

women's contributions to scholarship and their place in the classroom. In their own courses, men can integrate gender into their curriculum (Cassese, Bos, and Duncan 2012), develop their curriculum's representation using tools such as the Gender Balance Assessment Tool (Sumner 2018), use diverse teaching examples, and refer to women by their professional titles.

Finally, we encourage men to champion their junior women colleagues in more holistic evaluation measures of teaching and to lead discussions regarding bias in student evaluations of teaching (Anderson and Miller 1997). As one effective strategy to remedy unconscious bias, men can encourage departments and universities to adopt language in evaluations to make students aware of it (Peterson et al. 2019).

Service

Service is least valued for tenure decisions, yet women tend to engage in more service (Park 1996). Much of service work takes place in committees, wherein women can be overburdened in an effort to create gender balance. Furthermore, committee work largely relies on members to volunteer for activities, which women are more likely to do. We encourage men to volunteer and also take on committee tasks. Much of the work of women—particularly women of color—is invisible labor; therefore, we propose that men consider creating subcommittees or other titled opportunities to give women appropriate credit for significant tasks and leadership. We also encourage men to work with female colleagues to nominate them for leadership positions, which often depend on self-nomination and are gendered (Ely, Ibarra, and Kolb 2011).

Professional behavior during meetings also impacts women, especially junior women. Men should avoid behavior such as “mansplaining,” interruptions, and ignoring or co-opting women's suggestions. Furthermore, it is imperative for men to call out and counter such behavior and to do so immediately. Men also can proactively amplify women's dismissed voices by either reverting credit to where it is due or reiterating the idea and awarding credit if the idea is dismissed. The order is important because men can use their privilege to successfully promote the idea and then give credit to the woman who initially suggested it.

Overall, one of the most important actions for men is to protect junior women colleagues from service, either by taking on more service themselves, nominating other men, or supporting women in saying “no.” However, the paternalistic behavior of saying no for women is inappropriate. Being an ally for women faculty—especially junior women faculty—likely means giving more of oneself to ensure a gendered balance of service.

Conclusion

Junior women faculty cannot reach parity in achieving tenure simply by leaning in. To improve the structural inequalities that persist in academia, men must rise to the challenge to create a supportive campus environment. Annual evaluations as well as external tenure letters should be free of gender bias. Departments should consider appropriate salary points that are less reliant on negotiation, given that women are less likely to do so (Babcock and Laschever 2003). Men also may affirmatively work to notice and nominate worthy junior women for awards because women are less likely to self-promote (Exley and Kessler 2019). As departments recruit women to their positions, they also must prioritize the support necessary to achieve tenure. ■

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INCLUSIVE AND NON-INCLUSIVE NETWORKS

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Despite an increasing focus on gender equity in the profession, substantial inequity remains. Previous studies (Gumpertz et al. 2017; Kaminski and Geisler 2012) analyzed the “leaky pipeline” that results in the underrepresentation of women—as well as those with transgender, nonbinary, and other gender identities—in academic and tenured positions (Box-Steffensmeier et al. 2015; Wolfinger, Mason, and Goulden 2008). Extant work suggests multiple possible causes, including family commitments (Box-Steffensmeier et al. 2015; Suito, Mecom, and Feld 2001) and disproportionate participation in “service activities,” such as graduate-student mentoring (Rosser et al. 2016).

This article focuses on a different cause, one that can arise even when all parties are well intentioned: non-inclusive professional networks. Professional networks pass along information and recommendations that drive personnel decisions (e.g., hiring), acceptance into graduate programs or selective conferences and workshops, and the granting of awards. According to the literature on “workplace

ostracism,” defined as “being ignored and excluded by others on the job,” exclusionary professional networks are a barrier to gender and racial equality in academia (Zimmerman, Carter-Sowell, and Xu 2016). This mirrors what we know about the effects of the composition of networks on individual and mass behavior (Larson and Lewis 2017; Siegel 2013; Sinclair 2012): If network structure makes it sufficiently difficult to pass along information to important actors, as it does if networks are exclusionary, then that information is all but absent in decision making, and underrepresented individuals find their ability to influence professional outcomes vastly diminished.

An *inclusive network* is one in which an individual’s professional networks are diverse. Given the spotlight’s theme, we focus on gender diversity; however, the online appendix includes suggestive support for the relevance of our argument to racial diversity. *Non-inclusive networks* are those in which an individual’s professional networks are not diverse. Non-inclusivity or outright exclusion could be enforced by the dominant identity group, perhaps as backlash against rising diversity in the workplace (Zimmerman, Carter-Sowell, and Xu 2016). It could be exacerbated by feedback, in that those with underrepresented identities may react to exclusionary environments by withdrawing further from networks that insufficiently include them (Johnston 2019). It also could be a result of *homophily*: the tendency to form connections with those who possess similar characteristics. Homophily can arise due to bias or to a lack of demographic diversity among those with whom we might make connections (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001).

Regardless of the cause of the non-inclusivity—and building on work that analyzes network-produced inequity in academia (Brown et al. 2020)—we argue that professional networks that fail to include individuals with underrepresented gender identities can exacerbate gender bias and inhibit career advancement in political science.

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Furthermore, because networks operate regardless of intent, we posit that considering the role of professional networks can shed new light on the noted sluggishness of progress in increasing gender diversity in academia (Box-Steffensmeier et al. 2015).

To obtain a basic sense for how non-inclusive networks regarding gender identity might animate personnel decisions, we surveyed US political scientists in March 2020 (Datta and Siegel 2021). Our main independent variable of interest was respondents’ answer to the question of “whether they identify with an underrepresented gender identity, relative to the whole of political science.” We used this question format in order to be inclusive of different underrepresented gender identities. The online appendix contains a full description of the survey, its analysis, and a link to the (anonymous) data. Here, to avoid overly strong claims, we merely highlight a pattern of responses generally supportive of the view that the problem of non-inclusive networks that we and other scholars have identified is a serious one.

More than twice as many survey respondents of all genders were more likely to become aware of professional opportunities and contacts in informal settings. However, we found suggestive evidence (not quite significant at the $p < 0.1$ level) that those faculty

members with underrepresented gender identities may attend these events less often (figure 1).

Less attendance was not present among graduate-student respondents, which may be the result of higher demands on faculty respondents’ time or from their not feeling as included. Several questions in the online appendix address the latter possibility. Regardless, faculty with underrepresented gender identities may be less likely to participate in the types of informal networking that most people find to be most helpful. Coupled with evidence (see the online appendix) of the presence of demographic homophily in personnel-decision networks, our results suggest that professional networks are important but may underserve those with underrepresented gender identities. Responses to our optional free-response question by individuals with underrepresented gender identities echoed that assessment, as follows:

Biggest problem in my department are “informal” happy hours with the chair or other influential member where that individual dispenses information and/or opportunities to his favored junior colleagues. Also, a culture of gossip about members of faculty (always women) who do not participate in these events—we are considered “not as invested” in the department and “likely to leave.” (Respondent 55)

Especially at conferences, one can be in mixed gender groups and both men and women often look or speak toward the men in the group. I try really hard to participate and make sure that I look at and include women, especially younger women, in the conversation. (Respondent 94)

What can be done? Building on other proposed solutions that highlight the importance of reshaping norms and behavior among all political scientists (Htun 2019), we offer some suggestions. Because

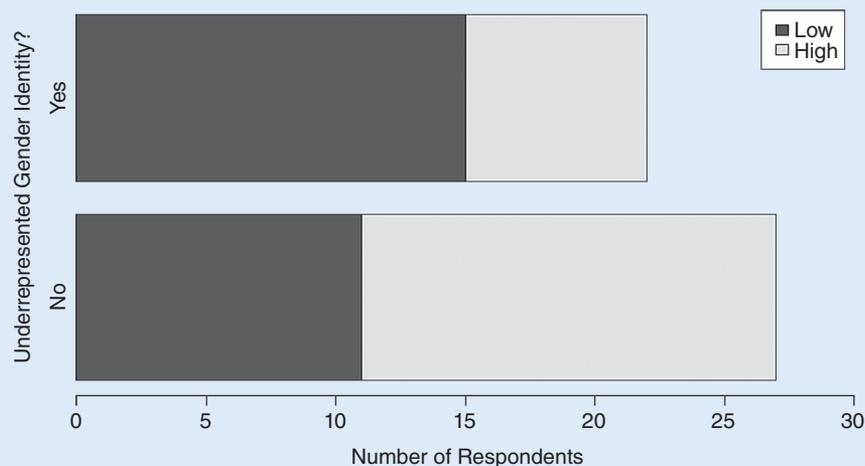
an individual’s network is likely non-inclusive, those in a position to be a recommender or to make personnel decisions should look beyond their immediate networks in making recommendations. At minimum, network-derived information should be discounted relative to what is available from more objective sources.

It would be better to increase the frequency of inclusive networks. At the individual level, this entails a deliberate effort to broaden one’s reach. At the group level, professional associations could publicize the identities of diverse groups of scholars with varied expertise, amplifying the work of groups such as Women Also Know Stuff and People of Color Also Know Stuff; host networking events to bring diverse scholars together; and aim to diversify conference participation.

At the structural level, we should think more carefully about the spaces in which social interactions operate. Happy hours and later trips to the bar best serve those who are relatively free from family obligations and are well networked. They also can put those with underrepresented gender identities in an uncomfortable or even dangerous position. They thus do little to broaden networks and much to reinforce existing non-inclusive networks. Instead, activities that take place in the office during business hours, such

Figure 1

Faculty with Underrepresented Gender Identities May Attend Fewer Social Activities



What proportion of these social activities (with faculty and/or graduate students) would you say you attend each month? (Faculty only).

as group lunches or family-friendly activities at other times, may encourage broader participation.

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Data Availability Statement

Replication materials are available on Harvard Dataverse at <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/TQYVoI>.

Supplementary Materials

To view supplementary material for this article, please visit <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S104909652100007X>. ■

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NOT A LEAKY PIPELINE! ACADEMIC SUCCESS IS A GAME OF CHUTES AND LADDERS

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The structure of academia is a hierarchal, patriarchal system, and success depends on familiarity with a hidden curriculum and hidden shortcuts in what we call the game of Academic Chutes and Ladders (Crawford and Windsor 2021). This system and its hidden curriculum—that is, the unwritten set of rules and norms rooted in traditional routes to academic advancement—disproportionately benefit men, who historically have participated only