton has a combined sociology and anthropology department, but help-

fully separates anthropology faculty from sociology faculty on their list, meaning that it's unlikely that the number of faculty at Carleton was overestimated. I'm not sure of the reasons why Carleton should have such a large department, yet so few graduates in Canadian SCL programs. It may be that there have been large changes in the number of faculty or in the number of graduates produced in these two departments in recent years.

The least successful Ph.D. programs in terms of placement in Canadian universities are the University of Manitoba (0 placed), the University of Western Ontario (0 placed), Dalhousie University (0 placed), Memorial University (1 placed), Carleton University (1 placed), and the University of Calgary (2 placed). The remainder of the universities either have no Ph.D. program in anthropology, or have 6 or more Ph.Ds placed in Canadian universities.

The most successful non-Canadian university is the University of Cambridge (10), followed by the University of Chicago (9), the London School of Economics (6), and the University of Oxford (6). The highest placing Ivy League school is Cornell University (5), although nearly all are represented (Harvard, 2; Princeton, 1; Yale, 2; Brown, 1; Columbia, 1; U. Penn, 2). UC Berkeley has 3 placed, but the UC system as a whole (Berkeley, SF, Davis, Santa Cruz, LA) has 9. Tied with Cornell among US schools are the Graduate Center at CUNY and the University of Michigan.

Very few Ph.Ds from countries other than Canada, the US, and the UK teach in Canada. The largest number come from France and they are all located at Laval, Montreal, or Ottawa. A small number of Australia-educated faculty come from the Australian National University, except for one at Concordia, who attended the University of Adelaide. Not one SCL faculty member in all of Canada has received his or her Ph.D. from an institution outside of Western Europe or the English-speaking West, although many have received previous degrees from other countries not represented in the Ph.D. figures. (Data for other degrees was not gathered.)

Table 2: SCL Faculty by Degree (Canadian)

<b>Ph.D. Granting Institution</b>	<b>Number of Positions</b>
University of Toronto	37
McGill University	20
Université de Montréal	12

McMaster University	11
York University	11
Université Laval	10
University of Alberta	8
University of British Columbia	8
Simon Fraser University	6
University of Calgary	2
Carleton University	1
Institut national de la recherche scientifique Quebec	1
Memorial University	1
University of Guelph	1

Table 3: SCL Faculty by Degree (US)

<b>Ph.D. Granting Institution</b>	<b>Number of Positions</b>
University of Chicago	9
City University of New York	5
Cornell University	5
University of Michigan	5
University of Arizona	4
University of Pittsburgh	4
University of Virginia	4
Harvard University	3
New School for Social Research	3
Stanford University	3
University of California, Berkeley	3
University of Minnesota	3
University of Washington	3
University of Wisconsin, Madison	3
Emory University	2
Johns Hopkins University	2
State University of New York, Albany	2
University of California, Berkeley and San Francisco	2
University of California, Santa Cruz	2
University of Connecticut	2
University of Illinois	2
University of Pennsylvania	2
Yale University	2
Arizona State University	1
Brown University	1
Case Western Reserve University	1
Columbia University	1

Michigan State University	1
MIT	1
New York University	1
Princeton University	1
Southern Methodist University	1
Syracuse University	1
University of California, Davis	1
University of California, Los Angeles	1
University of Georgia	1
University of Indiana	1
University of Massachusetts, Amherst	1
University of Oregon	1
University of Texas, Austin	1

Table 4: SCL Faculty by Degree (UK)

<b>Ph.D. Granting Institution</b>	<b>Number of Positions</b>
University of Cambridge	10
London School of Economics	6
University of Oxford	6
University of Manchester	5
University College London	1
University of Edinburgh	1
University of Kent	1
University of London	1
University of St. Andrews	1
University of Sussex	1
University of Warwick	1

Table 5: SCL Faculty by Degree (Other)

<b>Ph.D. Granting Institution</b>	<b>Number of Positions</b>
Australian National University	3
L'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales	1
Université de Paris X, Nanterre	1
Université de Paris-3	1
Université libre de Bruxelles / École pratique des hautes études	1
University of Adelaide	1
University of Heidelberg	1
University of Oslo	1

University of Sorbonne-Paris	1
------------------------------	---

### Do Canadian Programs Hire Their Own Graduates?

At McGill, out of 15 positions, McGill Ph.Ds fill 3 positions. The corresponding figures for other schools are: McMaster: 1 McMaster graduate out of 6 faculty, Memorial: 1 out of 8, Simon Fraser: 4 out of 10, Montreal: 5 out of 16, Laval: 5 out of 13, UBC: 1 out of 12, Calgary: 1 out of 5, Toronto: 4 out of 26, York: 3 out of 18. Montreal and Laval seem to have a stronger preference for their own graduates than the larger anglophone schools, indicating perhaps the smaller pool of francophone Ph.Ds that can be drawn upon. The largest anglophone schools have comparatively low ratios, with Toronto having the lowest. (Moreover, the most recently hired member graduated in 1998, meaning that no U of T graduates have been hired at the U of T for the past 10 years.)

### Hiring Profiles Compared to Department Size

With the exception of the two francophone universities, the largest Canadian universities tend to hire more graduates from outside of Canada. The University of Toronto tends to hire from elite programs from the US and UK, and only has 2 faculty members from other Canadian universities (6 total Canadian Ph.Ds, 23%), 15 from the US (58%), and 5 from the UK (19%). Compared to the average profile of Canadian universities, Toronto is skewed heavily toward foreign graduates. Carleton hires about the average number of Canadian Ph.Ds, and Montréal hires above the average, but each of the three others in the top 5 tend to hire fewer Canadian Ph.Ds than the average. This does not mean that larger universities tend to favor foreign Ph.Ds in general. There is no clear relationship between department size and percentage of foreign or Canadian Ph.Ds hired. For instance, Manitoba has 7 SCL members, of whom 5 have Canadian Ph.Ds and 2 have American ones. Lethbridge, which also has 7 faculty, has only 1 Canadian Ph.D and 6 American ones. However, all five universities with 100% Canadian Ph.Ds have fewer than 5 faculty (Mt. Allison, Windsor, SFX, Brandon, and Winnipeg.) The three 100% non-Canadian Ph.D. schools have 2 or fewer SCL members each (Lakehead, Laurentian, Vancouver Island).

Table 6: % Hired by Country for Top 5 SCL Programs

University	Total	% Canada	% USA	% UK	% Other
University of Toronto	26	23.08%	57.69%	19.23%	0.00%

York University	18	38.89%	44.44%	16.67%	0.00%
Université de Montréal	16	56.25%	25.00%	6.25%	12.50%
McGill University	15	20.00%	60.00%	20.00%	0.00%
Université Laval	13	76.92%	7.69%	0.00%	15.38%

Table 7: Ph.D. granting institutions with the lowest rate of Canadian Ph.Ds

University	% Canada	% USA	% UK	% Other
McGill University	20.00%	60.00%	20.00%	0.00%
University of Alberta	20.00%	60.00%	20.00%	0.00%
University of Victoria	20.00%	60.00%	0.00%	20.00%
University of Toronto	23.08%	57.69%	19.23%	0.00%
University of British Columbia	25.00%	75.00%	0.00%	0.00%

### Success in Canada Relative to Department Size

For the Ph.D. granting institutions, I compared faculty size of a department to the number of faculty members Canada-wide with degrees from those departments. Assuming a relatively even number of students graduated per faculty member and stability in student graduation and faculty numbers over time (which are admittedly two very shaky assumptions), this should produce a rough measure of the relative success of each department. By this measure, McMaster ranks 1st, followed by Toronto, McGill, Alberta, and Montreal.

Table 8: Ratio of Ph.D. graduates in Canadian universities to number of current faculty

University	Ratio of Ph.D. graduates in Canadian universities to number of current faculty
McMaster University	1.83
University of Toronto	1.42
McGill University	1.00
University of Alberta	0.80
Université de Montréal	0.75
Université Laval	0.69



University of British Columbia	0.67
York University	0.61
Simon Fraser University	0.60
University of Calgary	0.40
Memorial University	0.13
Carleton University	0.08
Dalhousie University	0.00
University of Manitoba	0.00
University of Western Ontario	0.00

### **Graduation Year Data**

I have very little confidence in the following data, but I present it out of interest.

There are currently 270 active tenured and tenure-track faculty in SCL department positions in Canada. The earliest year of graduation is 1965, while the latest is 2009, with a mean of 1993 (for the 161 individuals for whom data was available.) There is a peak in 2002, when 12 people received their degrees. The distribution does not follow any discernible trends, but suggest a rather even number of hirings over time, with steady loss with age. The data suggests that there is no wave of faculty retirements on its way which would open up positions for a large number of new Ph.Ds. (If there is one, it is at least 30 years away, when the 2002 cohort hits retirement age.)

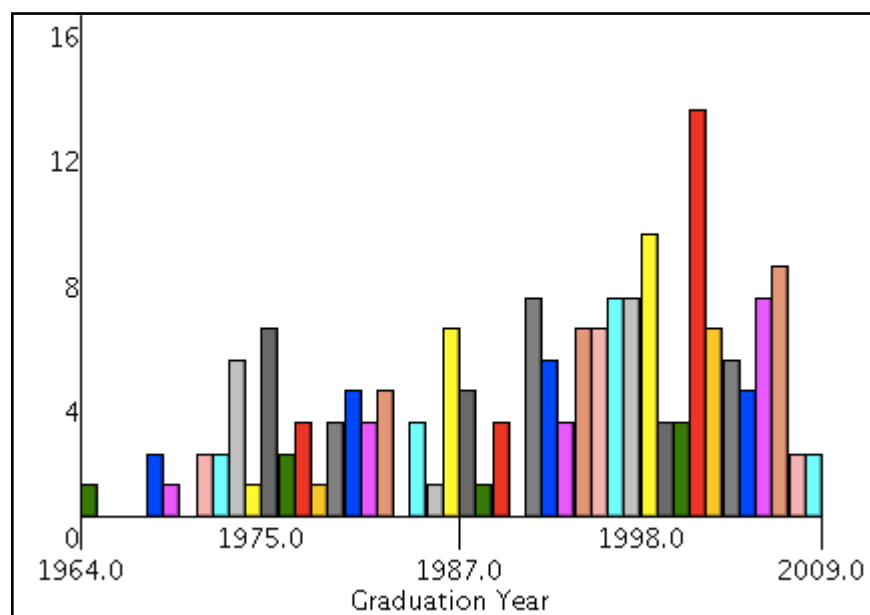


Figure 1: Number of regular SCL faculty by year of degree

Based on the distribution of graduation years, one could assume that 268 jobs were hired evenly over the years between 1969 and 2008 (dropping the outliers at 1965 and 2009). This means about 7 tenure-track positions in Canada were available to each annual cohort. From each graduating class of SCL students worldwide who come to Canada to take up faculty jobs, 3 will have graduated from Canadian institutions, 2 from the US, with maybe 1 more from the UK. An additional 1 position may be filled by someone with a Ph.D. from another country about every other year. According to the AAA (<http://www.aaanet.org/resources/departments/97Survey.cfm>) in 1997 about 31% of anthropologists in academic jobs in North America were tenured or in tenure-track jobs. Assuming that the above figures represent about 31% of the available jobs in the Canadian academy, there are perhaps 22 total academic positions open each year for SCL Ph.Ds across SCL and non-SCL departments in both regular and non-regular capacities.

Assuming that hiring patterns remain constant over time (another shaky assumption), one graduate of the University of Toronto will be hired into the tenure track in SCL each year, one from McGill every 2 or 3 years, and one each from Montreal, McMaster, and York every 3 or 4 years.

## Summary

I wanted to find out whether Canadian universities tended to hire non-Canadian Ph.Ds, which departments produce the largest number of graduates who successfully attain tenured or tenure-track jobs at Canadian social-cultural-linguistic anthropology (SCL) programs, and where non-Canadian graduates and current tenure-track SCL faculty tend to get their Ph.Ds. This data suggests that, compared to Groarke and Fenske's data on philosophy departments, anthropology departments maintain a large proportion of Canadian Ph.Ds (48%). The data also shows that the University of Toronto produces the largest number of graduates who find regular faculty positions in Canada, although McMaster, McGill, and Montréal are also strong in this regard. Finally, although about half of Canadian regular faculty received their Ph.Ds in Canada, a slight majority (~51%) was educated elsewhere, primarily the US, the UK, and France.

## Discussion

In sum, it appears that SCL departments tend to hire more Canadian graduates compared to their counterparts in philosophy. Across all programs, about 48% of regular SCL faculty are graduates from Canadian departments. Among primarily English language departments, about 45% of regular SCL faculty are graduates of Canadian SCL programs. It is difficult to assess the significance of this number, partly because there is little to compare with. What can be said is that the Canadian employment situation for Canadian SCL graduates looks better than it does in philosophy. A better measure would result if it were known how many SCL Ph.Ds were produced by Canadian universities and how many were successful in finding employment outside of Canada. I haven't been able to locate such data on the web.

Although the situation in anthropology looks favorable for Canadian graduates compared to philosophy, this may be indicating more about disciplinary differences than anything else. Whereas the canon of philosophy is dominated by thinkers from the US and Western Europe and the content of philosophy is not often explicitly tied to the locations where research and teaching are conducted, anthropology is a discipline closely connected to particular times and places. This refers not just to the idea that anthropologies are often anthropologies of *somewhere*, but also that anthropological knowledge is conceived as the translation from one cultural idiom to another. In this respect, anthropology is tied to both its subjects and its audiences, which are each usually geographically situated. Historically, ethnology has been

deeply connected to projects of nation-building (Duara 1995; Hirsch 2005), and contemporary ethnography is no less tied to the national contexts in which it is produced ( see Caldeira 2000; Handler 1988) . While all authoritative knowledge, no matter how universal and value-free it might purport to be, is tied to its contexts of production, few disciplines, including anthropology, so closely associate their disciplinary and institutional identities with strongly situated notions of place. It may be the case that this inclines departments of anthropology to hire people who have been trained in more proximate terrain. Perhaps anthropologists are concerned with such particularities and differences more than their colleagues in other disciplines.

There are other, more obvious possible explanations for the difference as well. Perhaps CASCA (the Canadian Anthropological Society) is a better organization for creating networks between Canadian scholars than its equivalent in philosophy. Or perhaps there is no skewing toward Canadians per se, and that much comes down to pedigree and departmental prestige, as a recent article in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* suggests (<http://www.insidehighered.com/advice/2009/08/31/marinoff>). This data is only a very partial window into the situation of SCL employment in Canada.

This does not, however, diminish the sense of unease and anxiety that many graduate students feel toward the post-Ph.D. job hunt, myself included. The message contained in this data is that if you are in a Canadian SCL Ph.D. program, you are competing in a market which might ever so slightly be favorably inclined toward you, at least compared to philosophy. However, the significance of your degree's nationality will be in your future employment prospects in relation to countless other factors is not at all apparent from this data.

## Appendix

The following departmental websites were surveyed (37 institutions):

Brandon University	McGill University
Carleton University	McMaster University
Concordia University	Memorial University
Dalhousie University	Mount Allison University
Lakehead University	Saint Mary's University
Laurentian University	Simon Fraser University

St. Francis Xavier University	University of Northern British Columbia
St. Thomas University	University of Prince Edward Island
Trent University	University of Regina
Université de Montréal	University of Saskatchewan
Université Laval	University of Toronto
University of Alberta	University of Victoria
University of British Columbia	University of Waterloo
University of Calgary	University of Western Ontario
University of Guelph	University of Windsor
University of Lethbridge	University of Winnipeg
University of Manitoba	Vancouver Island University
University of Ottawa	Wilfrid Laurier University
University of New Brunswick	York University

### References

- Caldeira, Teresa P.R. 2000. *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation, and Citizenship in Sao Paulo*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press.
- Duara, Prasenjit. 1995. *Rescuing History From the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Handler, Richard. 1988. *Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec*. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Hirsch, Francine. 2005. *Empire of Nations : Ethnographic Knowledge & the Making of the Soviet Union* . Ithaca : Cornell University Press,.