Promotions to Associate and Full Professor: Structurally Marginalized Faculty and the Pyramid Problem

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Table of Contents

The journey through academic promotion, both from assistant to associate and then to full professor, is filled with challenges and deadlines. However, once promotion is accomplished, it is for most a significant life milestone and provides job security. While we celebrate the promotion accomplishments of individuals in the discipline, we know from the data that there is a "pyramid problem" in the academy, including political science, where structurally marginalized scholars such as women, LGBTQ+ faculty, and faculty of color are less likely to find their way to tenure and then to the upper levels of the academy's hierarchy, namely as full professors.[2] Over the past several decades, the American Political Science Association has established numerous task forces that have aimed to address the stark underrepresentation of women, people of color, and LGBTQ+ individuals within graduate programs and among the ranks of faculty in our discipline (Pinderhughes et al. 2011; Novkov and Barclay 2010; Hesli, Lee, and Mitchell 2012).

While modest gains have been made in representation, APSA's *Political Science and the 21st Century Report* makes clear that the discipline has not approached demographic equity. It finds that women represent just 28.6 percent of political science faculty and people of color hold just over 10 percent of these positions (Pinderhughes et al. 2011, 40-43; see Figures 1-2 in the Appendix).[3] Strikingly, women of color accounted for less than 4 percent of political science faculty as of 2011, and this trend has remained relatively stable for several decades (Pinderhughes et al. 2011, 40-43; see Appendix Figure 2).[4] Unfortunately, we do not have recent data on demographics in the discipline, however, data on membership within the American Political Science Association indicate that people of color account for 12.7 percent of members, while women represent approximately 36 percent (McGrath 2021). Just under 10 percent of all APSA membership is comprised of women of color (McGrath 2021). Additionally, the APSA Diversity and Inclusion Report provides a detailed overview of the demographic makeup of the association's membership and organized sections based on data from the APSA demographic data dashboard (Mealy 2018). The report also contains descriptions of APSA diversity and inclusion programming. And while less is known about the promotion of LGBTQ+ scholars within political science departments, data collected by American Political Science Association's 2019-2020 Membership Survey shows that 8 percent of those who completed the survey identify

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[2] A recent analysis published by FiveThirtyEight demonstrates that Black/African American faculty, Hispanic/Latinx faculty, multiracial faculty, and American Indian/Alaskan Native faculty are underrepresented relative to both the U.S. population and U.S. undergraduate population. See Figure 5 of Appendix A.

[3] Among political science faculty of color, 5.0 percent are Black, 3.4 percent are Asian/Pacific Islander, and 2.7 percent are Latinx (APSA 2011, 40). Due to data constraints, both the *21st Century Report* and the original analyses presented within this report, refer to faculty of color as those who identify as Asian, Black, Latinx, and Middle Eastern. This report also focuses on the ways in which tenure and promotion challenges affect scholars who are in full time tenure-track and tenured positions. It is important to recognize that many of the challenges discussed throughout this report are exacerbated for those serving in contingent, non-tenure track, and less secure academic positions.

[4] Given that these findings are fairly dated, we are in the process of working with APSA to see if more up to date are available.

as gay, lesbian, or bisexual and that these trends are fairly stable across faculty rank (APSA 2020; see also; Novkov and Barclay 2010, 94).[5]

As noted previously, like the academy more broadly, political science also has a pyramid problem in which women and people of color are further underrepresented at the top of the academic hierarchy as full professors (Mason 2011). Numerous studies from both within and beyond political science suggest that the difficulties faced by faculty during review and promotion processes contribute to "leaky pipelines" in which individuals from under-represented and marginalized groups are denied access to upper echelons of the academy (e.g., Lavariega Monforti and Michelson 2008; Mitchell and Hesli 2013; Brown et al. 2019; Novkov and Barclay 2020). Less research exists on how the tenure process is experienced by LGBTQ+ individuals (Novkov and Barclay 2010, 103; Majic and Strolovitch 2020, 2) and whether marginalized faculty face unique challenges at other career milestones. We also know little about whether and how institution type and factors such as course load, research support, availability of leave, and various other aspects of one's teaching and research environment affect one's probability of obtaining tenure and promotion to full professor.

The APSA Working Group on Tenure and Promotions is part of APSA President, Paula D. McClain's "Task Force on Examining Issues and Mechanisms of Inequality in the Discipline." Our group was tasked with exploring two important moments in a faculty member's career: their experience with promotion to associate professor with tenure and promotion to full professor. While numerous reports have been written about the difficulties structurally marginalized faculty face on their way to tenure (Pinderhuges et al. 2011; Novkov and Barclay 2010; Hesli, Lee, and Mitchell 2012), far fewer studies have looked explicitly at two critical evaluation points in the discipline of political science: promotion to associate with tenure *and* promotion to full professor. Our work is guided by an interest in how these two processes of evaluation vary for scholars in political science who are differently or marginally positioned. Specifically, the committee examined the ways in which race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and institution type shape one's ability to move "smoothly" through the ranks from assistant to associate and once again to full professor. Moreover, we address how differentially positioned faculty perceive and experience structural differences in the standards for evaluation at these two critical junctures.

Methods

To explore how one's positionality affects the journey through promotion processes, the working group adopted a mixed-methodological approach. First, we reviewed the existing literature that addresses the ways in which structurally marginalized faculty navigate both the tenure process and promotion to full professor. The literature review included in this report points to a number of important findings, including that the total number of publications is weighted differently in the tenure decision for men and women identified scholars, that faculty of color who engage in research on race and ethnicity believe and experience their research as being devalued in their

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[5] We characterize these findings as preliminary based on the survey's low response rate. The authors of the article also express this concern (Novkov and Barclay 2010, 96).

departments, and that women and faculty of color suffer from bias in student teaching evaluations even as many departments continue to include such metrics in the tenure evaluation.

Second, we analyzed the data on rates of promotion by race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and institution-type. Specifically, we are interested in whether there are significant differences in rates of promotion based on one of our key variables—race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and institution type. A key—and troubling—finding from our review of the disciplinary data available is that APSA does not maintain an official record of hiring and promotion trends along the lines of race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and institution type.[6] Though APSA's Project on Women and Minorities ([P-WAM](#)) represents a noble first effort to address this void in data, at present the dashboard currently only summarizes data for three academic years from a limited number of institutions and is unable to account for the experiences of those who decide to leave the discipline. To address this concern, we conducted an original data collection project, using archived departmental webpages to track the career trajectories of over 600 faculty spanning 50 diverse educational institutions between 2010 and 2020. These data, while not fully representative of the discipline, suggest that stark inequities exist which APSA and its affiliated political science departments must address. The data reveal disparities in both the time to tenure and the time to promotion to full professor between men and women. Moreover, we find that high percentages of faculty of color were either not promoted during this ten-year period or left the discipline all together. For example, nearly *one-third* of the Black men included in our sample left academia during the 10-year period we examined. Again, while these data are limited and exploratory, it does suggest that faculty of color and women are finding the road to promotion more difficult.

Third, while the quantitative data we generated provide a general overview of the trends in the journey to promotion, we recognize that there is a need for greater texture and specificity of detail to understand of how race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and institution shape how individuals perceive of their promotion experiences. To unearth these needed details, we launched an exploratory qualitative study that included a focus group, one-on-one interviews, and written reflections from a range of political scientists, including those who successfully navigated the tenure and promotion process as well as those who were denied tenure and decided to leave or were pushed out of the academy. Through our limited qualitative study, we gain several important insights, including the perceived benefits and difficulties of mentoring programs, the ways those teaching Race, Ethnicity and Politics (REP) often felt marginalized and how one's teaching load can affect productivity. Leveraging the depth of insights gained from our qualitative research along with our quantitative data, we conclude this report with a series of recommendations that aim to make the tenure and promotion process within political science more equitable.

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[6] This problem is not unique to political science. For example, Novkov and Barclay note that the National Survey of Earned Doctorates and other large-scale projects frequently fail to collect important demographic information, including sexual orientation (2010, 103).

Literature Review

This review of the literature on promotion trends and experiences attempts to synthesize research that examines the ways in which gender, race, sexual identity, and institution type shape how faculty navigate two critical career junctures: promotion to associate professor and promotion to full professor.[7] For the most part, the research highlighted in this section is specific to political science. However, when findings from beyond political science are used to fill gaps, they are noted explicitly.[8] The section is divided into two subsections. Subsections I and II examine promotion to associate professor and promotion to full professor, respectively.

Promotion to Associate Professor

A handful of political science-specific studies paint a fairly optimistic portrait of the tenure review process. For example, one study concludes that only a small fraction of colleges and universities deny or try to limit tenure (Rothgeb and Burger 2009). Moreover, they find the guidelines for evaluating critical metrics such as teaching quality and service to be fairly consistent (2009). However, a burgeoning literature suggests that structurally marginalized faculty experience systemic inequities in the pursuit of tenure. Many of these studies rely upon an APSA-sponsored survey distributed via email during the Fall of 2009 (Hesli, Lee, and Mitchell 2012, 490). The survey was developed based on recommendations made by the 2005 APSA Committee on the Status of Women as well as the March 2004 Workshop on Women's Advancement in Political Science (2012, 490). In the section below, the challenges associated with promotion to associate professor are addressed in terms of gender, race, sexual orientation, and institution type.

Gender[9]

Gender inequities in the tenure promotion process are well documented within political science. Results from the 2009 APSA survey suggest that women are 48 percent less likely than men (p<0.01) to obtain the rank of associate professor even after accounting for a number of other individual and institutional characteristics (Hesli, Lee, and Mitchell 2012; see Appendix Table

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[7] Individuals undoubtedly exist at the intersections of these identities. Unfortunately, much of the existing work addressing this topic examines tenure and promotion prospects along a single dimension. However, when data are available, we do present findings as they relate to the intersection of both race and gender.

[8] Because we are attempting to focus our literature review on studies based on or directly relevant to political science, some of the research cited is older than we might like. This points to the need for the updating of previous studies and the initiation of new research in this area.

[9] Many of the studies highlighted in this document use a gender binary of men and women in their analyses. Moreover, even the most comprehensive examination of LGBTQ+ faculty in political science acknowledges that the survey method utilized to conduct the study "did not separate gender identity carefully enough from sexual orientations…[to] draw conclusions about how gender identity and sexual orientation function" together (Novkov and Barclay 2010, 98).

1).[10] Moreover, analyses of survey results, coupled with other data sources, demonstrate that women face unique challenges with regard to key promotion metrics, including publishing records, department service, teaching, and department culture.[11]

<u>Publishing</u>

With regard to publishing, analyses of the APSA data demonstrate that the total number of publications *does not* significantly increase the likelihood of obtaining tenure among women. The opposite is true for men, suggesting that the dynamics of the tenure review process are quite different for men and women (Hesli, Lee, and Mitchell 2012, 485; see Appendix Table 2). As the authors write, this trend is "troubling because the number of publications *should* be a predictor of rank. Publications, along with teaching and service, are supposed to be the criteria used to evaluate candidates at promotion time" (485). Beyond total number of publications, it is also important to account for more specific publication expectations. For example, a survey of political science department chairs finds that 21 percent of PhD-granting institutions expect tenure review candidates to have at least one publication in the *American Political Science Review,* the *American Journal of Political Science,* or the *Journal of Politics* (Rothgeb and Burger 2009, 516*).* Moreover, 67 percent of PhD-granting institutions expect candidates to publish at least one article in the "most prestigious journals in their field" (516).[12] However, more recent work suggests that women face significant disadvantages when it comes to meeting this expectation.

Women continue to be underrepresented in many of the discipline's most prestigious journals. One study analyzed 10 of these publications, finding "no evidence that the low percentage of female authors simply mirrors an overall share of women in the profession" (Teele and Thelen 2017, 433). Between 2000 and 2015 the percentage of women authors within the *America Political Science Review,* the *American Journal of Political Science*, and the *Journal of Politics* stood at 18 percent, 23 percent, and 23 percent, respectively (435; see Appendix Figure 3). Nearly a third of all political scientists at the 21-largest PhD-granting and MA-granting institutions are women (P-WAM). Moreover, the authors also find that women are less likely to benefit from co-authorship within these publications. Existing research, as well as the 2005 APSA report on the Advancement of Women in Political Science, suggest that co-authorships are a useful way for young faculty to foster relationships with their colleagues while also bolstering their publication records prior to tenure review (Fisher et al. 1998). However, Teele and Thelen find that the increase in coauthored articles in the *APSR, AJPS*, and *JOP* have been driven by all-male teams: 24 percent of coauthored articles were all male research teams while only 17.8 percent were either mixed gender or all women teams (2017, 538; see Figures 4 and 5 in the Appendix).

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[10] These characteristics, summarized comprehensively in Table 2 of the Appendix include individual-level characteristics such as marriage and number of children, teaching assignments, institutional characteristics such as program ranking, and subfield.

[11]Expectations regarding how institutions shape career trajectories are discussed later in the report.

[12] Expectations for other institutions are discussed later in this review.

In addition to publication records, men and women think differently about journals. Brown et al. find that men and women have different perceptions of various journals even after accounting for their methodological approach. For example, men are significantly more likely to say that they plan to submit an article to the *APSR* and are more confident in the likelihood of publication (2020, 116). In contrast, women are significantly more likely to say that they plan to submit an article to *Politics, Groups, and Identities (PGI)* and are more confident in the likelihood of publication (117). This may be in part because PGI is a journal that is devoted to publishing research about the intersecting politics of race, gender, and sexuality. Moreover, while we know that not all women work on gender, they are disproportionally more likely to conduct research in this area (Key and Sumner 2019). Thus, women are more likely to encounter difficulties publishing in the "top journals" which have historically been very unreceptive to publishing work on the topic of gender.

Since many institutions have specific publication guidelines for young faculty on the tenure track, Teele and Thelen conclude that journals must "alter the submission pools" in order to address real and perceived publication biases (120). Departments should also expand their views of what constitutes a "top journal" in the discipline to include those that are not only more likely to publish work by women, scholars and color, and LGBTQ scholars, but that are also far more likely to publish work *about* the politics of race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality. This research highlights an important tension regarding the intersection of gender and the importance of publishing in the pursuit of tenure. First, the *total* number of publications does not increase the likelihood that women will obtain tenure while the opposite is true for men. Second, publishing in "prestigious" journals plays an important role in the promotion process, especially at PhD-granting institutions. However, women continue to face a daunting publication gap in some of these journals and are less likely to benefit from the trend toward co-authorship. Taken together, this research suggests the common mantra of "publish or perish" operates quite differently for men than it does for women.

Service

Multiple studies demonstrate that departmental service, including advising students, is significantly associated with obtaining the rank of associate professor (p<0.01) (Hesli, Lee, and Mitchell 2012, 481; Marshall and Rothgeb 2011, 574; see Appendix Table 1). However, like publishing, expectations for service operate differently for women than they do for men. While department service is associated with significantly more favorable promotion outcomes for both men and women, women are asked to engage in and tasked more frequently with service obligations within their departments and are more likely to say yes (Mitchell and Hesli 2013; Majic and Strolovitch 2020). Thus, women, who are already underrepresented in the ranks of department faculty, appear to be pulling more weight with regard to departmental service, which takes time away from other activities that figure into their tenure evaluations, including research and teaching (2013; see also Disch and O'Brien 2007). Moreover, the service roles that women do occupy are frequently perceived to be "token" positions that do not necessarily lend themselves to future career advancement (2013). Multiple studies conclude that "men are more likely to be tapped for prestigious service positions such as department chair, program chair,

journal editor, or dean" while women frequently are tapped to add diversity to committees (Mitchell and Hesli 2013, 358; Lavariega Monforti and Michelson 2008, 164; Disch and O'Brien 2007).

<u>Teaching</u>

Studies addressing the promotion prospects of women in political science often characterize teaching as an obstacle that gets in the way of other tasks, including research. However, in spite of a large and growing body of evidence that teaching evaluations are not reliable measures of teaching effectiveness, departments and universities continue to rely on them as a key metric in promotion deliberations, especially at BA-granting institutions (Rotheb and Burger 2009, 515; see Table 2). Extant work suggests that women confront their students' gender biases in evaluations, which can negatively affect their promotion prospects. Two political science-specific studies find that women consistently receive lower teaching evaluations than men, especially when teaching larger, introductory classes (Martin 2016; Mitchell and Martin 2018). For example, in Mitchell and Martin's study, a male professor received significantly higher student evaluations (p<0.01) than a female professor even though they taught the same online course that utilized *identical* instructional materials (2018, 651). Moreover, the authors use content analyses of the students' open-ended evaluation questions and find stark gender biases in the student responses. Specifically, students commented on the female faculty member's personality 11.6 percent more frequently than that of the male faculty member (p<0.01; 2018, 650). Similarly, the male faculty member was referred to as "professor" 17.1 percent more frequently than the female professor (p<0.01), while the female professor was referred to as "teacher" 9.2 percent more frequently (p<0.05) than the male professor (2018, 650). Since teaching evaluations serve as an often-used but biased evaluation metric, particularly at BA-granting institutions, these findings present a notable hurdle for women on the tenure track (Mitchell and Martin 2018, Garrison-Wade et al. 2012, Novkov and Barclay 2010, Sampaio 2006)

<u>Departmental Culture</u>

Finally, numerous studies suggest that forming strong professional relationships with other faculty members is a critical component of the tenure review process (Urrieta, Méndez, and Rodríguez 2015). Mentoring programs that provide young faculty with opportunities to learn about the promotion process from more senior members of the department are frequently invoked as an important policy intervention that not only serves as a meaningful professional development and networking experience, but also fosters collegiality between young faculty and potential members of promotion committees (2015; Lavariega Monforti and Michelson 2008). The *Political Science and the 21st Century Report* reviews the effectiveness of mentorship, concluding that it is "one of the few common characteristics of a successful faculty career, particularly for faculty of color and women" (Pinderhuges et al. 2011, 49-51).[13] While many

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[13] More detailed discussion of specific mentoring programs is discussed later in this review in Section II: Promotion to Full Professor.

view mentoring as a positive intervention in the promotion trajectory of women faculty, we also know that the effectiveness of mentoring programs is related to departmental culture.

Numerous studies suggest that women faculty perceive and/or experience hostile work environments in their departments. Analyses of the 2009 APSA data demonstrate that, compared to their male counterparts, women faculty tend to perceive their departments to be less friendly. One such study concludes that men rate their departments 0.78 units higher than women on a friendliness towards women scale (Claypool and Mershon 2016, 798). In other words, men were significantly more likely than women (p<0.01) to agree that "departmental leaders treated men and women equally" and were more likely to disagree that "men are more likely than women to receive helpful career advice from colleagues" (487). Unfortunately, the authors do not provide descriptive data for these survey responses broken down by race and gender. These results do tell us, however, that the effectiveness of mentoring initiatives and research collaborations may be diminished by the perception and/or experience of a hostile work environment for many women in their departments. Later, when reporting the findings from our individual interviews, we return to the complicated existence of mentoring programs.[14]

Race and Ethnicity

Racial inequities in the tenure process are also well documented within political science.[15] Analyses from the 2009 APSA survey demonstrate that men of color are *nearly 50 percent* less likely than white men (p<0.1) to be promoted to associate professor even after controlling for a variety of individual and institutional characteristics. (Hesli, Lee, and Mitchell 2012, 484; see Appendix Table 2).[16] Indeed, a large literature—cogently summarized in Garrison-Wade et al. 2012—demonstrates that faculty of color on the tenure track experience racial bias in the form of devaluation of research, high concentrations of advisees, lower student evaluations, less mentoring from tenured faculty, and demanding obligations related to service and course design.

Publishing

With regard to research and publishing, McClain et al. (2016) argue that the racist origins of political science "continue to influence the ways in which issues of race and ethnicity are embraced and understood within the discipline today and contribute to its lack of diversity" both in terms of faculty makeup as well as perceptions of "legitimate areas of study" (2016, 467; 468; See also McClain Presidential Address, 2020). Specifically, the authors suggest that the racist ideologies of some of political science's founders, and John Burgess in particular, forged a discipline that invoked "'scientific' notions of race as a basis for democratic legitimacy…[that] continue to structure the ways in which issues of race and ethnicity are understood within the

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[14] We note that the American Political Science Association does support a mentor program and mentorship resources that can be accessed at https://www.apsanet.org/findmentor (see also Cassese and Holman 2018, Bos and Schneider 2012).

[15] One of these studies was published using data from as early as 1991 (Ards, Brintnall, and Woodard 1997).

[16] These characteristics, summarized comprehensively in Table 2 of the Appendix include individual-level characteristics such as marriage and number of children, teaching assignments, institutional characteristics such as program ranking, and subfield.

discipline today" (2016, 278). As an example, studying "states' rights" is considered "mainstream" while Race, Ethnicity, and Politics (REP) scholarship that addresses similar themes is viewed with "reluctance" or skepticism by many scholars outside of REP (477).

While faculty of color do not exclusively study race and ethnicity, it is important to emphasize that, in addition to the challenges highlighted above, faculty of color who do study race and ethnicity oftentimes face an additional hurdle during the tenure review process. REP has historically been relegated to the peripheries of the discipline (Dawson and Wilson 1991, 192) and is underrepresented in premier journals (Wilson and Frasure 2007, 19). For example, McClain et al. found that just 4.5 percent of the 553 articles published in the *American Political Science Review,* the *Journal of Politics,* and *The American Journal of Political Science* between 2013-2015 related to the REP subfield (2016, 477).[17] Given that race and ethnicity play a critical role in structuring political processes and this period corresponds to the initial rise of the Black Lives Matter movement, we might expect to see more articles that engage with this topic explicitly. This information is summarized below in Table 1.

Table 1: REP Publications in the Top Three Political Science Journals (2013-2015)

	Number of Articles	Percentage of Articles
American Journal of Political Science	13	7.2 percent
American Political Science Review	3	2.2 percent
Journal of Politics	9	3.8 percent
Total	25	4.5 percent

Source: Adapted from McClain et al. (2016, 477)

Thus, faculty of color who study race not only experience commonly cited publication biases, but additional scrutiny from faculty who question whether research agendas such as REP can be pursued "objectively" (McClain et. al 2016).

<u>Service</u>

As noted earlier, service is frequently associated with an increased likelihood of obtaining the rank of associate professor (Hesli, Lee, and Mitchell 2012, 481; Marshall and Rothgeb 2011, 574). This finding is especially important to take into consideration when examining the experiences of faculty of color during the tenure review process given that these faculty tend to

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[17] It is important to note that recent changes in the composition of the editorships and editorial boards at *APSR, AJPS,* and *JOP* may impact these trends.

be disproportionally tapped to participate in departmental service initiatives. For example, one political science-specific study found that Latina faculty are frequently asked to participate in additional service roles and diversity initiatives, which prevent them from focusing on research. One Latina respondent stated the following:

"Since there are not as many women in the profession, we end up on more committees than the average male because committees typically need to be diverse. The same is true with being Latino, but for a Latina the combination [of race and gender] can mean extra work that may not be rewarded," (Lavariega Monforti and Michelson 2008, 164).

This finding echoes trends within the academy more broadly; faculty color often feel they are asked to take on "token" service roles within the department, often tied to issues of diversity, which prevents them from devoting time to other areas more likely to determine promotion such as research and teaching (Garrison-Wade et al. 2012, Luca and Escoto 2012).[18] Similarly, APSA's *Political Science and the 21st Century Report* concludes that "the service activities expected of faculty from underrepresented backgrounds can serve as a barrier to successful career advancement. Such faculty frequently pay a sort of *cultural race tax* in the form of being asked to serve on committees largely because of their race, ethnicity, and intersection with gender" (Pinderhughes et. al 2011, 48). Moreover, the report notes that this causes women of color to be perceived as "nurturing and maternal rather than as rigorous academics" (48). Unfortunately, these studies do not provide descriptive data that capture the breadth of these activities, nor the frequency at which faculty of color are asked to take on various formal and informal service roles. However, the disproportionate service obligations of women of color in the academy is a well-documented trend across the social science (Moore 2017, Domingo et al. 2020).

Teaching

When exploring the topic of teaching, the literature indicates that faculty of color experience a number of the same challenges women faculty experience, including lower teaching evaluations that result from their students' racial biases (Garrison-Wade et al. 2012). For example, one experimental study found that students enrolled in an online American Government course gave women and people color lower scores on teaching evaluations than white men (Chávez and Mitchell 2020). Most strikingly, since the course was self-guided and conducted entirely online, the students only exposure to the professor's perceived race and gender was a short welcome video that was recorded at the onset of the class. In other words, the professor's racial and gender identity, rather than course content or teaching style, contributed to lower student evaluations. These biases are especially pronounced when people of color, and women of color in particular, teach courses that address potentially contentious subject matter.

Sampaio's examination of pedagogy finds that women of color, and Black women in particular, frequently teach political science courses that address perceived contentious topics such as race

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[18] This is not to suggest that service work with attention to diversity should not be performed, but instead that all in a department, not especially faculty of color, should have responsibility for this work.

and gender. In the process, they have their expertise and objectivity questioned in course evaluations, which can affect their tenure prospects (2006). Repeatedly, women of color are subjected to their students' gendered expectations regarding how they should act in the classroom. For example, Sampaio suggests that white students frequently treat classes taught by Black women as "therapy sessions" where they expect to share personal experiences about race and gender rather than engaging in rigorous academic analysis (2006, 918). Thus, while some studies suggest that quality teaching and course design can significantly bolster a candidate's success during the tenure review process (Marshall and Rothgeb 2011, 574), these accounts do not consider that faculty of color—and particularly those trained in research areas perceived as contentious, such as race, gender, and sexuality—not only face course design challenges, but student evaluations characterized by racial bias.

Departmental Culture

Results from the 2009 APSA data also demonstrate that faculty of color perceive their departments to be less friendly than do white faculty members, which can inhibit their ability to find mentors who can help them navigate the tenure process as well as feel included in the general operation of the department. One such study finds that people of color evaluate their departments 0.60 units lower on a respect for racial minorities scale (Claypool and Mershon 2016, 492). In other words, faculty of color are significantly less likely than white faculty (p<0.01) to say that their departments "treat racial minorities with respect" (487).[19] Another study finds that women of color were not only less satisfied with their relationships with their peers, but also felt that their work was evaluated harshly and unfairly within their departments (Lisnic, Zajicek, and Moriomoto 2019). This contributed to a sense that messages about attaining tenure were inconsistent and that the process more broadly was unfair (2019, 244).

Sexual Orientation

None of the articles reviewed assess whether sexual orientation directly effects the likelihood of obtaining tenure, and this silence itself tells us a great deal about the situation facing LGBTQ+ scholars in political science. However, two political science-specific articles suggest that LGBTQ+ faculty experience professional challenges with regard to hostile work environments, research, teaching, and institution type. The first study draws from the same 2009 APSA survey referenced extensively throughout this report (Claypool and Mershon 2016). The second utilizes survey data collected by the APSA Committee on the Status of Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, and the Transgendered in the Profession (Novkov and Barclay 2010). This survey was distributed online during the Spring of 2007 and obtained 2,215 responses (2010, 96). Eighty-five percent of these participants identified as heterosexual, and 15 percent identified as LGBT (96).[20] Novkov and Barclay are careful to note that their survey obtained a sample that likely does not reflect the discipline. We acknowledge as well that these data are over a decade old and include a limited

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[19] Unfortunately, the authors do not provide descriptive data for these survey responses broken down by race and gender.

[20] Novkov and Barclay also draw extensively from the survey's open response questions.

number of LGBTQ+ faculty. Thus, the results summarized here offer some preliminary insights into the unique challenges faced by young, LGBTQ+ faculty (2010, 96), but the discipline would benefit from more comprehensive studies that aim to better understand the unique experiences of LGBTQ+ faculty today as they navigate various career milestones.

Departmental Culture

Claypool and Mershon's analysis of the 2009 APSA data finds that LGBTQ+ faculty, like women and people of color, perceive and/or experience hostile work environments within their departments. Specifically, LGBTQ+ individuals rate their departments 0.84 units lower than their straight-identified colleagues on a scale that measures positivity towards LGBTQ+ people (2016, 492). In other words, LGBTQ+ faculty were significantly less likely (p<0.01) than their heterosexual-identified colleagues to agree that their departments have "positive attitudes toward lesbian, gay, or bisexual sexual orientations" (487). Similarly, Novkov and Barclay find that 25 percent of LGBTQ+ respondents report either definitely (13 percent) or probably (12 percent) experiencing discrimination within their political science departments.[21] Unfortunately, the authors only report responses to this question for LGBTQ+ faculty, preventing us from examining how heterosexual faculty respond to this question. Disturbingly, the qualitative responses in their data reveal that respondents did identify "highly negative attitudes about LGBTQ+ political scientists and their place and the field, whether researching and teaching about LGBTQ+ issues or not" (95). Again, confronting such a negative work environment could directly impact a scholar's decision about how much to be present and participate in departmental matters and it could similarly affect their ability to find mentors in the department.

Research

As it relates to research, Novkov and Barclay find that numerous heterosexual participants expressed extremely negative and hostile views about researching and teaching about LGBTQ+ issues as reported within the survey's open response questions. One participant wrote, "bending over for junk like LGBT studies will make Political Science more irrelevant than it already is' (2010, 95).[22] Another suggested that "LGBT is a nonissue and I, like many others, actively keep such garbage off my radar screen. It's a weak political agenda and does not merit any attention" (95). Again, while all LGBTQ+ faculty do not exclusively engage in research on LGBTQ+ communities, the attitudes highlighted above are concerning for young faculty who do pursue this research agenda, given that research and publishing are significant factors in the tenure review process. Moreover, if colleagues hold such negative views about research in this area, it will undoubtedly impact the feeling of being respected and included of those who identify as LGBTQ+. And as was similarly noted in the section on gender, while not every LGBTQ+ scholar conducts research on LGBTQ+ politics, those that do face publication barriers. Again,

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[21] Similarly, research from STEM fields suggest that LGBTQ faculty do not feel comfortable to be out at work, especially before obtaining tenure (Freeman 2018).
[22] Again, we recognize that the data reported in this section is over 10 years old and attitudes about LGBTQ issues have moved toward greater acceptance during this time period.

the journals singled out by many departments as necessary for tenure have published almost no work on issues having to do with LGBTQ+ politics or issues.

Teaching

Echoing Sampaio's work (2006), one LGBTQ+ respondent in Novkov and Barclay's study mentioned challenges that emerge when teaching courses about LGBTQ+ identity. They stated that "problems of discrimination tend to occur with undergraduate students who are uncomfortable with professors and teaching assistants who openly [identify as LGBTQ+], which negatively affects their careers through student evaluations and inhibiting the ability of the professor to have the necessary respect to effectively teach (2010, 100)." Interestingly, while Novkov and Barclay present data on several difficulties LGBTQ+ faculty experience related to teaching (e.g., whether they teach LGBTQ+ topics and whether students out themselves to LGBTQ+ faculty), they do not discuss whether the challenges highlighted by the respondent quoted above are a common experience among LGBTQ+ faculty.

Institutional Factors

Open-ended responses to data utilized in Novkov and Barclay's study also reveals that some LGBTQ+ faculty are particularly likely to face a significant amount of discrimination at Catholic and Evangelical institutions. Several respondents mentioned that their tenure review process was negatively influenced by their sexual orientation at institutions of this kind (2010, 97-98; 101). Moreover, three heterosexual respondents shared in open response questions that "it would be reasonable to consider a person's homosexual lifestyle (negatively) in hiring" if it conflicted with an institution's religious beliefs (98).

Beyond religious institutions, however, Novkov and Barclay's study also suggests that institutional policies regarding spousal and partner benefits also influences LGBTQ+ faculty's decision about their career trajectories. The lack of benefits for same-sex partners and domestic-partnerships emerged as the most commonly cited (40 percent) issue facing LGBTQ+ faculty members at their place of employment (99). Some respondents also noted in the open response questions that spousal hires appeared to be granted more readily to heterosexual faculty members (98). The legalization of same-sex marriage in 2015 has no doubt resolved some issues related to benefits, but some LGBTQ+ people remain reluctant to marry. Other questions remain as well, including about whether Catholic and Evangelical institutions recognize these relationships. A more updated study might address this issue, including questions of same-sex marriage and whether there are variations in institutions' willingness to offer assistance and support to same-sex couples in dual career relationships.

Institution Type

Analyses of the 2009 APSA survey described above reveal two notable trends regarding the relationship between institution type and the likelihood of obtaining tenure. First, large public institutions, as well as public urban institutions, are more likely to deny tenure than private institutions (See also, Marshall and Rothgeb 2011, 573-574). While the authors characterize their findings as "preliminary" and do not offer an explanation as to why this might be the case (2011, 576), Rothgeb and Burger's survey of political science department chairs might suggest a place to start any investigation of why such differences in tenure rates exist. Broadly speaking, the largest PhD-granting institutions—which are more likely to be public institutions— appear to place more emphasis on research during tenure evaluations. For example, 84 percent of PhD-granting institutions require external review letters, 52 percent require five or more letters, and 76 percent report that research is the most important factor during the evaluation process (2009, 515). As demonstrated by Table 2, these metrics diverge sharply from BA- and MA-granting institutions.

Table 2: General Standards and Procedures Used When Evaluating Tenure
(Organized by Highest-Degree Offered)

	BA	MA	PhD
External evaluation letters are required	.39	.51	.84
Five or fewer letters are required	.90	.85	.48
More than five letters are required	.10	.15	.52
Collegiality is an important factor	.63	.62	.31
Decisions are made by all tenured faculty	.48	.61	.76
Decisions are made by a faculty committee	.40	.29	.17
Department standards guide tenure votes	.52	.77	.89
Research is the most important factor	.06	.21	.76
Teaching is the most important factor	.48	.24	.03
Teaching and research are equal	.20	.37	.16
Teaching, research, and service are equal	.16	.17	.03
Teaching and service are equal	.04	0	0

Tenure and associate professor promotions are linked	.53	.71	.84

The emphasis on research within PhD-granting institutions is reflected in the publication standards reported by department chairs. As previously noted, 21 percent of these institutions expect tenure review candidates to have at least one publication in the *American Political Science Review,* the *American Journal of Political Science,* or the *Journal of Politics* (Rothgeb and Burger 2009, 516). As demonstrated by the data summarized in Table 3, this is not the case at other types of institutions. Moreover, 38 percent of PhD-granting departments expect at least one book from tenure-review candidates and 11 percent expect two books (517). BA-granting institutions and liberal arts colleges, in particular, appear to place more emphasis on teaching during the evaluation process. As highlighted in Table 2, 48 percent of department chairs at BA-granting institutions reported that teaching was the most important factor during the tenure review process, as opposed to 24 percent of MA-granting institutions and just 3 percent of PhD-granting institutions.

Table 3: The Evaluation of Research: General Standards and Journal Quality

	BA	MA	PhD
Must publish at least one in APSR, AJPS, or JOP	.02	.02	.13
Must publish at least two in APSR, AJPS, or JOP	.004	0	.08
Must publish at least one in prestigious journals in field	.08	.09	.23
Must publish at least two in prestigious journals in field	.02	.10	.44
Superior research compensates for mediocre teaching	.17	.34	.55
Single-authored publications are essential	.36	.51	.72
Teaching publications and substantive publications are equal	.43	.32	.11
Present at least one paper at conference	.17	.12	.03

Present at least two papers at conference	.49	.68	.70

Source: Rothgeb and Burger (2009, 516)

A second theme not explored within political science-specific studies, but prevalent in analyses of the tenure process more broadly, is the relationship between alumni influence and promotion. Private institutions seem to be more susceptible to pressure from alumni who may not want faculty to pursue research in areas considered to be controversial (Fenelon 2003; see also Novkov and Barclay 2010 regarding LGBTQ+ studies). This potentially introduces an additional degree of difficulty for young faculty studying topics that are perceived to be controversial such as race, gender, and sexuality.

Promotion to Full Professor

Significantly, less has been researched and written about the challenges experienced by differentially positioned faculty at another critical career milestone: promotion to full professor. We could find only one study that examines this topic within political science specifically (Hesli, Lee, and Mitchell 2012). Thus, we draw from work outside of political science to fill in gaps when possible. Unfortunately, none of these studies examine how LGBTQ+ faculty experience mid-career milestones, including promotion to full professor. The section below summarizes research examining the challenges associated with promotion to full professor with regard to gender, race, and institution type.

Gender

Drawing on APSA survey data, Hesli, Lee, and Mitchell conclude that the "women who survive the tenure process are as likely as men (given relevant controls) to move up the academic ladder to full professor" (2012, 485). This echoes earlier research that argues that among those who are associate professors, "men and women are more similar than they were when entering the rank of assistant professor" (Long, Allison, and McGinnis 1993, 715). However, one study that examines promotion trends in the academy more broadly concludes that it takes women *three and a half years longer* to obtain the rank of full professor (Buch et al. 2011). Thus, while there may be no significant differences in the *likelihood* that men and women will eventually obtain the rank of full professor at some point in their careers, there are discernable differences in their promotion timelines that should be addressed. These differences in time to promotion have significant implications for a range of factors, not the least of which is their salaries.

Data from the Hesli, Lee and Mitchell study (2012) also reveal two important findings concerning publishing and teaching and promotion to full. First, while the total number of publications is not significantly associated with obtaining the rank of associate professor among women, the opposite is true with promotion to full professor (p<0.1; see Appendix Table 4). Unfortunately, the authors do not discuss why this shift occurs. Future work should examine whether this is the result of different evaluation criteria between tenure review and promotion to full, a change in publishing behavior among women faculty, or a combination of these and other factors.

The second notable finding concerns teaching release. The authors note that "although we often think of teaching release as something offered to assistant professors so that they can concentrate on their research, this survey reveals that the higher one's rank attainment, the more likely one is to be released from teaching responsibilities." Moreover, the analyses demonstrate that men who are granted teaching release are four percent more likely to obtain the rank of full professor (p<0.1). This relationship does not exist for women (2012, 484; see Appendix Tables 4 and 5). This finding is surprising given that teaching release is associated with increased likelihood of obtaining the rank of associate professor among both men and women (485; see Appendix Table 3). Since the authors' descriptive data suggests that women associate professors are advising more senior projects and honor theses than their male colleagues, future work should examine whether women are actually able to fully use teaching release to focus on research or whether this time is still occupied with other service and advising obligations (278; see Appendix Table 5).

Race and Ethnicity

The challenges experienced by faculty of color during the tenure process persist into mid-career milestones as well. Analyses of APSA data and reports reveal that men of color are significantly less likely to be promoted to full professor than white men even after controlling for a number of individual and institutional factors (Hesli, Lee, and Mitchell 2012). The authors theorize that faculty of color may be denied access to professional networks that possess "critical career

knowledge" (2012, 476; 884), a finding supported by Claypool and Mershon's work regarding divergent views about departmental friendliness (2016). Indeed, in a qualitative study of Black faculty who obtained the rank of full professor by the age of 45, respondents reported that they were forced to navigate the intersection of both racism and age discrimination (Chambers and Freeman 2020). One respondent who had obtained the rank of full professor by 35 noted that their colleagues frequently questioned how they were able to produce so much work and receive so much funding at their age. One colleague even cautioned that "people want to see you do well, but not better than them" (2020, 820). An additional study, which addresses mid-career milestones among Latinx faculty, finds that Latinx faculty in schools and colleges of education characterized both the tenure and promotion to full process as a "tool of fear" as well as a "moving target." Thus, even at institutions with clearly defined tenure and promotion criteria, respondents perceived inconsistent promotion criteria that varied by both candidate and committee member (Urrieta, Méndez, and Rodríguez 2015, 1155). The participants attributed these alterations in the review process to their own social exclusion and a perceived sense of secondary status within their departments (2015).

Institution Type

Multiple studies from both within and beyond political science emphasize that promotion to full professor is less common at PhD-granting and research-intensive institutions (Buch et al. 2011; Wolf-Wendell and Ward 2006). For example, analyses of the 2009 APSA data demonstrate that mid-career faculty are 57 percent less likely to obtain the rank of full professor at PhD-granting institutions than programs where BA and MA degrees are the highest degrees offered (Hesli, Lee, and Mitchell 2012, 482). While none of the work reviewed for this report explicitly mentioned publishing, teaching, or service standards for promotion to full professor, Burger and Rotheb's survey of political science department chairs, summarized in the previous section, may provide some preliminary insights into this question; PhD-granting institutions appear to place greater emphasis on research during the tenure process while MA and BA-granting institutions place more value on teaching Thus, we might expect that similar criteria are used at later career milestones as well. However, future work should examine this topic more explicitly.

Quantitative Analysis

As noted, the purpose of this report is to explore the role of race, gender, sexual identity, and institution type on promotion processes in political science. In the previous section we reviewed the existing literature on such evaluations. We now turn our attention to a quantitative assessment of how such identities and positionalities present obstacles and/or opportunities to faculty undergoing evaluation for promotion. Specifically, the working group wanted to explore such questions as: Are there differences in rates of promotion and time to promotion among differently positioned and structurally marginalized faculty? We believe a quantitative assessment of such issues is essential if we want to recognize when there is success in representation as well as identifying areas that need improvement.

We began our examination of promotion trend by looking for data through APSA. Unfortunately, and surprisingly, the American Political Science Association does not maintain hiring and promotion statistics across the discipline that would allow the working group to identify inequities that emerge along the lines of race, gender, sexuality, or institution type. To be clear, APSA recognizes its deficiencies in terms of having data available to answer such questions and has taken a number of steps to address this shortcoming. One significant first step to address this gap is to build on the research by the APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession which seeks to identify the extent to which women and minorities are represented in the political science profession. One component of the committee's research is evident in the Project on Women and Minorities (P-WAM). This project has collected data from the 21 largest PhD-granting political science departments in the United States since 2017.[23]

While the P-WAM data collection effort and its related dashboard, represent a significant first step to collect data necessary to address issues of diversity, equity, and inclusion, it does not allow us to answer the questions posed in this report. Specifically, the P-WAM data are useful for identifying issues of aggregate representation across the largest PhD-granting institutions. This aggregate representation can shed light on overall issues of representation, but it does not allow for a quantitative account of the career track and promotion patterns among individual faculty over time. Moreover, because P-WAM is based on departmental self-reporting, it is subject to issues of item and unit non-response. A quantitative evaluation of the experience of differently positioned and structurally marginalized faculty through promotion processes necessitated that the working group construct an original data set based on data that is not subject to response rates.

Methodology

To address the working group charge to examine potential variation in promotion patterns along the lines of gender, race and ethnicity, sexuality, and institution type, we built an original dataset that allowed us to analyze the faculty career paths of a small group of 602 faculty over a 10-year period. The 50 institutions included within our data set represent the 21-largest MA- and PhD-granting institutions included within the original P-WAM Dashboard and an additional 29 institutions that were randomly selected from lists of R2 institutions, liberal arts colleges, minority-serving institutions, and community colleges. The 602 individuals included within the data set represent all non-tenure track, assistant, and associate professors listed on department webpages in 2010, the first year of study. The career trajectories of the faculty sample were traced over the period 2010-2020.

At the starting year of the analysis, the sample included 422 faculty at R1 institutions, 71 at R2 institutions, 66 at liberal arts institutions, and 55 at community colleges. About 10 percent of the faculty sample (65) were housed in Minority Serving Institutions (MSIs) at the starting year of the analysis. The sample also included faculty from 21 institutions included within APSA's

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[23] The survey expanded by six departments in 2018 and an additional seven in 2019. However, not all departments have responded every year.

Project on Women and Minorities (P-WAM). About 60 percent of the sample were employed at public institutions, and 40 percent at private institutions initially.

Using the Wayback Machine, a digital archive of the internet, the research team tracked individual faculty career paths by reviewing faculty CVs, personal websites, and LinkedIn pages, focusing on employment/promotion path and time to promotion over the 10 years. The *career path* variable captured whether faculty (1) left academia; (2) moved to a new institution; (3) moved to a new department; or (4) stayed at the same institution.[24] The *promotion* variable captured six outcomes, including "not promoted," "non-tenure track to Assistant," "Assistant to Associate, without tenure," "Assistant to Associate, with tenure," "Assistant to Full," and "Associate to Full." A team of four undergraduates supervised by postdoctoral scholar and research lead Matthew Nelsen collected and coded the data. Intercoder checks on 10 percent of the sample reveal high degrees of reliability (Cohen's Kappa >0.9) on key variables.[25]

In terms of limitations, the research team noted that data were incomplete for some institutions or that sample sizes were relatively small. In particular, many community colleges do not have distinct political science departments and those that do frequently did not have archived pages available via the Wayback machine. Faculty size varied greatly across institutions, with liberal arts colleges, community colleges, and minority-serving institutions often including significantly fewer faculty compared to R1 and R2 institutions. Because women, members of racial minorities and LGBTQ+ identified faculty were not present in large numbers, the sample sizes for these groups were relatively small compared to white male-identified faculty. Moreover, because our coding represents our *perception* of an individual's race and gender identity based on biographical information, names, and photos included on departmental and personal websites and Linkedin pages, these categorizations are admittedly constrained. Similarly, since individual faculty did not frequently reference their sexuality in the content we analyzed, we are unable to track trends for LGBTQ identifying people. Our coding related to gender reflects bifurcated categories, a limitation of the methods used to gather these data. Despite these limitations, the data collected provide important insights which we believe should be followed up and replicated through a more expansive research project. We discuss our findings below.

Race and Ethnicity

Our analysis of career paths by race, highlighted in Figures 1 and 2, reveals both interesting points of relative parity and disparity between faculty of color and their white counterparts. There was not consistent and statistically significant inequity between all faculty of color and white faculty in terms of retention within the discipline and success of faculty promotion. However, there appears to be significant barriers that some faculty of color confront, especially Black and Latinx faculty, in terms of the career success they enjoy within the discipline and with regards to the tenure and promotion process.

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[24] Although these categories may overlap (i.e., a faculty member may both change institutions and join a new department; they are treated as mutually exclusive for the purpose of this analysis).
[25] See Freelon (2013) on intercoder reliability calculations.

Figure 1 presents the reported proportions of Asian and Asian American, Black, Latinx, Middle Eastern, and white faculty in our sample who "left[26]" the academy, moved to a new institution, moved to a new department, or stayed at their original institution over the course of our sampling period. Among those in our sample who left academia, the highest proportion of faculty members who exited were Black (24 percent). As demonstrated by Figure 2, nearly a third of Black men (30 percent) were found to have left the academy, while 16 percent of Black women exited academia. Next were Latinx men at 14 percent. Nearly equal percentages of Middle Eastern (13 percent) and white male (12 percent) faculty along with 13 percent of white female faculty were found to have left academia. Lastly, only 4 percent of Asian respondents left the academia.

Asian and Asian American faculty in our sample moved to new institutions in the highest percentages (roughly 57 percent for both women and men). They were followed by Middle Eastern, Latinx, Black, and white faculty. Because we are reviewing professional documents to track movement, we have no accurate way of assessing the reasons for exiting or changing academic institutions. Our data do reveal that relatively few individuals in our sample moved to new departments within their institutions, but among those that did were Latinx women (7 percent), Middle Eastern men (7 percent), Black women (5 percent), and minute percentages of white respondents (no more than 2 percent). Consequently, fairly large proportions of faculty in our sample (no less than a third) across all racial/ethnic categories were shown to have stayed within the same institution. Generally, an average of 60 percent of all white and Latinx tracked faculty reported staying at the same institution, with 53 percent of Black faculty, 50 percent of Middle Eastern Faculty, and 40 percent of Asian faculty in our sample staying at the same institution.

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[26] The language of "left" the academy can suggest a willing exit on the part of a faculty member. It is possible, however, that due to a number of factors mentioned previously—hostile work environment, disrespected research area, lack of appropriate mentoring or heavy service load—these faculty may have felt, in part, forced or pushed out of the academy.

Figure 1: Career Path by Race and Ethnicity

Path by Race and Ethnicity

Figure 2 Career Path by Race and Gender
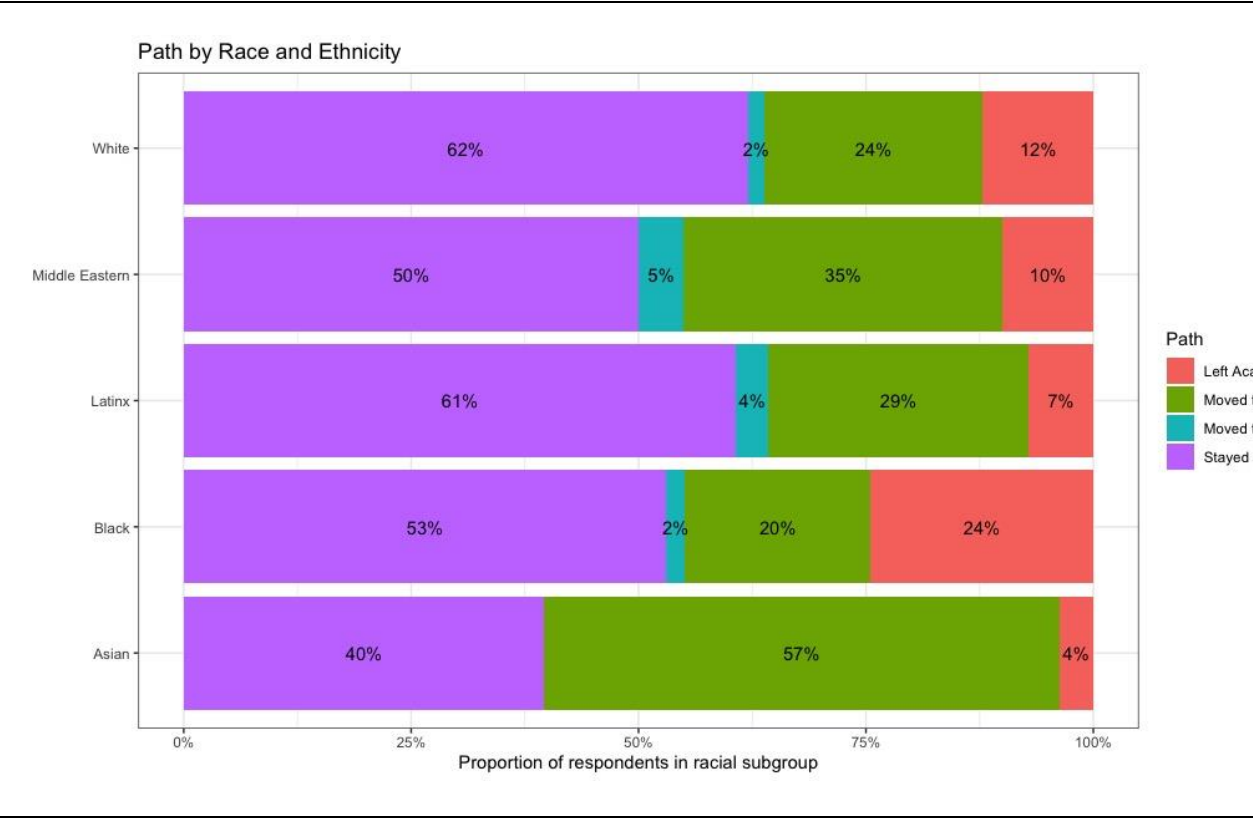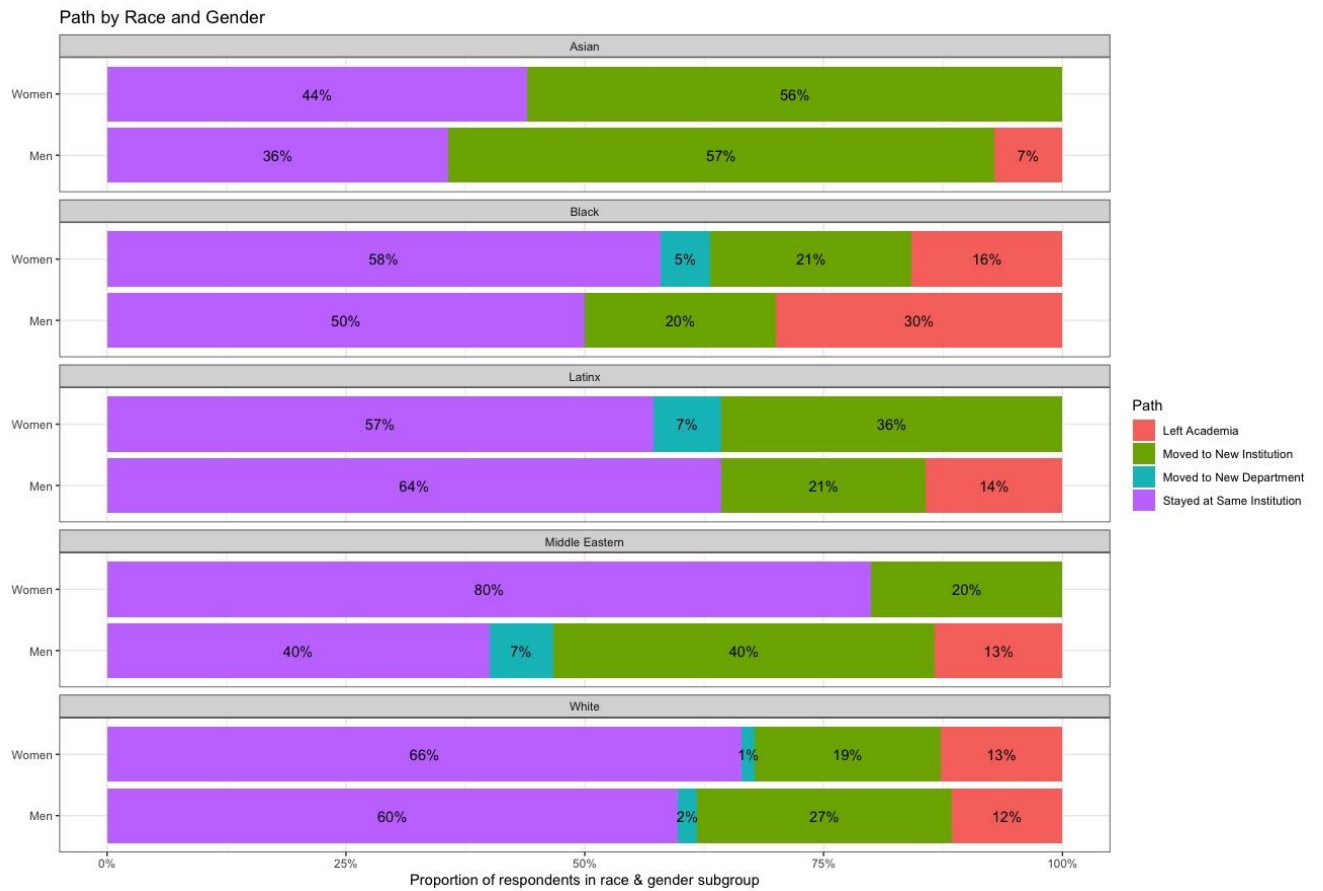

As demonstrated by Table 4, the proportion of white faculty versus faculty of color who left academia was only statistically significant between white faculty and Black faculty (p<0.05). As demonstrated by Figure 1, nearly a quarter of Black faculty members left academia, as compared to just 12 percent of white faculty members, which is a difference of 12 percentage points.

Table 4: Leaving Academia (White Faculty vs. Faculty of Color)

Proportion Leaving Academia		Difference	P-Value
White Faculty	Black Faculty		
54 (12%)	12 (24%)	12%	0.03
White Faculty	Latinx Faculty		
54 (12%)	2 (7%)	5%	0.6
White Faculty	Asian Faculty		
54 (12%)	2 (3%)	9%	0.11

Note: Significant differences are emphasized in bold.

Similar to differences in career paths, we also find troubling differences in promotion paths based on race and ethnicity. As we see in Figures 3 and 4, Black and Latinx faculty members have the largest proportions of non-promotion. Over 40 percent of all Black faculty (42 percent) and 38 percent of Latinx faculty were not promoted to the next rank. In both cases Black (44 percent) and Latinx (42 percent) men were more likely to have not been promoted. Among the other groups, approximately 18 percent of Asian and Middle Eastern faculty and 25 percent of white faculty were not promoted.

Relatively few faculty members in our sample were promoted to the post of assistant professors from non-tenure track instructors, however, those that did travel this path were most likely to be people of color. For example, while approximately 2 percent of white faculty in our sample were promoted from such positions, about 10 percent of Asian faculty (9 percent of Asian women and 10 percent of Asian men), 7 percent of Black women and 15 percent of Middle Eastern male faculty secured tenure through what was previously a non-traditional route. Only a small group of faculty were either assistant or associate professors without tenure—4 percent of all Latinx faculty members (only 8 percent of Latina faculty) and 3 percent of white faculty members.

Figure 3: Promotion Path by Race and Ethnicity

Promotion Path by Race and Ethnicity
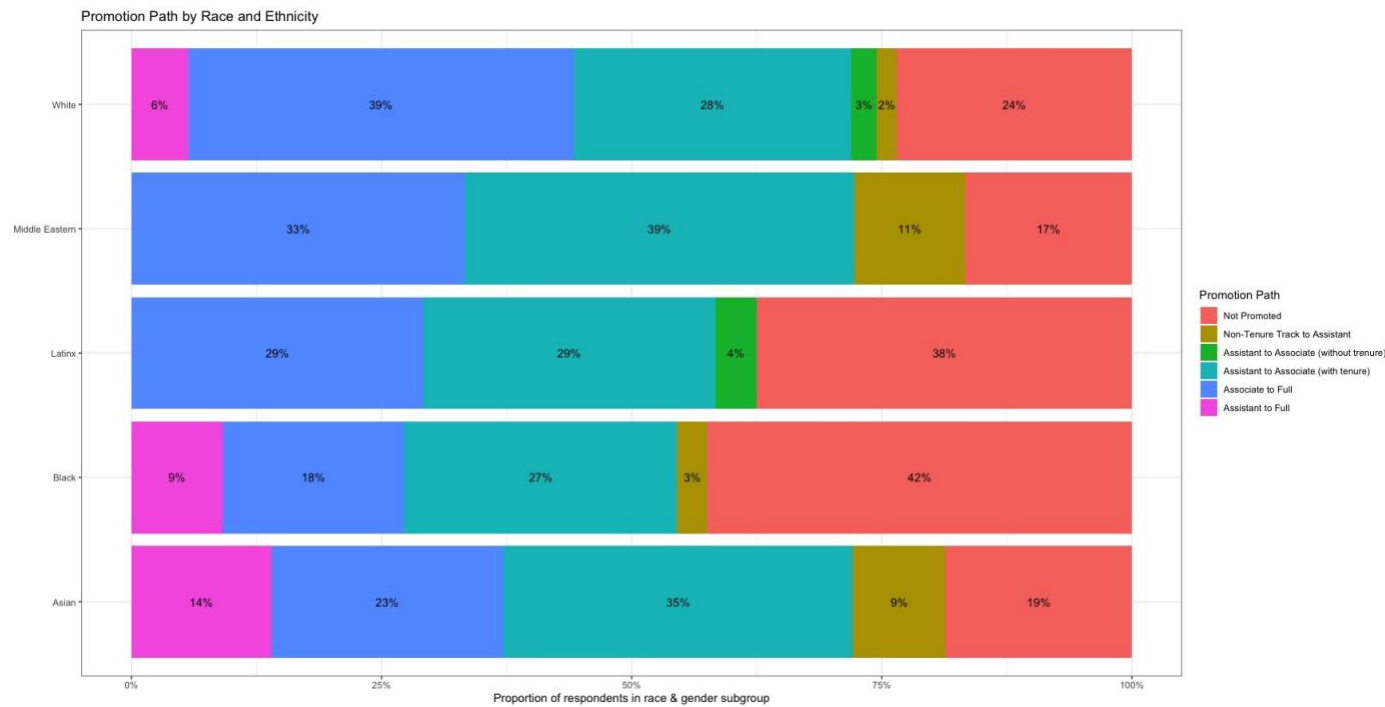
Figure 4: Promotion Path by Race and Gender

Promotion Path by Race and Gender
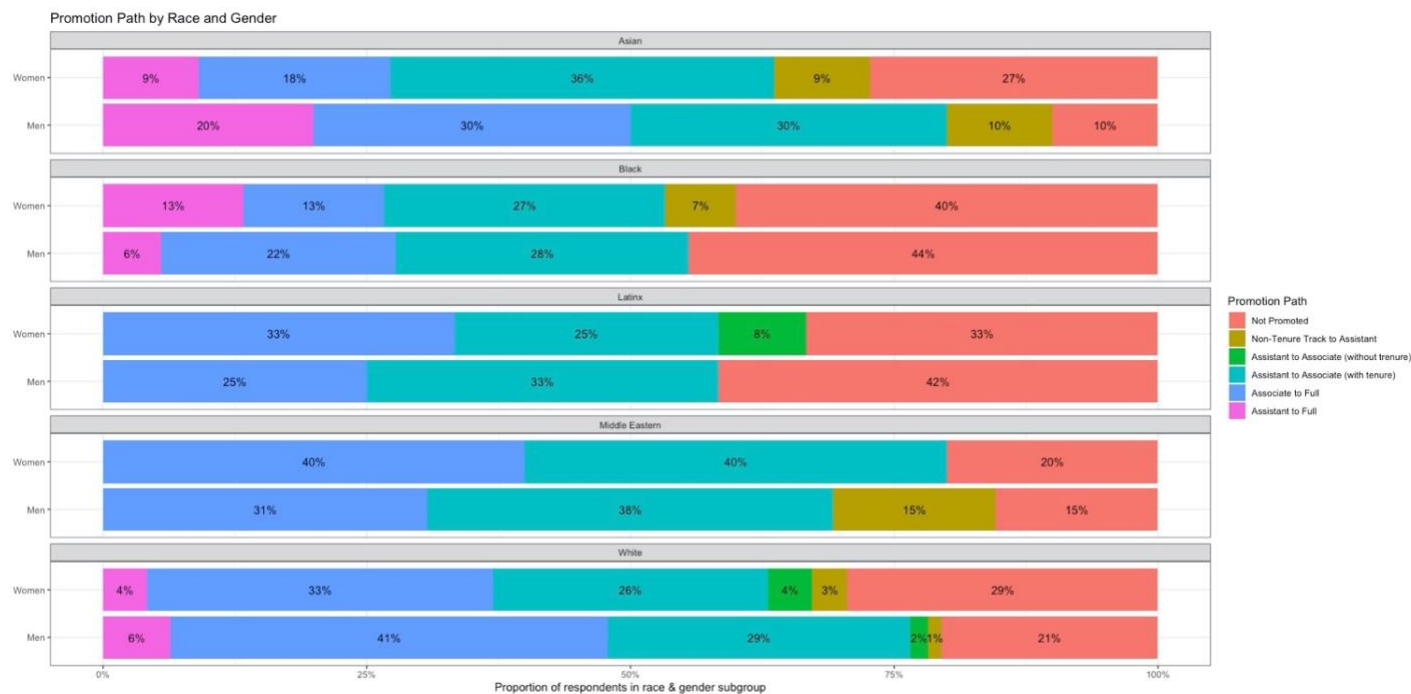
Among those who were promoted from assistant professor to associate professor with tenure, an average of 27 precent of Black faculty members and 29 percent of Latinx attained these promotions. This is compared to averages of 28 percent among white faculty members, 35 percent among Asian faculty members, and 39 percent among Middle Eastern faculty members. Among those who were promoted to the highest ranks in academia, from associate to full professor, the average percentages of attainment are 33 percent for Middle Eastern faculty members and 37 percent among white faculty members. This compares to the smaller average percentages of 18 among Black faculty members, 29 among Latinx faculty members, and 23 among Asian faculty members. In a path less taken to promotion, from assistant to full professor, the average percentages are 6 percent of white faculty members, 9 percent of Black faculty members, and 14 percent among Asian faculty members. It is difficult to know if these findings represent a few outlier cases, because it is much rarer route to tenure.

Table 5: Time to Promotion by Race

	Number of Cases	Average Years to Promotion		Difference	P-Value
		White Faculty	*Faculty of Color*		
Non-Tenure Track to Assistant	14	7.75	4.6	3.15	0.4
Assistant to Associate (with tenure)	138	6.8	6.9	0.1	0.8
Assistant to Full	29	10.8	10.3	0.5	0.7
Associate to Full	166	7.0	6.6	0.4	0.5

In spite of the forgoing differences, the data in Table 5, revealed no statistically significant differences in average years to promotion by race and ethnicity. More specifically, while there was an average difference of 3 more years for white faculty than faculty of color in the move

from non-tenure track teaching posts to assistant professor tenure-track positions. However, the difference is not statistically significant (perhaps because, at 14 cases, the sample size was too small). In general, the differences in time to promotion within rank between white faculty and faculty of color are fractional in absolute terms and not statistically significant. So, it is possible that it is not time to attain such ranks that matters when comparing the success of white vs. faculty of color. Instead, it is whether attaining these promotions at all represents off-ramps which inequitably confront faculty of color. Thus, once faculty of color are pushed out of/exit the discipline, the time to promotion for those who remain is fairly consistent across groups.

Gender (and Race/Ethnicity)

As we examine institutional retention of faculty members according to gender differences, we will note differences between women and men, overall, as well as between women and men of color as well as those who are white. Not all race/ethnicity and gender subgroup comparisons reveal inequities in expected directions that privilege men and white people (see Figures 2 and 4). But in several instances race and gender analysis reveal statistically significant differences in terms of who is promoted and the time it takes for women (and some women of color) to attain promotions. It is important to consider the range of factors noted in the research—e.g., greater service loads, research resource disparities, family expectations—that might adversely impact the promotion progress of women. Of course, because of our limited faculty-tracking sample, we are unable to control for such factors in our analysis.

Reflecting on and underscoring a data point we previously discussed in Figure 2, 30 percent of all Black men and 16 percent of Black women in our sample left academia. No other race and gender identity combination approached the proportion of Black men who exited, and all other groups had rates smaller (and in the case of Asian and Asian American men much smaller rates) than the "exit" rate of Black women. Only white women and men had close to parity (roughly 12 percent) when it came to exiting academia. Overall, when we consider the absolute and percent differences of all women and men faculty members in our sample who left academia as presented in Table 6, we find the difference is 3 percent and there are no statistically significant differences between these two genders. This is an important demonstration of the importance of disaggregating and intersecting race and gender.

Table 6: Leaving Academia by Gender

Number of Cases	Proportion Leaving the Discipline		Difference	P-Value
	Men	Women		

Left Academia	78 (13%)	51 (13%)	22 (10%)	3%	0.4

When it comes to moving to a new institution (Figure 2), Asian and Asian American women and men (56 percent and 57 percent respectively) had the highest within-group proportions of such moves. This certainly may indicate the degree to which such institutions and departments create inclusive climate barriers to Asian and Asian American faculty members, or it may reflect their ability to find better opportunities at new institutions. Again, our data do not allow for us to make a conclusive argument about what is motivating such findings. Middle Eastern women who are faculty members have the next highest proportional rates of moving to new institutions—40 percent—with less than a quarter of all Middle Eastern men moving to new institutions. This is one clear gendered outcome difference within a faculty of color group. Next, Latina faculty members (36 percent) had the highest within-group proportions who made such moves. Roughly one-fifth of Black women (21 percent) and men (20 percent) faculty members moved to new institutions. Among white faculty members, 19 percent of white men and 27 percent of white women moved to new institutions.

As noted previously, Figure 2 demonstrates that very few of all faculty members in our sample moved to new departments. Notably, however, 5 percent of Black women, 7 percent of Latinas, and 7 percent of Middle Eastern men moved to new departments. All of these proportions are more (or much more) than double the proportions of white women (1 percent) and white men (2 percent) who made such moves. Of all race-gender subgroups, the greatest proportion of faculty members who stayed within the same institution were Middle Eastern women at 80 percent. This is double the proportion for Middle Eastern men or 40 percent. While this may mean Middle Eastern women find institutions that provide them with long-term opportunities, it might inversely mean these women are not availed a level of market competition that give them opportunities to move elsewhere. We would have to know more to say more. In terms of the highest proportions of those who stayed at the same institution, next were white women (66 percent), Latinx men (64 percent), and white men (60 percent). Solid majorities of Black (58 percent) and Latinx (57 percent) women stayed at the same institution, whereas roughly half of Black men (50 percent) and lesser proportions of Asian women (44 percent) and Asian men (36 percent) remained at the same institution.

Next, we examine faculty promotion pathways according to gender and race differences within our sample. As demonstrated by Figure 4, Black women and Black men have the highest or near the highest proportions of all race-gender subgroups of non-promotion; 44 percent of all Black men and 40 percent of Black women. This is only matched by Latinx men at 42 precent. Next a third of all Latinx women, 33 percent, and 29 percent white women and 27 percent of Asian women in our sample were not promoted. Again, very few of the people in our sample were promoted from a non-tenure track post to a tenure-track assistant professorship. At the lowest

end of subgroup proportions, it occurred among only 1 percent of white men, and at the highest end, it occurred among 15 percent of Middle Eastern men. When reviewing the pattern of promotion from assistant to associate without tenure, Latinx women had the highest subgroup proportions at 8 percent, and white women had the lowest subgroup proportion at 2 percent. Among those promoted from assistant professor to associate professor with tenure, Middle Eastern women in our sample (40 percent) and Middle Eastern men (38 percent) experienced the highest proportions of success. Latinas (25 percent), white women (26 percent) and Black women (27 percent) who were proceeded slightly by Black men (28 precent) and white men (29 percent), represented the smallest proportions of those promoted from assistant to associate with tenure. Only a small fraction of any group of faculty members were promoted from assistant to full professor. Here the numbers seem to suggest an advantage for faculty of color with 20 percent of Asian men and 13 percent of Black women securing tenure and promotion to full through this path.

Table 7: Time to Promotion by Gender

	Number of Cases	Proportion Leaving Academia		Difference	P-Value
		Men	*Women*		
Non-Tenure Track to Assistant	14	3.25	8.2	4.95	0.09
Assistant to Associate (without tenure)	10	7.75	7.4	0.35	0.9
Assistant to Associate (with tenure)	138	6.4	7.4	1.0	0.02
Assistant to Full	29	10.7	10.5	0.2	0.9
Associate to Full	166	6.4	8.0	1.6	0.006

While not every type of promotion resulted in significant differences between women and men, when we explored time to promotion, we did find statistically significant disparities in average time to promotion among the two dominant tenure-track paths. First, on average men were promoted from assistant to associate (with tenure) one year earlier than women. Whereas men were on average promoted within 6.4 years, women were promoted within 7.4 years. Likewise, on average men were promoted from associate to full nearly two years earlier than women. On average men were promoted within 6.4 years and women were promoted within 8.0 years. Again, while we do not have data to explain this difference, we might surmise that some of the issues discussed in the earlier literature review, such as the increased service and family obligations that women face, might have contributed to the additional year it takes on average for women to secure tenure.

Institution Type

Our working group also considered the extent to which promotion patterns vary by type of institution. Of the 50 colleges and universities in our sample, 60 percent of the faculty were appointed in public institutions and 40 percent in private institutions (Table 8). Furthermore, 70 percent were in R1 ("very high research activity") institutions; another 12 percent in R2 ("high research activity") institutions; 11 percent in liberal arts colleges; 9 percent in community colleges; and 11 percent in minority serving institutions.[27]

Table 8: Institution Type

	Public	Private
Proportion of Sample	60%	40%
N	361	241

Public / Private

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[27] "R1" and "R2" are classifications that date back to the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education in 1970 and differentiate universities that confer doctoral degrees from another by an index of research activity on measures including research and development expenditures; number of research staff, including post-doctoral fellows; number of doctorates conferred. The designation "minority serving institution" dates back to the term "minority institutions" in Section 365 of the 1965 Higher Education Act. It is inclusive of historically Black colleges and universities; Hispanic-serving institutions; Tribal colleges and universities; Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander-serving institutions; Alaska Native-serving institutions; Native Hawaiian-serving institutions; predominantly Black institutions; Native American-serving nontribal institutions.

Similar to our analysis in the previous subsections, we examined differences in both career and promotion path by institution type. We first differentiated the data by public and private institutions, Figure 5. While there appear to be important differences in path to promotion, most of the differences were not statistically significant. One trend of statistical significance (p<0.01) is the likelihood of a faculty member staying in the same department. While faculty at both private (49 percent) and public (64 percent) institutions demonstrate high rates of remaining in their original department, the trend is more likely to occur at public institutions. Correspondingly, we find that a greater proportion of faculty at private institutions (38 percent) than those at public institutions (20 percent) moved to a new institution. Again, this finding is statistically significant (p<0.01). In contrast to trends that saw more faculty at public institutions stay in the same department, 15 percent of faculty at public institutions and 10 percent of faculty at private institutions "left" academia. As might be expected given our first finding, very few faculty members in both public (1 percent) and private (3 percent) institutions changed departments.

As detailed in Figure 6, promotion paths of faculty at public and private institutions closely mirror each other and few of the findings are statistically significant. For example, during our 10-year tracking period, 29 percent of faculty at public and 30 percent at private institutions were promoted from assistant to associate professor with tenure. Correspondingly, 38 percent of faculty at public institutions and 31 percent at private colleges and universities were promoted from associate to full professor. Among those who were not promoted, the numbers are again similar with approximately 1 in 4 faculty or 26 percent at public and 1 in 5 faculty or 22 percent at private institutions not promoted. The difference in the accelerated career path of promotion from assistant to full between private and public institutions was statistically significant with such a path more likely to happen at private than public institutions (p<0.01).[28] Specifically, 11 percent of faculty at private institutions followed the accelerated path to full professor compared to 3 percent at public institutions. Also, the difference in movement from a non-tenured track position to assistant professor was statistically significant with only 1 percent of faculty at public institutions compared to 5 percent at private institutions moving through the ranks through such a route (p<0.05).[29]

Figure 5: Career Path—Private / Public Institution Type

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[28] The number of faculty included in this analysis is small, so we should be careful making generalizations from this analysis.

[29] The number of faculty included in this analysis is small, so we should be careful making generalizations from this analysis.

Path by Institution Type

Path
- Left academia
- Moved to new institution
- Moved to new department
- Stayed in same department

Proportion of respondents by path
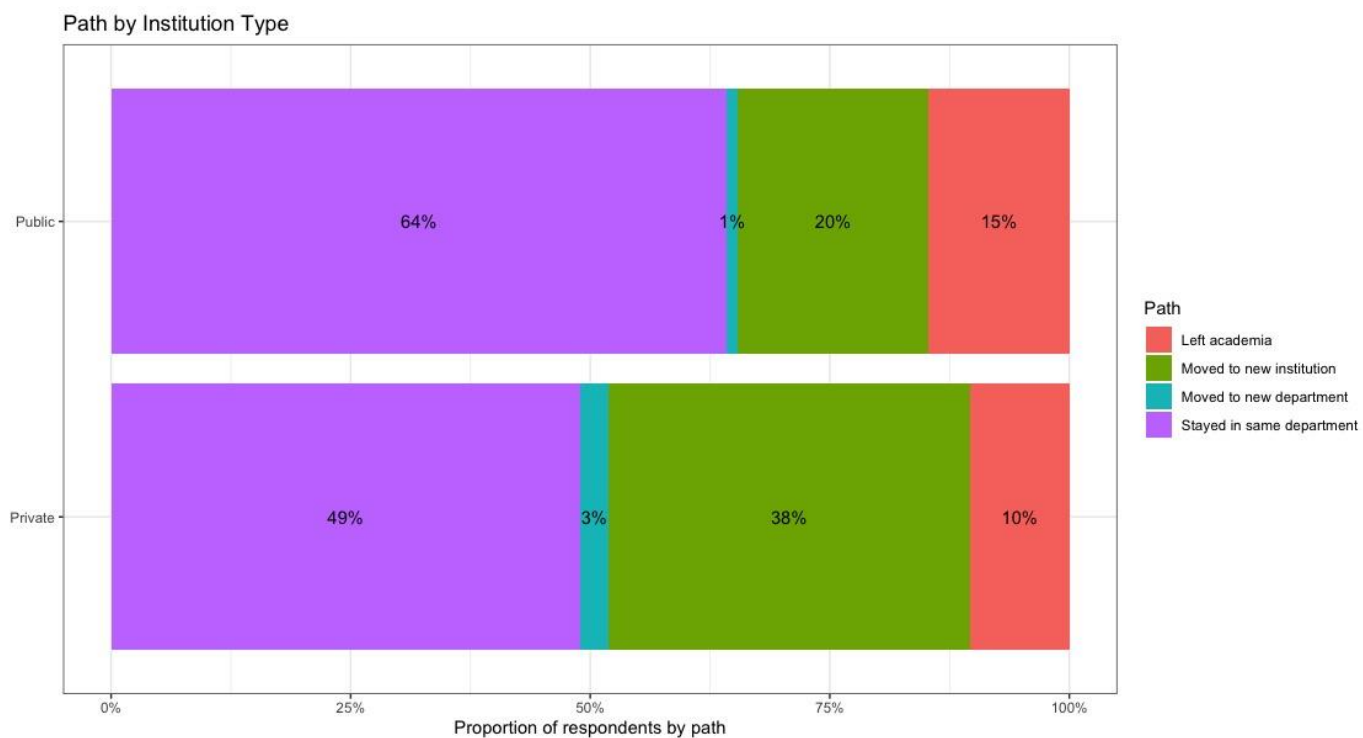
Figure 6: Promotion Path—Private vs Public

Promotion by Institution Type
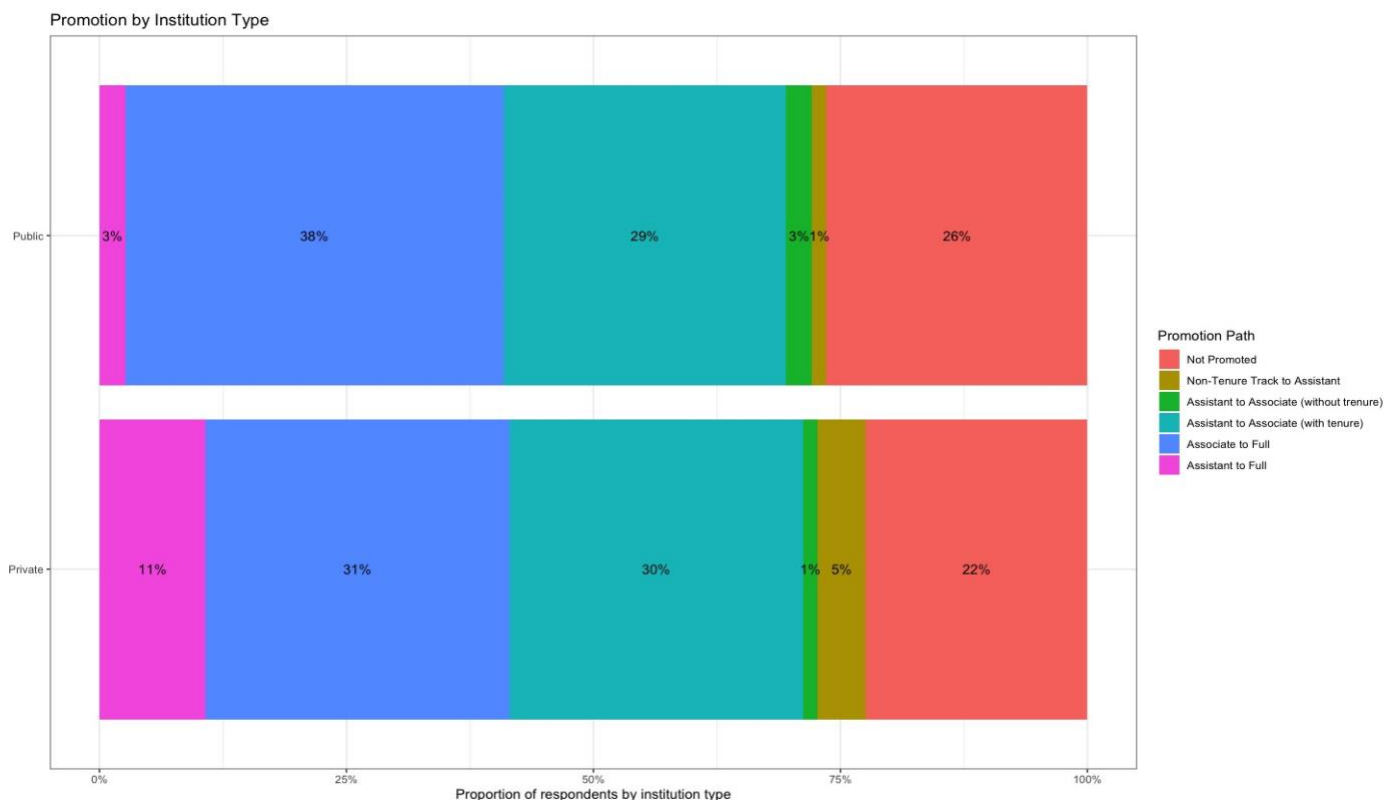
As detailed in Table 9, when we explore time to promotion between faculty appointed in private and public universities and colleges, we find statistically significant differences. Faculty at public institutions in our study took an average of 6.4 years to advance from the rank of assistant professor to associate professor with tenure; in private institutions, that figure was 7.4 years. There is a similar pattern in advancement from assistant professor directly to full professor, albeit with a significantly smaller sample size: at public universities, faculty in our study took an average of 7.8 years to advance to full professor; at private universities that took 11.6 years on average, or a full 3.8 years longer. For faculty who advanced from associate professor to full professor, we found almost no difference between public and private institutions: the time to promotion to full took 6.9 years at public institutions and 7.1 years at private institutions. Without corresponding data, we cannot explain these differences with certainty. Some might surmise, however, that public institutions, which are accountable to elected officials, public records and possibly unions, are more likely to hold to strict schedules of evaluation and promotion.

Table 9: Time to Promotion (Private vs. Public)

	Number of Cases	Average Years to Promotion		Difference	P-Value
		Public	Private		
Non-Tenure Track to Assistant	14	8	5.4	2.6	0.8
Assistant to Associate (without tenure)	10	6.4	10	3.6	0.4
Assistant to Associate (with tenure)	138	6.4	7.4	1	0.03
Assistant to Full	29	7.8	11.6	3.8	0.03
Associate to Full	154	6.9	7.1	0.2	0.7

R1 / Non-R1

In Figure 7, we detail the different career paths for faculty at R1 and non-R1 schools. We recognize that such a division between R1 and non-R1is a blunt categorization that hides important differences and varying experiences in the academy. Despite the capacious nature of our non-R1 category, which includes faculty from R2 institutions, liberal arts colleges, community colleges and minority serving institutions, we still find statistically significant differences. Faculty at non-R1 institutions are significantly more likely to leave academia (p<0.01) with 28 percent of faculty employed at non-R1 institutions having been found to exit the academy, compared to only 7 percent of faculty at R1 institutions. While faculty at non-R1 institutions are more likely to leave academia, they are also statistically less likely to move to new institutions. Thirty percent of faculty at R1 institutions changed schools while only 19 percent made such a change at non-R1 colleges and universities. While majorities of both R1 and non-R1 faculty stayed in the same department during our tracking period, faculty at R1 institutions were significantly more likely to stay within the same department (P=0.01).

Figure 7: Career Path (R1 vs. Others)

Path by Institution Type

Path
- Left academia
- Moved to new institution
- Moved to new department
- Stayed in same department

R1: 62% | 1% | 30% | 7%
Others: 50% | 3% | 19% | 28%

Proportion of respondents by institution type

Figure 8: Promotion Path (R1 vs. Others)

Promotion Path by Institution Type

Promotion Path
- Not Promoted
- Non-Tenure Track to Assistant
- Assistant to Associate (without tenure)
- Assistant to Associate (with tenure)
- Associate to Full
- Assistant to Full

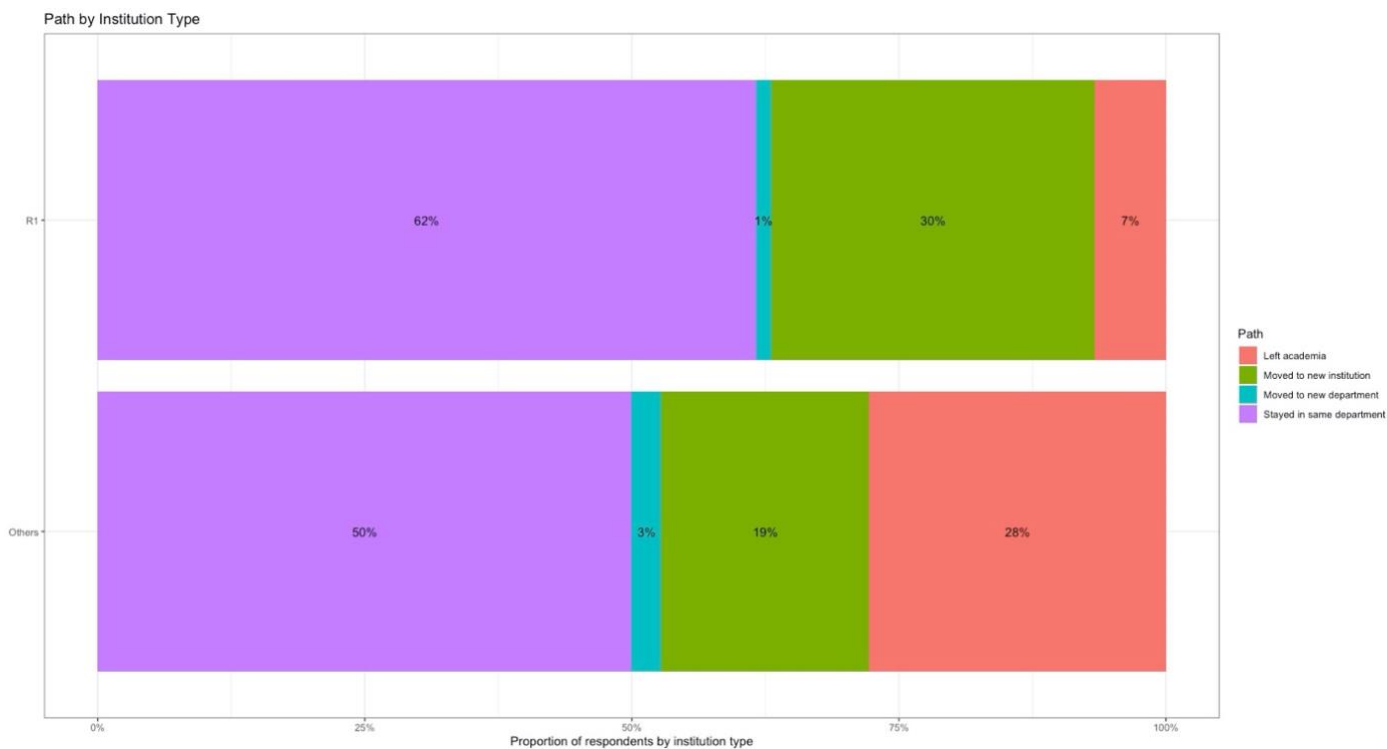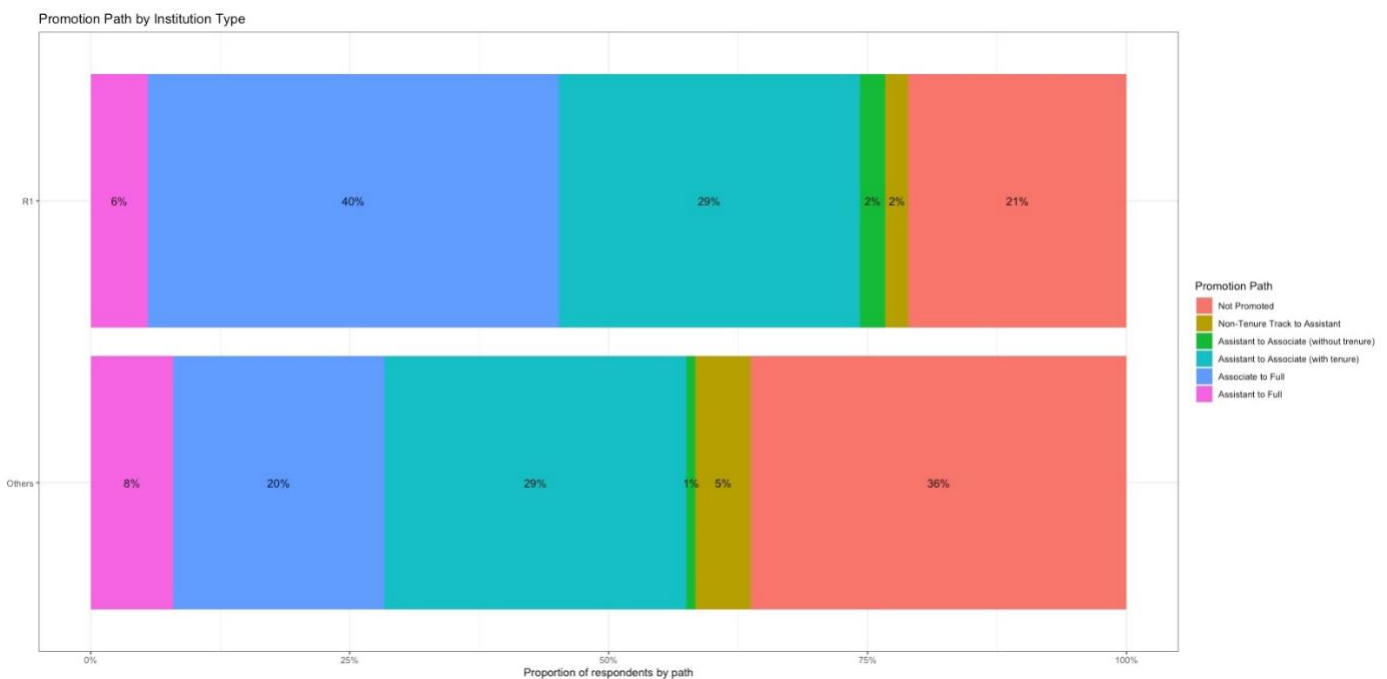R1: 6% | 40% | 29% | 2% | 2% | 21%
Others: 8% | 20% | 29% | 1% | 5% | 36%

Proportion of respondents by path

Despite differences in propensity to leave the academy and leave institutions between R1 and non-R1 faculty, there is only one statistically significant difference that emerges when we explore their promotion paths. Faculty at R1 institutions are more likely to be promoted from associate to full professor, with 40 percent at R1 institutions being promoted compared to 20 percent at non-R1institutions (Figure 8).[30] Overall, it seems that faculty at R1 institutions have more stability and possibly agency over their academic careers than colleagues at non-R1 institutions. Faculty at R1 institutions are less likely to leave the academy, but are more likely to move institutions, possibly for a better position. They are also more likely to secure promotion later in their career, moving from associate to full professor. Future studies of differences in promotion processes will need to account for institutional differences.

In looking for differences in time to promotion, we found no significant differences in time to promotion between R1 institution and all others (Table 10). At both R1 and non-R1 institutions, faculty took an average of 6.8 years to achieve promotion to associate professor with tenure. Faculty at R1 institutions took an average of 6.9 years to be promoted to full professor; at non-R1 institutions, that time to promotion average was 7.1 years. While the sample sizes at non-R1 institutions, disaggregated by type, are small, we did look for differences in means between R1 and R2; R1 and liberal arts; R1 and minority serving institutions. While there were some differences, the sample sizes do not allow us to rule out the possibility that these differences are due to sampling error. See Appendix B

Table 10: Time to Promotion by Institution (R1 vs. All Others)

	Number of Cases	Average Years to Promotion		Difference	P-Value
		R1	All Other Institutions		
Non-Tenure Track to Assistant	14	7.75	4.6	3.15	0.4
Assistant to Associate (with tenure)	138	6.8	6.8	0	0.99
Assistant to Full	29	10.4	11.3	0.9	0.6

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[30] There is a substantial difference in the number of faculty not promoted at R1 (28 percent) and non-R1 (36 percent) institutions. Despite the stark numbers, this difference is not statistically significant. Our R1 subsample is quite a bit larger than the Other category and has fewer missing data. Specifically, many community college faculty included in the "Other" category have an NA for this variable because the RAs could not track them. Because we removed NAs from the visualizations, the proportional differences look more exaggerated than they are actually.

Associate to Full	166	6.9	7.1	0.2	0.9

Area of Study

One question explored in the analysis was the extent to which subfield of study might impact career and promotion outcomes. In particular, the working group was interested in whether studying a marginalized community/communities as the focus of one's research influenced career and promotion trajectories. Thirteen percent of our sample were scholars of race and ethnicity, 10 percent were scholars of gender, and 2 percent were scholars of sexuality. Consistent with earlier analyses presented in this section, we investigated if the career paths of faculty whose area of expertise included a focus on marginalized communities were significantly different from faculty who focused on other areas of study. Overall, we find that while majorities of both groups of scholars stayed in their same department during our 10-year tracking period, scholars who study marginalized communities were more likely to remain in their original departments. As detailed in Figure 9, 55 percent of non-REP/Gender/Sexuality scholars compared to 70 percent of REP/Gender/Sexuality scholars stayed in their original departments (p<0.05). Correspondingly, we found that non-REP/Gender/Sexuality scholars were more likely to move institutions with 30 percent of such scholars making such a move, compared to 19 percent of REP/Gender/ Sexuality scholars (p<0.1). Interestingly, we find no statistically significant differences in the promotion paths of REP/Gender/Sexuality Scholars and those with no discernable expertise in these areas (Figure 10).

Figure 9: Career Path by Area of Study
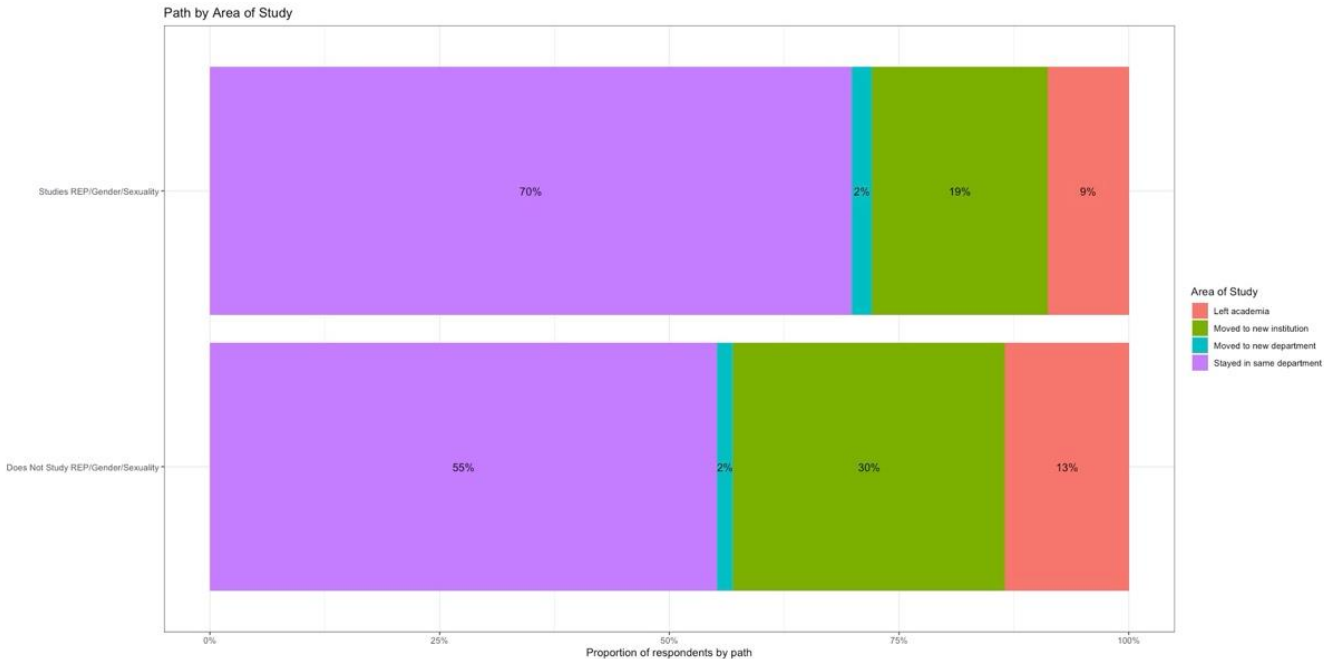
Promotion by Area of Study
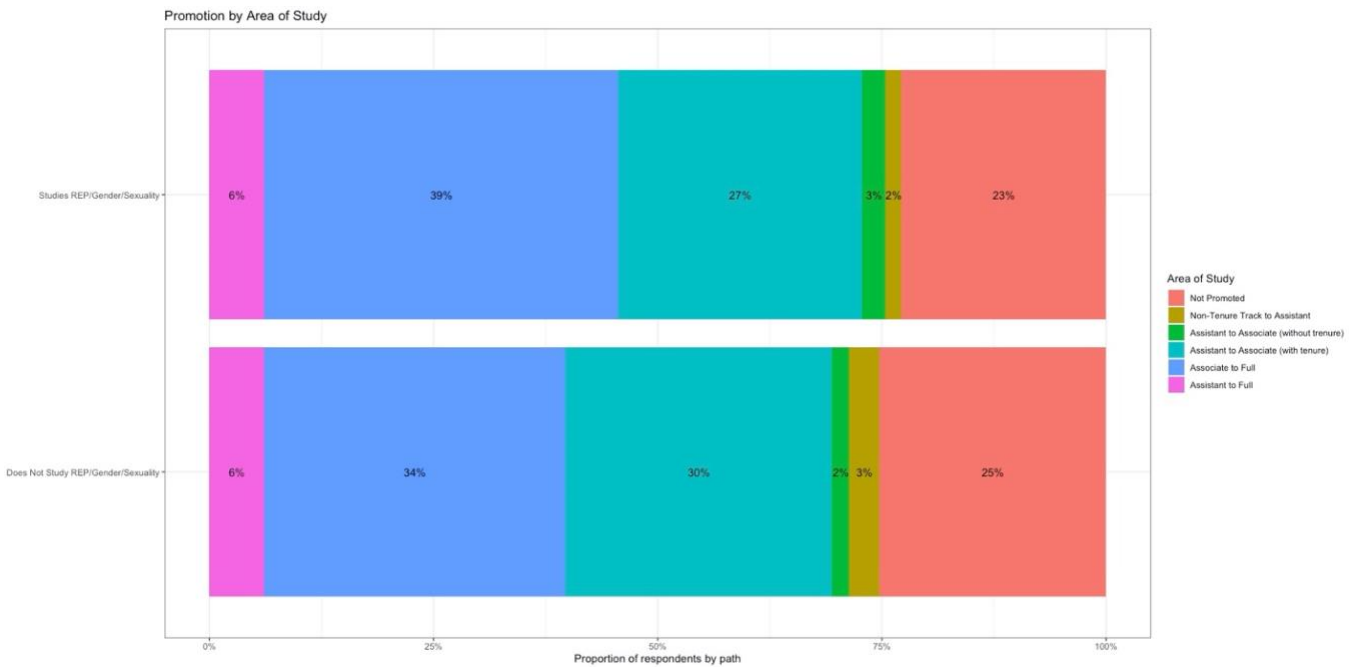
Finally, as Table 11 indicates, there were few differences in time to promotion between those who studied marginalized groups (scholars of race, gender, sexuality) and those who were not specialists in these subfields. For instance, the average years to promotion from assistant to associate (with tenure) was 6.7 among those who studied marginalized groups and 6.8 among those who did not study race, gender, and/or sexuality. Because of limited sample size, it is difficult to discern clear trends, but when we disaggregate these data on subfield by race/ethnicity of the faculty member, no clear pattern emerges. The time to promotion from assistant to associate (with tenure) is longer among white than non-white faculty (n=22, not statistically significant) while the time to promotion from associate to full is shorter among white compared to non-white faculty (n=50, not statistically significant). (See Appendix B)

Table 11: Time to Promotion for REP, Gender, and Sexuality Scholars

	Number of Cases	Average Years to Promotion		Difference	P-Value
		Does Not Study REP/Gender /Sexuality	*Does Study REP/Gender /Sexuality*		
Assistant to Associate (without tenure)	10	7.6	6.5	1.1	0.4
Assistant to Associate (with tenure)	138	6.8	6.7	0.1	0.9
Assistant to Full	29	10.6	8	2.6	0.1
Associate to Full	166	7	7.6	0.6	0.3

Summary of Findings

Our analyses reveal that race, gender, and institution type all influence the trajectories of faculty members, albeit in different ways. Black and Latinx faculty included in our data were less likely to be promoted over the 10-year period we examined and nearly *one-third* of Black men left academia all together. Gender also influences the career trajectories of faculty but operates differently than race and ethnicity. Time to promotion is significantly longer for women at two career milestones: assistant to associate (with tenure) and associate to full. The type of institution one teaches at also has an effect on career and promotion trajectories. Faculty at public institutions are more likely to stay both in their original departments and institutions than those at private colleges and universities. Faculty at private institutions are more likely to be promoted from assistant to full and to move from a non-tenure track position to the assistant professor level. Finally, time to promotion is significantly longer at private institutions than at public institutions. Differences in career and promotion paths extend beyond the public / private divide. For example, faculty at non-R1 institutions were significantly more likely to leave academia with over 1 in 4 or 28 percent exiting the academy. In contrast, faculty at R1 institutions were significantly more likely to continue with their original department and to be promoted from

associate to full. When looking at area of study, we find that faculty with demonstrated expertise on marginal communities are more likely to stay in their original department and institution.

We recognize that the findings presented in this section are largely illustrative, based on the limited data we generated through our use of internet archives, allowing us to track a group of 602 faculty over 10 years. However, even with our limited data, we believe our findings make it clear that scholars who are differently positioned based on race, gender, sexuality, institution, and their intersections have varying and sometimes inequitable experiences through promotion processes that demand greater investigation. We strongly recommend that APSA embark on a more extensive research project exploring career and promotion trends across the discipline of differently positioned and structurally marginalized faculty.

Building on these initial quantitative findings of variation in promotion and career paths, we now explore how differently positioned faculty perceive and describe their experiences with promotion. Using a limited qualitative approach that includes a focus group with faculty who successfully navigated the tenure process and individual written reflections from those who were denied tenure at one institution or decided to leave academia, we attempt to identify emerging themes about their experience with the promotion processes. Finally, we use both our quantitative and qualitative insights to draft recommendations for next steps.

Qualitative Analysis

The trends discussed in the previous section highlight several factors, including race, ethnicity, gender, institution type, and area of study, that shape the career trajectories and promotion outcomes of political scientists. To better understand the inner workings of these trends, we turn to an exploratory qualitative study consisting of a focus group, one-on-one interviews, and written reflections from political scientists about their experiences with promotion. We understand that our qualitative investigation is limited both in numbers and representation. We undertook this limited qualitative study because we believe by highlighting the experiences of those who have traversed distinct paths through (and out) of the profession, we are better situated to unpack the complexity of some of our quantitative findings. Furthermore, listening to the perspectives of even a small number of political scientists with different promotion outcomes will help us craft recommendations to both departments and APSA that hopefully contribute to more equitable outcomes with regard to tenure and promotion to full professor.

Methodology

The individuals included in the qualitative were recruited using both convenience and snowball sampling (Mosely 2013). Members of our working group compiled a list of political scientists who had distinct experiences navigating the academy. Over half of these individuals are also accounted for within our quantitative data set. The goal of this sampling approach was not to gain a representative sample of the discipline, but to learn from the experiences of those that are differently and marginally positioned: the sample includes seven women, four men, and one transgender man; 8 of the participants are people of color and four are white. These individuals

navigated a variety of career and promotion tracks within the academy, summarized below in Table 12.

Table 12: Career Trajectories of Qualitative Sample

Career Path	Number of Participants
Obtained Tenure	7
Obtained Tenure and Left Academia	1
Denied Tenure and Moved Institutions	2
Denied Tenure and Left Academia	1
Left Academia Before Obtaining a Tenure Track Job	1

Focus group and interview recordings were transcribed verbatim and analyzed in NVivo alongside participants' written reflections.[31] Using an etic (observer) structure, research categories were generated in NVivo to categorize moments when participants touched upon themes also salient within our literature review (e.g., mentorship, unclear promotion expectations, etc.) (Adair and Pastori 2011). However, the transcripts and written reflections were also used to generate emic (insider) categories that did not emerge in our survey of existing work addressing tenure and promotion within political science (e.g., informal mentorship, advice for navigating the tenure and promotion process, etc.) (Strauss 1987). Each line from both the transcripts and written responses were coded into the appropriate NVivo categories. Coding frequencies were then created for each category to identify emergent themes within the coded data (Miles and Huberman 1994).

"The [tenure process] made me deeply cynical about academia. One of the reasons I went into this sector was independence, but it turned out I had 28 passive aggressive bosses barely paying attention to anything except their own petty grievances."

Overall, the qualitative analyses revealed five major themes. ***First***, *our participants overwhelmingly discussed the tenure and promotion process in negative terms*. Those who were denied tenure characterized the expectations for promotion as a moving target and described the ways in which senior faculty actively worked to undermine their tenure cases. Even those who eventually were awarded tenure or promotion to full described the process in largely negative terms, often believing that their marginal position negatively affected their experience and trajectory. Thus, consistent with extant work discussed in the literature review, the participants within our qualitative sample discussed the ways in which the criteria for tenure were either unclear, made intentionally ambiguous by senior faculty, seemed to shift on a case-by-case basis,

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[31] The questionnaire and focus group/interview protocol used to conduct this research can be found in Appendix C.

or was formally or informally opposed by those in decision-making positions. Three experiences, highlighted below, help elucidate this point.

I think maybe a year or two before I went up, they denied tenure to a faculty member, and everyone's like, "Oh my gosh." He, from what I understand, had great recommendations, two books, articles, well-respected in his field. And so, everyone's obviously nervous. Junior faculty members are nervous. The chair at the time calls us together, all the junior people, and says, "Oh yeah, that's a different case. Can't go into particulars, but it's different. You guys, it's not going to be applicable... now when we do our reviews, we're going to give tougher signals so people will know where they are in trouble." And so, lo and behold during my second year they were like, "The book's not out. You said the book was going to be out. We're not sure how much progress you're making," so setting it up for the following year, which was year three on the clock, four in real time. And they said, "Yeah, you got the [article] that came out, but your book's not out. And it's too late. We're not renewing your contract." And that's how it went. I mean, it just... You're talking about going from a chair saying, "We don't behave in that way," to a guy that got turned down for tenure and the chair calling us saying that "No, that's special, unusual circumstances," to like a couple of years later me and a couple of other people not getting our contract renewed at the third year.

(Black man; denied tenure at a private institution and moved to a public institution)

The secrecy of a private university system makes things even more traumatic and that it gives certain power brokers a lot of flexibility to make things very, very difficult. I had a lot more information than most people of color do just because I actually knew people on the inside, but when I was up for tenure [at a public institution], I knew I had a unanimous vote in the department and then it would go up to the dean's level. I had a unanimous vote from the dean's own committee. The thing is the dean then was my former colleague who didn't really appreciate anything having to do with race. So, I learned subsequently that the way he then forwarded to the provost level, he sort of did kind of like a wink. Kind of like, "All right. I'm pushing it forward, but if you need to make cuts. I'm not going to fight this one."

(Latino man, moved to a private institution and obtained tenure)

People have said traumatizing, bruising. I would echo that...Going up for tenure was sort of interesting. There were five of us who came out my year, three women and two men, all white. I was the only queer person. It was just clear going in that the narrative about the men was that they were shoo-ins and stars, and the rest of us were kind of maybe we'd be okay and maybe we wouldn't. My review conversation with my chair, the year that my book was under contract and my article would come out in [a flagship political science journal], he said to me, "Your colleagues really like you, but there are no free passes." Anytime, I approached anyone about any concerns or issues, I was given signals. "Well, maybe you'd be happier at a different institution."

(White queer woman, obtained tenure at a public institution)

Participants seem to suggest that the negative and secretive characterizations of the tenure process were particularly pronounced at private institutions. Existing work—as well as our quantitative analyses—demonstrates that political scientists are more likely to be denied tenure at private institutions and that promotion criteria tend to be less clear or perceived as less clear (Marshall and Rothgeb 2011, 573-574). One white male faculty member at a private institution described how he believes the lack of clarity regarding the tenure process—as well as intradepartmental politics—ultimately contributed to his committee's decision to deny him tenure.

I went up for tenure and was ultimately denied. In a way, it was deeply midwestern: passive aggressive, disengaged, and bizarre. It was a dysfunctional department, with lots of deep, litigious conflicts among senior faculty. Every subgroup had longstanding conflicts and rivalries. We had five chairs in my six years in the department, and nearly went into receivership during my promotion process. We rarely had faculty meetings, and senior faculty paid virtually no attention to juniors except to recruit them to intradepartmental blocs. I went around to senior people in my field and received no caution or negative feedback. I later learned that two members of the department secretly went door-to-door before the meeting seeking support to deny my promotion. I came up one vote short of tenure. I didn't treat it as adversarially as I should have in retrospect, because no one sent a signal that my portfolio was unusual or off. I'm modest and self-effacing by nature, so didn't make my case as strongly as I should have, so when others made the case against me, I was on a back foot (with no formal power of course). The experience made me deeply cynical about academia. One of the reasons I went into this sector was independence, but it turned out I had 28 passive aggressive bosses barely paying attention to anything except their own petty grievances.

(White man, denied tenure at a private institution and left academia)

Participants who went up for tenure at public institutions described the process as being comparatively more transparent but were split on whether the transparency actually benefited them. One Black male faculty member who was denied tenure at a private institution shared his appreciation for the comparatively transparent tenure process at the public institution where he now works. However, one white woman who ultimately received tenure from a public institution described the transparency of the process as traumatic.

[The public institutions I've worked at] are very explicit in terms of their expectations. Again, they can't say two plus two, do X, Y, Z, and you're going to get tenure, but they do give you a very good idea of if you're doing this, doing what you say you're doing, you get the annual reviews, they're telling you like, "Well, maybe you want to focus a little bit less on this and spend more time on this." If you're working on these other projects, then get off these other projects. Finish the book," or "Get this article out," more information to kind of help you, that's going to help your file look better.

(Black man, denied tenure at private and now at public institution)

I was at a public university when I came up for tenure and was certainly transparent to a fault...the letters read unredacted by the candidates. You're required to read your letters. You're involved and sign the statement and say, "If you have any objections, and you're involved in every stage." I frankly found that more traumatizing, I think than in some ways not knowing.

(White woman, received tenure from a public institution)

For those who did successfully navigate the tenure process, there was a strong sense that obtaining tenure was less of a celebratory moment than we might expect. Instead, they discussed the process in terms of trauma, hazing, and losing colleagues and mentors. Thus, when the tenure process is seen as traumatizing what is the effect on how colleagues pursue the rest of their academic career? More than one person in our study indicated that after a bruising promotion process in which they were awarded tenure, they decided to leave the tenure-granting institution. So, even when faculty do successfully navigate career milestones, it is important to consider the costs.

I do think we want to think about people's trajectory and how they experience tenure. For example, I was at a place where actually none of my friends got tenure. So, the joy of tenure was diminished because the people that I spoke with, that were my interlocutors all left.

(Black Woman, received tenure at a private institution)

Luckily for me the process played out in my favor as it should have with my CV, but...now it's like I'm tenured. I feel like I should be celebrating after years and years of hard work, and publications, and service, and teaching, and mentoring and all these other things...[but] when I think about my experience, I just think of the words trauma and rage-filled.

(Black woman, received tenure at a private institution)

"I think in my case, it was mostly grad school mentors…[and] grad school colleagues...who'd been through it one year before I was, who were far more helpful [than formal mentors].

Second, *the qualitative data demonstrate the important role of both formal and informal mentorship during the tenure and promotion process.* This is consistent with extant work, summarized in our literature review, that consistently places mentorship programs as one of the most effective ways to help junior faculty navigate career milestones. Among both those who left academia and those who successfully matriculated into the upper echelons of the academy, mentorship emerged as the single most important factor in shaping career trajectories. Participants discussed the importance of having senior faculty vouch for their research, foster a work-life balance, and guide them through the politics of the tenure and promotion process.

[One mentor] liked the theoretical work and I think [another] liked the work also. I think [one mentor] ensured that political science would do the right thing and she controlled African

American Studies and ensured that they would do, which she considered to be the right thing. I think they both did. But I want to underscore the emphasis on mentors and stakeholders. And I say this to people all the time. You can do all the work necessary for tenure, but if there aren't people in the room who are going to speak for you, who are going to count the votes at some level, I'm not going to say it doesn't matter, but that really to me is the tipping point. And I know that from my own tenure case.

(Black woman, received tenure are a private institution)

[My mentor] was our department chair who was hell bent on diversifying the department while she was the chair and bringing in more women, because when I came in there were only three women…out of 11 [political science] faculty. I know I benefited from having two stakeholders with some standing and power in the institution.

(Black woman, received tenure at a private institution)

Of course, mentorship is not a panacea for all junior faculty members. Existing work suggests that mentoring programs may yield additional challenges, especially for marginalized faculty (Majic and Strolovitch 2020, 4) For example, many respondents within our qualitative sample discussed the complex power dynamics associated with both being mentored and serving as a mentor.

I will say there weren't strings attached to tenure, but when I left about a year after tenure, and for maybe four or five years, [my mentor] wouldn't talk to me, wouldn't speak to me because she was like, "You got tenure here. How dare you leave?" To her, it was just like "Why would we do this for you to leave?" So, there is a sense, I think also of mentors of stakeholders even when they don't mean to, that somehow that decision makes you beholden to them.

(Black woman, received tenure at a private institution)

The college had no structured mentoring program, no kind of set of explanatory factors for folks like they do now... I had a "great white father" who I think made it happen, or at least made it possible for it [tenure] to happen. But that great white father ended up like, "Oh, god." It ended up being a horrible relationship afterwards because I think he still saw himself in that way like "I'm the one that delivered you, so you owe me things. Don't contradict my advice or anything."

(Black woman, received tenure and a private institution)

The circumstances for mentorship provision are also really taxing. Four times, I have had to fight and when I say fight, I mean fight to hire or put somebody up for a promotion. I won, and the person left, didn't take it, whatever. It's debilitating on the other side. So, I think rightfully so, you experience it as, "Why are you mad at me? I'm doing what we're supposed to do." The other side of it in terms of the stresses of advocating for and mentoring and pushing on the other side when other folks aren't doing it. They're pushing back. I had to fight. I expended chips. I went above people's heads. And still am dealing with fallout from that, where now it's like, "We're not going to listen to who you want anymore because you did all that and they're gone."

So that was something that resonated for me that we hadn't talked about that other side, but it's a part of it.

(Black woman, received tenure and a private institution)

While some of the participants discussed having formal mentors who saw their tenure case through the process of promotion, many suggested that other forms of mentorship were critically important to their successful promotion and their happiness in the discipline. These alternative forms of mentorship included professional organizations that aim to support marginalized faculty, intradepartmental relationships with other faculty as well as other junior faculty members who were just slightly ahead of them in the process. These relationships helped shed light on the ambiguity of the promotion process.

I think in my case, it was mostly grad school mentors…[and] grad school colleagues...who'd been through it one year before I was, who were far more helpful. I think the lack of formal mentorship was kind of exacerbated by the fact that for some junior people that informal network kind of thing really worked for them.

(Latino man, received tenure at a private institution)

I think that for a lot of us, we've seen enough people who have treated us with so much respect and given us really good mentorship. I usually go to NCOBPS to get it because I was the only Black person in my graduate program. I was the only Black person at [my institution], so I'm used to being an orphan, an intellectual orphan in a lot of ways. So I just want to make sure that my junior colleagues don't have to go through this feeling of just not having anybody, but also helping them see [that other people of color can be great mentors]...I don't necessarily look like you per se, I don't do exactly what you do, but I can still sort of be a mentor and just like demystifying some of the process, so it's kind of like no question is too big or too small when we're trying to tease these things out. And that goes from the professional, but also personal stuff like when you need to kind of say no and when you need to say yes.

(Black Woman, received tenure at a private institution)

I've always been in an ethnic studies program or department [and a political science department] my entire career…the responsibilities are the same as political science except [the workload] is doubled…. So there hasn't ever been any kind of agreements between my departments in terms of distribution of labor.

Third, many of the participants we spoke with were jointly appointed across two academic programs while navigating the tenure and promotion process. Consistent with existing research addressing this topic, *the individuals we spoke with expressed that joint appointments doubled their workload and made it difficult to pursue their own research*. However, *others emphasized that these joint appointments created opportunities to reach upper echelons of the academy*.

I've always been in an ethnic studies program or department my entire career…the responsibilities are the same as political science except [the workload] is doubled. And the one thing that has happened to me everywhere I've been, is that is the time when I've been there is when they've said, "Oh my gosh. We don't have any guidelines." So there hasn't ever been any kind of agreements between my departments in terms of distribution of labor. I think this is something that really affects especially women, LGBT faculty, and faculty of color is it's not like your joint appointment in political science and psych because it's a different kind of thing where you are supposed to be there building your program that's underfunded.

(Asian American woman, received tenure at a public institution)

I was the first person to be jointly appointed in African American studies and political science at [my institution] and I'm still the only person to be jointly appointed in political science and African American studies [at my institution]. I think toward that ends, again, these are rules that the faculty of color know all too well. It's merit plus and it's double work. No matter what if you have tenure and criteria to say. It's merit plus and it's double work. Even when you're in a good situation.

(Black man, received tenure at a public institution)

Taken together, the insights generated by these responses highlight both the importance and limitations for jointly appointed faculty members navigating career milestones. While joint appointments provide support systems outside of political science that "keep some faculty alive," existing work and the responses above demonstrate that educational institutions must do more to recognize and reward the additional service obligations taken on by faculty members who operate within multiple departments.

Fourth, the individuals we spoke with frequently discussed the ways in which *marginalized areas of study such as race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality shaped their career trajectories*. Extant work suggests that scholarship representing these topics are underrepresented in the discipline's most prestigious journals and that faculty who do study these topics tend to have the legitimacy of their work questioned by those who pursue more traditional research agendas (McClain et al. 2016).

As a white, middle-class person who went to a top-10 program, I feel that I had numerous privileges along the way and was extremely well supported by my graduate department. However, as a transgender person, whose work ultimately took up questions of LGBTQ politics, I felt that these aspects of my identity (and my work) were not supported by the discipline writ large, and certainly played into my experiences and ultimately my leaving the academy... I was frequently told or shown that my research in LGBTQ politics was considered a "niche" or not "real" political science, despite the fact that I was working in the fields of political psychology, emotions in politics, group politics, and experimental and survey research methods, among others. I was often asked at conferences or in both formal and informal settings to explain why my research mattered to anyone who wasn't themselves LGBTQ or who wasn't studying LGBTQ

politics specifically. I applied to around 200 jobs over two years on the job market—all across the country, at different types of institutions, and for different types of positions (not only tenure track)—and ultimately had only one campus interview with no job offers. I understand the supply/demand pressures of the contemporary academic job market, but it is difficult not to interpret my experience as being pushed out. At a minimum, being pushed out was a significant factor in the final outcome for me.

(White transgender man, left academia)

Talk about a microaggression. So, when I was at my first institution, I had worked on a paper a lot that eventually was published in [highly ranked subfield journal]. I was trying to turn that dissertation chapter into something that could be published. And so, I had a colleague [review the article]. He looked at it. He was like, "I didn't know you were that sophisticated in methods," basically stats. It's like, "I didn't know you were that sophisticated methodologically." And then before I could say anything else, he said, "Oh, but I see you worked with such and such. He looked on your paper. So, okay." This person who's in our department. So, the person looked at it, but that was about it. I had spent, I think it was one summer just working on what's the best estimator to use for the data that I had, not to mention I graduated from [an institution that specializes in survey methods]. This guy, and this was a liberal guy and supposedly a supporter of mine, basically dismissed my stats skills because of who I am and what I study, just like that, before I could even tell him, "Yeah, I spent all summer trying to figure out how to do this, but ran all these different models, did this, did that, which was the best fit." I'll never forget that. And I was like if he's the liberal guy, he's the supporter, and he clearly thinks Black people can't count.

(Black man, denied tenure at private and now at public institution)

Fifth and finally, when asked to share advice for how junior faculty—and especially those who are marginally positioned—should go about navigating the tenure and promotion process, most respondents returned to two factors: *understanding the politics of the tenure process and mentorship*. Contrary to the white faculty member who was denied tenure at a private institution while trying to avoid the "petty grievances" of his department, multiple respondents of color in our qualitative study stressed that it essential to recognize the politics of the process in order to ensure promotion:

We're in political science, and I guess we should understand the politics in these departments, and so what happens is so like at my first institution, I think there were a few people that... I mean, I don't think I would've gotten hired if there weren't some people in there who said, "Hey, we think this guy could bring something to the institution." And then there were other people like, "Yeah, whatever. We'll just do it. Maybe we'll get a Black person there, say that we did something, but we have no intention of promoting." So those are those type of people, like, "Yeah, go ahead and hire him, but when it gets time to make a decision, we're not going to promote this guy." And so those people who thought that I could bring something to the institution, they just lost that [political] battle.

(Black man; denied tenure at a private institution and moved to a public institution)

There are some colleagues who do just want to put their head down and work, and I have to figure out how I can support them because I don't respect that decision. So, I think I have to figure out how do I support people's chance at tenure. And to me as a mentor, so the advice I would say is… you should lean on me to do the external work. I think we think about mentors as reading the work and I think about it as getting in the chair's ear and saying how you define that field is not right. You can't have those people on the list. Let's figure out who are the two or three people besides myself that are going to count the votes and make the case for you in the meeting. There's organizing to be done. And to me I want to say to junior faculty, we want to put you in the best position to get tenure and that is about, of course, the work you're going to produce, but that this is a political as f… situation, right? And that's what we have to navigate. It means bringing in other faculty of color if necessary, making sure other people are watching, building constituencies among graduate students and undergrad. The mobilization of bias or something. So, I think for me the advice I would give the person is think of this as a political process, that includes the production of work, but a lot of it is just politics. And if you want to get tenure, let's strategize and figure out how you continue. And sadly, that's the truth of tenure and it just is.

(Black woman; obtained tenure at a private institution)

Both of the quotes illustrate the importance of mentorship while navigating the politics of departmental promotion processes. Senior faculty members can play a critical role in helping those going up for tenure understand the idiosyncrasies of the process while also lobbying less sympathetic faculty members to see the contribution of their work. Interestingly, when we asked our senior focus group participants to share the advice they would like to give to marginalized faculty members navigating the tenure and promotion process, they reflected upon the ways in which they aim to mentor junior faculty within their own departments.

One thing I try very hard to do is to serve as a sort of anti-gaslighter. So, to really kind of make it clear to junior faculty and grad students what they are experiencing is real. If they think someone is... I won't stoke their paranoia. I don't want to be like, "Yeah, that person's really out to get you and you should..." Like make them totally freaked out. But to kind of provide this background and be like, "Yeah, these things do happen."...That itself it's kind of a fine line how much to be honest and how much to try to be encouraging. And how to give advice that's kind of like, "Okay. This has worked, but I think in so many cases, they're so idiosyncratic.

(White woman)

I find myself also struggling with the keep-your-head-down advice, because I tend to do that by nature. I have also sort of learned that there's ways you can be a stealth advocate. So that's kind of how I've said, it's not like you can't be an advocate for yourself or other people, but there's ways of doing it. You don't always have to be kind of out there with the poster and the megaphone. I love this idea or this anti-gaslighting term. I love that. So, I think what I would add

is if you think you're being gaslighted, you probably are. And so, ask. Don't feel afraid to ask. "Hey, is this really happening to me?" Because it probably is.

(Black woman)

Both our quantitative and qualitative analyses demonstrate that the promotion processes that differently positioned faculty face, produce very different experiences. Repeatedly, in the illustrative qualitative research we pursued, we heard marginally positioned faculty talk about the promotion process as traumatizing. It is possible everyone recounts their journey with promotion with some sense of difficulty, but the literature and our quantitative and qualitative data suggests that political science departments and APSA could be doing more to ensure more equitable outcomes for faculty at various career milestones. In the final section of this report, we synthesize our findings into a series of policy recommendations that should be employed to address the stark inequities addressed throughout this report.

Recommendations

The research and data presented in this report lead us to offer a set of recommendations meant to address inequities in promotion experiences and outcomes. The areas these policy suggestions speak to include future data collection on promotion experiences and outcomes, mentoring programs, promotion metrics and transparency, departmental culture, valuation of research areas, and accounting for faculty service load and research support. Our suggested interventions are summarized below.

Data Project

Throughout this report we have explored how faculty who are differently and sometimes marginally positioned based on race, ethnicity, gender, institution, and its intersections experience promotion processes. The presentation of a deep and clear understanding of such processes has been hampered by the lack of data currently available through the American Political Science Association that centers such questions for a range of faculty throughout the discipline. Currently, the data APSA collects are either cross-sectional or aggregate at the departmental level. Our preliminary and limited quantitative analysis suggests that there are significant inequities in the promotion process shaped by race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and institution type. Only a significant investment in tracking the promotion trajectory of differently positioned faculty can detail how such factors influence promotion experiences and decisions. Departments and the discipline need data that will allow us to understand why Black faculty—and Black men in particular—seem to be exiting the discipline and the academy early in their career. Are these junior colleagues deciding that their interests lie in other areas or are they met with hostility in their departments and classrooms that pushes them out of the discipline? Only longitudinal data at the individual level will allow us to answer such questions.

We recommend that APSA develop and launch a major quantitative and qualitative longitudinal data project that will track the development of differently positioned and structurally

marginalized faculty over at least a 10-year period to record who exits the discipline and academy, who is promoted with tenure or to full, and whose promotion is denied. Such a project should also explore the degree to which other factors noted in the literature such as publishing in the discipline's major journals, having a postdoc or leave early in one's career, receiving research support or participating in a mentoring program enhanced one's chances for promotion. **We fervently recommend** that a qualitative component be central to this data project. Only by hearing the stories of faculty as they proceed through promotion processes can we unveil how they experience and perceive such evaluations. Through their stories we can layer our understanding of both the challenges faced and opportunities provided to differently positioned faculty in their departments, in the classroom, in their colleges and universities and in the discipline.

We also recommend that APSA ensure that any new longitudinal data project includes adequate measures to assess the complexity of important characteristics and identities such as race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, subject area of expertise, and institution type. We are especially concerned that any future data collected address what is now an almost complete lack of information about LGBTQ+-identified scholars. While APSA's 2019-2020 Membership Survey made an important first step by asking respondents to report their sexual and gender identity, additional questions are needed to learn about how both sexuality and institution type impact career and promotion trajectories at various milestones. Indeed, even our data collection process was unable to adequately identify and track LGBTQ+ scholars without self-reported data. Novkov and Barclay suggest that "questions concerning orientation and identity should be added to the National Survey of Earned Doctorates and other large-scale projects that regularly collect data on political scientists and academics in other disciplines" (2010, 103). These authors also note that more should be done to understand how LGBTQ faculty navigate multiple educational institutions (103). While there is some preliminary evidence to suggest that discrimination is particularly pronounced at religious institutions, this report also demonstrates that more data collection is necessary to better understand how structurally marginalized faculty more broadly navigate the tenure and promotion process across educational contexts. Thus, **we similarly recommend** that more attention be given to how institution type—private, religious, public, R1, liberal arts, minority-serving, and community colleges—impacts promotion and career evaluation processes.

Mentoring

Mentoring was the most frequently suggested intervention within the literature addressing promotion inequities. Many of the studies cited in our literature review propose mentoring initiatives that cater to women and faculty of color specifically. (Lavariega Monforti and Michelson 2008; Luca and Escoto 2012; Lisnic, Zajicek, and Moriomoto 2019; Urrieta, Méndez, and Rodríguez 2015; Pinderhughes et al. 2011). Others stress the importance of mid-career mentorship and career advancement initiatives (Buch et al. 2011). And while mentoring programs for junior and mid-career faculty continue to proliferate at many colleges and universities, it is important to consider what effective mentoring relationships look like before

advocating for their expansion. For example, Majic and Strolovitch note that "mentoring may do little to challenge the status quo, at least in part because senior scholars from underrepresented groups often are reluctant, disinclined, or not well positioned to do so" (2020, 765). They also note that because "the senior scholars most likely to provide both formal and informal mentorship to members of marginalized and underrepresented groups…are often themselves members of these same groups…[who] already shoulder disproportionate service burdens" (2020, 765), that mentoring can also contribute to the "tax" that essentially demands that members of these groups provide what Disch and O'Brien label free "overtime" in the form of additional, lower-prestige, and time-consuming service and emotional labor (Disch and O'Brien 2007). Thus, these authors argue that departments must first hire diverse faculty who, in turn diversify the ranks of mentors; understand who within the department is mentoring effectively and reward it as such; and "implement a safe channel through which graduate students and junior scholars can report troubling practices and behaviors" with regards to mentoring (2020, 6).

Given that women and people of color tend to characterize their departments as more hostile than their male and white colleagues do (Claypool and Mershon 2016), others suggest that mentoring might be best situated beyond or in addition to one's home department or institution. For example, Smooth (2016) advocates for interdisciplinary conferences designed to support women of color by building wide-reaching, cross-disciplinary professional networks that provide support at various career milestones. Our qualitative data support Smooth's insights with respondents noting the importance of identity-based caucuses and conferences as sources of support where their research was both engaged and validated. Similarly, our respondents pointed to other junior colleagues, just ahead of them in the promotion process, as important sources of information and advice. Thus, as departments and the discipline move forward with the development and implementation of mentoring programs, we strongly encourage colleagues to look to alternative sites of support for faculty in our discipline. For example, **we recommend** that departments provide differently positioned and structurally marginalized faculty with the resources, sometimes extra resources, to attend identity-based conferences and working-groups where they feel seen and embraced. **We recommend** designating funds or other forms of support to facilitate the convening of junior faculty to share information about the promotion process. When there are only one or two faculty members in a department working in a specific area such as REP, **we recommend** departments identify funds to allow those faculty to invite colleagues at other universities or colleges with expertise in their subject area to campus to engage their work. Similarly, **we recommend** that departments consider inviting faculty outside the home department to serve as mentors if they have subject area expertise. The literature suggests that we must think creatively and broadly about what counts as mentoring, and also that we must recognize that while gratifying, effective mentoring is also time-consuming labor that is as essential as research and teaching. It also often comes at the expense of other more recognized and rewarded activities such as publishing, and so departments and universities should compensate it with, e.g., teaching relief or research support, especially for those who are overburdened and underrepresented (Strolovitch and Majic 2020, 768).

While the research suggests that there are many benefits to be gained through mentoring programs, our qualitative research also suggests that there are challenges to mentoring that must be addressed. For example, we know that not every senior colleague on our faculty is a good mentor. This is not a judgement on their character, but instead points to the lack of training provided to colleagues whom we ask to serve as mentors. Of course, the last thing senior colleagues desire is another mandatory training program, but **we recommend** that chairs communicate with colleagues about best practices in mentoring. Similarly, **we recommend** that chairs detail what is expected from mentors. Are you asking them to meet with those they are mentoring quarterly/each semester? Are you asking them to review the research and potential publications of their mentees, even if they do not have area expertise? **We recommend** that APSA develop a framework for evaluating the effectiveness of mentoring programs, how to reward mentoring, and how to think creatively beyond the department about how to mentor differently positioned and marginalized faculty.[32]

Finally, just as importantly as providing clear guidelines about what is expected from mentors, departments must also detail what is not acceptable. **We recommend** that departments hold discussions with those mentoring and those being mentored about the power dynamics of mentoring. Those who are mentored should not be made to feel that they "owe" their mentors as several of our qualitative subjects described. **We strongly recommend** departments provide an opportunity for those receiving mentoring to provide feedback on their experience, registering concerns about what is failing, comments on what is going well, and suggestions on how to improve the program. Such an effort at evaluation is not meant to punish those mentors who find the work difficult, but instead to ensure that all those engaged in a mentoring program are receiving adequate and appropriate support.

Promotion Metrics, Transparency and Communication

Throughout this report we document the biases embedded within evaluation criteria that marginalized and differently positioned faculty confront at multiple career milestones. It is important for educational institutions to consider how racism, sexism, and homophobia might inhibit faculty from meeting certain evaluation metrics. For example, the literature has clearly established the fact that structurally marginalized faculty confront systemic bias in teaching evaluations, yet many, if not most, promotion processes include attention to teaching evaluations. Similarly, many departments expect faculty to publish in their subfield's top journals without any or little attention to the biases involved in gaining access to the top journals. Moreover, many departments use citation indexes as an indicator of research reach and impact without paying attention to the literature on gender and racial bias in citation practices (Dion and Mitchell, 2018; Maliniak, Powers, and Walter, 2013). What will it take to have research-based departments in the discipline take into account the research on bias in promotion metrics? **We recommend** that departments engage in an equity evaluation of the components of their tenure process.

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[32] Again, we note that the American Political Science Association does support a mentor program and mentorship resources that can be accessed at https://www.apsanet.org/findmentor (see also Cassese and Holman 2018, Bos and Schneider 2012).

Specifically, departments should pursue a review of their promotion criteria with a focus on identifying any explicit or imbedded biases that systemically disadvantage some faculty over others. For example, it is important to recognize that individuals who study marginalized categories of knowledge such as race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality, face *significant* obstacles when attempting to publish within the discipline's "top" journals (McClain et al. 2016). A more equitable approach to the promotion process would recognize that major contributions to the study of race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality are more likely to be seen within the discipline's many subfield journals. **We also recommend** that departments post the results of their equity evaluation on their departmental website so all in the department can know of and have access to the results.

In addition to our concerns with the metrics used in promotion evaluations, there is also the issue of transparency and communication in the promotion process. Several of our qualitative respondents indicated that they received unclear or changing communication about the evaluation process, including what the indicators of productivity were, who would be involved in generating the list of outside letter writers, how their field would be defined and what, if any, processes were available for contesting the final promotion decision. It is evident that consistent and clear communication about promotion evaluations is needed. **We thus recommend** that chairs hold both individual and cohort meetings with junior faculty, possibly in the first, third, and penultimate year before the tenure decision. We believe that both individual and cohort meetings are needed to ensure that everyone is receiving the same general information as well as information specific to their individual case. **We also recommend** that chairs present all those facing a promotion evaluation with a written statement describing the process. We understand that departments might rightly argue that there are no metrics to "guarantee" promotion and that much of the evaluation process is dependent on assessing the quality of the work produced. Moreover, universities and colleges will worry that such written communication will be mobilized in disputes over promotion decisions. Let us be clear: we are not suggesting that departments outline indicators that "guarantee" promotion success, but instead that departments outline in writing the promotion process so faculty understand how and when they will be evaluated. We should note that there are departments that currently not only provide faculty with a written statement detailing the promotion process, but provide a written assessment, often through the third-year review, of the research to date and what adjustments should be considered to heighten the probability of tenure.

Departmental Practices, Culture and Overall Experience

Fourth and finally, we turn our attention to the everyday experiences of differently positioned and marginalized faculty. As noted in this report, faculty of color, women, and LGBTQ+ faculty and scholars whose subject area expertise includes marginalized communities often feel additionally burdened, marginalized, and devalued in their departments. Such feelings often emerge in what are considered the routine work of being a faculty member, such as teaching, service, and the sharing and publication of research. While we have attempted to address some of these issues relative to promotion metrics, there is still the need to improve the everyday

departmental experiences of differently positioned and marginalized faculty, since the research suggests that the ability to feel a part of and contribute to a department will impact one's probability of promotion (Lavariega Monforti and Michelson 2008; Rothgeb and Burger 2009; Urrieta, Méndez, and Rodríguez 2015). To address some of the concerns outlined throughout the report relative to departmental experiences we focus our discussion on service, joint appointments, and valuation of research.

On the topic of service, **we recommend**, as do Mitchell and Hesli in their 2013 article, that faculty who take on disproportionate amounts of departmental service roles should receive course load reductions that offset the time spent serving on committees, advising additional students, and taking on additional informal service roles (363). Since we know that women and faculty of color are frequently tapped for these positions (and suspect that same might be true of LGBTQ faculty), such an initiative would give time back to these individuals to focus on research, particularly during high-stakes career milestones. Of course, addressing the issue of disproportionate service means departments will need to develop and implement measures that track both formal and informal service. While departments are adept at measuring the number of students faculty members are formally assigned to advise, they are less conscious of the many ways, for example, women of color are supporting and informally advising students of color, women, and queer students who feel similarly marginalized.

We also recommend, as Smooth does in her 2016 article, that institutions develop clear and concrete guidelines that address how to make expectations regarding joint appointments more transparent and equitable in terms of workload since these positions are more likely to be held by women and people of color (Hesli, Lee, and Mitchell 2012, 479; Disch and O'Brien 2007). Repeatedly in our qualitative research, participants detailed what they considered to be the good and bad of joint appointments. These positions were described as increasing the workload, especially through service expectations, of jointly appointed faculty. Participants recounted stories of chairs in both departments refusing to coordinate committee assignments or student advising because they felt the faculty member's allegiance should be to one department over another. It was suggested that such disputes often felt like "punishment" for being jointly appointed, or that chairs and colleagues in "dominant" departments and fields act as if the work that faculty with such appointments do in those other units is not truly work (Disch and O'Brien 2007). And while joint appointments created difficulties for some faculty, they also facilitated greater support for and recognition of the complexity of doing research on marginalized communities. For example, faculty who study REP and who were jointly appointed, described benefiting from the expertise of those in their political science department as well as their other home department. They talked about such appointments as adding a richness to their research that probably would not have developed without the support of faculty across units. So, instead of discouraging joint appointments, **we recommend** that departments make such hires with clear written guidelines about the expected service load associated with such appointments, ways to ensure joint input in the assessment of work related to promotion and shared supports for the research agenda of jointly appointed faculty.

In our literature review, we noted that extant work suggests structurally marginalized faculty perceive their departments as being more hostile and more likely to devalue their research. This perceived devaluation is often associated with inequitable patterns related to who is invited to present their research at departmental and university workshops, who is provided with research support such as funding, leaves, and course release, and who is subjected to inappropriate comments and questions from colleagues in the department. **We recommend** that departments regularly conduct a climate evaluation to monitor and track resource allocation, perceived hostility and collegiality, and who is being invited for lectures and workshops through the department and subfields. Moreover, **we recommend** that departments establish an equity and inclusion committee, including representatives of all subfields and ranks in the department, to review and make public recommendations based on the data from the climate evaluation.

Finally, we recognize that the interventions we have offered in this concluding section are by no means exhaustive. We believe, however, they provide beginning strategies to address the systemic inequities and everyday challenges differently positioned and marginalized faculty face in their career and promotion experiences and outcomes.

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Appendix A: Referenced Figures and Tables

Figure 1

Figure 10: **Gender of Faculty, 1980-2010**

Percent Total Faculty

- Male
- Female

89.7
71.4
10.3
28.6
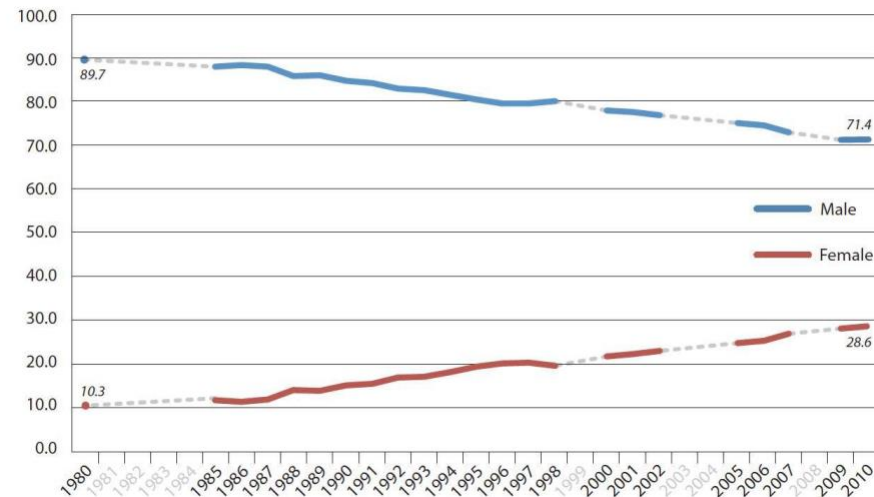
Source: APSA 2011, 40-43

Figure 2

Figure 12: **Female Faculty by Race and Ethnicity, 1980-2010**

Percent Total Female Faculty

- White
- African American
- Latina
- Asian/Pacific Islander

93.4
86.6
4.3
2.3
2.9
6.1
4.4
3.0

Source: APSA 2011, 40-43

Figure 3

Women and Men as a Share of All Authors of Research Articles in 10 Political Science Journals, 2000–2015
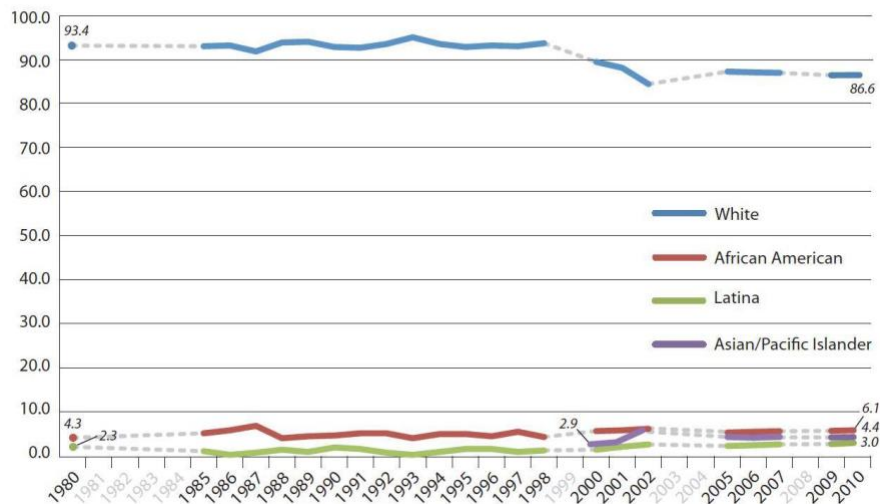
Note: Over the entire time period, the share of women among all authors was highest for *Perspectives on Politics* and *Political Theory* (nearly 34%) and lowest for the *AJPS* (18%) and the *JOP* (23%).
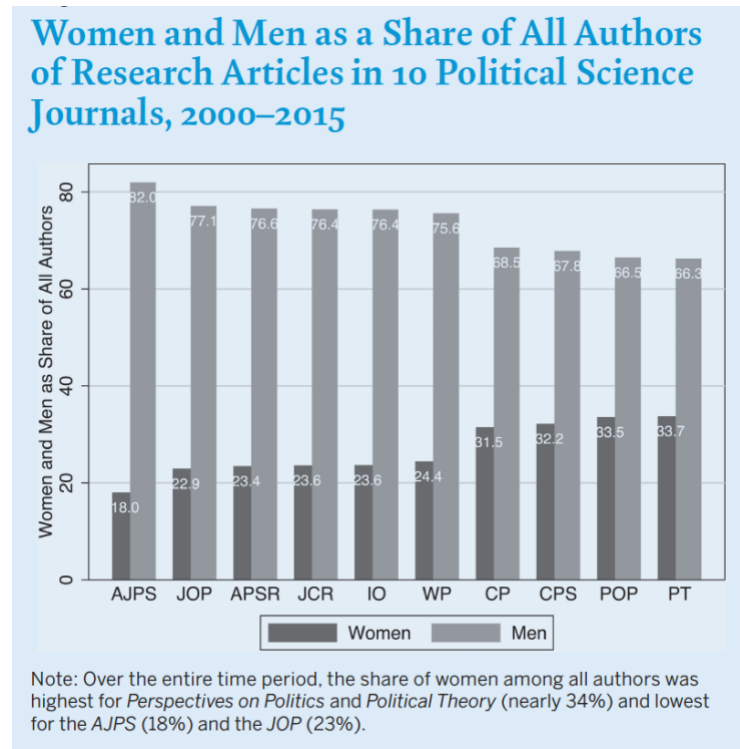
Source: Teele and Thelen (2017, 435)

Figure 4

Gendered Patterns of Authorship for All Journals

Note: The columns report the share of all articles in our sample that reflect particular authorship patterns: the first column is of men publishing alone, followed by all male teams, women alone, cross-sex collaboration, and finally, all female teams.
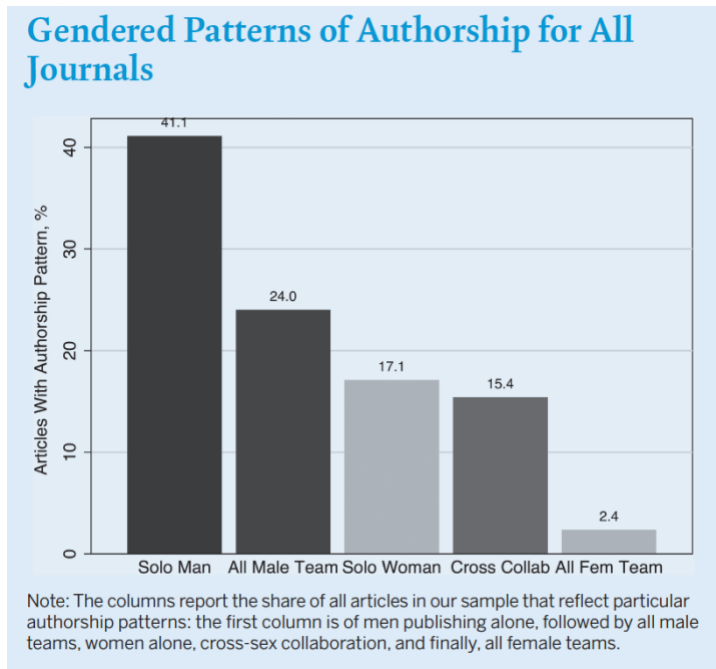
Source: Teele and Thelen (2017, 438)

Figure 5
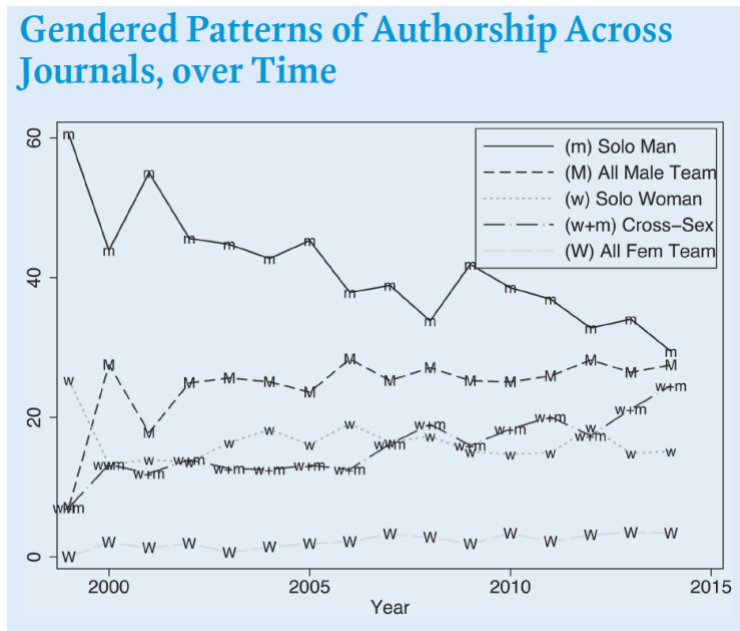
Teele and Thelen (2017, 439)

Figure 6

White, non-Hispanic faculty

● OVERREPRESENTED compared to U.S. population

● OVERREPRESENTED compared to U.S. undergraduate population

Asian faculty

● OVERREPRESENTED compared to U.S. population

● OVERREPRESENTED compared to U.S. undergraduate population

Black or African American faculty

● UNDERREPRESENTED compared to U.S. population

● UNDERREPRESENTED compared to U.S. undergraduate population

Hispanic or Latino faculty

● UNDERREPRESENTED compared to U.S. population

● UNDERREPRESENTED compared to U.S. undergraduate population

Multiracial faculty

● UNDERREPRESENTED compared to U.S. population

● UNDERREPRESENTED compared to U.S. undergraduate population

American Indian or Alaskan Native faculty

● UNDERREPRESENTED compared to U.S. population

● UNDERREPRESENTED compared to U.S. undergraduate population

Population estimates only include categories where the race was known.

Table 1

Predicting Academic Rank: Factors Affecting the Likelihood of Being an Associate Professor in Contrast with an Assistant Professor (binary logistic models via multiple imputation)

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	MODEL 2A Coefficient (Std. Err.)	Odds Ratio	MODEL 2B Coefficient (Std. Err.)	Odds Ratio	MODEL 2C Coefficient (Std. Err.)	Odds Ratio
Female	−0.481** (0.199)	0.618	−0.899*** (0.237)	0.407	−0.720** (0.282)	0.487
Minority	−0.051 (0.318)	0.951	−0.079 (0.330)	0.924	−0.080 (0.458)	0.923
Married or partnered	0.148 (0.306)	1.159	−0.143 (0.359)	0.867	0.166 (0.442)	1.181
Number of children	0.123 (0.090)	1.131	0.065 (0.102)	1.067	−0.023 (0.119)	0.977
Partner employed	0.429* (0.224)	1.536	0.630** (0.255)	1.878	0.308 (0.287)	1.361
PhD program rank	0.116* (0.071)	1.123	0.078 (0.084)	1.081	0.030 (0.100)	1.031
Number of years to complete PhD	−0.156*** (0.056)	0.855	−0.165*** (0.062)	0.848	−0.125 (0.077)	0.882
Age	0.165*** (0.018)	1.179	0.165*** (0.018)	1.180	0.115*** (0.022)	1.122
Undergraduate teaching load			0.032 (0.057)	1.032	0.089 (0.065)	1.093
Count of overall student advising			0.590*** (0.168)	1.804	0.553*** (0.190)	1.738
Frequency of chairing committees			0.544*** (0.136)	1.723	0.345** (0.141)	1.413
Joint appointment			0.301 (0.372)	1.352	0.524 (0.455)	1.689
Currently employed at a private institution			0.222 (0.241)	1.249	0.267 (0.276)	1.307
Currently employed in a PhD program			−0.294 (0.383)	0.746	−0.698 (0.507)	0.498
Currently employed in a MA program			−0.382 (0.321)	0.683	−0.164 (0.350)	0.849
Current program ranking			−0.189 (0.116)	0.828	−0.051 (0.153)	(0.950)
Count of overall resources			0.046 (0.048)	1.047	−0.044 (0.060)	0.957
Teaching release			0.335*** (0.042)	1.398	0.275*** (0.051)	1.317
American subfield					0.415 (0.382)	1.514
Comparative subfield					0.165 (0.428)	1.179
IR subfield					−0.069 (0.433)	0.933
Theory subfield					0.579 (0.534)	1.784
More than 7 years in the current position					2.502*** (0.344)	12.207
Less departmental influence					−0.063 (0.073)	0.939
Total number of publications					0.545*** (0.179)	1.724
Frequency of reviewing books					0.059 (0.056)	1.061
Frequency of reviewing articles					0.013 (0.013)	1.013
Frequency of serving on an editorial boards					0.228 (0.165)	1.257
Constant	−6.663*** (0.867)	0.001	−7.796*** (0.968)	0.0004	−7.645*** (1.283)	0.0005
N	706		706		706	
N of simulations	1000		1000		1000	

Note. ***$p < 0.01$, **$p < 0.05$, *$p < 0.1$

Source: Hesli, Lee, and Mitchell (2012, 481)

Table 2

Predicting Academic Rank: Associate Professor Compared with Assistant Professor (spilt sample)

| | MODEL 4A | | MODEL 4B | | MODEL 4C | | MODEL 4D | |
| | Men Only | | Women Only | | Men Only | | Women Only | |
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	Coef. (Std. Err.)	Odds Ratio	Coef. (Std. Err.)	Odds Ratio	Coef. (Std. Err.)	Odds Ratio	Coef. (Std. Err.)	Odds Ratio
Minority	−0.701* (0.401)	0.496	1.105 (0.651)	3.018	−0.602 (0.546)	0.548	0.632 (0.927)	1.880
Married or partnered	−0.224 (0.447)	0.800	−0.417 (0.975)	0.659	0.007 (0.509)	1.007	−0.025 (1.305)	0.976
Number of children	0.079 (0.124)	1.082	−0.069 (0.231)	0.934	0.038 (0.149)	1.039	−0.300 (0.338)	0.741
Partner employed	0.219 (0.372)	1.245	1.916 (1.046)	6.795	−0.082 (0.364)	0.921	1.946** (0.911)	7.000
PhD program rank	0.077 (0.117)	1.080	0.030 (0.162)	1.030	0.055 (0.138)	1.057	−0.016 (0.276)	0.985
Number of years to complete PhD	−0.139 (0.087)	0.870	−0.266** (0.119)	0.766	−0.088 (0.110)	0.915	−0.288 (0.216)	0.750
Age	0.170*** (0.024)	1.185	0.207*** (0.055)	1.229	0.110*** (0.030)	1.117	0.162*** (0.052)	1.176
Undergraduate teaching load	0.028 (0.078)	1.029	0.096 (0.120)	1.101	0.116 (0.102)	1.123	0.174 (0.166)	1.190
Count of overall student advising	0.515** (0.213)	1.674	1.017** (0.400)	2.764	0.507** (0.235)	1.660	1.086* (0.558)	2.963
Frequency of chairing committees	0.818*** (0.206)	2.265	0.288** (0.146)	1.334	0.755*** (0.243)	2.127	0.187 (0.191)	1.206
Joint appointment	0.355 (0.561)	1.426	0.705 (0.714)	2.024	0.543 (0.640)	1.722	1.503 (1.068)	4.493
Currently employed at a private institution	0.310 (0.324)	1.363	−0.084 (0.456)	0.919	0.389 (0.386)	1.476	0.174 (0.651)	1.190
Currently employed in a PhD program	−0.132 (0.482)	0.876	−0.656 (0.724)	0.519	−0.746 (0.632)	0.474	−0.640 (0.966)	0.528
Currently employed in a MA program	−0.233 (0.406)	0.792	−0.723 (0.578)	0.485	−0.047 (0.465)	0.954	−0.553 (0.841)	0.575
Current program ranking	−0.025 (0.152)	0.975	−0.499* (0.263)	0.607	0.158 (0.204)	1.171	−0.608 (0.386)	0.544
Count of overall resources	0.061 (0.064)	1.062	0.063 (0.119)	1.065	−0.016 (0.083)	0.984	0.003 (0.139)	1.003
Teaching release	0.340*** (0.060)	1.405	0.390*** (0.078)	1.477	0.251*** (0.070)	1.285	0.454*** (0.104)	1.574
American subfield					0.155 (0.492)	1.168	1.170 (0.848)	3.223
Comparative subfield					−0.176 (0.601)	0.838	1.141 (1.042)	3.130
IR subfield					−0.212 (0.550)	0.809	0.919 (1.214)	2.507
Theory subfield					0.010 (0.701)	1.010	1.907 (1.412)	6.732
More than 7 years in the current position					2.581*** (0.477)	13.214	3.188*** (0.833)	23.239
Less departmental influence					0.030 (0.088)	1.030	−0.430* (0.221)	0.651
Total number of publications					0.713*** (0.230)	2.041	0.303 (0.453)	1.353
Frequency of reviewing books					0.038 (0.066)	1.038	0.211* (0.117)	1.235
Frequency of reviewing articles					0.004 (0.017)	1.004	0.019 (0.046)	1.019
Frequency of serving on an editorial boards					0.356 (0.234)	1.427	−0.1289 (0.344)	0.880
Constant	−8.404*** (1.330)	0.0002	−10.103** (3.329)	0.0004	−8.665*** (1.989)	0.0002	−9.719* (4.434)	0.0006
N	442		264		442		264	
N of simulations	1000		1000		1000		1000	

Note. ***$p < 0.01$, **$p < 0.05$, *$p < 0.1$

Source: Hesli, Lee, and Mitchell (2012, 483)

Table 3

Predicting Academic Rank: Associate Professors Compared with Full Professors (Split sample)

	MODEL 5A		MODEL 5B		MODEL 5C		MODEL 5D	
	Men Only		Women Only		Men Only		Women Only	
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	Coef. (Std. Err.)	Odds Ratio	Coef. (Std. Err.)	Odds Ratio	Coef. (Std. Err.)	Odds Ratio	Coef. (Std. Err.)	Odds Ratio
Minority	−0.523* (0.310)	0.593	0.240 (0.495)	1.271	−0.660* (0.348)	0.517	0.369 (0.552)	1.446
Married or partnered	0.549 (0.403)	1.732	0.139 (0.762)	1.149	0.766* (0.437)	2.152	0.273 (0.887)	1.314
Number of children	−0.083 (0.094)	0.920	0.104 (0.190)	1.110	−0.083 (0.097)	0.921	−0.006 (0.224)	0.994
Employed partner	−0.063 (0.306)	0.939	−0.532 (0.640)	0.588	−0.173 (0.331)	0.841	−0.529 (0.780)	0.589
PhD program rank	0.003 (0.105)	1.003	0.054 (0.158)	1.056	−0.038 (0.110)	0.963	0.012 (0.182)	1.013
Number of years to complete PhD	−0.102** (0.049)	0.903	0.001 (0.089)	1.001	−0.075 (0.048)	0.928	0.063 (0.103)	1.065
Age	0.141*** (0.013)	1.151	0.142*** (0.026)	1.152	0.139*** (0.014)	1.149	0.148*** (0.033)	1.159
Undergraduate teaching load	−0.037 (0.059)	0.964	−0.096 (0.093)	0.909	−0.016 (0.062)	0.984	−0.024 (0.095)	0.976
Count of overall student advising	−0.033 (0.172)	0.968	0.114 (0.366)	1.120	−0.034 (0.181)	0.966	−0.077 (0.387)	0.926
Frequency of chairing committees	0.170* (0.091)	1.186	0.091 (0.170)	1.096	0.117 (0.094)	1.124	0.094 (0.196)	1.099
Joint appointment	0.107 (0.357)	1.113	−0.213 (0.506)	0.809	−0.077 (0.380)	0.926	−0.150 (0.600)	0.860
Currently employed at a private institution	0.248 (0.245)	1.281	0.265 (0.448)	1.304	0.320 (0.262)	1.377	0.528 (0.517)	1.696
Currently employed in a PhD program	−0.757* (0.391)	0.469	0.474 (0.606)	1.606	−0.982** (0.434)	0.375	0.682 (0.737)	1.978
Currently employed in a MA program	−0.753* (0.332)	0.471	0.322 (0.581)	1.380	−0.745** (0.347)	0.475	0.578 (0.699)	1.783
Current program ranking	0.167 (0.111)	1.182	0.109 (0.194)	1.115	0.120 (0.120)	1.127	0.060 (0.232)	1.062
Count of overall resources	0.099** (0.041)	1.104	0.004 (0.082)	1.004	0.061 (0.044)	1.063	−0.163 (0.106)	0.850
Teaching release	0.044* (0.024)	1.045	0.013 (0.047)	1.013	0.042* (0.025)	1.043	0.016 (0.057)	1.017
American subfield					0.340 (0.328)	1.405	−0.293 (0.591)	0.746
Comparative subfield					0.056 (0.415)	1.058	−0.617 (0.619)	0.540
IR subfield					−0.413 (0.393)	0.661	−0.445 (0.673)	0.641
Theory subfield					0.027 (0.441)	1.027	−0.776 (1.005)	0.460
More than 7 years in the current position					0.181 (0.271)	1.199	0.974* (0.557)	2.649
Less departmental influence					−0.113 (0.071)	0.893	−0.013 (0.123)	0.988
Total number of publications					0.269* (0.139)	1.309	0.415* (0.248)	1.514
Frequency of reviewing books					0.019 (0.039)	1.019	0.055 (0.064)	1.057
Frequency of reviewing articles					0.003 (0.009)	1.003	0.016 (0.018)	1.016
Frequency of serving on an editorial boards					0.359*** (0.113)	1.432	0.235 (0.178)	1.265
Constant	−7.117*** (0.958)	0.0008	−7.416*** (1.723)	0.0006	−7.829*** (1.082)	0.0004	−9.502*** (2.132)	0.0007
N	595		228		595		228	
N of simulations	1000		1000		1000		1000	

Note. ***p < 0.01, **p < 0.05, *p < 0.1

Source: Hesli, Lee, and Mitchell (2012, 484)

Table 4

Descriptive Statistics for Differences in Means across Ranks (among men only and among women only)

	MEN			WOMEN		
	Assistant	Associate	Full	Assistant	Associate	Full
Research						
Total number of publications	5.72***	13.57	32.39***	4.35***	9.78	24.85***
Frequency of reviewing books	1.95***	3.42	4.73***	1.38***	2.91	4.18**
Frequency of reviewing articles	8.52***	12.44	14.11	7.11	9.55	14.22**
Frequency of serving on an editorial boards	0.18***	0.71	1.66***	0.22***	0.78	2.16***
Number of external grants awarded	0.95***	2.16	4.58***	1.96	2.07	4.28***
Frequency of conference attendance	5.58	4.84	3.83**	5.16**	4.28	4.06
Teaching						
Number of undergraduate courses	4.70	4.37	4.13	4.38	4.69	3.71***
Number of graduate courses	0.89	1.13	0.94	1.13	0.94	1.18
Number of honors thesis supervised	0.60***	1.02	1.02	1.03	1.19	1.18
Number of independent study supervised	1.13***	2.09	2.61	1.43	1.53	1.89
Number of senior project supervised	1.35	1.27	1.94	1.64*	3.18	2.16
Count of overall student advising	0.56**	0.74	0.77	0.49***	0.78	0.88
Service						
Frequency of chairing committees	0.38***	1.10	1.57**	0.49***	1.03	1.35**
Frequency of committee membership	2.78***	3.64	4.14*	2.82***	3.91	4.11
Resources						
Count of overall resources	3.35**	3.89	4.93***	3.74**	4.46	4.68
Teaching release	1.34***	3.86	4.57	2.07***	5.16	4.23
Current employment department rank	1.59	1.58	1.76	1.87	1.45**	2.01***
Background & demographics						
Number of years to complete PhD	6.42	6.29	5.90*	6.92	6.31	5.80
PhD program rank	3.59	3.79	4.00*	3.77	3.74	4.09*
Number of years in current position	3.30***	11.34	21.09***	3.33***	9.93	18.67***
Age	37.87***	47.18	57.57***	37.27***	44.78	55.16***
Number of children	0.99***	1.49	1.69	0.73***	1.19	1.39

Asterisks in the assistant professor column indicate a significant difference between mean for the assistant professors compared with the associate professors (within gender).
Asterisks in the full professor column indicate a significant difference between mean for the full professors compared with the associate professors (within gender).

Source: Hesli, Lee, and Mitchell (2012, 478)

Appendix B: Time to Promotion

	Average Years to Promotion		Difference	P-Value
	R1	*R2*		
Non-Tenure Track to Assistant	7.75	2.5	5.25	0.2
Assistant to Associate (with tenure)	6.8	7.6	0.8	0.4
Associate to Full	6.9	5.9	1	0.2

	Average Years to Promotion		Difference	P-Value
	R1	*Liberal Arts*		
Non-Tenure Track to Assistant	7.75	6.0	1.75	0.6
Assistant to Associate (with tenure)	6.8	5.6	1.2	0.3
Assistant to Full	10.4	12.2	1.8	0.3
Associate to Full	6.9	8.1	1.2	0.4

	Average Years to Promotion		Difference	P-Value
	R1	*Minority Serving*		

	White Faculty	Faculty of Color	Difference	P-Value
Assistant to Associate (with tenure)	6.8	6.5	.3	0.8
Assistant to Full	10.4	12.6	2.2	0.3
Associate to Full	6.9	7.5	.6	0.4

	Number of Cases	Average Years to Promotion		Difference	P-Value
		White Faculty	Faculty of Color		
Assistant to Associate (with tenure)	22	6.2	7.2	1	0.4
Assistant to Full	6	9.3	6	3.3	0.5
Associate to Full	50	8	6.6	2.6	0.14

Appendix C: Focus Group/Interview Questions

1. How would you label or describe your experience with promotion process?

2. Were there particular factors such as certain people or events that you think were important in the outcome?

   o Did you have a mentor?

3. **[If individuals left the academy]:** Why did you decide to leave the academy?

   o Was that a choice you feel you made voluntarily?

   o If you could return to the academy, would you?

   o Were there practices, procedures, or individuals that you would say "pushed you out" or was it more about opportunities that "pulled you" away?

4. Were the standards for promotion clear?

   o Were these standards applied equitably within your department?

5. How included did you feel within your department and/or university?

   o What factors made you feel excluded?

6. If you had to give a marginalized colleague advice about obtaining promotion in your department, what would it be?

7. Did you ever consider leaving the academy? When and under what circumstances? What prevented you from leaving?