

# Climate and Context

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## Introduction

This working group contributes to the APSA Presidential Task Force on Systemic Inequalities in the Discipline by addressing the climate and context for political scientists at the departmental and university levels and within the discipline at large. Whereas our scope extends to all political scientists, we focus above all on the climate for, and context experienced by, underrepresented scholars in the discipline.

How might we understand "climate" and "context" in political science? Climate is a matter of perception, which varies by context and an individual's place and experience in the context. The context in turn varies by, e.g., the demographic and social attributes we bring to it and in work, specialization and frame of reference as, in the case of academe, a department, university, or entire discipline (cf. e.g., Fotaki 2013; Kelly and McCann 2014; Howe-Walsh and Turnbull 2016; Maranto and Griffin 2011; Sandler and Hall 1986). Salient issues across time or space also help define context. To illustrate, today, in the era of Black Lives Matter and COVID-19, the enduring quest for equality and equity in political science is more pressing than ever.

Over 25 years ago, one of the flagship journals of APSA, *PS*, published an article establishing that women perceived and experienced more inequitable environments in their departments and home institutions than did men (Hesli and Burrell 1995). In 1999, the influential "Tenure in a Chilly Climate" appeared in *PS* (Anonymous and Anonymous 1999). Still in *PS*, Lavariega Monforti and Michelson (2021) dissect "Elusive Inclusion: Persistent Challenges Facing Women of Color in Political Science." Carey and colleagues (2020) use survey experiments to probe the climate and context for women and minorities of the profession. To summarize their findings, Carey et al. (2020, 536) affirm that "the primary reason for the lack of diversity among faculty is not a lack of desire to hire them, but the *accumulation of implicit and institutionalized biases*, and their related consequences, at later stages in the pipeline" (emphasis added). Thus, the impact of bias as a component of climate and context persists over time and undermines the experience—and even the presence—of women and scholars of color in the discipline. The examples just cited form but a small subset of publications on inequality and inequity in the political science profession. As they illustrate, concern about climate and context for all members of the profession, especially among underrepresented political scientists, is both long-standing and timely.

APSA has spearheaded multiple efforts to evaluate the climate and context for political scientists. For example, in 2009 APSA fielded a survey including a battery of questions asking respondents about relationships with their departmental colleagues. That survey yielded the overall finding that "women and racial/sexual minorities perceive their departments as less 'friendly' than men and non-minorities" (Claypool and Mershon 2016, 383; cf. Ghosh and Wang, this report). Testifying to continuing inequalities in climate and context for underrepresented members of the profession, in late 2015, eleven senior women political scientists reported to APSA leadership that they had received complaints of sexual harassment at prior annual meetings (Mervis 2017; Sapiro and Campbell 2018). APSA's Ethics Committee in

2016 decided on a three-part response: a survey of APSA members; the proposal to the APSA Council of a revamped Code of Conduct; and the institution of an Ombuds. The survey, fielded in 2017, revealed that almost one-third of respondents had experienced some form of harassment in the four prior annual meetings, with harassment more common among women and junior members of the profession (Sapiro and Campbell 2018; cf. Ghosh and Wang, this report). The Code of Conduct is now regularly and prominently disseminated before the Annual Meetings, as is the new APSA Anti-Harassment Policy. APSA established an Ombuds program in 2017 and has repeated it at all annual meetings since then. In 2018, the APSA Senior Director of Diversity and Inclusion launched the RESPECT Campaign (Respectful, Equitable, Safe, Professional, and Ethical Conduct Towards All). This program and its institutionalization at annual meetings aim to generate transformational change in the discipline's climate. The Campaign supports and complements APSA's other central initiatives in the area.

The working group has divided its work into four subject areas, each with its own team dedicated to investigating an area important to understanding and improving the climate and context for underrepresented political scientists. The subject areas and teams are:

- microaggressions, bullying, and implicit bias (written by Ghosh and Wang);
- exclusion and disproportionate service burdens (Simien and Wallace);
- best practices at the departmental and university levels (Michelson and Wilkinson); and
- recommendations for APSA (Ackerly and Franklin, with research assistance from Oliver Cenedella of Vanderbilt University).

Our four teams start from the shared recognition that the effort to enhance the climate and context for women and scholars of color in political science is an enduring quest. The challenge of creating an equitable and inclusive climate is especially urgent in the era of COVID-19 and the outpouring of protests in the wake of George Floyd's murder.

A preview of our major themes begins with the work of the team studying microaggression, bullying, and implicit bias. As discussed in the next section, the effect of these forms of oppression is most severe for scholars from color, women, and other underrepresented groups. We have conducted interviews and online surveys in order to ground our inquiry in both qualitative and quantitative evidence. In gathering such data, we have aimed to discover: how pervasive are microaggression, bullying, and implicit bias in the profession? The answer, the research reveals, can be distilled to one word: very. The conclusion to the next section points to a "culture of apathy" that permits these problems to exist and persist. We recommend that APSA, in response, establish mechanisms that can hold leaders in the profession to account for combating the status quo and engendering reform.

The third section investigates the exclusion and disproportionate service burdens faced by women and faculty of color in political science. It assesses extant literature, yet also looks at the

new challenges created by the massive protests after George Floyd's murder and by COVID-19. The discussion shows that, despite exclusion, junior women and faculty of color, given their dearth, often serve on committees with heavy workloads. Even the composition and labor of this working group furnish data on the disproportionate service performed by women and faculty of color. After George Floyd's murder, institutions of higher education have seen urgent demands for racial justice, generating even weightier expectations for women and faculty of color. We thus urge a host of measures, such as hiring additional faculty of color; more equitable distributions of service related to diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI); and more resources to support faculty who wish to offer programs addressing DEI. To meet the challenges posed by the pandemic, we recommend such measures as paid work leave for parents with pressing childcare or elder-care needs, flexible teaching arrangements, tenure clock extensions, and telehealth services. They emphasize that family-friendly supports require institutionalization.

The fourth section appraises the available literatures on the persistence of a "leaky pipeline" for women and people of color in political science and on the documented strategies for creating a more inclusive and equitable academic climate at the departmental and university levels. In view of the literatures, generating an improved climate should be no mystery. Yet the gap between knowledge on the one hand and investment and action on the other is obvious and enduring. How to close the gap? We offer an admirable review of best practices in hiring and retention of faculty at the departmental and university levels. We advocate for APSA's creation and distribution of "shovel-ready" toolkits for departments seeking to recruit and retain faculty and graduate students belonging to historically marginalized communities. We also recommend that APSA maintain a website hosting links to supportive trainings and resources.

The fifth and final section concentrates on recommendations for APSA. We highlight that a significant part of the political science community does not participate in APSA and thus endorse a targeted recruitment plan for HBCUs, Hispanic/Latinx universities and colleges, and Tribal colleges and universities. Students at the types of colleges and universities just named typically come from moderate-income backgrounds and are relatively likely to be first-generation students. We thus propose such steps as developing mechanisms for piloting and sharing DEI efforts across APSA sections; incorporating follow-up, accountability, and accountability mechanisms into DEI initiatives; and developing ways for participants in the annual meeting and the membership to share successful DEI initiatives within their departments, other associations, and non-academic institutions. Given the huge range of DEI initiatives that APSA is pursuing or would like to pursue, we urge APSA to invest more resources—staff and financial—in DEI programs to carry out the recommended initiatives. Making visible the additional, quite substantial labor that APSA personnel must do to support DEI activities and initiatives is a key aspect of demonstrating institutional commitment to DEI. More generally, APSA should strive to ensure clear accountability throughout its initiatives, organization, and community.

This working group report now turns to the everyday experience of political scientists who are women and scholars of color. In their research and report, Cyril Ghosh and Hongying Wang seek to address the question: how pervasive are microaggression, bullying, and bias for underrepresented scholars in political science? The answer is, in a word, very.

# Microaggressions, Bullying, and Implicit Bias

## Introduction

Our report on the climate of the discipline focuses on microaggression, bullying, and implicit bias.<sup>1</sup> The combined effect of these three forms of oppression is obviously quite deleterious. As is widely known, these forms of conduct have their most egregious effects on scholars who might be said to be on the “margins.”<sup>2</sup> They include scholars who are racial and ethnic minorities; women of all races and ethnicities; those who identify as LGBTQ+; (new) immigrants; individuals with intellectual or physical disabilities; or others whose identities are variously stigmatized, devalorized, inferiorized, or otherwise despised by dominant social groups.<sup>3</sup> Mershon and Walsh (2015, 459) suggest the basis for the existence and persistence of these forms of oppression when they state that: “pervasive stereotypes are perpetuated by the attitudes and practices of both women and men, who reward those who hew most closely to white, heterosexual, masculine, and middle-class norms.”

We believe that an inquiry of the sort we are pursuing should be driven by data, both qualitative and quantitative. In this light, in summer 2021, we collected data on our subject using a nationwide survey and elite interviews. Our report proceeds as follows, starting with background on our chief topics, followed by a presentation of our findings, and reflections and recommendations. Our methods for gathering data are discussed in the appendices.

## Background: Microaggression, Bullying, and Implicit Bias

The term “microaggression” was coined by Chester Pierce in the 1970s (Spencer 2017), and later popularized in the work of Derald Wing Sue (Sue et al. 2007; Sue et al. 2008; Sue 2010; cf. Hampson 2016; Nadal et al. 2011; Nadal et al. 2013; McTernan 2018; Wingfield 2020). One canonical articulation of microaggression comes from Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic’s work on Critical Race Theory. For Delgado and Stefancic, microaggression constitutes:

those many sudden, stunning, or dispiriting transactions that mar the days of women and folks of color. Like water dripping on sandstone, they can be thought of as small acts of racism, consciously or unconsciously perpetrated, welling up from the assumptions about racial matters most of us absorb from the cultural heritage in which we come of age in the United States. These

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<sup>1</sup> For funding research assistance with our interviews, we are grateful to APSA and the American Society of Association Executives (ASAE) Research Foundation .

<sup>2</sup> On the concept of oppression, see Cudd (1998); Cudd (2005); Young (1990). On marginal scholars, see, for example, Agathangelou & Ling (2002); Ramsby II (2020).

<sup>3</sup> For excellent discussions on marginalization and oppression of social groups, see Fraser (1995, 1997); Young (1990).

assumptions, in turn, continue to inform our public civic institutions—government, schools, churches—and our private, personal, and corporate lives (2017: 2).

The Microaggressions Project, available as a blog on [microaggressions.com](http://microaggressions.com), is also a useful tool for people to acquire some literacy about what situations might be read as microaggressive. To be sure, not everyone agrees that the concept is a useful analytical tool to understand the injustice it claims to signify (see, for example, Campbell and Manning 2018; Haidt 2017; Harris 2008; Harsanyi 2015; Lilienfeld 2017; Lukianoff and Haidt 2015; McWhorter 2014). Nor is it the case that everyone agrees on the boundaries and thresholds of the concept. Further areas of contention about microaggressions include the extent to which the intention of the aggressor ought to matter, whether only oppressed groups can be subject to microaggressions, and the extent to which the charge of microaggression ought to be framed in a manner such that it is at least in principle falsifiable (Campbell and Manning 2018).

Microaggressions include conduct that might plausibly be interpreted as innocuous but that are nonetheless experienced as forms of oppression by those who are subjected to it. Here are some examples of microaggression: telling an Asian American person that they speak English very well and assuming that it is a compliment; asking a brown person probing questions about where “they are really from” after they have told you that they are “from Los Angeles;” asking a young lesbian if she has met a nice boy after she has repeatedly told you that she is not sexually attracted to men; requesting the only woman in a board meeting to take notes; clutching one’s bag more tightly when one sees a young Black male walking toward one.<sup>4</sup>

The phenomenon is ubiquitous. While there is quite a bit of awareness of and sensitivity toward this kind of oppressive conduct within the social sciences, we do not yet have a great deal of knowledge about just how pervasive the problem is within the discipline of political science, what has been done to combat it so far, to what extent the problem is recognized as such, and so on. One of our aims here is to find out just how systemic and endemic the problem of microaggressions is in our discipline.

Like microaggressions, bullying is a frequent occurrence of work life (Randall 1997, esp. Chapter 1; Williams 2011). An early discussion of the phenomenon appears in Carroll M. Brodsky’s *The Harassed Worker*, who described five types of harassment: sexual harassment, scapegoating, name-calling, physical abuse, and work pressure (Einarsen, Hoel, Zapf, & Cooper 2011: 6). By the mid-1990s the phenomenon had piqued scholarly interest and since then it has been widely studied, particularly as it is manifested in schools (Olweus Bullying Prevention Program 2019). Bullying is a global phenomenon (see, for example, An and Kang 2016; Rai and Agarwal 2017; Rayner, Hoel, and Cooper 2002). It can take many forms, such as aggression, intimidation, emotional abuse, incivility, social undermining, harassment, victimization, and so on (see, for example, Cortina, Magley, Williams, & Langhout 2001; Einarsen, Hoel, Zapf, & Cooper 2011; Nielsen, Glasø, & Einarsen 2017). A related and widespread phenomenon is

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<sup>4</sup> These examples are drawn from Campbell and Manning (2018); McTernan (2018); and The Microaggressions Project.

“rankism”—where individuals use their senior rank or superiority to harass others through their words and/or actions (Fuller 2006). Finally, bullying can also be targeted against minorities, such as sexual minorities (Meyer 2016).

Although a definition of the term is somewhat elusive, some core features of bullying are nonetheless discernible, and include persistence of abuse and the exercise of power and domination over people who cannot defend themselves. According to Dan Olweus, bullying occurs when aggression or aggressive behavior “[inflicts] injury or discomfort upon another individual” (Olweus 2010: 11). However, as a legal matter, bullying should not be conflated with “interactions and inter-personal conflicts that inevitably and predictably occur at workplaces, and that are within the framework of the work contract or a legal and regulated framework of health and dignity at work” (Neilson and Einarsen 2018: 73).

Like microaggression or bullying, implicit bias is also a ubiquitous phenomenon.<sup>5</sup> Jennifer Eberhardt observes that it permeates our social interactions and practices, such as sentencing, preschool suspensions, corporate leadership, the homes we buy, the way we treat our neighbors, the people we hire, and so on (Eberhardt 2019). Those who study implicit or unconscious bias try to understand how people’s prejudices and stereotypes affect their conduct, particularly toward “socially stigmatized groups” such as racial, ethnic, and sexual minorities and women of all races, ethnicities, and sexual orientations (Brownstein 2019; Lane 2017).

Studies of social cognition have revealed that people make implicit associations about others, which in turn determine their behavior toward others but do so in a way such that prejudice has been “driven underground” (Dovidio and Gaertner, quoted in Brownstein 2019). One well-known test of this kind of bias is the Implicit Association Test.<sup>6</sup> Among other things, this test assesses people’s cognition by making comparative measurements of individuals’ associations between ideas that are stereotypically attached to each other, such as the Black-crime association. However, this test is not without its critics (see, for example, Azar 2008).

In this project we inquire into whether, or to what extent, there is a systemic problem of microaggression, bullying, and implicit bias that political science scholars must negotiate. To this end, as the Appendix details, we have conducted interviews with experts on microaggression, bullying, and implicit bias, as well as a survey of political science faculty members across the country.

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<sup>5</sup> Implicit bias is also known as unconscious bias. See, for example, Tyner (2019).

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Project Implicit. Harvard University. Available here: <https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/takeatest.html>. Also see Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz (1998).

## Findings

The survey had 83 respondents,<sup>7</sup> most of whom reported “very high” or “high” levels of familiarity with the terms, implicit bias (92.21%), microaggression (86.07%), and bullying (96.2%).<sup>8</sup> It was structured so that we asked respondents four major sets of questions. The first set asked respondents about their experiences witnessing microaggression, bullying, and implicit bias targeted toward others at professional meetings. The second asked respondents about their *own* experiences with implicit bias, microaggressions, and bullying at professional meetings. The third asked respondents about their experiences witnessing these forms of conduct targeted toward others at the departmental level. Finally, the fourth set asked respondents about their *own* experiences with these forms of conduct at the departmental level.

A close look at the survey results yields several broad patterns. On the one hand, respondents were generally able to preserve the distinction between self and others. On the other hand, several were less willing or able to disaggregate between describing their experiences at professional meetings and at the departmental level. Several respondents were also unable or unwilling to distinguish among implicit bias, microaggression, and bullying, reporting examples of two or three categories when being asked about one of them.

This is potentially an artifact of the survey design itself. It is entirely possible that the survey could have better signaled to the respondents that they should limit their responses to the frames of reference indicated in the question. The good news, however, is that none of the patterns observed call into question the integrity of the data collected. We report on our findings below. We begin by presenting the aggregate data in Tables 1 through 4 for each set of questions asked. We then summarize some of the textual data gathered in the write-in options to illustrate the major concerns respondents have identified.

Table 1. Witnessing Treatment of Others at a Professional Meeting

	Yes	Unsure	No	N respondents
Implicit bias	59.74% (46)	28.57% (22)	11.69% (9)	77

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<sup>7</sup> When the results were downloaded on September 1, one (Respondent #84) was still in progress and one respondent had not offered informed consent. This survey was only available to those who affirmatively provided informed consent.

<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, some respondents reported that they were not “sure about the difference between these terms” or that “it’s hard sometimes to distinguish between [them].” One respondent suggested that they are not sure of the distinction between “bullying” and “unfair criticism”; nor are they sure of the difference between microaggression and implicit bias. Yet another objected to the phrase “implicit bias” and appended this remark: “The term “implicit bias” is a ridiculous and illiterate buzzword. It should be “unconscious.” “Implicit” means clear but unstated. I know it is widely misused, but it shouldn’t be.”

Microaggression	48.10 (38)	34.18 (27)	17.72 (14)	79
Bullying	36.84 (28)	25.00 (19)	38.16 (29)	76

Table 2. Own Experience at a Professional Meeting

	Yes	Unsure	No	N respondents
Implicit bias	37.14% (26)	30.00% (21)	32.86% (23)	70
Microaggression	37.84 (28)	16.22 (12)	45.95 (34)	74
Bullying	14.08 (10)	12.68 (9)	73.24 (52)	71

Table 3. Witnessing Treatment of Others at a Department With Which One Is Familiar

	Yes	Unsure	No	N Respondents
Implicit bias	64.29% (45)	22.86% (16)	12.86% (9)	70
Microaggression	69.01 (49)	16.90 (12)	14.08 (10)	71
Bullying	58.57 (41)	15.71 (11)	25.71 (18)	70

Table 4. Own Experience at a Department With Which One is Affiliated

	Yes	Unsure	No	N respondents
Implicit bias	48.53% (33)	22.06% (15)	26.47% (18)	68 <sup>a</sup>
Microaggression	47.06 (32)	19.12 (13)	33.82 (23)	68
Bullying	45.59 (31)	11.76 (8)	42.65 (29)	68

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<sup>a</sup> Two respondents (2.94%) chose "other" as an option.

The tables report the data while listing the categories of behavior in reverse order of the blatancy of conduct. Political scientists in general appear to be less likely to engage in the most blatant forms of discrimination at professional meetings and at the departmental level. This is indicated by the lower incidence of bullying (relative to implicit bias and microaggressions) witnessed and experienced in both settings. The gap between bullying and the other two forms of conduct is clearly narrower at the departmental level than at professional meetings. One explanation for this might be that people try harder to maintain a veneer of civility at professional meetings than in their home environment. But this leads us to ask: If self-vigilance is a quality people can exercise, why do they not elect to do so in their home departments?

The data reported in these tables also indicates that we have drawn responses from, as we had hoped to do, a much wider range of respondents than those marginalized groups that routinely suffer the most. The percentage of responses that involve witnessing these forms of conduct is considerably higher than the percentage of reports related to personal experience of implicit bias, microaggression, and bullying.

## Professional Meetings

Among those who said “yes” to witnessing implicit bias, microaggression, and bullying at professional meetings, we asked, using write-in options, if they would describe the meeting and/or incident. The APSA annual meeting was cited most frequently in response to these questions. For example, in the case of microaggression, 33 people responded to the question inviting them to name the meetings, of whom 27 definitively mentioned APSA meetings and one person said they were unsure if it was at the APSA. Some of the other meetings specifically mentioned are the Midwest Political Science Association (PSA), Canadian PSA, Northeastern PSA, and the International Studies Association. One respondent said this happens “anyplace near alcohol or in elevators at the MPSA meetings.” A total of 19 people responded when invited to mention the type of meeting in relation to their own experiences of being the subject of implicit bias at professional meetings. APSA was explicitly mentioned in almost half (9 of 19) responses. Other meetings cited on implicit bias include MPSA and ISA (again) and also the Southern PSA and the College Humanities Association Conference.

We now summarize some of the descriptive commentary received from respondents using write-in options.<sup>9</sup> A range of respondents talked about witnessing or experiencing pervasive sexism and misogyny at professional meetings. This form of oppression can take many forms. Some include the following, in no particular order of salience, and at a high level of generality:

- Women not being addressed by their proper titles on panels
- Women being interrupted more than men
- Women (particularly, but not exclusively, younger women) and women’s scholarship (all ages) being treated in a disparaging manner
- Hostile questioning of female panelists
- Failure to call on women in the audience with raised hands
- Pervasive sexual harassment ranging from inappropriate touching to sexual advances
- Women being patronized, condescended to, disrespected
- Abbreviated mentions of accomplishments compared to those of male colleagues from prestigious institutions

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<sup>9</sup> At least one respondent observed that if the survey had indicated early on that we were inviting qualitative data of this kind using write-in options, they would have elected to complete the survey on their computer, as opposed to, presumably, their phone. We think this insight is very valuable and as such would like to mention that the qualitative responses we received might have been more elaborate than those collected using the current survey design.

Here are some examples of specific responses:

- Feminist scholarship described as “claptrap”
- Assumptions made about women’s interest in caring for children “and the types of women who would leave their kids at home or not love changing diapers, etc.—the women at the conference”
- A female award-winning scholar being told: “Oh, I guess I will have to read your work now”
- Female scholar being told by male panel chair/discussant that “she is incompetent and should reconsider her career”
- Dismissal of scholarship ostensibly lacking in “formal methods” while exhibiting a “sneering kind of toxic masculinity”
- On panels, a “racialized and gendered devaluation of contributions of women of color thinkers in Political Theory”
- One person “looked into filing sexual harassment charges against a senior colleague on the basis of his sexist, vulgar, demeaning words to a graduate student” (on a panel)

Respondents also exhibited widespread concerns about the treatment of racial minorities at professional meetings. These concerns include, in no particular order of salience, and at a high level of generality:

- Implicit bias in discussions surrounding race (in general), Black politics (in particular), and affirmative action
- Dismissive attitudes toward scholars of color
- Accent discrimination
- Discrimination based on national origin

One scholar of color reported feeling made invisible by white colleagues in the “lobby and panel interactions” at APSA meetings and reported listening to white colleagues “discuss their concerns about the “direction” of the discipline due to the rise in “these subfields like REP [Race, Ethnicity, and Politics] etc.” A white male respondent talked about a white male scholar’s “derogation of another member (a black man) on the basis of race—suggesting that the prominent black scholar was either ‘overrated’ or a ‘fraud.’” Another respondent, who has a degree from an elite institution, talked about being implied to that they were “only a diversity hire.” One person reported on the spurious assumption they have encountered that “URM [underrepresented minorities] identifying folks [invariably] work on URM related research.”

At least one respondent reported being asked “not to act like a certain ethnic group.” One immigrant scholar reported having an experience where they had “two star professors grill [them] about [their] ethnic origins explaining that [the two professors] were debating what part of the region that [the respondent is] from. [The respondent is] not from the region at all.” Another reported that they had the experience of white male colleagues interrupting their presentation and then at least one person in the audience proceeding to say “I don’t get it; why should we care[?]” when discussing Black politics. One political scientist, who works on political violence, reported that he has been accused of “being sympathetic to terrorists” because he is pacifist and writes critically about all armed politics. He says: “[It’s] hard not to see this as a type of projection based on my appearance as a dark skinned, bearded man.”

Others reported on:

- Being told that they a “nice accent”
- Having one’s quote used, unattributed, and then have the quote misconstrued in one’s presence
- Being verbally attacked because one was Jewish; etc.

Scholars who identify as LGBTQ+ and scholars whose work relates to sexuality and politics report similar patterns of dismissive and demeaning behavior from others. We reproduce one excerpt here with identifying markers redacted:

In [year redacted] at [RI], I heard XX refer to “The Turd World.” Giving a paper around [year redacted], a member of the audience rushed the table and called me a “pervert.” More subtly, reviewers for any number of professional journals referred to the study of LGBTQ+ politics as “not political science.” The Book Review Editor of XX, ...[year redacted] said that my [elite university] Press book, “XX,” was not worthy of a review in XX. He subsequently became President of APSA. About five years later, a graduate student at an Ivy League university with whom I co-authored, interviewed at [an elite institution]. A very famous member of their department called me and said, “Tell me, XX, is he just interested in gay stuff or is he really a political scientist?” He, too, became President of APSA. More recently, the editor of [XX]s refused to send out a paper I co-authored on LGB voting in the [year redacted] presidential election for review, writing that the topic was not fit for the journal because the topic was not relevant to the study of gender and politics.

Others report witnessing, at professional meetings:

- Overtly critical, disparaging, and intimidating remarks, particularly directed toward those are relatively powerless, including finger wagging, threatening comments, personal attacks, and other forms for non-collegial behavior
- Demeaning or prejudiced remarks about lower-income and working-class people
- Junior colleagues being “berated” by senior colleagues
- Humiliation of presenters
- Inappropriate comments about appearance and clothing
- Insensitivity toward “how others interpret what [people] say”
- Extreme forms of elitism that privilege R1 and Ivy League institutions and demean others; one reported that they are treated dismissively because “[their] PhD is from SUNY Albany”
- Widespread adoption of a cultural norm that devalorizes and inferiorizes women, scholars of color, and graduate students
- Attitude that disregards non-Canadian experience
- Inappropriate remarks regarding the (presumed or real) age of colleagues [both younger and older]
- Jokes about the quality of people’s work that are intended to intimidate
- Dismissal of methodological orientations or epistemological approaches that do not conform to positivism or “formal methods”
- Attitudinal bias in who gets called on, and who gets interrupted during, panels

A number of our colleagues used phrases to indicate that there were simply too many examples they were aware of to cite everything on a survey of this nature. These phrases include: “and on and on,” “I could go on,” “Among other examples,” “and I could give many many more [examples],” “too many to list,” “almost to [sic] rampant to identify a single example,” and so on.

One respondent reported feeling uncomfortable at APSA, which they think is a “large yet cliquish conference” because of their “ethnicity, gender, accent, even because of [their] field (political theory) and because of [their] position (at a liberal arts college).” Another respondent reported being told that they were “excluded” (from an undisclosed activity) because they were a

grad student and later learned that a “male grad student was included.” Respondents also mentioned the experiences of being “yelled at” over email, being told that one’s field of work (political theory) was “worthless,” one’s supervisor being mocked, and one having to listen to a discussion that included statements to the effect that students from one’s department “would never get work.”

## **Departmental Experience**

A similar pattern is discernible among responses to questions on implicit bias, microaggression, and bullying, at a departmental level. One respondent talks about a department chair, who controls the agenda, pursuing topics containing implicit bias. Another reports on departmental colleagues refusing to use “they” as a pronoun and claiming they were “over all of this politically correct stuff.” One scholar of color reported that there were too many traumatic experiences to recount. They also added: “Imagine a department in a major metropolitan area that has gone out of its way for decades to make sure the dept was only (and then majority) white men.” Other respondents reported, in no particular order of salience, and at a high level of generality, the following:

- Pervasive examples of anti-Semitism, anti-Black bias, anti-Asian bias, other forms of racism
- Sexism and misogyny ranging from comments about women’s attire to grade deflation as retaliation against non-reciprocity of sexual advances
- Verbal hostility (usually, but not always, from male faculty members) ranging from snide and sarcastic remarks to talking over someone, browbeating, and outright yelling
- Senior colleagues demeaning and berating junior colleagues
- Unsubstantiated accusations and harassment

More specific examples include, again, in no particular order of salience:

- Graduate students being told political theory is not “really” political science
- A Pakistani student being asked to “go back” to Pakistan
- Female faculty member “chided” by male chair for wanting to avail herself of parental/maternity leave
- A scholar being told that they have “a nice accent that does not affect the way [they communicate] in class”

- Faculty member telling “a minority graduate student that they...would never successfully complete and defend their dissertations, so they should quit the program”
- Graduate student (on admissions committee) facing retaliatory action from professors in the department for asking for inclusion of underrepresented minorities in the accepted pool of graduate students
- Female chancellor who will not promote women into leadership roles
- Assumption at meetings that men would “use parental leave to work toward tenure” and that “women on parental leave might fall behind”
- White female instructor “[trying] to declare expertise on the topic” of diversity while putting down a woman of color instructor who was giving a talk on the same subject
- Graduate students being bullied into “keeping certain faculty members on or off their thesis/dissertation committee”
- Shouting during faculty meetings, and “harassment of junior faculty, toxic work environment cultivated by ‘big name’ scholars”
- Junior faculty member being told by senior faculty member that they have to pick sides and are either with or against the senior faculty member
- Graduate student being told that “[they] should not listen to [their] Black advisor”
- Being threatened with tenure denial
- Graduate student given a failing grade on comprehensive exam and told that she was not sufficiently deferential to authority
- Use of coded language to demean someone on the basis of regional origin and religious background
- Pervasive culture of comments about class, immigration status, gender identity, sexual orientation, and parental status
- Administrative support staff hiding the job application of openly gay candidate
- Hiring committees overlooking applications from scholars of color for arbitrary reasons
- Remarks about how one “should not be ‘pushed into’ looking carefully at nonwhite candidates”

- Critically describing the work of “minority scholars [as] value-laden rather than scientific”
- Denial of promotion to female Hispanic faculty member
- Female candidate being told that it was likely that she would be “too expensive” to be hired
- Peer bullying among graduate students
- Research drawing upon the work of scholars from the Global South characterized as not “real political science”
- “Sexist misallocation” of higher teaching load to women than men
- Exclusion of women from meetings
- Interlocutor, having met Black male scholar’s wife and only child, repeatedly asking how many children he has, leading to the scholar feeling as though “some sexual, cultural stereotype” was being applied to him
- Statements about ethnicity of administrators and their appropriateness for the job they hold
- Routine references to women as teachers and men as scholars
- Recurring pattern of female faculty members organizing departmental functions (food ordering, setting up, etc.) while the “men show up and eat”
- Assumptions among colleagues that a white male faculty member has a particular opinion because of his racial and gender identity and not because of “good, free-standing reasons, reasons that still withstand scrutiny even after checking for social position”
- Discomfort on the part of many at a job candidate’s working-class background manifested during a discussion of “how many current professors are children of educators”
- Full professor’s comment (in [year redacted]) about a newly hired (Black) Africanist: “Prof. X is just back from Africa where he studied people swinging from the trees or whatever they do there”
- Faculty members discussing “a disability (a speech tic) as a reason to not hire somebody”

One respondent reported on the following occurring in their department: “changing personnel file, lying about accommodation request, lying to committees about faculty member's record, coordinated acts of discrimination and retaliation that were substantiated in federal court litigation.” Another talked about an instance of bullying taking the form of the subject characterizing their own policy position as “the ‘proper’ progressive response.” This had the effect of silencing others. At least one other respondent also complained about a culture of silence where senior faculty members who could easily speak up against inequities refused to do so.

Sometimes race and gender intersect in unusual ways that lead to feelings of mutual hostility. Here is one example of such a phenomenon:

I listened to a male colleague (who is Black) complain to another male colleague that I was not supportive, friendly enough, that I did not smile at him. Compared me to other females in the department who were “nice ladies, more matured,” sent a note to the faculty senate protesting my election as an interim department chair (after he voted for me!) because I lacked the “moral character to be a leader,” referred to me as Madam chair. In a mediating session, I was asked if I could be “nicer” to him because he said it was more pleasant for him if he was greeted with a smile. He also told the male chair he was a bad leader because he refused to tell me to smile at him. That colleague literally repeated, “you want me to tell a female colleague to smile at you?” Answer: yes. And the mediator (a woman) asked if I could do that to help ease tensions.

The subjects of our inquiry—implicit bias, microaggression, and bullying—inevitably trigger a variety of different emotional responses (and coping mechanisms) among those who have been the victims—and the survivors—of these forms of conduct. One said, for example, “Like many people, I pick my battles, both for my peace of mind and not to jeopardize my career prospects. Also, by strategically avoiding people and situations where these incidents are likely to occur. By ‘whistling Vivaldi.’ ”

Data from the elite interviews in our study yielded insights similar to those catalogued above.<sup>10</sup> One interviewee remembers a [redacted] workshop that she attended: “I left that workshop feeling as though some women were all but being raped in the context of their department ... I was in shock [to find out] the extent [to which] they were being physically harassed.” Another interviewee recalled a recent APSA survey that indicated that roughly one-third of the respondents had experienced some form of sexual harassment during the previous four APSA annual meetings (cf. Sapiro and Campbell 2018).

One of the interviewees also recalled an incident that took place when she was in graduate school. She was enrolled in a comparative politics seminar populated mostly by male graduate students. In addition to this interviewee, there were two other women in the seminar. During one class session, one of the male students casually remarked that [a senior (in terms of rank) woman

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<sup>10</sup> The interviews were held after the survey concluded. However, our interview participants, who are members of the task force, did not have access to the data collected on the survey before the interviews were conducted.

political scientist] had been included on the syllabus “because she was a woman.” This remark then led to boisterous laughter from everyone (including the professor) except the women in the room. One interviewee noted that she had worked in a political science department that ended up having a gender audit, which was conducted by members of the university community who were external to the department. She also reported on a particular political science department’s success at combating some of the problems we are investigating here. According to her, at one point a few years ago female members of this department decided to form a caucus and ended up successfully engaging in strategic mobilization aimed to move toward gender equity. Unfortunately, however, while such solidarity might have great potential for reform, not everyone has access to this kind of a platform. In addition to that, occupying an intersection of identities renders some scholars more vulnerable than others.

As a case in point, one of our interviewees invoked the vital need of understanding how race, class, gender, and other identities not only intersect but also do so in extremely context-dependent ways which, in turn, determine experience. This respondent, a female scholar of color, spoke about her self-recognition of the privilege she comes from as well as her relatively high level of self-esteem. This combination of attributes frequently enables her to stand up to and resist unfair demands on her time and other forms of discrimination, such as the imposition of disproportionate service burdens.

Nevertheless, she also spoke, as a general matter, about the fact that women of color, particularly Black women, are more likely to experience unduly abrasive conduct. As she put it, she has not seen “too many white men give white women the ‘smackdown.’” And this is not all. For this respondent, in the event when such things do happen, white women frequently have the luxury of being able to allow themselves to publicly cry. Women of color, on the other hand, routinely must fight yet another, internal battle in order to prevent themselves from shedding tears in public. She said, with gut-punching conviction: “You ain’t goin’ see *me* cry!”

### Additional Findings and Final Thought

While our findings are quite consistent with the literature in terms of who are the most frequent perpetrators and victims of implicit bias, microaggression, and bullying, we also note some exceptions. For example, some responses to our survey indicate that suffering is experienced not only by victims but also by (inadvertent) perpetrators of some of these forms of oppression. Thus, some respondents made admissions of their own implicit bias or spoke of remorse that they have experienced upon realizing that they have these biases. Others reported on their colleagues’ remorse about their own conduct and their readiness to make course corrections.

Equally, while it is true that much of these kinds of behavior and attitudes emanate from male colleagues, to be sure, as some respondents have suggested, women might also exhibit sexist conduct. For example, one person reported that a female faculty member on at least one occasion sent out an email to “all of the men in the department (and only the men) about cleaning the microwave.” Another respondent shared their view that “mansplaining” and “old white guys” are demeaning phrases, while recognizing both that their view is “not widely shared” as well as that

the phrases are “common parlance in our discipline.” Here is a more specific remark that elaborates on this idea:

Dismissing or indicating impatience (tapping fingers, looking at watch, loud sighs) when comment [sic] are made by older males in the department. Sometimes, explicit statements that certain "old white guys" need to "just sit down and shut up" and no response or objections are made to these comments.

We could end this report here. Yet we wish to provide an excerpt from one respondent that we find to be a particularly thought-provoking critique:

American political scientists really are a parochial, backward bunch. Not sure what purpose revisiting all these incidents serves but if you didn't know how problematic the discipline is before, you really should just talk to any minority scholar about their time in top departments. I've been successful but I know too many of URM scholars who left the discipline altogether because of their treatment at the hands of top faculty. The discipline really seems to value minority scholars only when they do work that fits existing approaches and refuses to challenge any of the dominant paradigms .... Maybe next time target the powers that be in the discipline and ask why they engage in policing, shaming, and shunning minority scholars? Or just ask them how many Black or Brown scholars they've advised, collaborated with or hell, had dinner within the past year? Probably better than this approach that seems to promise reform if we offer testimony about how we survive in this hostile space.

We wish to underscore the importance of this response. The next step in addressing the issues highlighted is to explore the factors underlying the continuation of what is widely recognized as wrong and harmful. Why has so little happened in correcting these widespread phenomena? What has stood in the way of reform? The ethical thing to do for APSA at this juncture is to establish a task force or some other entity that would inquire into why a culture of apathy exists and persists surrounding these issues. The APSA should also create a mechanism that facilitates and encourages department chairs and other leaders in the discipline to report on, and act against, these forms of conduct, as well as hold chairs and leaders accountable when they do not comply.

## **Exclusion and Disproportionate Service for Women Academics and Faculty of Color in Political Science**

### **Introduction**

This report focuses on exclusion and disproportionate service burdens faced by women academics and faculty of color in political science. We provide an overview of existing literature before turning to new challenges and unique burdens created by COVID-19 and the massive, multi-location street protests that followed George Floyd's murder. We offer recommendations to meet major challenges, given the impacts of these extraordinary events and the need to raise colleagues' awareness of exclusion and disproportionate service. We spotlight the impacts of the

pandemic and the current wave of protests to advance equity goals and move beyond a review of extant literature while adopting an intersectional frame. Our work aims to inform provosts, deans, directors, and other institutional actors who have publicly acknowledged the need for documenting structural inequities and investing in high-impact, long-term solutions. If the discipline wishes to diversify its membership, understanding the experiences of exclusion and disproportionate service that result in negative outcomes for women academics and faculty of color is central to that end goal (Alexander-Floyd 2008, 2015; Sinclair-Chapman 2015). We turn now to an in-depth discussion of our two main organizing topics: exclusion and disproportionate service burdens for women academics and faculty of color.

## Exclusion

We proceed with the understanding that exclusion is pervasive and impedes the recruitment, advancement, and retention of women and people of color with academic careers in political science. Here, we define exclusion as an experience in which women academics and faculty of color are deemed illegitimate members of the academy, and thus their scholarship and service are devalued by their colleagues and other institutional actors through formal hierarchies and informal processes (Settles et al., 2020). Exclusion can take many forms and can occur at the interpersonal and institutional level through the lack of recognition. For example, one of the ways faculty are made to feel excluded is when their accomplishments are either overlooked or downplayed, absent written or online announcements, promotion or tenure decisions, and merit raises. This kind of exclusion is compounded by the fact that they often find themselves unaware of unspoken rules and lacking in social interactions with their colleagues, given that professional information is often communicated over lunch or coffee on and off campus in informal settings (Settles et al. 2020; Sinclair-Chapman 2015). To be sure, these opportunity networks are not universally accessible, a pattern that could be exacerbated by the fact that women academics and faculty of color are far less likely to be asked by their colleagues to perform high-prestige service. Indeed, they are more frequently asked to perform less prestigious, time-consuming service that slows research productivity, resulting in a lower number of total career articles in print and fewer years of administrative experience (Flaherty 2017; Guarino and Borden 2017; Teele and Thelen 2017; Alter et al. 2020). Such “token” service is a hindrance to their career advancement in the profession due to both the number of activities and amount of time spent on them (Flaherty 2017; Mitchell and Hesli 2013).

The dearth of women academics and faculty of color within higher academic ranks, especially at the full professor level, makes it less likely they would be asked by their colleagues to serve as department head or to lead academic programs. Yet they are still made to feel excluded when they are not put forward for promotion to full professor; not selected for department head, program director, or committee chair; and not asked to collaborate on large grants (Alexander-Floyd 2008; Mitchell and Hesli 2013). People who serve in high-prestige administrative roles like department head or committee chair are critical in determining what scholarship and types of service are deemed valuable and merit recognition, establishing the disciplinary norms for evaluation, setting the standards around the quantity and quality of publications (as determined

by citation counts, impact factor scores, rejection rates, the h-index, and rankings). Additionally, program directors or chairs of colloquium committees decide whom to invite for talks, webinars, or mini-conferences and symposia. These invitations not only add to faculty members' curriculum vitae, but also provide an opportunity to network with other scholars and meet new collaborators, as well as get valuable feedback on their scholarship. Research has shown that all these roles and speaker invitations are disproportionately filled by men, and most often white men. If there are fewer women academics and faculty of color at higher academic ranks, then fewer of them are available to do service required at the associate and full professor levels. Thus, white men come to be viewed as those who rightfully belong in positions of power and authority by virtue of their visible presence and their availability to perform such service roles versus their actual ability to fulfill the duties and responsibilities tasked by them (Alexander-Floyd 2015).

Being overlooked for such professional opportunities limits the ability of women academics and faculty of color to wield similar influence and acquire the experience necessary to assume administrative positions outside their department, resulting in inequitable systems of institutional power on all levels at the university and within the discipline, as evidenced by our professional associations and by their absence from leadership positions and honorific appointments (Alter et al. 2020). Studies indicate that women academics and faculty of color persistently experience the academic climate as plagued with selection bias, reporting a sense of invisibility and presumed incompetence (Alexander-Floyd 2015; Lavariega Monforti and Michelson 2020).

The research further suggests that accountability measures promote greater racial and gender parity more so than networked and decentralized selection processes, where bias often goes unchecked and perpetuates male status-dominance (Samuels and Teele 2021). Take, for example, the role of journal editors and editorial board members in this evaluative process. Serving in an editorial position is one measure of senior-level advancement and success, given that journal editors and editorial board members are selected based on their scholarly reputations as academicians with the ability to use their social and professional networks to solicit journal submissions and remedy the gaps in submission rates, address implicit biases in citation practices, and increase impact factor scores (Dion and Mitchell 2019). Those in editorial positions, who seek to improve the quality of their publications, have come to recognize the need to utilize accountability measures and report of metrics at annual board meetings. These reports are evidence based, data-driven, and track subscriptions, article usage and sales, turnaround times, and editorial decisions. They provide insights into research areas where voids exist, shining a critical spotlight oftentimes on the leaky pipeline in terms of faculty rank, gendered patterns of co-authorship and submission rates, as well as citation counts that benefit male authors in specific subfields. The data derived from accountability measures is intended to generate extensive debate between and among editorial board members, inform long-term performance goals, become the basis for effective strategies that could be directly linked to improved outcomes—perhaps remedying the perception that a journal may not publish certain topics or that implicit bias exists on the part of their external reviewers. (See, for example, Teele and Thelen 2017; Flaherty 2018; Brown and Samuels 2018; Samuels 2018; Peterson 2018; König and Ropers 2018; Nedel and Nexon 2018; Tudor and Yasher 2018).

As we consider the presence, or lack thereof, of women academics and faculty of color in these roles as editors and members of editorial boards, we must also acknowledge that the longstanding scenario has given way to an all-women editorial board at *APSR* (including several women of color), two women lead editors at *AJPS* (with a range of women and scholars of color on the editorial board), and a woman scholar of color as lead editor (with a range of women and scholars of color on the editorial board) at *PGI*. Now we turn to external grants, which have become yet another measure of senior-level advancement and success. An increasingly integral factor in maintaining programs and funding graduate students, external grants have become another source of exclusion for women academics and faculty of color who publish in specialized journals and perform otherwise qualitative or multimethod as well as applied research perceived as “niche” and less suitable for more generalist, higher-ranked journals (Key and Sumner 2019). Research agendas or topics of study have a profound effect on career outcomes as they determine the likelihood of having a tenure-track job, publications in peer-reviewed and top-ranked journals, collaboration opportunities with colleagues and mentors, papers accepted to conferences, and external funding from granting agencies (Key and Sumner 2019). Those who adopt more conventional or quantitative methods and publish on mainstream topics in high-impact journals are more likely to secure large external grants versus those who raise the profile for new or marginalized areas of research, such as race, ethnicity, and politics (REP). The former is more highly valued than the latter in their department and given a pass when it comes to service-heavy leadership that involves leading and generating sub-field status, which suggests that trailblazing efforts do not necessarily contribute to greater individual status or translate to recognition as a top scholar (Alter et al. 2020).

It is not simply a question of the dollar amount that comes to symbolize a yardstick of sameness and reflects male status dominance in external grant attainment, but also the source of support that connotes scholarly influence and prestige. For example, the list of renowned granting agencies and foundations includes, but is not limited to, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, Ford Foundation, Carnegie Cooperation, MacArthur Foundation, National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), National Institutes of Health (NIH), National Science Foundation (NSF), Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, Russell Sage Foundation (RSF), Spencer Foundation, and Woodrow Wilson Foundation. The grant advantage then creates an imbalance in service demands and results in a shortage of faculty who are either available or qualified to perform the care labor necessary to maintain the day-to-day operations of the department.

Such a taken-for-granted university norm as grant attainment appears gender and race neutral, but instead has a systemic effect that produces structural inequalities by exacerbating faculty service commitments, especially in terms of student teaching, advising, and mentoring. There is a transfer of service to other faculty who lack seniority and are less free to “just say no” when required courses must be taught and other needs of the department must be met, making this kind of service essential and *not* optional or under faculty control (Pyke 2011). It creates a powerfully coercive dynamic whereby junior faculty, who are disproportionately women and people of color, are less able to decline service requests when asked by a higher-ranked, senior colleague

or administrator to fulfill essential needs of the department. In this case, the department can play a critical role in producing, maintaining, and reproducing power hierarchies within and through organized routines and practices, given the division of labor and specialization of committees.

The fact that women academics and faculty of color are overused in service roles and as teaching and advising mentors should not be overlooked. Senior, mostly white male colleagues who devote more time to research (due to course buyouts and research leaves procured by their grants) criticize the very faculty who have assumed this burden on their behalf and whose resentment they might incur for doing so. It goes without saying that this classic double-bind situation for women academics and faculty of color makes visible hierarchal arrangements that have profound effects. It influences interactions among colleagues, as well as their perceptions of one another as active researchers versus “workhorses” within the department. It also contributes to the slower career advancement of women academics and faculty of color.

Now we turn our attention to other conditions that create service differentials in what some refer to as “institutional housekeeping,” for which women academics and faculty of color are overrecruited and perform a disproportionate share at the department, college, university, and disciplinary levels.

### Disproportionate Service Burdens

Service is a necessary and critical component of faculty members’ jobs. All faculty members, especially those who are tenured, are expected to take on their respective service load in support of the department, college, university, and discipline. One could argue that it is through service that much of the bureaucratic work at the university is accomplished, yet often this labor is not highly valued or rewarded by more senior, higher-ranked colleagues or administrators. One can define service in a narrow sense in terms of formal roles on department and university-wide committees. Given the low numbers of women academics and faculty of color and their concentration in junior ranks, they often serve above their skill level as the most junior and least experienced member of committees with heavy or specialized workloads—for example, graduate admissions and faculty search committees. This is in addition to the labor in which they are emotionally and personally invested because they envision themselves as change agents and wish to alter the institution. The service burden is especially weighty for women academics and faculty of color, who at every rank are outnumbered, and the need for diversity and fair representation on committees makes it more difficult to decline requests.

Here we offer a holistic view of service that includes activities that are most valued and easily made legible on a person’s curriculum vitae, result in publications, and lead to grants as well as social networking opportunities and other scholarly achievements. We also identify those activities that are less valued and hardly visible on annual merit reports or curricula vitae because they are low-status and high-service positions, offering limited individualized benefits. We do so because the service cast in this latter way, as elective and undeserving of reward or remuneration, disproportionately falls on women academics and faculty of color.

It is not new to claim disproportionate service burdens and raise related questions about fairness when the service is not viewed on equal terms. Yet the claim and questions require explicit, open, and emphatic acknowledgement: Only then can we begin to recast the projection of status within the discipline and remedy the disparities existing in many forms of recognition, including honorific appointments that signify leadership and eminence. On top of well-documented assertions that departments, colleges, and universities are fraught with insult and degradation, a significant body of literature reveals the ways in which members of the professoriate, especially women academics and faculty of color, are overrepresented on committees that involve more service than prestige and that advance neither salaries nor academic careers (Alter et al. 2020; Nair 2018; Mitchell and Hesli 2013; APSA 21st Century Report 2011; Anonymous and Anonymous 1999). Take, for example, this APSA task force report on systemic inequality. Carefully researching and synthesizing, as well as assessing written text of considerable length, to advance an account of exclusion and disproportionate service burdens takes considerable time and is less highly regarded than a valued publication comprised of original research that counts toward tenure and promotion and for which faculty are rewarded with merit pay, such as a university press book, a peer-reviewed journal article, or even a book chapter.

At the same time, and no less importantly, we conduct the work here as two women of color—one Latina and one African American—at the ranks of associate and full professor, respectively, at major research-intensive universities. Being asked to serve in this capacity increases our sense of obligation, given the small pool of women with said backgrounds at these ranks in the discipline. This fact constrains our ability to say no, especially when we are mindful of the pervasive and persistent underrepresentation of women like ourselves in the discipline and while knowing that the experiences of exclusion and disproportionate service detailed here are not mitigated by our seniority or administrative posts as committee chairs or program directors.

By casting ourselves as preferable descriptive representatives who act as change agents in the profession, we make a calculated choice to commit to the kind of intensive service labor rendered invisible by our departments and universities (Dovi 2002). Our willingness to incur the costs to advance the interests of women academics and faculty of color with whom we share a linked fate is indicative of our commitment to those whose experiences have been overlooked, who have been and continue to be excluded from higher, more senior ranks and who are overrepresented at the lower-level, more junior ranks but whose growing presence could revitalize academic institutions at the levels of leadership and honorific appointments that involve little to no service. Our pursuit of compensatory action can best be understood as a manifestation of willed resistance to the institutional norms and practices we write about, given that it would be more rational and easier for us to abdicate and refrain from investing time and energy in this reform effort.

As suggested, disproportionate service burdens manifest due to the small pool of eligible and qualified candidates, and the desire on the part of administrators and professional associations to organize panels, events, and committees that represent different constituent groups. The dearth of women academics and faculty of color at the associate and full professor levels increases the service burden for those who have successfully moved up in academic rank (Rockquemore and

Laszloffy 2008). In seeking to fulfill service roles, a steady stream of requests will disproportionately affect faculty who are women and people of color. This means that the same handful of people will be asked repeatedly to serve on various committees and to perform certain roles for the department, college, university, and discipline. By contrast, other people, in particular white men, may be less frequently tapped to do such service work as there is a larger number of them in a department, a university, and the profession.

Consider the labor-intensive task of writing promotion letters for junior faculty of color and women academics who are eligible for tenure. This example of the inequitable distribution of service described above disproportionately affects a relatively small pool of senior faculty. Perhaps the most important event in any scholar's academic career is the tenure decision, and only the most senior faculty can perform the task of letter writing as an external reviewer. Being asked relatively often increases feelings of obligation and guilt, such that women academics and faculty of color are reluctant to refuse requests, even when they know they are already saddled with a high service load. Research expectations often dominate the tenure process, with the prestige of a candidate's publication outlets playing a prominent role when files are examined. Senior faculty of color and women academics are therefore aware of the importance of their participation in the process, as possibly remedying certain patterns of inequalities marked by floating standards, and rightly justifying their having an institutionalized voice in determining the decision. Such an observation points to a need for systemic analysis to determine what factors contribute to the denial of tenure for women academics and faculty of color, given the tendency to devalue recommendations offered by reviewers who are also faculty of color or women academics and arguably the most qualified to evaluate the case put before them as specialists in a chosen field.<sup>11</sup>

Another crucial area of service that is often invisible and involves emotional labor is the time spent engaging in mentorship and support of students (Bellas 1999). Women academics and faculty of color are more likely to provide educational, professional, and emotional support for undergraduates and graduate students. They are also more likely to be sought out by students of color and women seeking mentors like themselves, with whom they share similar experiences with institutional dynamics and interpersonal relations that constitute them as subordinate or "other"—that is, a perpetual "outsider-within" in the academy (Hawkesworth 2003; Collins 2000; Lorde 1984). This mentorship process is not limited to one's own department in terms of advising more undergraduate students, supervising additional honors theses, or directing more independent studies. It extends to the college, institution, and discipline through sustained mentoring of graduate students who are persistently less likely to complete graduate degrees, obtain doctorates, and find faculty positions, as well as non-tenure track and junior faculty who are less likely to successfully advance through reappointment, promotion, and tenure (Lavariega Monforti and Michelson 2020; cf. Cohen et al. this Task Force report). There is an incredible amount of work to be done to ensure meaningful support and guidance, given the many kinds of

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<sup>11</sup> This Task Force's working group on tenure and promotion is conducting work relevant to this topic

barriers that reinforce power hierarchies and contribute to the “chilly climate” and “leaky pipeline” in the profession.

Rather than blame women academics and faculty of color for having spent too much time performing the “care work” of mentorship, there must be a dramatic shift in the way we think about this caretaking of the “academic family.” We must amend the current status hierarchies that render these contributions relatively invisible or undervalued; we must, that is, reward those faculty who perform such intensive labor on behalf of students. The academic role of women academics and faculty of color is not limited to the classroom and involves apprenticing many of those who are first-generation college students (Anonymous and Anonymous 1999; Pyke 2011). Also important is the way in which they, as life-transformative educators, help undergraduate and graduate students from underrepresented groups visualize their own professional goals and obtain purposeful employment, competitive merit-based fellowships, legislative internships, and travel grants while developing their social networks and producing prize-recognized scholarship that advance their careers.

Taken together, these observations would seemingly suggest that women academics and faculty of color might seek such gateway appointments as directors of undergraduate or graduate studies to gain greater individual status recognition. While these positions arguably confer status, they are akin to middle-level management and are the most service-heavy appointments that do not confer the greatest career honorifics on the individual holding them. These gateway positions do not translate to high-prestige rewards because they are not based on scholarly achievements, but past performance of having served on lower status committees and having shown prudent judgement in determining collective decisions. Yet, women are more present, and perhaps even over-represented, when it comes to these mid-level positions that involve more service-heavy leadership and depress their research productivity (Alter et al. 2020). Such mid-level leadership positions may not suffice to alleviate disproportionate service burdens based on the aggregate data suggesting that the path to accruing honorific status differs for women academics and faculty of color (Alter et al. 2020; Smooth 2016; APSA 21<sup>st</sup> Century Report 2011; Evans 2007). And so, we have witnessed few gains for women academics and faculty of color in this regard at higher levels of the academic hierarchy as, for instance, plenary speakers at annual meetings, endowed chairs at status-seeking or prestige-peak institutions, and presidents of academic associations.

The significance of exclusion and disproportionate service burdens as matters of systemic inequality cannot be overstated. Consider the impacts of two current events gripping colleges and universities across the United States: George Floyd’s murder and COVID-19. These events should figure prominently in this task force report and command the concern of political scientists. We are convinced that we have the responsibility of highlighting the ways in which exclusion and disproportionate service burdens are related to the outpouring of protests opposed to police brutality; indeed, it would be irresponsible not to do so. The protests in turn coincide with the deadly rise of coronavirus infection rates for high-risk groups with pre-existing conditions and inadequate access to healthcare systems.

The expansion of our work to include these two integral markers of our times enriches, makes more accurate, and completes our accounts of systemic inequalities due to exclusion and disproportionate service, enabling us to identify linkages that may not have been readily seen or understood and to look to the future and make recommendations. It is important to underscore that neither our focus on George Floyd's murder nor our attention to the coronavirus is meant to imply that these topics are the only contemporary examples that afford us contextual evidence to support our claims about exclusion and disproportionate service.

## George Floyd's Murder and 2020 Protests

Numerous studies have demonstrated that women academics and faculty of color not only give higher priority to diversity and inclusion than do their white male colleagues but are also willing to devote considerable time and energy serving on committees that advance equity goals. Although this is a duty conferred upon all of us, the period in the wake of George Floyd's murder amplified and accelerated national conversations about race. This period has culminated in calls for more diverse faculty, as well as other racial initiatives such as changes to curriculum requirements, climate surveys, focus groups or town halls, and symbolic marches and official statements issued by college and university presidents that fail to acknowledge the ethical failings of law enforcement officials but provide links to campus services, diversity and inclusion centers, and anti-Black racism reading lists. Colleges and universities have faced a moment of reckoning with urgent demands for racial justice, involving diversity-related service that puts women academics and faculty of color in the most precarious position if they see themselves as part of a continuum of activism linking other deaths at the hands of police, protests of campuses around the country, and the Black Lives Matter movement. While it is incumbent upon us *all* employed at institutions of higher education to seek a more equitable and anti-racist society, faculty of color have felt obliged to do this work because of the insidious nature of racism on their campuses. Still, it should not be assumed that all faculty of color have such an interest in this work. And, in fact, they may be offended by such an assumption when their interests can presumably be represented by white faculty allies with a commitment to eliminating inequities in the discipline.

Standing in solidarity with those who are marginalized is no easy task when the stakes are high, especially when universities, through their practices and policies, are just as complicit in injustice as police departments and juries that refuse to acknowledge the humanity of people of color. Not only is the labor time-consuming and emotionally exhausting, but it can be especially frustrating when departments and other academic units express outright resistance to elevating the discourse and dealing with the unthinkable: tackling systemic inequalities through such direct action as cluster hiring of faculty of color, especially Black faculty, or scholars whose work focuses on racial and ethnic disparities. While many faculty members have dreamed of such hiring initiatives, the labor involved in serving on these committees is considerable, and more support and attention to quality of life is needed for those involved in the process—namely, women academics and faculty of color, for whom higher job satisfaction, better retention, enhanced productivity, and a better working climate are more difficult to achieve.

Most directly at the department level, this historic moment has resulted in the urgent desire to draft public statements, organize forums, and coordinate diversity workshops that employ such antiracist activists as Robin DiAngelo and Ibram X. Kendi as well as faculty at their own institutions. To respond effectively to the heightened pressure from people in departments, colleges, and universities, as well as across disciplines, we must through the research we publish, the authors we invite to speak, the courses we teach, and the individuals we hire help raise colleagues' awareness and inform successive generations of students entering the workforce that the causes of these seemingly intractable problems are rooted in socio-economic and political systems that entrench and concentrate structural power and privilege in the hands of a few. We must remember that the classroom is a diverse social setting and resembles an incubator for democratic inclusion.

Now more than ever it has become increasingly important for *all* faculty and students to develop and refine skills needed to practice political knowledge and cultural competence, which in no way displaces the collective responsibilities of educational institutions. There is evidence to suggest that faculty of color have experienced role strain, given the heightened demand for this type of diversity-related work. In the service of more democratic ways of thinking about social location and power hierarchies, they inspire others to acknowledge their implication and do something, but this also requires a concerted effort that is shared by deans, directors, and department heads, who influence large numbers of faculty, students, and staff. Absent diverse support networks and a measured approach, faculty of color are likely to feel overwhelmed and experience burnout and other adverse effects because of this diversity-related service and because their lack of formal training in the areas of anti-Black racism and implicit bias leaves them ill-prepared to handle grievances and demands on a university-wide scale for ally training. It is the responsibility of the chief diversity officer to inform such institutional responses.

At the discipline level, a host of new online events about protests, racial justice, and the 2020 American presidential election have emerged since hundreds of thousands of Americans took to the streets, the capitols, the sidewalks, and parks to express dissent with political elites. There is also incredible demand for public intellectual writing, such as op-eds on the above subjects. Race has finally come full circle and become central in our public facing-work in the discipline and our home departments, but much of the labor required of us as faculty of color is substantial and uneven. All this work, no matter how much we may agree it is important, is exhausting, especially when layered on existing forms of exclusion and service burdens in the profession.

In short, the protests that began in May 2020 in response to the murder of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, and others killed at the hands of police have created an urgent need for interpretative labor on the part of faculty of color—that is, to help others within the university, discipline, and community writ large understand state-sanctioned anti-Black violence. This need has disproportionately fallen onto the shoulders of faculty of color, who have committed many evenings and weekends to diversity-related service that simultaneously interferes with their mental health and wellness during a public-health emergency of global concern. They, too, have been coping with the impact of repeated exposure to incidents of police killings in the media—including television and social media—and the rapid spread of the coronavirus in their

communities. While this moment affords them an opportunity to interpret a groundswell of civic participation and activism, as well as its public impact, they seem to emerge as props, to be displayed by the universities that employ them. Other faculty of color have spent considerable time and energy *both* behind the scenes *and* on the front lines engaging in massive organizing of these street-level protests, despite the risk of contracting the coronavirus alongside activists on the ground.

## COVID-19

As part of our ongoing work for the APSA's Task Force on Systemic Inequalities in the Discipline and its working group on climate and context, we deem it just as important to consider the disparate impact of COVID-19 on women academics and faculty of color as we have George Floyd's murder and the 2020 protests<sup>12</sup>. Early data has shown that COVID-19 is adversely affecting women's research productivity, as evidenced by "unusual" and "gendered patterns" of overall submissions according to editors of leading journals in the discipline (Flaherty 2020; Kramer 2020). As stated earlier, women academics and faculty of color, as a group, already juggled more domestic and affective, or emotional labor, prior to the pandemic by taking on more mentoring and service than white men in the profession (Argyle and Mendelberg 2020). For women with multiple roles—be they ethnic, gender, or familial—the coronavirus has exacerbated inequities, making it more difficult to find balance between different kinds of work (research, teaching, mentoring, and service) while at the same time stripping them of what supports they had in place that better equipped them to strike a balance, such as childcare. Take, for example, single-parent households that are often female-headed. The labor involved in meal preparation, helping children with remote learning, caring for the sick and elderly, as well as babies and young children exacts a physical toll. Whereas two-parent households may be able to juggle their schedules to accommodate faculty meetings or online course instruction, a single parent may be forced to choose between missing a faculty meeting or making other arrangements for elder care or childcare. In this case, the single parent may have unequal opportunities to participate in certain faculty activities as compared with others, and there may be a considerable cost to pay (especially if there is a "child-free" departmental culture).

Numerous studies have shown that women and men devote significantly different amounts of time to care giving, as with preschool children or with elderly parents (Jacobs and Winslow 2004). These choices, however, are rooted in work and family arrangements over which life partners and significant others have limited control and to which they must respond in creative, if not satisfying, ways to stymie crises brought about by COVID-19. Understanding the larger contexts in which personal choices and strategies are crafted is necessary before passing judgement or making recommendations that will directly affect how the professoriate looks five to 10 years from now and require measures that go beyond institutional responses to the pandemic that prioritize budgetary imperatives. While work-life balance issues exist for all faculty members, it can have deleterious effects on the careers of women academics, especially

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<sup>12</sup> See the APSA Presidential Task Force Statement on COVID-19's Implications for Personnel & Career Matters: <https://www.apsanet.org/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=qYStw7OPMkk%3d&portalid=54>.

mothers of young children and faculty of color with aging parents or sick partners at the height of a pandemic when public-health measures intrude on research. The devaluation and classification of this type of care work at home as a gendered, racialized, and classed category of labor has resulted in the lack of institutional prioritization by higher-up administrators who favor austerity measures over systems of support as a response to the pandemic due to the drop in student enrollments and the absence of room-and-board payments. Because women academics and faculty of color are typically paid less than their white male colleagues and single parents have fewer economic resources and support options (Mason, Wolfinger, and Goulden 2013; Mitchell and Hesli 2013; Guarino and Borden 2017), they will have a harder time coping with capitalist imperatives to impose furloughs, cancel merit raises, reduce salaries, extend budget cuts, and suspend matching contributions to retirement accounts.

The growing demand for more web-based instruction and online communication makes it increasingly difficult to set clear boundaries in our academic lives. As we move from classrooms to living rooms and personal home offices, more or less time is spent on research between weekdays and weeknights, the working week and weekends, holidays, and vacations, etc. Prior to the pandemic, researchers found that professors worked on average more than 50 hours a week regardless of institution type and at all ranks, based on data from a national survey of post-secondary faculty in the United States (Jacobs and Winslow 2004). It is reasonable to assume that since the pandemic faculty work hours have increased immeasurably to move classes to hybrid and online, accompanied by equally substantial changes in the allocation of roles and responsibilities at home, posing a catch-22 for women academics and faculty of color when research productivity counts most toward career advancement and new work-family crises have emerged due to the pandemic, such that wives perform a larger share of the parenting and domestic tasks in heterosexual marital arrangements and people of color are more likely to experience increased anxiety and stress because of the higher rates at which their families become infected and develop serious complications or die from COVID-19 (Jackson and Pederson 2020; Misra, Lundquist, Templer 2012). Women academics and faculty of color are among the hardest hit and least able to rebound from the disparate impacts of this pandemic, as they face intense pressures to juggle a myriad of faculty responsibilities to ensure tenure and promotion at work and meet unrealistic expectations to fulfill domestic duties at home.

While we focus on women academics and faculty of color, we understand that caregiving is not a woman's issue alone and this pandemic will be experienced differently by men who provide co-equal parenting and those who occupy intersectional space—such as same-sex couples and individuals with disabilities. We do not suggest that everyone is equally vulnerable and avoid making false equivalencies during this extreme care-giving period. Crosscutting pressures to engage in “intensive mothering” while simultaneously teaching online classes are experienced in intensely personal ways, and research productivity—a precondition for advancement—is compromised at the same time.

Enduring ongoing caretaking and social distancing, as well as the fear and suffering associated with heightened, disaster-related factors such as economic instability, family violence, and coronavirus-related deaths, many women academics—especially Black women academics—have

come to accept the expectation that they neglect themselves to support children, parents, and extended family members, and do so in isolation with the depletion of existing support networks (Beauboeuf-Lafontant 2009; Jackson and Pederson 2020). Black women are especially vulnerable to chronic psychological stress, a result of early health deterioration and the cumulative impact of their persistent, high-effort coping with systemic inequality as they strive to put others at ease and counteract negative stereotypes of themselves (Geronimus et al. 2006; Michelson and Lavariega Monforti 2020; Alexander-Floyd 2015). The belief that Black women are tireless, deeply caring, and invulnerable has helped maintain exploitative hierarchal arrangements at home and in the workplace (Beauboeuf-Lafontant 2009), while contributing to negative health outcomes and such pre-existing conditions as diabetes, hypertension, and heart disease that make the coronavirus more deadly (Simien 2020). Some of these systemic factors associated with George Floyd's murder and the coronavirus may be beyond the scope and control of departments, colleges, and universities, and even the profession. Still, we comment on them here in relation to exclusion and disproportionate service burdens and offer a list of recommendations to counteract their negative impacts on women academics and faculty of color.

### Recommendations for higher education and APSA

To address systemic inequalities in political science, we believe it is necessary to consider several strategies that advance equity goals and address exclusion and disproportionate service burdens, which discourage women academics and faculty of color from entering, remaining, and advancing in academe. When department chairs and senior colleagues are made aware of these challenges, the research suggests that they are more likely to become sensitive to the increased university demands put upon women academics and faculty of color and take steps toward protecting the time of their colleagues by offering course releases or other academic supports like research assistance. Many of the recommendations put forth in the extant literature focuses on faculty recruitment and hiring decisions, the establishment of more family-friendly policies like maternal/paternal leave, and the integrity of the review process for tenure and promotion, as in providing clear expectations and standard guidelines. Our recommendations are inclusive of these topics, but they are couched within a broader context—the 2020 protests and coronavirus pandemic.

Various managerial efforts can be made to contribute to a more supportive, and hospitable departmental climate. For example, chairs can encourage faculty within respective subfields to develop institutional mechanisms that more equitably distribute service on a rotating basis as well as take some independent actions of their own. Chairs could restrict the number of new course preparations in a year, allow faculty to teach courses that complement their ongoing research, and assign teaching loads and schedules that accommodate family or childcare responsibilities. A frequent recommendation includes hiring more women academics and faculty of color, but the structural inequalities in academe cannot be eliminated through cluster hires or adding new courses to the curriculum alone. Rather, all faculty—across race, ethnicity, and gender—should be encouraged to examine the subject matter of their courses and content of their

syllabi in terms of the gender and racial breakdown of authors cited and assigned readings, as well as the climate of their classrooms.

While we support these existing recommendations and suggest that institutions adopt them, we also deem it necessary to identify new recommendations that are specific to the two contextual factors discussed previously—the protests and coronavirus pandemic—that function individually and interactively to perpetuate inequalities in the discipline.

To better support faculty who are facing additional service burdens due to the massive street-level protests, we suggest a host of recommendations:

- The hiring of additional faculty members of color might be without question necessary so that the few existing faculty members of color are not relied on so heavily to do all the diversity-related work, as would be the responsibility of a chief diversity officer, or CDO, if not already employed at the university with a staff and financial resources within each school or college on campus.
- It is also critical to more equitably distribute the service roles related to diversity and inclusion, including among new hires and those white faculty members who aspire to become allies and advance equity goals.
- While in this contemporary moment there is significant interest and demand for programming and teaching on anti-Black racism, institutions should provide additional resources or incentives that would support faculty who wish to revise their course syllabi or offer programs that address these topics. Making sympathetic faculty aware of available funds, competitive awards, teaching center workshops, and technical support could go a long way in terms of aiding faculty members of color who otherwise would be disproportionately burdened by these tasks.

Like the protests that followed the murder of George Floyd, the pandemic reveals the reluctance of federal, state, and local governments to reduce social inequalities and systemic racism with newly created policy measures and additional resources. Whereas the pandemic directs us to explore the institutional tensions and contradictions from inside higher education, our institutions have been reluctant and slow to acknowledge expressed faculty concerns, much less create new policies and allocate critical resources at this unprecedented moment. Such policies would raise colleague awareness and implement meaningful solution-based strategies that prioritize systems of support to alleviate the burdens felt at home for the purpose of retaining women academics and faculty of color at work. Some examples of policies that would provide robust support include

- paid work leave for parents with pressing childcare or elder care needs;
- childcare subsidies;

- flexible class schedules from evening and weekend options, and offering multiple sections of the same course;
- grading and teaching support from an additional teaching assistant;
- alternative work arrangements like shared teaching responsibilities;
- course reductions;
- tenure clock extensions;
- adjustments made to tenure standards (especially in areas that have normally undervalued the contributions made by women academics and faculty of color);
- waiving all nonessential service for departmental or campus-wide committees, even recording departmental meetings so that they can be accessed asynchronously;
- pausing student evaluations for the duration of the pandemic; and
- offering telehealth services among other resources for self-care and optimal safety.

There must be a shift in what administrators, co-workers, partners, and families expect from women academics and faculty of color, particularly during this pandemic, for they deserve to be the focus of family-friendly policies at the university. Institutions have varied in their responses, with some creating ad hoc systems where individual faculty members make a case to their chair or dean, and others developing institutionalized policies. Given the additional emotional, cognitive, and physical labor that has gone unrecognized and uncompensated during this time (Kramer 2020; Scheiber 2020), it is vitally important for systems and policies of support to be institutionalized by higher administrators like deans, provosts, and presidents. So, for example, a self-assessment of service differentials should be administered across and within departments, colleges, and universities, controlling for such determinants as race, ethnicity, gender, marital status, and rank. Department chairs and deans would then become more aware of how service assignments are being allocated. Raising colleague awareness of service loads would enable women academics and faculty of color to accept or decline service requests at the same rates as their fellow colleagues (Flaherty 2017). To reiterate, greater institutional efforts and accountability at the administrative level are needed as the higher-ups ask themselves what they are doing now to support women academics and faculty of color.

It is essential that women academics and faculty of color have information and resources for accomplishing their academic career goals; however, at best, our recommendations only address part of the problem. Navigating the pitfalls of reappointment, tenure, and promotion decisions, as well as grant writing and academic publishing, warrant networks and mentors that provide vitally important information. For example, the Women of Color Workshops sponsored by the APSA every two years (Smooth 2016), the #PSSistahScholar Zoom Meet-Up also sponsored by the APSA, the Mentoring Conference for New Research on Gender in Political Psychology, and the

annual Symposium on the Politics of Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity offer influential professional networks and important mentoring relationships to scholars. The labor-intensive planning and executing such events as mini-conferences, symposia, and meet-ups involves, for instance, organizing sessions from lunches and dinners to receptions and poster sessions. This often results in segregated social and professional networks, but even within some of these environments women academics and faculty of color are a limited number despite this natural division that results in a list of invited speakers and panelists who can serve as role models and attest to the fact that women and people of color do belong in political science.

While systematic data on the questions we raise about exclusion and disproportionate service and other related issues have been difficult to find or collect, the topic warrants empirical investigation and long-term discussion to move toward more inclusive approaches that will remedy the imbalances we have described thus far. Institutions should prioritize collecting regular and systematic data on the impacts of COVID-19, the protests, service, and exclusion on faculty members, specifically women academics and faculty of color. Some institutions have conducted preliminary climate surveys focused on COVID-19 and impacts on faculty, but we are unaware of any surveys that include specific questions related to the killing of George Floyd and street protests. These data would best capture the evidence of multiple impacts, and how faculty members view these challenges as influencing their well-being and career trajectory. Furthermore, any policies that are implemented to provide support could be evaluated by faculty in terms of their efficacy. Another benefit of regular data collection is to facilitate an ongoing conversation between institutions and faculty about how to create a workplace environment that offers robust support, equally balances service loads across faculty, and is inclusive of diverse members. To create such an environment, there must be sustained dialogue, implementation of systems and policies, and periodic reevaluation of those systems and policies to assess if they are still effective and working as intended.

## **Best Practices in Diversifying Political Science**

### **Introduction**

The diversification of the field of political science has been the subject of research for decades, yet equity within the field continues to be a problem for departments and institutions alike. We begin with a brief reminder about the value of diverse and inclusive campus climates. We then review existing scholarship that documents the challenge faced by the discipline—the persistent ways in which political science continues to be a leaky pipeline for women and people of color. Next, we briefly review the large body of research on a variety of documented strategies to mitigate those challenges and create a more inclusive and equitable academic climate. Given the persistence of the problem and the voluminous published research on best practices, how to generate that improved climate is no mystery. Yet, the gap between knowledge and action

persists. It is a gap in investment and action. We close with an exploration of why more departments and institutions have not taken the ample advice available in published research.<sup>13</sup>

## The Value of Diversity

In a review article, Carol Mershon and Denise Walsh (2016) note the positive effects of diversity within a workplace: more effective problem-solving, greater creativity, and more productivity – all central components of the process of intellectual inquiry at the center of political science. Loren Henderson and Cedric Herring (2013) find that departments that implement] a perspective of critical diversity – that actively cultivate an inclusive and diverse staff, both in terms of race and gender—are ranked higher than those that utilize other lenses such as *colorblind diversity* (completely ignoring differences of race and gender) and *snowflake diversity* (purporting that everyone is different in their own way). More specifically, individuals who embrace the concept of snowflake diversity strongly value individualism and focusing on the uniqueness of each person as an individual. Thus, they do not see a need for diversifying a department by gender and/or race (302).

Valeria Sinclair Chapman (2016) argues that for political science to continue to be a relevant field in academia, it must embrace tangible efforts to diversify both at the departmental and institutional level. Otherwise, many academics of color may choose a different field that is more accepting of their identity (the famous leaky pipeline). Beyond political science, a rich scholarship documents the educational benefits of diversity, allowing students to benefit from others' experiences and perspectives. A diverse faculty and staff generate similar benefits, with positive effects on the educational experiences of all students, not just those from historically marginalized communities (Collins and Kritsonis 2006; Fries-Britt et al., 2011).

## The Scope of the Problem

Stories of individual experiences by faculty, specifically that of women of color, are a defining theme in the research surrounding diversity in political science. The two volumes in the books *Presumed Incompetent* (2013) and *Presumed Incompetent II* (2020) bring together a series of essays from women of color in academia on their experiences operating within the profession, including the effects of microaggressions on their physical and mental wellbeing (cf. Ghosh and Wang, this Working Group report). These challenges are not new. In a 2001 article, Gloria Thomas and Carol Hollenshead found that women of color reported much higher rates of discrimination, disrespect, and oppositional barriers than men of color and white men. Paula D. McClain and her colleagues (2016) incorporate a genealogical framework of analysis to explore how the discipline of political science is still shaped by its roots of racism and exclusion. They argue that this racist history continues to affect the content of the discipline, which in turn affects the diversity of those who intellectually operate within it. This history of exclusion and lack of diversity in political science extends beyond gender and race; members of the LGBTQ+

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<sup>13</sup> The authors express their gratitude to Olivia Field, Rasmia Shuman, Michaele Browers, and Carol Mershon for their assistance and feedback on this report.

community and members of other marginalized populations, including Muslim Americans, face similar challenges (Fraga et al. 2011). Racism, sexism, homophobia, and other forms of bias are pervasive and persistent throughout academia, including in political science. Commitment of the time and resources necessary to generate a truly inclusive, diverse discipline requires acknowledgement of historical and contemporary stereotypes and bias, and a willingness to take positive steps to mitigate and reverse their effects.

More recently, Jessica Lavariega Monforti (2012) writes specifically on the experience of Latinas in the discipline of political science, using a survey of Latina faculty. She finds that 51.3 percent reported experiences of discrimination in their departments and institutions because of their identity. This is likely an undercount, given that even larger proportions of respondents said that they had experienced certain specific types of discrimination such as being assumed to be experts in Latin American politics due to their identity. Lavariega Monforti found that other barriers to success within the field included familial and financial obligations. This supplements similar findings from Lavariega and Michelson (2008), who also found these challenges to be greater for Latinas compared to Latino men. First-person perspectives on these challenges and institutional racism have been shared by Nikol Alexander-Floyd (2105), Valeria Sinclair-Chapman (2016), and Wendy Smooth (2016), to name just a few.

Lavariega Monforti and Michelson (2020) use survey and focus-group data from women of color who have attended their mentoring workshops. Their participants have been tokenized by their departments or institutions and are often asked to take on extra service (e.g., helping students or serving on committees) without additional compensation. They feel invisible, are the subject of microaggressions, and report a sense of not belonging to departments that tend to be dominated by white men.

The research documented in this literature review sheds light on the experience of the most marginalized group within academia, women of color, as well as the best practices for institutions and departments to adopt to ensure that they are achieving their diversity and inclusion goals. This includes 1) reforming mentoring to ensure that women and people of color are receiving appropriate support, both financially and emotionally; 2) addressing behaviors and language that can lead to microaggressions and a generally hostile environment, e.g., through online diversity training; and 3) active support from department chairs and administrators. These and other recommendations are clear and recur in multiple pieces of scholarship over time. Yet, a many departments and institutions have not implemented these recommendations by departments and institutions persists. What is stopping academia, and more specifically the field of political science, from working diligently to achieve diversity goals? Is it a problem of will, or of financial resources?

After reviewing and summarizing best practices in hiring, retention, and transforming campus climates, we address the persistent gap between institutional knowledge of what should be done and the clear lack of action among most political science departments. Our conclusions

are based on published work, one-on-one interviews conducted in 2020 by Dr. Wilkinson with administrators and junior and senior scholars, and years of conversations with women of color at all ranks (graduate students, junior and senior scholars, and administrators) conducted as part of the biennial Women of Color in Political Science workshops hosted by Dr. Jessica Lavariega Monforti and Dr. Michelson.

## Best Practices

We focus on two major aspects of diversification in political science: the **best practices for institutions and departments** to employ and the **effect of individual experience** in approaching diversification efforts. The first body of scholarship outlines actions academia can take, both more generally and specifically related to political science, to diversify its faculty. The latter summarizes scholarship that focuses on personal experience, specifically that of women of color. These two bodies of work overlap and are in conversation with one another. Overall, we find significant knowledge exists about how to diversify the field of political science. As noted above, we conclude that the persistent lack of diversity is thus a result of the lack of investment of time and resources rather than a lack of knowledge about how to foster diverse and inclusive campus climates.

Sinclair-Chapman (2016) lists the following general steps that must be taken to diversify political science departments: 1) create and support gender and racial caucuses or affinity groups to develop diversity capacity; 2) use national and regional associations to advocate for diversity, equity, and inclusion efforts; 3) rely upon political science students to serve as allies and present to administration short-term and long-term plans to change the department; 4) solicit support from faculty senate committees; 5) raise the issue of diversity in venues that would normally not address faculty diversity; 6) seek allies in interdisciplinary departments or institutes; 7) obtain buy-in from departmental leaders and ensure that powerful leaders serve on diversity committees; and 8) connect departmental diversity initiatives to the university's larger diversity mission.

Other scholars offer more specific suggestions to diversify hiring and to support women and people of color after they become members of a campus community. We turn now to those best practices.

## Hiring

Darryl Yong and Sumun Pendakur (2017) highlight best practices for increasing diversity via the hiring process. They contend that departments need to establish clear criteria both for candidates and in their definition of diversity, while being mindful that faculty of color are not overrepresented in the work to ensure that these policies are adopted. In order to diversify shortlists and increase diversity in faculty hires, Zhiyu Feng and their colleagues (2020) recommend first separating out candidates that would qualify as a diversity hire (e.g., women and/or people of color) into a separate folder, then asking those making decisions about shortlists to review the folders separately. This generates a natural tendency among those making those

decisions to choose some individuals from each folder, thus diversifying the pool. Meier (2021) offers additional best practices: working to widely advertise postings to diversify your applicant pool, and making your department more attractive to members of historically marginalized groups by implementing curricular changes at the department level (e.g., adding a regular course on race and ethnic politics) or institutional policies that push back against gender inequities, such as paid maternity and family leave policies and free childcare and aftercare (Beckwith 2015). Regardless of how you work to ensure that shortlisted candidates are diverse, choosing to interview a more diverse set of candidates will lead to more diverse hiring choices.

One persistent and recurring finding is that implicit bias continues to affect faculty hiring. Racism, colorism, and racial threat generate an expectation that graduate students who are women or people of color are not as well-qualified as white, male graduate students. Graduate students who are members of marginalized groups persistently experience microaggressions during job interviews. These microaggressions can be unintentional. For example, telling a candidate during a job interview that you recognize that they have had more struggles than others and suggesting that they won't be able to survive at your institution can make the candidate feel like they are not even given a chance to succeed. Another microaggression might be telling a candidate that the department has very high standards and although its other faculty of color got tenure but did not meet these standards, it will hold these high standards for the person who is chosen for the position (making the interviewee feel they are not qualified for position).

Departments and institutions can avoid these situations. When interviewing a job candidate, hiring committees should be mindful of implicit biases and stereotypes that others may have about a candidate. They should avoid saying something like, "We are looking for someone who is collegial and who will get along well with others, not someone who will be divisive." Interviewers can share information about local schools, neighborhoods, and family-leave policies, but they cannot ask the candidate if they are married or have (or plan to have) children. This is not only a sign of implicit bias against women, but it is also illegal. Interviewers should also avoid assuming anything about where the candidate might want to live based on the racial composition or other characteristics of local neighborhoods and how they do or do not complement the candidate's identities. Most importantly, interviewers must ensure that they speak up if a colleague is inappropriate or commits a microaggression (or is blatantly sexist/racist/etc.) in front of the candidate or during the hiring process.

Cultivating a more inclusive, diverse faculty through hiring is a long-term project. Departments should commit to 10-year plans with multiple markers of progress along the way (e.g., at the one-year, five-year, and end points). When writing the job advertisement, be attentive to how it might be phrased to be more attractive to candidates from historically marginalized groups. Once the advertisement is finalized, cultivate a diverse pool of applicants by reaching out directly to advisors with students who are women or people of color, or to individual potential candidates, encouraging them to apply. Job descriptions and candidate-evaluation templates should include various measures of what a "quality" candidate looks like that go beyond elite institutional pedigrees and that take into consideration the way in which a candidate will contribute to and potentially improve the campus climate. If a search committee short list does not comply with

the “Rooney Rule”—if it is not a diverse list or a diverse pool—administrators can insist that the search committee take additional steps to improve the degree to which their list at least opens up the possibility of making a hire that increases the diversity of the department.

To make a department more attractive to candidates from historically marginalized groups, departments must cultivate a campus community with hires across disciplines and colleges, so that even if the new hire is the only member of their group in the department, they can form community with others across campus. If this is not possible, interviewers must be clear when communicating to candidates that there is a long-term plan to add additional hires that further diversify the faculty. Another way to cultivate a campus community for a new hire is to offer the candidate the opportunity to talk with campus members from their self-identified groups, even if they are outside the department. Additional strategies to counteract implicit bias in faculty hiring include conducting blind reviews of applications (removing candidate names from application materials) and conducting preliminary interviews by phone rather than by Zoom.

Every search committee should include at least one equity advocate to maximize the likelihood that candidates from historically marginalized groups will apply and be interviewed. They should be included in the writing of job descriptions and in the scheduling of on-campus visits (e.g., to ensure that candidates of color meet other faculty of color, even if from other departments). Equity advocates should be voting members of the committee and should be from an external department—either a senior faculty member (associate or full) or a senior staff member. They should have a checklist to follow from research on best practices for recruiting faculty from historically marginalized communities (possibly provided by the dean’s office) and have accountability measures for the search committee. If the equity advocate observes bad behavior or bad actors, there should be clear reporting procedures and consequences (e.g., when advice from the equity advocate is ignored, the dean will be notified).

### **Support of Existing Faculty (Retention)**

Once a faculty member who is a member of a marginalized group is hired, additional actions are needed to cultivate their retention and success. Nikol Alexander-Floyd (2105) outlines three actions that can be taken by departments aiming to transform into institutions that better support women of color. This requires continued monitoring of the department’s academic climate to ensure that women of color are being actively supported. One specific recommendation is that evaluations of teaching should be based on teaching portfolios, rather than just student evaluations, as women of color often receive lower ratings than white men. The bias against women and people of color in student evaluations is well documented, by dozens of research articles (see Holman, Key, and Kreitzer 2019 for summaries). Wendy Smooth (2016) recommends that more national organizations and networks for opportunity should be established for women of color and that interdisciplinary faculty appointments should be widely available for women of color scholars. Ethel Mickey (2020) argues for smaller changes in actions and attitudes in order to facilitate a more inclusive environment among faculty. Specifically, she argues for more robust mentoring programs and continuously having

department meetings, as well as establishing events for socializing and fostering discussions about research and other projects.

Jalelah Abdul-Raheem (2016) calls for institutions to establish mentoring programs for minority faculty and for departments to create a culture of support to further the research goals of all academics. This culture of support and mentoring is a constant theme in the work of Lavariega Monforti and Michelson, who document the positive effect of their women-of-color conferences on the attitudes and successes of participants (Lavareiga Monforti and Michelson 2020; Michelson and Lavariega Monforti 2019).

In addition to mentoring women and people of color, retention of a diverse faculty requires cultivating a campus of inclusion—ensuring that all faculty and staff appreciate the value of equity and diversity. One means of developing a more inclusive culture is via online diversity training courses for faculty and staff. Marlo Goldstein Hode, Elizabeth Behm-Morawitz, and Alexie Hays (2018, p. 347) find that participation in an online diversity course “developed a greater understanding of the value of diversity, an increased openness to learning about other cultures, and a greater awareness of their social privileges.”

Carol Mershon and Denise Walsh (2015a, 2015b) discuss diversity specifically in relation to the field of political science. They recommend that women organize in order to advocate for change. One example of the effectiveness of women organizing to mitigate implicit bias is the *Women Also Know Stuff* initiative founded by Samara Klar in 2016. Klar and her colleagues have found that publishing an easily-searchable database of women political scientists, and encouraging scholars and others to be attentive to implicit gender bias, can increase the visibility and success of women (Beaulieu et al. 2017). Similar successes include the *Visions in Methodology Conference* and the *People of Color Also Know Stuff* project.

Other ways in which departments can support and retain faculty is to not treat scholars of color as somehow less prepared or capable than white scholars. For example, departments should not constantly remind scholars of color of the expectations for promotion and tenure. While individuals’ intentions for doing this may be good, constant reminders suggest to the faculty member that they should be worried. Departments should be supportive, not condescending. They should not tokenize the individual by asking them to take on additional labor or service. Further, departments should be careful to call their faculty colleague by their correct (and correctly pronounced) name and to not confuse them with other individuals from the same group (e.g., confusing the only two Black faculty members is a microaggression against both of them). Further, departments should not ask marginalized scholars to police the actions or attitudes of other POC colleagues or students. They should NOT be asked to leverage their “community membership” for other colleagues.

Department chairs should maintain clear (and documented) communication with deans and other higher-level administrators to ensure that there is a consistent message about plans and expectations. Institutions should collect and share information about the diversity of their faculty and staff and what efforts have been adopted to hire, retain, and support faculty—including

faculty from historically marginalized groups and efforts to teach existing faculty and staff how to mitigate implicit bias—that can be used to document change over time and inform plans for continued progress. There is no need for departments or institutions to reinvent methods of cultivating inclusion and equity; leaders need to consult the existing literature as they make long-term plans and work to transform their campus climates.

Additional strategies to counteract implicit bias against new faculty who are women or people of color include 1) allowing the new faculty member to choose their own mentors and community rather than (or in addition to) assigning mentors to them; and 2) protecting the new faculty member with restrictions on service assignments (recognizing that being the first/only representative of a historically marginalized group will generate additional stressors and service pressures that should be counterbalanced). Mentors need not share the identity of the mentee. Strong mentors not only provide advice and feedback for how to succeed in the discipline, but also proactively open doors for their mentees. This latter role is one that men and white academics are often very well poised to fill.

Another way that departments and colleges can retain faculty from underprivileged backgrounds is through professional development opportunities. Providing untenured faculty and adjunct professors numerous opportunities to develop professionally makes them feel appreciated and cultivates their success. Faculty who are members of historically marginalized groups should be given opportunities to focus on their research, whether that is paid leave time (or a reduction in teaching load), funds for data, or resources that allow them to cultivate mentoring relationships with senior scholars. Teaching faculty can also benefit from this form of support, with a focus on professional development that enhances their ability to teach in inventive and productive ways.

Departments should also create a culture of diversity, equity, and inclusion. Departmental members should actively push back against racism, sexism, and homophobia so that all members of the community feel comfortable and do not seek to leave for another institution or department. This does not mean abandoning academic freedom; there should be clear lines drawn between what is acceptable and what cannot be tolerated, so that faculty, staff, and students from historically marginalized groups feel welcome and supported. The burden should not only fall on people of color; white men and women should be pushing against the institution and the association and advocating for this work. They often are more influential in bringing about change at the department and institutional levels than are people of color. For example, white colleagues might consider speaking less in faculty meetings and deliberately amplifying comments made by their colleagues of color – not to take credit for those comments, but to draw attention to them and to their origin. Further, chairs and departments should acknowledge gender and racial bias in student evaluations, which is well documented, on annual reviews and tenure and promotion evaluations.

Hiring and retention practices should be mindful of the difference between equality and equity. Equality is the “quality or state of being equal,” where equal is defined as having the same measurement in quality, nature, or status. It means that opportunities remain the same regardless of one’s gender, race, sex, religion, etc. It ensures that people in different social statuses or

groups will not be discriminated against. In contrast, equity is “dealing fairly and equally with all concerned.” Equity recognizes that different people have varying needs of support and assistance, and that systems need to be able to support individuals based on their specific needs. Cultivating a diverse, inclusive department or institution means recognizing the difference and prioritizing equity (and long-term equality) over short-term equality.

Departments and institutions can make a variety of mistakes and missteps when it comes to recruiting and retaining faculty from historically excluded groups. In the very short term, this means holding accountable faculty and staff who engage in racist, sexist, homophobic, or otherwise inappropriate behavior. Tenure should not be a shield against censure and punishment for perpetuating a hostile climate. Recruiting one or two new faculty members from historically marginalized groups may seem a shortcut to diversity, but those faculty are unlikely to be retained or to succeed unless steps are taken to address the racist or sexist institutional climate that made their hires so unusual. Similarly, recruiting a diverse class of graduate students to an institution that lacks an inclusive climate is likely to lead to those students dropping out or leaving the discipline, not to a diverse set of graduates.

Rhetoric endorsing the value of diversity must be backed up with intention and action—with a plan for achieving equity and inclusion with measurable markers of improvement. This does not mean creating a checklist of actions; it means an ongoing commitment to ensuring that the actions taken by a department or institution are having the desired changes, and making appropriate changes over time as necessary. Department chairs should make diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives part of their department’s annual goals at the beginning of every year, and should follow up on how well those plans were implemented at the end of every year. They should normalize a conversation about equity and equality beyond the group that is already committed to these issues. Quality training does not mean assigning an online activity; it means an interactive, in-person event focused on anti-racism and on revealing and pushing back against implicit bias. If this requires incentivizing faculty to attend, resources need to be allocated to ensure that events are not attended only by those already aware of and concerned about equity and inclusion.

These efforts can be further supported by administrative statements and actions. Administrators should send frequent messages that restate their commitment to equity and inclusion efforts, and back up those statements with resources to departments and other campus groups and campus diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) events. Deans can require that each department have a diversity action committee and a diversity action plan. Departments can be required to submit to the dean an annual report that notes what they are doing to increase their numbers of faculty and students who are members of historically marginalized groups and to support them once they are part of the campus.

Administrators can financially support affinity groups (e.g., Black student centers, LGBTQ+ centers) and programs that support the academic study of historically marginalized groups (e.g., majors and minors in Chicano/Latino Studies or Women and Gender Studies). The establishment of these institutionalized signs of equity and inclusion, along with the events that they will

sponsor, including bringing in outside speakers, will signal to members of historically marginalized groups that their interests are widely shared and foster cross-disciplinary networking, mentorship, and scholarly collaboration. There should be a “the buck stops here” individual who is charged with fostering diversity, inclusion, and equity across the entire campus. In other words, having a campus DEI officer—preferably at a high level of administration (e.g., a vice president)—allows for a single individual who is accountable for campus climate and culture. That focused accountability helps ensure adherence to DEI policies and goals.

Finally, there is a role for APSA. As noted above, making it easier for people to pursue equity and inclusion increases the likelihood that they will do so. APSA can do this through creation and distribution of shovel-ready toolkits for departments seeking to recruit and retain faculty and graduate students who are members of historically marginalized communities. It could also maintain a website to host links to supportive trainings and resources, or examples of resources maintained at other institutions, such as those available at [Cornell University](#)’s Office of Faculty Development and Diversity or at the [University of Washington](#)’s Center for Institutional Change. These resources could be added to the existing DEI and recruitment and retention resources that are available on the APSA Diversity and Inclusion Resources page (<https://apsanet.org/divresources>).

## **Persistence of Campus Culture and Climate**

Given the many published thought pieces and research articles on the topic, why do so many departments and institutions continue to fail to make their climates more inclusive and equitable? There are multiple explanations for this stagnation. First, some people with the power to make change simply do not want to take the necessary action. They may feel that the problem is too large and that they cannot succeed, or that there are insufficient people available in the pipeline from historically marginalized groups. They may feel that their campus or department should not be competing for those scholars when there are other institutions where they will be more successful. Sometimes, they are restricted by a lack of financial resources (or a perception of a lack of resources). For example, adding a fourth candidate to a shortlist when the top three on the list are white men would require additional search committee funds, and they may not believe that they can afford that additional expense.

Financial objections often make difficult efforts to cultivate a more inclusive and equitable campus climate. It costs a department to bring in an additional candidate for an on-campus visit. It affects the budget to increase the salary or other financial incentives offered to a prospective hire to outbid another institution. A powerful way to build community, develop leaders, and create mentoring opportunities for junior scholars is to hire senior faculty who are members of historically marginalized groups, but making successful offers to those individuals can be very expensive. These are legitimate challenges, but we encourage departments and institutions to consider the many benefits that investing in these hiring practices can bring to their campuses and students, and to the professors.

Another possible barrier to change is unconscious bias and the tendency for institutions and individuals imbued with white masculinist supremacy to reproduce themselves. Many of our colleagues claim to not see a problem to be solved, or claim inadequacies in understanding it that preclude their ability to take corrective action. Some are even puzzled by (or unconcerned by) the ongoing whiteness and maleness of the spaces they occupy. These challenges of awareness can be overcome by ongoing focus on the issues of racism and sexism that we have highlighted here, and by messaging from campus leaders of the importance of doing so.

Others may be deliberately committed to the status quo and not see a need to actively cultivate change. For example, they may think that the research conducted by scholars of color is not of general interest and is tangential to the big questions in the field. They may think that these methods of generating a more inclusive and equitable climate are forms of reverse racism, and that policies should be colorblind. They may think that they (as a woman or a person of color) succeeded without these efforts, and thus that it is fair to expect those coming up behind them to do the same. These perspectives, to be blunt, reflect the misogyny and racism of the discipline and academia. They reflect the unexamined white supremacy that persists in the discipline (Meier 2021).

Various carrots and sticks can be used to mitigate this resistance. Carrots include providing resources to departments (e.g., hiring toolkits) so that they do not have to start from scratch to develop tools for cultivating inclusion. Make it as easy as possible for people to cooperate. Annual reviews can require sections documenting how an individual faculty member has contributed to their department and university DEI plans. At the institutional level, administrators can provide extra funding or more faculty lines to departments seeking to increase an offer to a preferred candidate who is a member of a historically marginalized group or to reward a department that has actively worked to diversify its faculty. Sticks might include clear consequences for faculty and staff who exhibit bad behavior or otherwise work to undermine progress on a DEI plan.

## Recommendations for APSA

### Climate and APSA

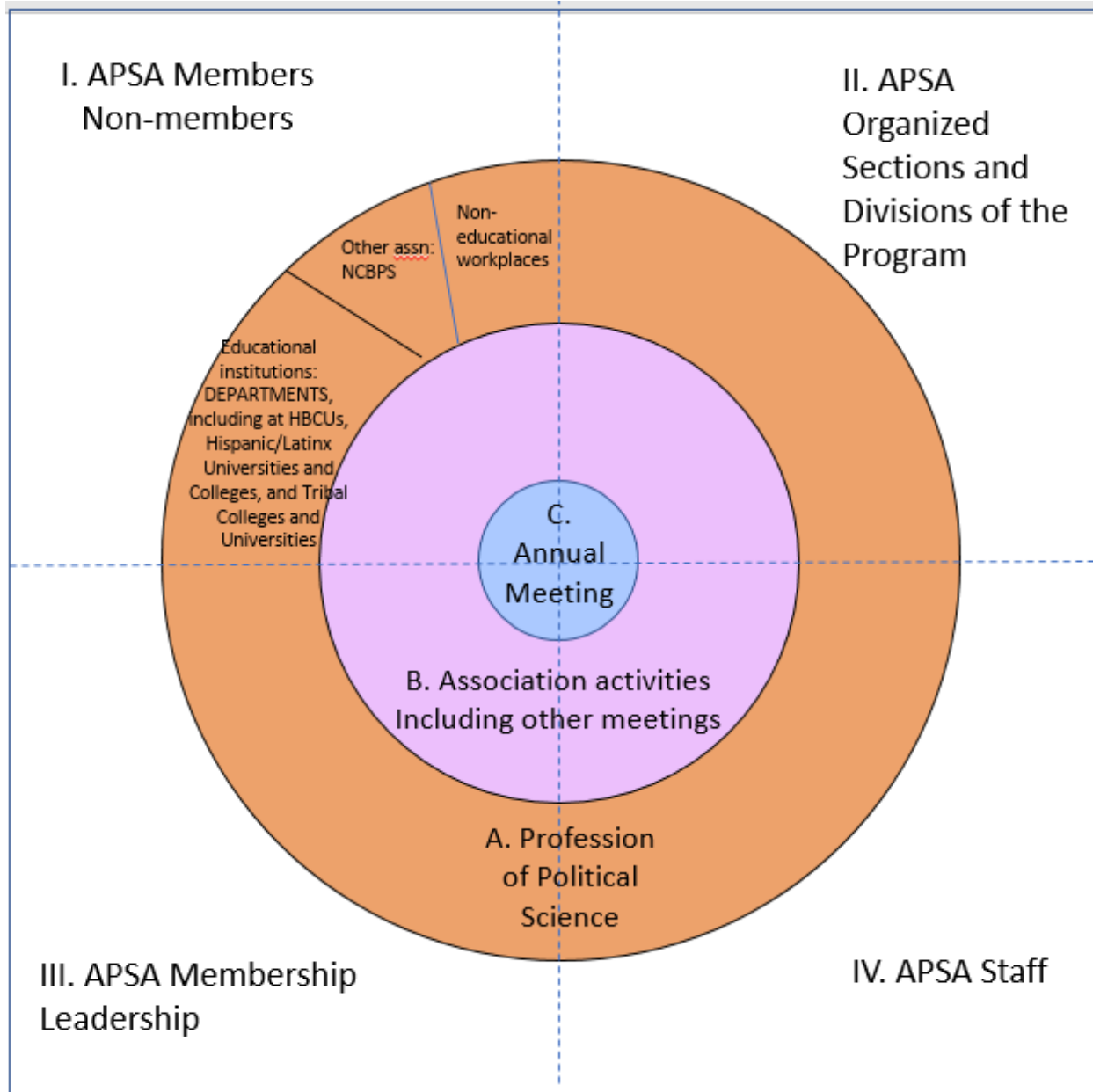
Since climate is intangible—something that is everywhere and nowhere (Bray 2020)—we use the concentric circles in Figure 1 to disaggregate and help define where and how we can improve the climate and context of APSA. We start by emphasizing that climate is integral to most aspects of APSA’s objectives:

- promoting scholarly research and communication, domestically and internationally.
- promoting high quality teaching and education about politics and government.
- diversifying the profession and representing its diversity.

- increasing academic and non-academic opportunities for members.
- strengthening the professional environment for political science.
- representing the professional interests of political scientists.
- defending the legitimacy of scholarly research for practitioners in politics and government.
- recognizing outstanding work in the discipline.
- encouraging the application of rigorous ethical and intellectual standards in the profession.
- serving the public, including disseminating research and preparing citizens to be effective citizens and political participants (APSA 2021).

As illustrated in Figure 1, there are multiple “sites” of the APSA community: (A) the profession of political science, which includes our departments; (B) APSA activities; and (C) APSA annual meeting. The actors who can affect the climate are (I) APSA members (and non-members, who as political scientists sometimes attend APSA’s annual meeting and are professional colleagues of members); (II) APSA organized section leadership, who organize the intellectual lives of members of their organized sections, including the awards, program, meetings, and receptions and through their actions and the membership through their behaviors guided by their bylaws; (III) APSA membership leadership (including elected and appointed positions); and (IV) APSA staff (permanent and temporary).

Figure 1: APSA Universe and Actors



Given this understanding of climate, we need to be clear what the assignment of this working group is. That is, APSA staff (IV) currently works with the membership leadership (III) to write reports, propose and manage programs, gather and share information, and consolidate recommendations into guidelines for sections and other activities. While it may be possible to identify other ways that APSA staff (IV) could enhance the climate and context for diversity, equity and inclusion, we think that the focus of this working group should be more on what the membership and sections can do and to a lesser extent what APSA staff (IV) and the membership leadership (III) might do to facilitate that aim. In other words, we support a bottom-up approach

more than a top-down approach. Perhaps more guidance and encouragement from APSA staff and membership leadership is necessary to promote piloting of approaches, spreading of implementation places, and facilitation of transforming norms. Certainly, any such efforts can be strengthened with the right incentives and information (for example, E-jobs helps candidate searches identify venues for reaching a diversity of candidates). And the more APSA (III and IV) messaging on diversity can be found when sought or adopted when introduced, the better. Even so, given the importance of department life to members, the transformation in the professional lives of political scientists is in the hands of the department and the culture of political scientists more generally.

## Resources and Methods

As noted, we contribute to the Task Force on Systemic Inequalities in the Discipline, established by President Paula D. McClain. Our team, as part of the working group on climate and context, surveys the organizational structure of APSA, its committees and membership, and the work environment in the discipline, and on that basis makes recommendations to APSA.

Our findings and recommendations are grounded in a review of the extant literature in the working group portal created by Dr. Carol Mershon at the University of Virginia, chair of the working group. Secondly, we reviewed APSA resources on diversity, equity, and inclusion promoted on the organization's website. Third, we consulted with Kimberly Mealy, APSA senior director of diversity and inclusion. Fourth, we evaluated existing diversity statements and initiatives by APSA organized sections and allied groups.

## Historicizing Climate and Context in APSA

APSA has made several attempts to document and enhance the workplace climate in the organization and political science departments relative to diversity and inclusion. In 2004, APSA established the Task Force on Inequality and American Democracy. Several years later, then-APSA President Dianne Pinderhughes commissioned the Task Force on Political Science in the 21st Century, which also addressed representation and inequality in the academy and applied study of political science, demographic shifts society. Additional investigations have been carried out by, for example, the report "Would I Do This All Over Again? Mid-Career Voices in Political Science" (van Assendelft et al. 2019) by the Presidential Task Force on Women's Advancement in the Profession, and the "Report on the 2017 APSA Survey on Sexual Harassment at Annual Meetings" (Sapiro & Campbell 2018) by the APSA Professional Ethics, Rights, and Freedoms Committee.

This report addresses the climate and context for women and scholars of color in political science, concentrating on the infrastructure of APSA, its organized sections, and diversity initiatives and using that focus as the platform for recommendation to APSA. We recognize that APSA is a multi-tiered organization comprised of: a) enrolled members actively involved in APSA initiatives; b) non-members who occasionally attend the annual conferences and/or have political science graduate degrees, yet do not attend the conferences; c) elected and appointed

leadership, both at the executive council level and in the organized sections; and d) staff charged with leading diversity initiatives.

Addressing the “climate and context” of APSA means learning how to assess the culture within and across the different dimensions of the association. Although APSA has made significant strides since the release of the task force studies, inequities and marginalization are ongoing and reoccurring concerns. The late Lucius Barker (2005, 327), the past president of APSA, argued that “political scientists can do much to confront our past failures in this regard through determined efforts to recruit, retain, and promote women and minorities as faculty and graduate students.” He insisted that the discipline of political science at the leadership levels and in academic departments have the capacity to make changes—if there are political will, resources, and monitoring of relevant demands for inclusion. We focus specifically on how adjustments to the infrastructure and ecosystem of APSA can preempt hostile work environments and promote a climate of inclusion.

Addressing concerns about the climate and context in APSA—and by extension, the profession—raises the questions of who and what is APSA and what is the infrastructure (or the context) that undergirds the organization. Figure 1 describes the quadrant structure of APSA. We superimposed a concentric circle graphic of “what” is APSA. APSA is a formal organization that provides mentoring, research opportunities, network ties, and faculty development. Yet, it is an organization that provides relational anchors for members such as peer-to-peer relationships cultivated at the annual conference, communal ties promulgated by engagement activities at the conference, and solidarity ties that come with being part of the political science profession.

Given the complexity portrayed in Figure 1, any proposal should be clear about (1) *who* is expected to do (2) *what* to what, and (3) to what *end*. In addition, any proposal should ideally specify the (4) *mechanism* by which the desired end is to be achieved and who will staff and fund the initiative. In what follows we summarize those efforts we have found, attempt to answer all four questions regarding each, and when possible offer an assessment. As we assess these and use them to identify other possibilities, we keep in mind the danger of policies that are too heavy-handed (cf. Wright 2019).

Moreover, lack of a consensual understanding of what key factors foster inclusion and cultural competency is itself a significant challenge. For some observers, inclusion may entail opportunities for first-generation scholars. Others may give attention to identity-based concerns such as race, sexual orientation, and gender. Citizenship status, language barriers, and tribal identities may also need acute attention.

Regardless of how one approaches this topic, institutions that make concerted attempts at fostering inclusion are likely to gain the confidence of women, people of color, and other historically marginalized groups. Mickey, Kanelee, and Misra (2020) point to “small wins” that universities or academic departments can achieve, such as creating mentoring programs, scheduling research talks, organizing social events, and structuring department meetings such

that they promote inclusion. In APSA, there have been concerted attempts to diversify the organization and profession in recent decades.

Today, APSA identifies “diversifying the profession and representing its diversity” as one of its core objectives (APSA website 2020). APSA initiatives like the Ralph Bunche Summer Institute, the Minority Student Recruitment Program, the Diversity Fellowship Program, and Fund for Latino Scholarship exemplify the organization’s outreach to historically underrepresented constituencies (Mealy 2018). Additionally, APSA has status committees that promote the scholarship and service of Blacks, Latinos, LGBTQ+ members, women, Asians and Pacific Islanders, and first-generation scholars. These initiatives are coordinated by Dr. Kimberly Mealy, APSA’s senior Director of Diversity and inclusion and the Diversity and Inclusion Program staff. The improved diversity in APSA stands in stark contrast to the origins of the profession, in which the organization’s leading thinkers and academic departments embraced racial conservatives who controlled the research funding and agenda in the profession (Blatt 2018; McClain et al. 2016).

Notwithstanding these changes, the climate in the profession and in APSA still has a long way to go to achieve full inclusion and inclusiveness. People of color are still underrepresented in the faculty ranks, relatively few persons of color attend the annual conferences, and gender inequities are still present in the leadership ranks of political science departments.

As discussed, APSA is a multi-layered community (see Figure 1). An additional layer of external professional groups falls within the APSA ecosystem, such as regional political science associations (e.g., Midwest Political Science Association, Southern Political Science Association.) and diversity-based associations and activities (e.g., the National Conference of Black Political Scientists and Ralph Bunche Summer Institute—which is an APSA program housed at Duke University).

## APSA’s Research, Findings, and Proposals on Climate and Context

This report attends to four outcomes that can improve the climate and context with regards to diversity and inclusion. First, we look at the *membership infrastructure* such as how members, organized sections, and departments can promote diversity. Second, we focus on APSA’s partners in the political science *ecosystem* (e.g. academic departments, regional associations, and allied associations) and their involvement in diversity initiatives. Third, we look at the *resource infrastructure* of APSA’s diversity and inclusion programs. Finally, we look at the mechanisms of documentation and institutionalization. For each rubric, we offer recommendation to APSA.

### Membership Infrastructure

Our first set of recommendations pertains to the membership infrastructure of APSA. Mealy’s (2018, 5) report on diversity and inclusion indicates that most of the organized sections are “disproportionately and overwhelmingly white” and male. Those sections that have diverse

populations are identity-based (e.g., Race, Ethnicity, and Politics section) or cause-based committees (e.g., Migration and Citizenship).

The report further indicates that the APSA Membership team “encouraged organized section chairs to update their bylaws with a statement on diversity and inclusion” (Mealy 2018, 8). This statement may be in the form of a commitment to inclusion or a pledge to take active steps in dismantling oppression or promoting a safe work environment. One important note is that the sections have different interpretations of diversity. Whereas some interpret diversity based on race, gender, or sexual orientation, others expand the definition to include different academic interests, including varied methodological approaches such as qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods. The APSA chair’s handbook might guide sections to consider whether these latter interpretations of diversity support the former.

Table 5 offers an overview of the bylaws of the organized sections with the highest membership base. The Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior section has an expressed commitment to “functioning as an inclusive community” and has endorsed APSA’s anti-harassment policy (EPOVB Section Bylaws 2020). Race, Ethnicity, and Politics section has no statement on diversity in its bylaws. However, the section is the most diverse in APSA, and its leadership structure has equal gender representation and account for diverse perspectives. The Democracy and Autocracy section mandates that its executive committee nominations “are inclusive of a variety of different characteristics and backgrounds” (OS Democracy and Autocracy 2020).

In addition, the executive staff should regularly consult with the leadership of the organized sections to update APSA’s anti-harassment and inclusion policies. This may take the form of an ongoing climate survey or standing meetings to address this issue. This “inclusive management” approach (Moon 2008) will instill confidence in the membership and signal to the diversity-based sections that APSA has a long-standing commitment to inclusion and equity.

Table 5. Organized Sections, Diversity, and Inclusion

Organized Section	Number Members	Date Bylaws	Commitment to Inclusive Environment	Pledge to Address Climate	Diversity Officers
Political	1058	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Economy					
Elections, Public Op, & Voting Behavior	868	2019	Yes	Yes	Yes

Race, Ethnicity, & Politics	932	2011	No	No	Yes
Democracy and Autocracy	885	N/A	Yes	No	Yes
Comparative Politics	1179	2005	No	No	Yes

### **APSA's Ecosystem**

Addressing APSA's ecosystem is our second area of concern. The ecosystem entails the hundreds of academic departments as well as regional associations and allied organizations such as the National Conference of Black Political Scientists. The Leadership in Academic Climate Excellence (LACE) proposal is the most important step that can be taken to address toxic climates. The proposal emerged from the Hackathon at APSA's 2018 annual conference.

LACE is modeled after the LEED program used to certify energy-efficient buildings. Its applicability to political science would rate academic departments based on their implementation of restorative practices for faculty, graduate, and undergraduate students. Bystander training, multiple channels for sexual harassment and assault survivors to report complaints, diverse hiring practices, and the inclusion of gender and diversity analyses in syllabi are suggested areas for rating academic departments (Ackerly et al. 2018).

LACE's proposal creates a non-monetary process for promoting departments that have inclusive work environments. Instead, departments that are awarded high LACE ratings can gain reputational advantages such as national recognition in "job ads and recruitment literature" (Ackerly et al. 2018, 2). There is also evidence that inclusive and equitable work environments positively improve job performance. Overall, the implementation of LACE would create a national platform for coordinating restorative practices and could be a model for other academic associations.

We further suggest that the LACE should be expanded to provide a roadmap for caregiver responsibilities that affect academic careers. Family caregiving may disproportionately fall on the shoulders of junior faculty and graduate students who are women, who come from poor backgrounds, and those who are first-generation scholars.

Family caregiver research is a relatively new field, emerging in the 1970s and 1980s after the creation of Medicare when more working families were required to take care of elders (e.g., Beard 2019; Berg-Weger and Tebb 2003-2004; Gomez and Bernet 2019; Lin et al. 2012; Navaie-Waliser et al. 2002). Thus, few departments have targeted initiatives to assist faculty and graduate students with these responsibilities. In some cases, tenure time clocks and research demands conflict with urgent and unexpected caregiver responsibilities.

Faculty assuming informal caregiving activities such as taking care of ill family members may require more flexibility in the tenure time clock. Graduate students may require more time to complete their dissertations. First-generation scholars may have to divert their income to support sick or elderly family members in ways unfamiliar to political scientists from educated or affluent families. At the very least, APSA should provide guidance for academic departments to evaluate students and faculty with burdensome caregiving responsibilities.

A significant portion of the political science community is not participating in the APSA annual meeting. The National Conference of Black Political Scientists identified 60 out of the 107 HBCUs that are not in NCOBPS, Pi Sigma Alpha, and APSA's orbits (NCOBPS 2020). The APSA-centered political science community omits and lacks contact with a number of students who, with just some cultivation, may be willing to and interested in attending graduate school. We recommend developing a targeted recruitment plan for HBCUs, Hispanic/Latinx Universities and Colleges, and Tribal Colleges and Universities. Students at the three types of colleges and universities typically come from the low-income backgrounds and are relatively more likely to be first generation students.

Finally, we are encouraged by the recent push by regional and allied associations to establish or update their grievance procedures. Due to the #MeToo and #TimesUp movements, affiliate groups such the Midwest Political Science Association and Southern Political Science Association have updated formal grievance processes for addressing allegations of sexual harassment and assault at academic conferences. Yet, these grievance procedures deal with back-end allegations or what happens once an allegation has occurred. Academic associations should make concerted attempts to develop front-end protocols that can preempt incidents from occurring.

Current, grievance procedures may not stop long-term reprisals or retaliation against a person who files a complaint with APSA or another association if, for example, she/he/they are harassed at an annual conference. This person may suffer retaliation during an employment search, experience character defamation, or be excluded from professional development opportunities if the alleged offender has influence in these networks.

## **Resource Infrastructure**

The third area affecting the climate is APSA's resource infrastructure. The Office of Diversity and Inclusion coordinates most of these initiatives, including its three principal anchors (Ralph Bunche Summer Institute, Minority Student Recruitment Program, and Diversity Fellowships),

the diversity-based status committees, and the Diversity and Inclusion Research Advancement Awards. The office also provides staff support at regional and allied academic conferences.

The Office of Diversity and Inclusion has a new initiative coordinating outreach to Minority Serving Institutions such as Historically Black Colleges and Universities, Tribal Colleges, Hispanic-Serving Institutions, and some community colleges, the majority of faculty members who work and teach at MSIs are APSA members. Even so, some of the institutions are disengaged from the mainstream political science discipline and have little to no contact with NCOBPS, APSA, the Ralph Bunche Summer Institute (RBSI), and other political science-related organizations (NCOBPS 2020). These institutions are under-resourced, and some have no stand-alone departments that can effectively integrate political science majors and minors into mainline political science associations. Many of these institutions do not offer courses in racial and ethnic politics and public interest topics taught by NCOBPS and Race, Ethnicity and Politics faculty.

The main challenge facing diversity and inclusion activities is there are few staff and resources to address the wide net of diversity and inclusion activities. The Office of Diversity and Inclusion has two full-time staff members assigned to coordinate at least a dozen initiatives and one part time staff member. Upgrading the resource infrastructure can alleviate the task management of APSA diversity and inclusion projects and expedite interventions for addressing equity in the APSA ecosystem.

## **Documentation and Institutional Memory**

Despite the significant work that staff and volunteer members put into reports and proposals related to climate and context, the mechanisms for enabling all parts of APSA (see Figure 1) to benefit from these resources need to be further developed and expanded in order to reach more members. We note, for example, that while the APSA Status Committees did receive the 2018 APSA Diversity and Inclusion Report, some participants in the Hackathon did not have it.

Additionally, as section chair of Human Rights, one co-author of this report continued the bylaws revision process begun by her predecessor, yet neither chair was aware of the recommendations in the 2018 Diversity and Inclusion Report that included a bylaws pledge to support diversity in nomination of officers of various positions and a pledge to support an environment that makes diversity a valued part of everyday operation. Organized sections vary markedly in how they implement APSA's encouragement to update their bylaws and pay greater attention to diversity and inclusion. A normative statement would go far toward pledging support and prompting section dialogue. Even if an addition to the bylaws had little enforcement mechanism, the pledge brings about the widespread awareness that action is needed to lay the foundation of a safe working climate. Although APSA is a member-based organization, top-down encouragement for sections and departments to support a safe working climate for all peoples can support the bottom-up needs of members who are minorities marginalized within their sections.

## Recommendations for APSA

This working group examined the climate and context circumscribing diversity, equity, and inclusion in APSA. Table 6 summarizes the recommendations for improving the political science climate by giving attention to the membership infrastructure, APSA ecosystem, resource infrastructure, and documentation and institutionalization. The set of recommendations insists on the adoption of diversity, equity, and inclusion policies in the bylaws of each organized section. We also urge APSA to embrace an inclusive management approach that regularly consults with the leading members (the director of diversity and inclusion programs and chairs/co-chairs of the diversity-oriented status committees and task forces) on the status of the organizational climate.

Table 6. Recommendations for Improving Climate and Context

<b>Membership Infrastructure</b>
Update bylaws of organized sections to include diversity, equity, and inclusion policies
Inclusive management
<b>APSA Ecosystem</b>
Adopt LACE proposal with the expansion of protocols for faculty and graduate students who are family/informal caregivers
Update grievance procedures in section and affiliate associations to implement front-end protocols
Develop a targeted recruitment plan for HBCUs, Hispanic/Latinx Universities and Colleges, and Tribal Colleges and Universities and other institutions serving first generation and underrepresented or marginalized groups.
<b>Resource Infrastructure</b>
APSA has studied and made steps toward attending to diversity and to preventing sexual and gender harassment. Problems manifest throughout the organization. Institute mechanism for learning and evaluation, adding staff as necessary to fill this role.
Hire more full-time staff in the Diversity and Inclusion Office
Hire a recruitment coordinator for Minority Serving Institutions
When responsibilities are added to the staff of the Diversity and Inclusion Office, particularly in response to new initiatives, include these in job description
Revisit staffing in the Diversity and Inclusion Office as responsibilities are added.
<b>Documentation and institutionalization</b>

Visit and revisit methods of circulating, utilizing, and, where appropriate, institutionalizing insights from reports

Initiatives such as ADVANCE and the Hackathon should include recommendations for follow-up, clear lines of accountability, and accountability mechanisms.

Drawing upon the recommendations of the Hackathon in 2018, we recommend the adoption of the LACE rating system that evaluates the work environments of political science departments. LACE can identify departments with histories of toxicity and then propose restorative practices for addressing the proposals. We also encourage the LACE ratings to evaluate positive work environments that support junior faculty and graduate students who take on burdensome and unplanned caregiving challenges that may divert their energies from research and service.

Finally, it is important to mention that no changes in the climate can be made unless APSA gives serious consideration to devoting more resources its diversity and inclusion programs. This means hiring more full-time staff that can support the work of the national office and possibly hiring a recruitment coordinator to help expand APSA's reach to Minority Serving Institutions.

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## Appendix A: Interview Protocol

- How would you describe the extent of the problem of microaggression in the academy at large, and the discipline of political science in particular? <sup>14</sup>
- How would you describe the extent of the problem of bullying in the academy at large, and the discipline of political science in particular?
- How would you describe the extent of the problem of implicit bias in the academy at large, and the discipline of political science in particular?
  
- <Specific questions tailored to the interviewee’s scholarly work on this topic>
  
- Are you aware of any data collection strategies that are currently in place that look into these questions?
- Do you know of any institutional or departmental initiatives that have been undertaken in this regard?
- Can you think of some institutional or departmental best practices?
- Can you give us a sense of what did not work with these initiatives? What are the principal impediments that departments and/or institutions struggle with?

---

<sup>14</sup> We clarified the phrase “to what extent” by inviting our key informants to think about several dimensions of problem, including pervasiveness, seriousness, and resistance to change.

## Appendix B: Survey

### State of the Discipline of Political Science – Microaggression, Bullying, and Implicit Bias

This study explores the frequency of occurrence and extent of microaggression, bullying, and implicit bias within the discipline of political science, writ large. As such, this survey asks a series of questions related to your experiences. **All questions are optional.**

The survey has been created using Wagner College's Qualtrics license. Wagner College supports the practice of protection of human participants in research. The following paragraphs will provide you with information about the experiment that will help you in deciding whether or not you wish to participate. If you agree to participate, please be aware that you are free to withdraw at any point throughout the duration of the survey without any penalty.

**Duration:** Completing the survey will take between 10-15 minutes of your time. But, depending on what, and how detailed, your responses are, it can take longer to complete.

**Costs:** There are no costs associated with withdrawal from the study or abstaining from responding to one or more questions.

**Foreseeable risks/discomfort:** The survey asks some very sensitive questions. There is a small chance that it might cause stress or trigger painful memories for some of the participants. In the event of such an occurrence or if you feel anxiety or discomfort in responding to the questions, please discontinue filling out the survey right away or take a break and return to it at another time.

**Expected benefits to subjects:** The investigators intend to publish these findings in an academic journal as part of the American Political Science Association President Paula D. McClain's report from the Task Force Examining Issues and Mechanisms of Systematic Inequality in the Discipline. The immediate benefits for the subjects are: documentation of their lived experiences; contribution to knowledge about the discipline; and enhancing the potential for reform.

**Confidentiality:** All information gathered will be kept confidential and the responses will be anonymized. No information will be associated with your name. If you have any concerns about discussing/publicizing your responses to the survey please inform either investigator and your information will be discarded. If, for any reason, during this survey you do not feel comfortable, you may stop and terminate the survey.

**Compensation & voluntariness of participation:** There is no compensation associated with participation in this survey. Your participation is solicited, yet strictly voluntary.

**Contact:** If you have any questions concerning this study or its methodology please feel free to contact us by email: Cyril Ghosh at [cyril.ghosh@wagner.edu](mailto:cyril.ghosh@wagner.edu). Please indicate your consent to participate in this survey by checking the box below.

**Note:** To the extent that it is possible, please anonymize the actors/stakeholders in the descriptions that you provide.

Before we begin, please check one of the following boxes:

I consent to participating in this survey. The researchers have my approval to use my responses, even if I did not fill out one or more questions.

---

**Yes**

**No**

### **Part A: Level of familiarity with terms**

---

**What is the level of familiarity you have with the term “microaggressions”?**

---

**Very high**

**High**

**Neither high nor low**

**Low**

**Very low**

**Never heard of it**

**Unsure**

---

**What is the level of familiarity you have with the term “bullying”?**

---

**Very high**

**High**

**Neither high nor low**

**Low**

**Very low**

**Never heard of it**

**Unsure**

---

**What is the level of familiarity you have with the term “implicit bias”?**

---

**Very high**

**High**

**Neither high nor low**

**Low**

**Very low**

**Never heard of it**

**Unsure**

---

**Part B: Knowledge of others' experience - at professional meetings**

---

**Have you ever witnessed microaggression at a professional meeting?**

---

**Yes**

**Unsure**

**No**

---

**If you said yes, could you describe the kind of meeting (e.g. annual meeting of APSA)?**

---

**If you said yes, could you describe an incident or provide an example?**

---

**Have you ever witnessed bullying at a professional meeting?**

---

**Yes**

**Unsure**

**No**

---

**If you said yes, could you describe the kind of meeting?**

---

**If you said yes, could you describe an incident or provide an example?**

---

**Have you ever witnessed other people's implicit biases manifested in their treatment of others at a professional meeting?**

---

**Yes**

**Unsure**

**No**

---

**If you said yes, could you describe the kind of meeting?**

---

**If you said yes, could you describe an incident or provide an example?**

---

**Part C: Own experience - at professional meetings**

---

**Have you ever been the target of microaggression at a professional meeting?**

---

**Yes**

**Unsure**

**No**

---

**If you said yes, could you describe the kind of meeting?**

---

**If you said yes, could you describe an incident or provide an example?**

---

**Have you ever been bullied at a professional meeting?**

---

**Yes**

**Unsure**

**No**

---

**If you said yes, could you describe the kind of meeting?**

---

**If you said yes, could you describe an incident or provide an example?**

---

**Have you ever been treated in a particular way because of others exhibiting implicit bias at a professional meeting?**

---

**Yes**

**Unsure**

**No**

---

**If you said yes, could you describe the kind of meeting?**

---

**If you said yes, could you describe an incident or provide an example?**

---

**Part D. Treatment of others – in a department that you are affiliated or familiar with.**

---

**(Please recall that you are allowed to skip questions. Please ignore this section or questions within it if you think your responses might compromise your anonymity in ways that you do not intend.)**

**Have you ever witnessed a microaggression in a political science department?**

---

**Yes**

**Unsure**

No

---

---

**If you said yes, what was the type of institution?**

---

**Community college**

**4-year college granting undergraduate degrees**

**4-year college granting undergraduate and graduate degrees**

**University**

**Other \_\_\_\_\_**

---

**If you said yes, what was the general location of the institution?**

---

**Canada**

**Mid-Atlantic (US)**

**Midwest (US)**

**Northeast (US)**

**South (US)**

**West (US)**

**Other \_\_\_\_\_**

---

**If you said yes, could you describe an incident or provide an example?**

---

**Have you ever witnessed bullying in a political science department?**

---

**Yes**

Unsure

No

---

**If you said yes, what was the type of institution?**

---

Community college

4-year college granting undergraduate degrees

4-year college granting undergraduate and graduate degrees

University

Other \_\_\_\_\_

---

**If you said yes, what was the general location of the institution?**

---

Canada

Mid-Atlantic (US)

Midwest (US)

Northeast (US)

South (US)

West (US)

Other \_\_\_\_\_

---

**If you said yes, could you describe an incident or provide an example?**

---

**Have you ever witnessed other people's actions indicating implicit biases in a political science department?**

---

**Yes**

**Unsure**

**No**

---

**If you said yes, what was the type of institution?**

---

**Community college**

**4-year college granting undergraduate degrees**

**4-year college granting undergraduate and graduate degrees**

**University**

**Other \_\_\_\_\_**

---

---

**If you said yes, what was the general location of the institution?**

---

**Canada**

**Mid-Atlantic (US)**

**Midwest (US)**

**Northeast (US)**

**South (US)**

**West (US)**

**Other \_\_\_\_\_**

---

**If you said yes, could you describe an incident or provide an example?**

---

**Part E: Treatment of self – in a department that you are affiliated with.**

---

**(Please recall that you are allowed to skip questions. Please ignore this section or questions within it if you think your responses might compromise your anonymity in ways that you do not intend.)**

**Have you ever been the target of microaggression in a political science department?**

---

**Yes**

**Unsure**

**No**

---

**If you said yes, what was the type of institution?**

---

**Community college**

**4-year college granting undergraduate degrees**

**4-year college granting undergraduate and graduate degrees**

**University**

**Other \_\_\_\_\_**

---

---

**If you said yes, what was the general location of the institution?**

---

**Canada**

**Mid-Atlantic (US)**

**Midwest (US)**

**Northeast (US)**

**South (US)**

**West (US)**

**Other \_\_\_\_\_**

---

**If you said yes, could you describe an incident or provide an example?**

---

**Have you ever been bullied in a political science department?**

---

**Yes**

**Unsure**

**No**

---

**If you said yes, what was the type of institution?**

---

**Community college**

**4-year college granting undergraduate degrees**

**4-year college granting undergraduate and graduate degrees**

**University**

**Other** \_\_\_\_\_

---

---

**If you said yes, what was the general location of the institution?**

---

**Canada**

**Mid-Atlantic (US)**

**Midwest (US)**

**Northeast (US)**

**South (US)**

**West (US)**

**Other \_\_\_\_\_**

---

**If you said yes, could you describe an incident or provide an example?**

---

**Have you ever been treated by others in ways that indicate their implicit biases in a political science department?**

---

**Yes**

**Unsure**

**No**

**Other \_\_\_\_\_**

---

**If you said yes, what was the type of institution?**

---

**Community college**

**4-year college granting undergraduate degrees**

**4-year college granting undergraduate and graduate degrees**

**University**

**Other** \_\_\_\_\_

---

---

**If you said yes, what was the general location of the institution?**

---

**Canada**

**Mid-Atlantic (US)**

**Midwest (US)**

**Northeast (US)**

**South (US)**

**West (US)**

**Other \_\_\_\_\_**

---

**If you said yes, could you describe an incident or provide an example?**

---

**If you wish, you could furnish other details of incidents related to microaggressions, bullying, and implicit bias in the discipline here:**

---

**If you have any residual comments, you can mention them here:**

---