

1 **Trends in the representation of women among US**
2 **geoscience faculty from 1999-2020: the long road**
3 **towards gender parity**

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9 **Key Points:**

- 10 • We compile a dataset of the proportion of women:men in the geosciences from
11 $\sim 2,500$ geoscience faculty. Women make up $\sim 27\%$ of tenured and tenure-track
12 faculty in the institutions considered
- 13 • We quantify the attrition of women in the geosciences in terms of a ‘fractionation
14 factor’ to describe the rate of loss of women along the tenure track and find that
15 the historic disproportionate attrition of women is decreasing.
- 16 • We develop a simple model to analyze when gender parity can be reached

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Abstract

Inequalities persist in the geosciences. White women and people of color remain under-represented at all levels of academic faculty, including positions of power such as departmental and institutional leadership. While the proportion of women among geoscience faculty has been catalogued previously, new programs and initiatives aimed at improving diversity, focused on institutional factors that affect equity in the geosciences, necessitate an updated study and a new metric for quantifying the biases that result in under-representation. We compile a dataset of 2,531 tenured and tenure-track geoscience faculty from 62 universities in the United States to evaluate the proportion of women by rank and discipline. We find that 27% of faculty are women. The fraction of women in the faculty pool decreases with rank, as women comprise 46% of assistant professors, 34% of associate professors, and 19% of full professors. We quantify the attrition of women in terms of a fractionation factor, which describes the rate of loss of women along the tenure track and allows us to move away from the metaphor of the ‘leaky pipeline’. Efforts to address inequities in institutional culture and biases in promotion and hiring practices over the past few years may provide insight into the recent positive shifts in fractionation factor. Our results suggest a need for 1:1 hiring between men and women to reach gender parity. Due to significant disparities in race, this work is most applicable to white women, and our use of the gender binary does not represent gender diversity in the geosciences.

Plain Language Summary

Both women and people of color are under-represented throughout academic faculty positions in the geosciences, which covers earth, atmospheric, ocean, and planetary sciences. Previous work has shown that women comprise a lower percentage of geoscience faculty. Recently, there have been an increasing number of programs and studies that seek to understand the institutional causes of gender inequities and to find solutions for these inequities. Here, we assess the representation of women in the geoscience faculty and propose a new, quantitative metric that connects with the research on institutional root causes. We gathered a dataset of 2,531 faculty from 62 different universities and quantify the number of women in each discipline, type of institution, and by their rank. Overall 27% of faculty are women, and the percent of women faculty decreases with rank. The typical terminology for this phenomenon is a ‘leaky pipeline’, but here we suggest the use of what we term a ‘fractionation’ factor to quantify disproportionate loss of women from the academic field. Importantly, our work is most applicable to white women because of existing disparities in race, and our use of the gender binary does not represent gender diversity in the geosciences.

Introduction

Professorships are a position of power, not only immediately within the academic hierarchy but also more broadly within society. This power dynamic raises the need for the geoscience community to critically examine how social groups are represented in these positions. Women made early contributions to the field, both within the academic system (such as Florence Bascom, who became the second woman to earn a Ph.D in geology in the United States in 1893 and founded the geology department of Bryn Mawr College) and outside of it (such as Eunice Foote, who conducted early experiments demonstrating the greenhouse effect in the 1850s), but in spite of these accomplishments, women were not hired at a wider range of universities until the 1900s. Today, 150 years after the first woman (Harrington Cooke) was hired as a professor with a salary commensurate with the salary of men on the faculty, bias and inequities continue to persist across academic departments, including and in particular within the geosciences (‘Geosciences’ herein

66 includes the disciplines of Earth, Ocean, Atmosphere, and Planetary Sciences) (Holmes
67 et al., 2008; Wilson, 2016; Bernard & Cooperdock, 2018).

68 These inequities raise significant concerns for the future of the geosciences, particu-
69 larly with regards to career advancement of current faculty from marginalized groups,
70 mentoring of students and faculty from marginalized groups, and toxic environments
71 that push faculty from marginalized groups out of their fields (Puritty et al., 2017; Stad-
72 mark et al., 2020; Marín-Spiotta et al., 2020). Further, the lack of diversity in the geo-
73 sciences and the underlying culture of racism and sexism hinder innovation and the dis-
74 persal of new ideas (Hofstra et al., 2020). For the sake of science and for future geosci-
75 entists and leaders in STEM fields, academic institutions must focus on addressing these
76 inequities.

77 With respect to gender, an increasing number of Ph.D graduates in the geosciences
78 are women (Bernard & Cooperdock, 2018). In Ocean and Earth Sciences, women have
79 earned more Ph.Ds each year than men since ~ 2007 and ~ 2014 , respectively, deter-
80 mined from the Survey of Earned Doctorates reported by NSF (Bernard & Cooperdock,
81 2018). However, advances in diversity at the student level often don't translate to ad-
82 vances at the faculty level. Previous studies have analyzed the gender diversity among
83 geoscience faculty to show that gender diversity has been increasing, albeit slowly, since
84 1999 (Wolfe, 1999; de Wet et al., 2002; Holmes & O'Connell, 2003; Holmes et al., 2008;
85 Glass, 2015; Holmes et al., 2015; Wilson, 2016). Recently, programs and initiatives, such
86 as NSF ADVANCE and the Earth Science Women's Network, have been designed to tackle
87 inequities and bias at the institutional level (Holmes, 2015; Adams et al., 2016).

88 In this study, we quantify the representation of woman geoscience faculty along the
89 tenure-track to consider the institutional factors that may contribute to the lack of rep-
90 resentation of women, particularly at high ranks. We compile and analyze a database
91 of Earth, Atmospheric, Ocean, and Planetary Sciences faculty from the 62 colleges and
92 universities in the United States that have granted the most Geosciences PhDs since 1958.
93 Using this database, we determine the current gender makeup of tenure-track geoscience
94 faculty, adding to the temporal trend in gender composition that has been documented
95 since 1999 by past studies (Wolfe, 1999; de Wet et al., 2002; Holmes & O'Connell, 2003;
96 Holmes et al., 2008, 2015; Wilson, 2016). We build upon this previous work by consid-
97 ering the change in representation of women amongst geoscience faculty up to 2020 and
98 considering the role that biases in promotion and hiring and unequal attrition may have
99 in maintaining under-representation of women.

100 We focus here on the quantitative aspects of gender in hiring and promotion. Be-
101 cause of our focus on academic institutions, we define gender as defined by institutions
102 themselves on public websites. This means that if institutions do not visibly represent
103 their non-binary faculty, then this study will not account for non-binary gender. In the
104 discussion section, we refer to other literature for qualitative aspects of gender experi-
105 ence that are essential for interpreting these findings. Further, there are significant dis-
106 parities in race that this study does not address. Over approximately the same timeframe
107 of this study (1999-2018), an average of 85% of Ph.Ds were awarded to white students
108 (Bernard & Cooperdock, 2018). Given this, it is nearly certain that a disproportionate
109 majority of the women in our dataset are white women and this study is therefore most
110 applicable to the representation of white women in the geosciences. In the Discussion,
111 we put this work in the context of current programs, initiatives, and studies that aim
112 to understand root causes of and address institutional inequities in geoscience depart-
113 ments.

114 Methodology

115 We compiled a dataset of 2,531 tenured and tenure-track faculty from university
116 websites for 62 universities that each granted $> 0.5\%$ of total geoscience doctorates in
117 the United States between 1958 and 2017. In total, these schools granted 79.4% of all
118 geoscience doctorates during that time period (Table S1 of the Supplement) (NSF Sur-
119 vey of Doctorates). These departments likely contribute the greatest number of trainees
120 to the academic geoscience workforce and thus have a significant impact on the diver-
121 sity and future of geoscience fields. The geoscience faculty from these institutions serve
122 in a primary mentorship role for many geoscience trainees, making representation and
123 diversity amongst these faculty particularly important (Thomas et al., 2007; Hernandez
124 et al., 2020). This study does not consider many Minority-Serving Institutions and other
125 institutions that grant the rest of geoscience doctorates.

126 To build our database, we count faculty from all departments consisting of major-
127 ity geoscientists. Their areas of study include earth and planetary science, atmospheric
128 science, geology and geophysics, oceanography and marine science, and geography de-
129 partments. We focused on faculty that were hired by geoscience departments, exclud-
130 ing faculty with joint appointments in a geoscience department but whose primary ap-
131 pointment is a non-geoscience department. Only tenure-track faculty hired by these de-
132 partments were included in the dataset (thus excluding lecturers, or research faculty),
133 due to their role as mentors for future generations of geoscientists and institutional decision-
134 makers. However, previous work has considered the representation of women in non-tenure-
135 track positions and has found relatively high percentages of women in these positions
136 (Thompson et al., 2011; Wilson, 2016).

137 Name, title, and key words relating to geoscience sub-discipline were identified from
138 department directories, and in some cases from the faculty member's group or personal
139 website. Subdisciplines are listed in Table S1, and faculty are counted under as many
140 of these subdisciplines as were identified. Thus, for the purposes of the subdiscipline study,
141 a faculty member may be a part of multiple subdiscipline categories given the overlap
142 between many geoscience subdisciplines and the increasingly interdisciplinary nature of
143 some work. However, faculty members are only counted once for all other studies in this
144 paper. Our dataset cannot account for errors that arise due to out-of-date websites, as
145 we assume webpages reflect the most updated department information. The dataset was
146 last checked on September 7, 2020 and is accurate as of that date.

147 In this study, gender identity is assigned to faculty members by pronouns used in
148 the faculty directories or on university news sources. This may lead to inaccuracies if fac-
149 ulty members do not identify with a binary gender but nonetheless typically use binary
150 pronouns in a professional context or if faculty members are misgendered by the web-
151 site. Furthermore, pronouns are not equivalent to gender, and therefore there is poten-
152 tial for error if a faculty member uses she/her or he/his pronouns but does not identify
153 on the gender binary.

154 We remove all sub-categories within the dataset that represent only a small num-
155 ber of individuals, defined as 25 members, or $< 1\%$ of the full dataset. Thus, we do not
156 assess the gender distribution of several sub-disciplines (e.g. History of Science). For this
157 reason, we also exclude faculty who do not use 'she/her/hers' or 'he/him/his' pronouns.
158 Less than 1% of the faculty in our dataset are identified with non-binary pronouns on
159 academic websites. Based on other survey methodologies in allied fields (Strauss et al.,
160 2020), we expect that the actual number of non-binary faculty may be higher but that
161 non-binary visibility is limited on official websites. In what follows, we only present two
162 genders (man/woman). Consideration of only two genders does not account for or con-
163 sider the wide diversity of gender that exists, or the historic and systemic biases that re-
164 sult in low numbers of non-binary faculty. Further study and data availability is needed

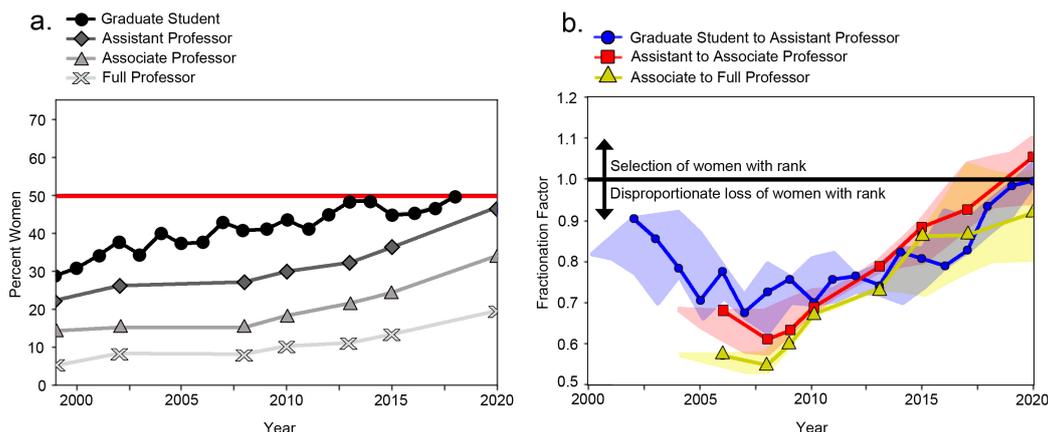


Figure 1. Multi-decadal time-series of gender distribution in faculty by rank (a) Percentage of faculty who are women by rank for the last 21 years. References: 1999 Data (de Wet et al., 2002), 2002 Data (Holmes & O’Connell, 2003), 2008, 2010, 2013 Data (Wilson, 2016) exact percentages interpreted from a bar chart, 2015 Data (n = 2324) (Holmes et al., 2015; Glass, 2015), 2020 Data (This Study). (b) Fractionation factor (see Equation 1) for the three transitions (graduate student to assistant professor, assistant to associate professor, associate to full professor). Shading represent a range in promotion timeline of ± 2 years

165 to widen the scope of gender studies in STEM disciplines. This is discussed in more detail
 166 in the Discussion section.

167 Throughout this study, we use the term under-represented to mean that the numerical
 168 representation of a group (women in most cases) is less than that in the US population.
 169 This is passive, technical language that does not address the causes of under-representation.
 170 Under-representation is a symptom of structural factors. When appropriate when discussing the
 171 results we use the terms marginalized or excluded to position this work in its wider structural
 172 context (Morris, 2021).

173 Results

174 Women make up approximately 27% of all the tenured and tenure-track faculty in
 175 the 62 academic institutions considered. The fraction of women in the faculty pool decreases
 176 with rank, as 46% of assistant professors are women, 34% of associate professors are women,
 177 and 19% of full professors are women. These statistics are roughly equivalent at the public and
 178 private universities considered. At all career stages, these numbers are lower than the US
 179 statistics for professors in 2016 across all disciplines, which show that 42% of all the
 180 tenured and tenure-track faculty were women, 51% of assistant professors are women, 45%
 181 of associate professors were women, 32% of full professors were women (Johnson, 2017).
 182 Evaluation of current department leadership (i.e. department heads, department chairs, or
 183 equivalent) shows that 21% of leadership positions are held by women. While this is an
 184 under-representation of women with respect to the faculty pool, it is roughly equivalent to
 185 the percentage of women who are full professors.

186 We compare our data with results from past studies of the demographics of the geosciences
 187 faculty, most of which present results from reports of the geoscience workforce. The
 188 percentage woman faculty in major geoscience departments has been steadily increasing for
 189 the past twenty years for all ranks (Figure 1). For all timepoints considered

190 (1999, 2002, 2008, 2010, 2013, 2015 and 2020), the percentage woman assistant profes-
 191 sors is higher than the percentage woman associate professors, which is higher than the
 192 percentage woman full professors (Figure 1a).

193 In this study, we discuss the higher rate of attrition of women than men in geosciences
 194 using a concept from geochemistry: fractionation. In isotope geochemistry, fractionation
 195 factors quantitatively describe processes that affect the relative proportion of isotopes
 196 of the same element. Here, we describe fractionation as being the ratio between the per-
 197 centage of women at one rank of academia (Rank $i+1$) and the percentage of women
 198 in the rank below (Rank i) at the time that the women in Rank $i+1$ were at Rank i .
 199 Mathematically, if the average time that it takes to get from Rank i to Rank $i+1$ is
 200 t_i , then the fractionation factor α is

$$\alpha(R_i, R_{i+1}) = \frac{\% \text{ of Women in Rank } i+1}{\% \text{ of Women in Rank } i \text{ } t_i \text{ Years Ago}} \quad (1)$$

201 While this study focuses on the attrition of women, the use of fractionation factors could
 202 be applied to other excluded and historically excluded groups (due to race, sexuality, socio-
 203 economic status, or other forms of marginalization). This metric is well suited for this
 204 context because it quantifies the proportional loss of women across academic rank. A
 205 fractionation factor of 1 means that the proportion of women in one rank is the same
 206 as the proportion of women in the rank before. Thus, it would imply no difference in at-
 207 trition by gender. A fractionation factor of 0, on the other hand, means that none of the
 208 women in one rank continued to the next rank, while the same is not true for men.

209 This framework enables us to add a quantitative approach to considering the at-
 210 trition of women and to move beyond the common analogy of the ‘leaky pipeline’. The
 211 ‘leaky pipeline’ frames the lack of representation of women (and other marginalized groups)
 212 in the context of a pipeline which begins at early education and ends at higher levels of
 213 academia. The ‘leaks’ are the attrition of women from the pipeline towards professor-
 214 ships. This metaphor has been criticized for suggesting the existence of only one track
 215 through academia and the sciences (Lykkegaard & Ulriksen, 2019). Several alternatives
 216 to the ‘leaky pipeline’ have been proposed to better incorporate and value the variety
 217 in pathways taken in modern science careers (e.g. the braided river analogy), as well as
 218 to acknowledge the additional barriers faced by marginalized groups (Batchelor et al.,
 219 2021). The ‘leaky pipeline’ also focuses on absolute attrition of women, while failing to
 220 consider the unequal attrition between men and women. This may implicitly put the blame
 221 on individual women for leaving by not accounting for the structural and institutional
 222 factors that certainly contribute to the under-representation of certain groups as seen
 223 in data (Marín-Spiotta et al., 2020).

224 The fractionation factor, on the other hand, quantifies the proportional attrition
 225 between identities. This factor focuses not on individual women leaving, but on how the
 226 proportions of women compared to men decrease with rank. Thus, fractionation acknowl-
 227 edges that successful careers may exist outside of academia by diverting attention from
 228 attrition alone and focusing on bias in attrition, a more useful metric for diversity prob-
 229 lems in academia. Furthermore, the fractionation framework quantifies bias that must
 230 be a result of institutional and structural factors that cause women to leave academic
 231 institutions at a rate higher than men. This puts the onus on institutions, rather than
 232 women, to ensure equity in retention.

233 To study the presence of bias under the fractionation framework, we compare our
 234 results with previous studies on the gender diversity of geoscience faculty and NSF data
 235 of gender diversity in Ph.D graduates (Figure 1b). We interpolate the data presented
 236 in Figure 1a onto the full timespan 1999–2020. For simplicity, we assume that the av-
 237 erage length of time between graduating with a Ph.D and becoming an assistant pro-
 238 fessor is ~ 2 years (the length of a typical post-doc contract), and that the average length

239 of time from assistant professor to associate professor (with tenure) is ~ 7 years, and
 240 that promotion from associate professor to full professor is also ~ 7 years. The shad-
 241 ing represents the range of possible time to promotion (± 2 years), in particular due to
 242 the fact that, on average, women take nearly two years longer to be promoted to full pro-
 243 fessor, which represents a loss of earnings and influence within academic institutions (Van
 244 Miegroet et al., 2019). Up until the last few years (~ 2017), the percentage of women
 245 at the rank of assistant professor has been smaller than the percentage of women grad-
 246 uating with Ph.Ds ($\alpha(\text{Graduate Student, Assistant Professor}) < 1$). Similar trends can
 247 be seen between the assistant professor and associate professor level (when one is typ-
 248 ically awarded tenure) and between the associate professor and full professor level. Ad-
 249 ditionally, at all career stages, from 1999-2015, women advanced less often than men do.
 250 This suggests that resolving diversity problems in academia must involve approaches be-
 251 yond outreach and student-focused initiatives.

252 For the year 2020, there is negligible evidence of differential loss of women at all
 253 three stages (fractionation factor ≈ 1). In particular, $\alpha(\text{Assistant Professor, Associate Professor}) >$
 254 1 , which is likely a function of the fact that the pool of associate professors are not all
 255 exactly 7 years from being assistant professors; error in promotion timeline of ± 2 years
 256 is reasonable and depicted in Figure 1b. Tenure clocks are extended in some cases, such
 257 as for new parents. Extensions for childcare features its own equity challenges given that
 258 often women still shoulder the burden of childcare. Men are often able to continue to
 259 work during this clock extension, while women spend this time as a primary caretaker
 260 (Antecol et al., 2018). Further, achieving a fractionation factor of 1 (i.e. parity in attri-
 261 tion) between any two ranks does not imply gender parity in the geoscience faculty. In
 262 order to achieve gender parity, hiring must occur at a 1:1 men to women ratio and frac-
 263 tionation between all previous ranks must be 1. Thus, even after fractionation factors
 264 reach 1, work still must be done to ensure gender parity in a reasonable timeframe.

265 Changes in the fractionation factors $\alpha(\text{Graduate Student, Assistant Professor})$ and
 266 $\alpha(\text{Assistant Professor, Associate Professor})$ are expected to occur on similar timescales,
 267 given the similar pool sizes (ca. 500 individuals). On the other hand, since the full pro-
 268 fessor pool is 3 times as large as either the assistant or associate professor pools, we would
 269 expect a change in $\alpha(\text{Associate Professor, Full Professor})$ of a similar magnitude to take
 270 3 times as long. Factors that contribute to uncertainty in $\alpha(\text{Associate Professor, Full Professor})$
 271 include that criteria for promotion from associate professor to full professor is not uni-
 272 form across institutions, promotion can be more variable in timing than previous pro-
 273 motions, individuals can go up for promotion again if denied, and not all tenured fac-
 274 ulty make it to the full professor rank.

275 Gender and Discipline

276 Gender diversity varies between the four major disciplines that make up geosciences:
 277 Earth Sciences, Ocean Sciences, Atmospheric Sciences, and Planetary Sciences (Figure
 278 2). The percent woman faculty range between 23% and 30% of the faculty in each dis-
 279 cipline, with atmospheric sciences having the lowest percentage woman faculty ($\sim 23\%$)
 280 and ocean sciences having the highest percentage woman faculty ($\sim 30\%$). This dataset
 281 can only account for geoscience faculty primarily in geoscience departments, and thus
 282 does not represent those that are primarily in other departments. We do not expect this
 283 to bias the results, as there has been no reason proposed as to why there should be a gen-
 284 der difference in faculty who are hired outside of geoscience departments. We present
 285 results for other subdisciplines in Supplement Table S3.

286 While the fractionation factors calculated for 2020 suggest no inequitable attrition
 287 of women overall for the geosciences, this is not the case for certain disciplines. As an
 288 example, we discuss the fractionation for the ocean sciences to illustrate the point that

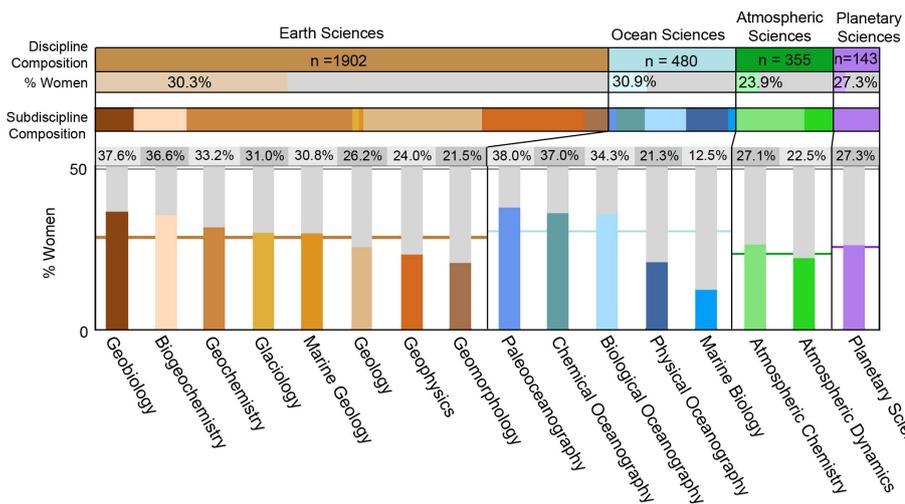


Figure 2. Faculty gender distribution by sub-discipline Gender distribution at the faculty level in order from highest to lowest percent women within each discipline. The black line represents an even gender distribution. Brown, blue, green, and purple lines represent the gender distributions of the major disciplines of earth sciences, ocean sciences, atmospheric sciences, and planetary sciences, respectively

289 fractionation factors for each discipline do not necessarily mirror the fractionation factors of the geosciences as a field.
 290

291 In the ocean sciences, gender parity was reached amongst Ph.D graduates around
 292 2006 (Bernard & Cooperdock, 2018). Since then, the percent woman Ph.D graduates in
 293 the ocean sciences has wavered between $\sim 50\%$ and $\sim 60\%$. Given that parity was reached
 294 in 2006 and most assistant professors are hired $\sim 2 - 4$ years post-PhD, with full retention the percent woman assistant professors should have reached $\sim 50\%$ at least by
 295 2010. In our 2020 data, we find that in fact $\sim 50\%$ of the ocean sciences assistant professors are women, though we do not have the data to confirm whether gender parity was
 296 reached in 2010 or more recently. Further, since the average time to tenure is ~ 7 years,
 297 we should have seen gender parity within associate professors by 2017-2018 if there were
 298 equal hiring and promotion since 2006, but this is not reflected in the data. In 2020, only
 299 $\sim 39\%$ of associate professors in the ocean sciences are women, giving a fractionation
 300 factor of ≈ 0.78 . These fractionation factors are computed assuming that the assistant
 301 professors were all at the beginning of the ~ 7 years in this rank, and that associate professors were all at the beginning of the ~ 7 years in this rank. The attrition continues:
 302 only $\sim 22\%$ of full professors in the ocean sciences are women.
 303
 304
 305

306 We further assess the gender distribution within the sub-disciplines of the major
 307 disciplines defined above (earth sciences, ocean sciences, and atmospheric sciences), presented in Figure 2. While some sub-disciplines have a higher percentage woman faculty
 308 than others, no sub-discipline has yet achieved gender balance. Geobiology, paleooceanography, and chemical oceanography have the highest representation of women at around
 309 38%. We find low percentages woman faculty in the subdisciplines of marine biology (12.5%),
 310 physical oceanography (21.3%), and geomorphology (21.5%). In the case of marine biology, our dataset may not have enough faculty to fully represent the sub-discipline, since
 311 we did not consider marine biologists in biology or zoology departments. Variations in
 312 fractionation and gender distribution with sub-discipline suggest that it is insufficient
 313
 314
 315

316 to consider the geosciences as a whole and instead important to consider each discipline
317 individually. Data of both rank and subdiscipline are in Supplement Table S1.

318 Subdisciplines in the chemical and biological sciences (geochemistry, geobiology,
319 chemical oceanography, biological oceanography, atmospheric chemistry) generally have
320 a higher percentage woman faculty than subdisciplines in the physical sciences (geophysics,
321 physical oceanography, atmospheric dynamics). In particular, atmospheric physics and
322 physical oceanography have the lowest percentage woman faculty (22% and 21% respec-
323 tively). The higher percentages of women in the biological and chemical sciences as com-
324 pared to the physical sciences is a well-documented phenomenon across levels of STEM
325 (Ceci et al., 2014), and may be attributed to cultural factors including the myth of 'bril-
326 liance' being more prevalent in physics- and math-based disciplines (Leslie et al., 2015).

327 Data on the gender distribution within geoscience subdisciplines published in 2003,
328 compared to the new data presented here, show that many disciplines have improved with
329 respect to representation of women faculty (Geology from 19% to 26%, Geophysics from
330 18% to 24%, Oceanography from 28% to 31%, Atmospheric Sciences from 12.5% to 27.3%,
331 and Planetary Sciences from 17% to 27%) (Holmes & O'Connell, 2003). However, the
332 gender distribution in geochemistry faculty has gone roughly unchanged in the past 18
333 years (from 34.9% to 33.2%). While the comparison with data published in 2003 enables
334 a rough assessment of how subdisciplines might have changed, we cannot make any defini-
335 tive comparisons because this dataset did not evaluate the same institutions we did and
336 may not have defined the subdisciplines as we have in this study (Holmes & O'Connell,
337 2003).

338 Discussion

339 We do not have sufficient data to determine the cause of the discrepancy in attri-
340 tion between men and women. However, previous work has considered this question, leav-
341 ing us with hypotheses. Studies have pointed to institutional culture as being a factor
342 in the attrition of women. Policies that lead to inadequate childcare and maternity leave
343 , policies that do not protect women from harassment, the timeline and process of tenure,
344 and cultures of racism and sexism all play a role in making academic geoscience careers
345 inaccessible to women, people of color, and other marginalized groups (de Wet et al., 2002;
346 Puritty et al., 2017; Marín-Spiotta et al., 2020; Bocher et al., 2020). To achieve gender
347 parity at all levels of faculty in the geosciences, we need to look beyond recruitment and
348 retention at the student level and consider biased institutional practices (including hir-
349 ing and promotion processes) and problematic cultures that cause the lack of represen-
350 tation of women faculty in the geosciences.

351 Lower representation of women - and low fractionation factors - at all levels may
352 point to biases in the hiring and tenure process. We note that the representation of women
353 seen at the assistant professor level is not translated as expected to the associate pro-
354 fessor level in many disciplines, as shown above for the ocean sciences. Bias in the tenure
355 process within academia has been found in many previous studies, with respect to race
356 (in particular, anti-Black bias) (Perna et al., 2007) and gender (Box-Steffensmeier et al.,
357 2015), amongst other identities, in many disciplines of STEM. Although this study fo-
358 cuses exclusively on the US, under-representation of women is an issue in other coun-
359 tries as well including throughout much, but not all, of Europe (Piccoli & Guidobaldi,
360 2021; Giakoumi et al., 2021). In the next section of the discussion, we apply simple mod-
361 els of hiring to further explore the potential for bias in hiring.

362 What will it take to reach gender parity?

363 Given that the proportion of women at all levels has been increasing, a natural ques-
364 tion is how long we have to wait for academic spaces to reach gender parity. Based on

365 the observation that the percentage of faculty that are women remains lower than that
 366 of men at all ranks, the rate of hiring must be at least 1:1 - one woman professor hired
 367 per man. Here we consider two questions: (1) what is the current rate of hiring, (2) if
 368 we begin hiring at 1:1 starting in 2020, how long will it take to reach gender parity?

369 There is no database available of hiring rates and the diversity of applicant pools
 370 and hires amongst geoscience faculty. Further, it is difficult to gather this data from web-
 371 pages given that faculty webpages do not consistently state in what year each faculty
 372 member was hired. Therefore, we use a simple model to estimate the percentage of women
 373 hired as assistant professors in the geosciences each year. We assume that the number
 374 of assistant professors in our dataset has been constant with time (i.e. from 1999-2020,
 375 there have always been 505 assistant professors in the geosciences) and that the aver-
 376 age assistant professor remains in the position for 7 years, compatible with the model
 377 developed above. From these assumptions, we compute the number of woman assistant
 378 professors in year i (f_i) as

$$f_i = f_{i-1} - h_{i-7} + h_i \quad (2)$$

379 where h_i represents the number of women hired this year and h_{i-7} represents the women
 380 hired seven years ago (who are now leaving the assistant professor pool due to promo-
 381 tions, or contract terminations). We interpolate the data from Figure 1a onto each year
 382 from 1999-2020 and use Equation 2 to compute h_i . From 1999-2020, we estimate the per-
 383 centage of women hired each year to vary between $\sim 23\%$ (in the early 2000s) to $\sim 56\%$
 384 (in 2016) (Figure 3b). 2016 is the only year in which the percentage of women hired equals
 385 or exceeds 50% according to this model. In all other years, including between 2017 and
 386 2020, women are less than 50% of the hires to geoscience assistant professors. The es-
 387 timate for 2020 is $\sim 42\%$ of hires are women. These estimates match up with the data
 388 shown in Figure 1a, since women make up approximately 46% of the assistant profes-
 389 sors in 2020 and in the ~ 6 years leading up to 2020, we estimate the hiring rate of women
 390 to fluctuate between 42% and 56%. If the number of assistant professors has been in-
 391 creasing, then the estimated percent of hires that are women is overestimated in this sim-
 392 ple model.

393 Based on these assumptions, our analysis suggests that hiring rates have been in
 394 the 1:1 range since 2016. Given this result, we consider if the geosciences were to con-
 395 tinue hiring 1:1 on average from 2020, how long would it take to reach gender parity?
 396 To estimate the answer to this question, we build a simple model in which we consider
 397 the faculty pool to be in steady state (the number of faculty hired = number of faculty
 398 who retire each year). We assume a promotion timeline of 7 years as an assistant pro-
 399 fessor, 7 years as an associate professor, and a 35 year career (assuming a retirement age
 400 of ~ 65). Given these assumptions and the current number of faculty in each rank, we
 401 use a flux into and out of the faculty pool of 70 people per year. If hiring is in line with
 402 the approximate 50/50 gender split of women at the PhD level and in the general pop-
 403 ulation starting in the 2021 hiring cycle and there is no bias in hiring and promotion,
 404 we may expect the assistant and associate professor pools could reach gender parity by
 405 2028 and 2035, respectively. However, due to the long residence time of full professors,
 406 the full professor pool and the total faculty pool would not reach equal (binary) gender
 407 representation before 2056 (Figure 3). Assuming a 35 year career, this would be approx-
 408 imately when current graduate students are nearing retirement.

409 This model is a simplified representation of the complex hiring practices and retention
 410 in academia. We note, however, that this model can be thought of as a ‘best case’
 411 scenario, given that professors often do not retire at age 65, and the full professor pool
 412 is about three times greater than either the assistant or the associate professor pool. Fur-
 413 thermore, this model does not account for bias in retention. As shown above, bias in re-
 414 tention has been decreasing in the last ~ 10 years, and while these results may not have

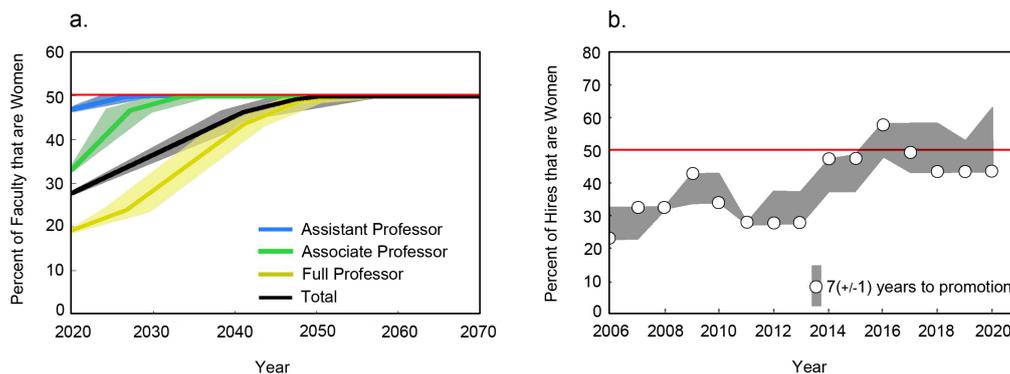


Figure 3. Estimated gender distribution over time (a) Model outlook on faculty gender composition by rank. If faculty are hired at a 1:1 gender ratio, and assuming there is equal retention between men and women, we should expect gender parity by 2055. (b) Estimated percent of hires that are women by year, computed from Equation 2. This shows that we have been hiring at a 1:1 ratio since 2015, assuming a range of 6-8 years for promotion.

415 the longevity to establish a clear trend, they do suggest that current initiatives may be
 416 working to improve gender equity. However, assessment is required to determine how cur-
 417 rent programs and efforts work and who they are working for. This model does empha-
 418 size a need to ensure continued hiring at 1:1 ratio; because women are currently under-
 419 represented relative to men, without at least a 1:1 hiring strategy, we will never reach
 420 gender parity. Furthermore, this demonstrates the need for a continued study in the dem-
 421 ographics of geoscience faculty to establish long-term trends.

422 Equity Initiatives and Systemic Change

423 The fractionation framework focuses on quantifying attrition and cannot propose
 424 causes for biases and inequities or solutions to those inequities. Recent research has con-
 425 sidered the causes for inequities, including hierarchical cultures that enable harassment
 426 and bias (Marín-Spiotta et al., 2020) and hampers belonging (Cheryan et al., 2017), racism
 427 and sexism within academia (Bocher et al., 2020; Dutt, 2020; Ramos & Yi, 2020), in-
 428 accessibility of fieldwork (Morales et al., 2020), among other factors. Some factors are not
 429 specific to hiring, but relate to bias in other aspects of academic careers that are con-
 430 sidered heavily in hiring such as publishing, grant awards, and speaking invitations (Bornmann
 431 et al., 2007; Ford et al., 2018; Pico et al., 2020). Many studies focus on the need for in-
 432 stitutional change (Ahmed, 2012), and the fractionation factor provides a quantitative
 433 metric that can be used to assess institutional change. These quantitative studies are
 434 important because perceptions of composition of the faculty are biased, with studies show-
 435 ing that men are more likely than women to believe that representation is equal between
 436 men and women (Popp et al., 2019; Giakoumi et al., 2021).

437 The fractionation factors of ≈ 1 may suggest that recent gender equity policies and
 438 programs are beginning to improve the outlook for gender representation in the geosciences.
 439 The National Science Foundation (NSF)'s ADVANCE program, has funded programs
 440 across the United States and has produced research with demonstrated impacts on the
 441 recruitment and retention of women in the sciences (Holmes, 2015). Other funded pro-
 442 grams, such as the NSF Aspire project, which developed a model that helps institutions
 443 understand the causes of inequities and develop solutions (Griffin, 2020), and Atmospheric
 444 Science Collaborations and Enriching Networks (ASCENT), a series of workshops for

445 women in atmospheric sciences (Hallar et al., 2015), have tackled similar problems. Or-
446 ganizations such as the Earth Science Women’s Network (Adams et al., 2016), Society
447 for Women in Marine Science, GeoLatinas, and the Association for Women Geoscient-
448 tists provide mentorship and networking opportunities for women in the geosciences.

449 Progress has not always been consistent. A detailed study of the career trajecto-
450 ries of men and women graduates in physical oceanography from the six largest oceanog-
451 raphic institutions from 1980-2009 revealed inconsistent progress with more equal hir-
452 ing of women and men into tenure track positions in the period 1980-1996 than in the
453 period 1996-2009 (Thompson et al., 2011). This strongly suggests that the representa-
454 tion of women at higher ranks is not solely due representation among graduate students,
455 but instead to factors at play during hiring and promotion. It is important to continue
456 monitoring faculty diversity and differential attrition with respect to both race and gen-
457 der to ensure that any progress is maintained.

458 Research into practices that alleviate bias and inequity have proposed ways insti-
459 tutions and individuals may contribute to resolving inequitable cultures and institutional
460 practices, including ways to reframe diversity conversations (Keisling et al., 2020), pro-
461 moting inclusivity in fieldwork (Carabajal & Atchison, 2020), and creating specific poli-
462 cies within institutions (National Academy of Sciences, National Academy of Engineer-
463 ing, 2007a; Dutt, 2015). Many of these practices have been shown in programs, such as
464 ADVANCEGeo, a geoscience focused grant from the NSF ADVANCE Program, to be
465 effective at improving retention (Holmes et al., 2015). The National Academy of Sciences,
466 National Academy of Engineering, and Institute of Medicine outlined the systemic in-
467 equities that lay at the foundation of academic institutions and presented recommen-
468 dations in line with the studies cited here, including addressing inequities in hiring and
469 promotion, ensuring equity of faculty search processes, and reviewing tenure practices
470 (National Academy of Sciences, National Academy of Engineering, 2007b). Further, there
471 are several edited volumes and special issues summarizing lessons learned from programs
472 such as NSF ADVANCE, including suggestions for structural change (Rosser & Chameau,
473 2006; Stewart & Valian, 2018; Furst-Holloway & Miner, 2019; Laursen & Austin, 2020).

474 Many of these programs are created and sustained by women and people of color.
475 While these programs are creating positive change, they are also putting an undue bur-
476 den on those most at risk from institutional bias (Harris, 2013). Furthermore, these re-
477 sults do not mean that diversity initiatives are working for all groups. Those most af-
478 fected by the problem may have clearer ideas about solutions. Men and women have sys-
479 tematically different perceptions of the most effective responses to gender bias (Giakoumi
480 et al., 2021). Some solutions that are designed to alleviate inequities faced by women,
481 such as parental leave, may not have the intended effect depending on the implementa-
482 tion (Antecol et al., 2018). There is also overwhelming evidence that programs intended
483 to alleviate gender bias primarily benefit white women, revealing the need for intersec-
484 tional approaches. Affirmative action is one example of a structural program that pre-
485 dominantly benefited white women rather than people of color. White women are not
486 consistently in solidarity with women of color. For example, white women have been lead-
487 ing voices in dismantling affirmative action over the past few decades (Hall, 2016). This
488 study focuses on women and does not have the data to discuss race, ability, gender iden-
489 tity, or sexual orientation, among other factors. Furthermore, given the racial makeup
490 of the geosciences (Bernard & Cooperdock, 2018), this data likely reflects progression
491 for white women only. Current studies (e.g. Bernard and Cooperdock (2018)) show that
492 even when the representation of white women increases, this does not suggest that in-
493 stitutions have become unbiased nor that equity with respect to race or other marginal-
494 ization has improved.

Moving beyond gender and the gender binary

In this study, we consider only two genders: man and woman. The gender binary does not accurately and completely represent gender diversity due to the exclusion of those outside of the binary. Studies, most notably (Rasmussen et al., 2019) and (Strauss et al., 2020), have discussed the harm that the continued exclusion of non-binary scientists from studies of gender inequities does to those who identify outside of the gender binary, including the psychological harm that comes from misgendering and the harm that comes from overlooking the ways in which non-binary scientists are discriminated. Focusing on the gender binary neglects the complex ways in which institutional gender-based discrimination operates. Based on the data presented here showing that fewer than 25 geoscience faculty at the 62 institutions we studied use non-binary pronouns on institutional websites, this study suggests that there may be significant lack of representation of non-binary geoscientists or that non-binary geoscientists do not feel safe or comfortable presenting as such within their department or both. Either of these interpretations implies systematic discrimination against scientists who identify outside of the gender binary and a culture in geosciences that is not inclusive to all gender identities, concerns which are supported by (Rasmussen et al., 2019) and (Strauss et al., 2020).

More studies need to be done to understand the full diversity of gender identity in the geosciences. (Rasmussen et al., 2019) and (Strauss et al., 2020) recommend broadening studies of gender diversity and gender-based inequities beyond simply quantitative studies, as these often exclude scientists outside of the binary. In addition to the need for further qualitative work on gender, our results support the necessity for organizations to lead formal, inclusive data-gathering that is done in conjunction with social scientists and in which gender is identified based on self-identification (Rasmussen et al., 2019; Strauss et al., 2020).

This study focuses on the inequities with respect to gender, which is information that is readily available and collectable. However, as we look towards advancing the inclusivity and diversity of the geosciences, we must ensure that systems to address inequities are focused on more than one group. There are dramatic inequities with regard to race in the geosciences, including lasting marginalization of Black, Indigenous, and Latinx scientists (Bernard & Cooperdock, 2018). Studies have shown that there are further inequities rooted in cultural and systematic problems with respect to mentoring, education, service burden, and many other factors (Thomas et al., 2007; Zambrana et al., 2015; Brunσμα et al., 2017; Jimenez et al., 2019; Dutt, 2020). As early as 1978, June Bacon-Bercey pointed out that for the representation of Black meteorologists to reach population parity, the rates of Black students earning bachelors degrees would need to increase dramatically, emphasizing our social obligation to take action to overcome discrimination and marginalization (Bacon-Bercey, 1978). Certainly these inequities affect the faculty body of, and the practice of, the geosciences.

Further, considering gender alone ignores the ways in which marginalized identities intersect. People who experience multiple types of marginalization have experience and outcomes that cannot be understood as the result of discrete forms of discrimination (Crenshaw, 1989). For example, in the New Zealand professoriate, Maori and Pacific women have lower salaries than non-Maori and Pacific men while there is no significant salary difference for Maori and Pacific men (McAllister et al., 2020). Survey results show that women of color in astronomy experience higher rates of sexual harassment than white women do and that more women of color than white women in STEM report feeling unsafe on campus because of their gender (Clancy et al., 2017; National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, Policy and Global Affairs, Committee on Women in Science, Engineering, and Medicine, 2018). The disparities in representation of women of color are almost surely much larger than those presented in this study. Recent studies have begun to build an intersectional framework to address the ways in which race, class, gender, ability, and other marginalized identities interact with

548 each other in the context of STEM (Metcalf et al., 2018) and a desired direction for fu-
549 ture research and interventions is to engage with intersectional frameworks to provide
550 a complete understanding of the ways in which institutional inequities persist.

551 **Implications**

552 This study quantifies the gender diversity of tenured and tenure-track faculty in
553 the geosciences using information from 62 colleges and universities in the United States.
554 We determine that women remain under-represented in the faculty body of geoscience
555 departments ($\sim 27\%$ of all faculty) and the disparity increases with increasing rank in
556 academia and varies with geoscience discipline. We reframe this phenomenon in which
557 under-representation increases at higher levels of the academic hierarchy in terms of a
558 fractionation factor, which here quantifies the inequitable attrition of women. We show
559 significant attrition of women across the geosciences, though this has decreased in re-
560 cent years when considering the geosciences as a whole. Additionally, we show that con-
561 tinued hiring at a 1:1 ratio is necessary to ensure reaching gender parity across all ranks
562 of professorship. These results suggest that despite a number of initiatives, tenure and
563 promotion processes within geoscience departments may still have institutional inequities
564 and implicit biases that result in a disproportionate attrition of women.

565 While gender diversity has improved at the assistant professor and associate pro-
566 fessor stage, the representation of women at the full professor rank is increasing far more
567 slowly, at least partially because faculty stay in the full professor stage for many decades.
568 Full professorships bring with them a significant amount of power and influence, both
569 over internal policies within departments and institutions and also within society. The
570 expertise of full professors tends to be most valued due to their rank and full professors
571 are generally influential in hiring decisions. Further, this has implications for the gen-
572 der pay gap, since salaries increase with rank and thus women on average make less than
573 men in academia (Newman, 2014). Thus, under-representation at this stage may per-
574 petuate inequities. Accelerating change at higher ranks and otherwise ameliorating the
575 present gendered power differentials is critical to ensuring a just future for the geosciences.

576 Importantly, the fractionation factor pushes for accountability within institutions
577 and systems for the biases and cultures that lead to higher fractionation of women into
578 other paths of work. As addressed in the discussion section, there are a number of pro-
579 grams and implementation strategies focused on institutional and cultural changes that
580 are needed alongside a continued 1:1 ratio hiring to ensure recruitment and retention of
581 women (Holmes, 2015; Bocher et al., 2020; Carabajal & Atchison, 2020; Griffin, 2020;
582 Marín-Spiotta et al., 2020). However, many of the existing programs and studies focus
583 on the retention and recruitment of white women (Liu et al., 2019), and moving forward
584 an intersectional lens must be put on diversity programs to ensure that racial diversity,
585 diversity with respect to ability, sexual orientation, among others, are incorporated. In-
586 vesting in programs dedicated to fixing institutional sexism, racism, and inequities, such
587 as those funded by NSF ADVANCE, is critical if we are to adequately consider the in-
588 stitutional barriers that uniquely exist for those with intersectional identities. Contin-
589 ued research on the role that biases and systemic inequities have in hiring and retention
590 processes is needed, and as programs are instituted to combat these inequities, assess-
591 ments of their success and failure is important.

592 Our methods of data collection are neither exhaustive across the field, inclusive of
593 intersectional identities, nor sustainable. Institutions, associations, and foundations should
594 continue to improve data collection and transparency so that work like this can be ex-
595 panded on to include an intersectional and gender inclusive lens (Langin, 2020) and hold
596 the field accountable to the biases and inequities that continue to persist.

Acknowledgments

We credit Marianna Linz, Kristin Bergmann, David McGee, Christine Y. Chen for helpful conversations and feedback. We thank Eric Davidson for his helpful comments as editor and we thank Mary Anne Holmes and two anonymous reviewers for their in-depth and thoughtful feedback that helped to strengthen this work. MIT Libraries and the Houghton Fund funded the publication of this work.

The data that support the findings of this study and the code used to generate the figures are openly available at <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.4749665> and https://github.com/lfreese/women_geosci.

The authors declare that they have no known conflicts of interest.

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