

Perceptions and impacts of gender inequality in the geosciences are strongly gendered

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Abstract

The *leaky pipeline* phenomenon refers to the disproportionate drop-out of female scientists at higher academic career levels and is a major problem in the natural sciences. Identifying the underlying causes is challenging, and thus solving the problem remains difficult. To better understand the reasons for the leaky pipeline, we assess the perceptions and impacts of gender bias and imbalance—two major drivers of the leakage—at different academic career levels with an anonymous survey in geoscience academia ($n=1220$). The survey results show that both genders view male geoscientists as substantially more gender-biased than female scientists, with nearly half of the female full professors considering their male colleagues as biased (vs. 21.3% of male full professors). Moreover, female geoscientists are more than twice as likely to experience negative gender bias at their workplaces and scientific organizations compared to male geoscientists, and female professors report experiences with negative bias at the highest rate (37.8%) among all career stages. There are also pronounced gender differences regarding (i) the relevance of role models, which are most important at the PhD level for women, but at the postdoc or higher levels for men, (ii) family-friendly working conditions, which are important in the future to 76.1% of female PhD students vs. 57.9% of male PhD students and (iii) the approval of gender quotas for academic positions (supported by 44.9% female vs. 7.9% male respondents). Given the male dominance in senior career levels, our results emphasize that those feeling less impacted by the negative consequences of gender bias and imbalance are the ones in position to tackle the problem. We thus call for actions to better address gender biases and to ensure a balanced gender representation at decision-making levels to ultimately retain more women in geoscience academia.

1 Introduction

The disproportional decline of female scientists with increasing academic rank—called the leaky pipeline—has been a continuing issue ever since the term was first

introduced in the early 1990s (Alper, 1993). The most pronounced loss of women in academia occurs at the transition from the PhD to higher career levels (Newton, 2012). The geosciences are among the least diverse scientific disciplines regarding gender and underrepresented minorities (Holmes et al., 2008; Dutt et al., 2016; Nature Geoscience Editorial, 2016). This is despite various calls for more workforce diversity, which is known to boost innovation and productivity (Medin & Lee, 2012; Nature Editorial, 2018). The poor retention of women does not only impede a large and diverse talent pool, it is also a moral and ethical issue contrary to the principle of granting equal opportunities to everyone (Nature Geoscience Editorial, 2016). Within the U.S. geosciences, for example, women accounted for 40% of BSc students but only 14% of full professors in 2015 (Fig. 1). Likewise, women are underrepresented in major geoscience organizations (i.e., professional societies) such as the European Geosciences Union (EGU) and the American Geophysical Union (AGU). Within the EGU, women represented 43% of student members (including PhD candidates), 35% of the total membership and 18% of Emeritus members (older than 60 and retired) in 2018 (personal communication with the EGU Executive Office, April 2018). Within the AGU, women accounted for 44% of student members, 27% of mid-career members, 15% of experienced members, and 7% of retired members in 2018 (personal communication with the AGU Membership Office, December 2018). However, there has been some progress in closing the gender gap in recent years (Bernard & Cooperdock, 2018): within the U.S. geoscience workforce, the proportion of female PhD recipients increased from 23% to 40%, and the proportion of female full professors increased from 5% to 14% between 1996 and 2015 (Fig. 1). Nonetheless, the geosciences continue to leak women as academic level increases (Holmes et al., 2015) and gender balance at the faculty level is yet to be achieved (Bernard & Cooperdock, 2018).

A myriad of reasons have been proposed to explain the leaky pipeline for women in STEM (science, technology, engineering and mathematics) fields, including women's career and family choices, low recruitment and retention, post-tenure burnout, gen-

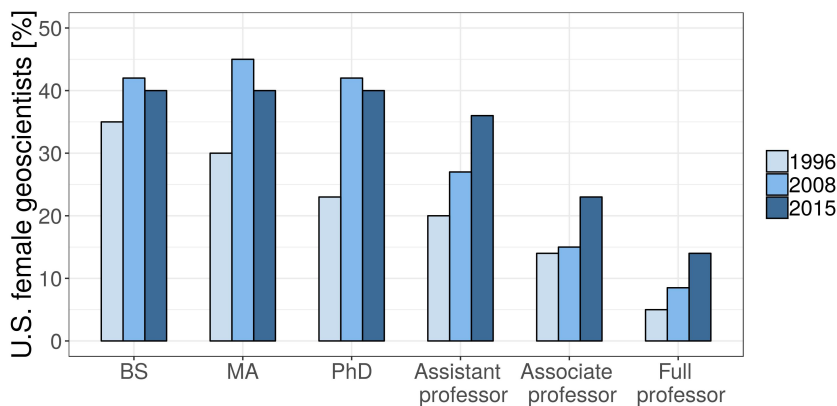


Figure 1. Relative decline of female geoscientists in the U.S. with increasing academic rank between 1996 and 2015 (data from Wilson (2016) and Holmes et al. (2008)).

72 der bias, and a lack of role models, mentors and networks (Hill et al., 2010; Ceci &
 73 Williams, 2011; Newton, 2012; Reuben et al., 2014; Holmes et al., 2015). Holmes
 74 et al. (2015) categorized the reasons into three overlapping groups of individual, in-
 75 teractional, and institutional barriers, with the lack of role models and implicit (un-
 76 conscious) gender bias lying at the heart of their overlap. Gender bias manifests
 77 itself in unequal opportunities in research funding (van der Lee & Ellemers, 2015) and
 78 collaborations (National Research Council, 2006), underrepresentation in prestigious
 79 scientific roles (e.g., journal editorial board members) (Vila-Concejo et al., 2018), men-
 80 exclusive networks (Massen et al., 2017), unequal pay and less prospects of research
 81 positions (Moss-Racusin et al., 2012), fewer invitations to review manuscripts (Lerback
 82 & Hanson, 2017) and write commentaries or commissioned articles (Editorial, 2012;
 83 Conley & Stadmark, 2012), fewer opportunities to speak at conferences and collo-
 84 quiums (Nittrouer et al., 2018; Ford et al., 2018; King et al., 2018), weaker recom-
 85 mendation letters (Dutt et al., 2016), and fewer research grants and academic prizes
 86 (Lincoln et al., 2012; Tamblyn et al., 2018). These examples indicate that gender bias
 87 is widespread and potentially impacts a woman’s professional trajectory in academia.
 88 But how do female and male geoscientists actually perceive gender bias? And does

89 gender inequality (in this study referring to gender bias and imbalance) impact geosci-
90 entists, e.g., at scientific meetings or in their institutions? To assess these questions,
91 we conducted an anonymous online survey, with a total of 1415 participants working
92 across the geosciences. This study reveals that both women and men perceive the
93 geoscience academia to be male-dominated among tenured scientists. The perceptions
94 and impacts of gender inequality, however, are strongly gendered, and primarily fe-
95 male geoscientists seem to be affected by its negative impacts. The male dominance in
96 faculty positions in the geosciences (Holmes et al., 2008) implies that those in position
97 of resolving gender inequality are the ones less affected by it. Hence, male senior sci-
98 entists might not be fully aware of the extent of the issue. Our results emphasize that
99 individuals, institutions, organizations and funders should seek actions to better ad-
100 dress gender biases and to ensure a balanced gender representation at decision-making
101 levels. This will be vital to design measures that are both widely accepted within the
102 community and effective in sealing the geosciences leaky pipeline.

103 **2 Methods**

104 **2.1 Conceptual Design and Distribution of the Online Survey**

105 The survey was conducted from March 25 to April 11, 2018 using Google Surveys.
106 The link to the survey was distributed by the authors via email and social media (Twi-
107 ter and Facebook). Among the 1415 participants, we analyzed the responses of those
108 who identified as either female or male (leaving out seven non-binary respondents due
109 to the small sample size), and currently work in academia (i.e., universities or research
110 institutes, including emeritus and adjunct professors, research support staff, and re-
111 search assistants). We thereby retained 1220 respondents with a gender distribution
112 of 67.0% female to 33.0% male survey participants. Analyses on career stages were
113 performed using a subset of 1080 participants who identified either as BSc and MSc

114 students, PhD candidates, postdoctoral researchers, assistant or associate professors,
115 or full professors.

116 2.2 Background of Survey Participants

117 Participants were mainly based in Europe (53.4%) and North America (36.9%),
118 and worked in hydrology (24.0%), geomorphology (8.9%), geochemistry, mineralogy,
119 petrology and volcanology (8.6%), and various other geoscience disciplines. Partici-
120 pants consisted of 35.0% PhD candidates, 19.0% postdoctoral researchers, 17.3% assis-
121 tant or associate professors, 9.7% non-tenured scientists, 9.7% BSc and MSc students,
122 and 7.5% full professors.

123 2.3 Statistical Data Analysis

124 For the statistical analyses, we used the programming language and software
125 environment R (R Core Team, 2018). We applied Pearson’s chi-squared (χ^2) tests to
126 all results to analyze differences between female and male participants (unless stated
127 otherwise), using post-hoc tests with Benjamini-Hochberg correction (Benjamini &
128 Hochberg, 1995) for responses with more than two categories. This allows identifying
129 individual categories with significant differences between female and male participants
130 (i.e., adjusted p -value $<1.0e-2$) and permits statistical assertions on gender differences
131 despite the overrepresentation of women in the survey population relative to their
132 representation in the geosciences. Test-statistics of the chi-squared tests were reported
133 as follows: $\chi^2(\text{degrees of freedom, sample size})=\chi^2\text{-value, } p\text{-value or adjusted } p\text{-value}$
134 after Benjamini-Hochberg correction for all categories where degrees of freedom >1 .
135 We reported the maximum p among all categories with significant p (i.e., adjusted
136 $p<1.0e-2$) and gave the exact p -value for all categories with non-significant p . In the
137 text, we aggregated variables on a scale from 1 to 5 (Figs. 2c, 2d, 2h, S3 & S12)
138 as follows: values 1 and 2 as “*not at all or little*”, 3 as “*neutral*”, and 4 and 5 as
139 “*somewhat to very*”. When discussing categorical variables, we indicated in the text

140 whether we refer to aggregated categories. The “*Don’t know*” option for categorical
141 variables was kept unless noted otherwise, as it accounted for more than 5% among
142 female or male respondents in most cases (Figs. 2a, e-g).

143 3 Results and Discussion

144 3.1 Perceptions of Gender Imbalance

145 To assess gender-specific differences in geoscience academia, we grouped all sur-
146 vey participants ($n=1415$) by their self-identified gender and discarded non-academic
147 participants, resulting in a total of 1220 participants, among which 67.0% were female
148 and 33.0% male. Given that the geoscience workforce is generally male-dominated
149 (Holmes et al., 2008)—with 19% female and 81% male geoscientists in faculty positions
150 at U.S. universities in 2015 (Wilson, 2016)—the gender distribution of our respondents
151 suggests that female geoscientists generally feel more addressed by the survey topic
152 than their male peers. Although the majority of respondents have heard of the leaky
153 pipeline, a lower percentage of men (61.4%) than women (72.7%) are familiar with
154 the term ($\chi^2(1, 1220)=15.6$, $p<1.0e-4$). Moreover, BSc and MSc students as well as
155 PhD students are less aware of the term (41.5% and 58.1%, respectively) than post-
156 docs (78.4%), assistant or associate professors (88.2%) and full professors (79.3%; Fig.
157 S1). Both female (85.7%) and male (73.6%) participants predominantly believe that
158 male tenured scientists outnumber their female counterparts in their scientific institu-
159 tions (i.e., departments, Fig. 2a). However, a greater percentage of men (13.9%) than
160 women (6.8%) perceive the gender distribution as balanced (Fig. 2a, $\chi^2(3, 1220)=32.2$,
161 $p<1.2e-3$ except for p (“*Don’t know*”)=4.7e-1).

162 The vast majority of participants (83.4%) consider an equal gender distribution
163 in a research group important, or to some extent important, for creating a healthy
164 work environment (“*Don’t know*” accounting for 1.1% discarded). This view is largely
165 independent of the participants’ career level, with more than 80% in each career level

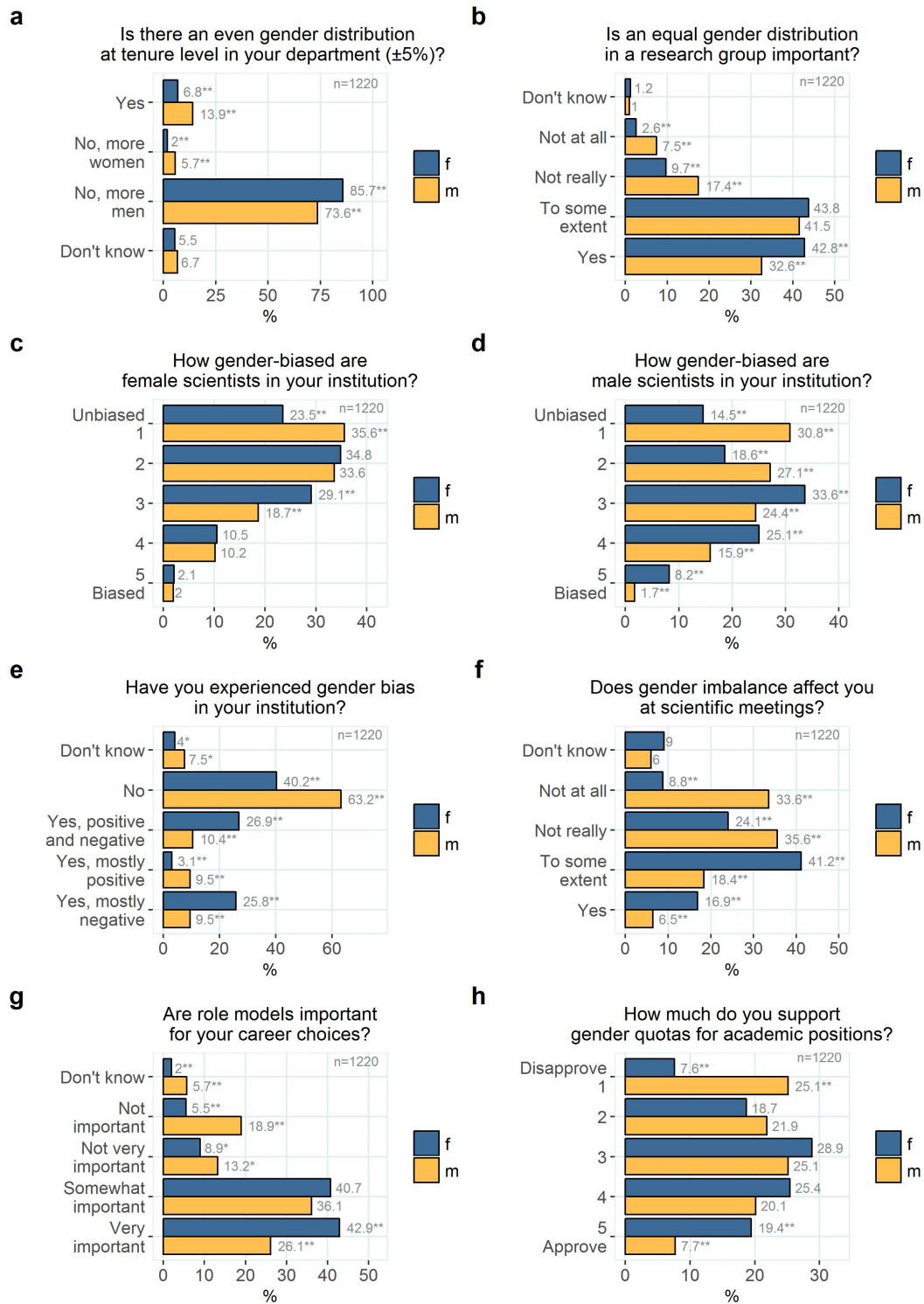


Figure 2. Gender distribution of replies to key questions of the survey. Answers by female (f) and male (m) respondents are relative to total number of answers per gender ($n=818$ for female and $n=402$ for male respondents). Asterisks next to percentages indicate statistical significance according to χ^2 -tests (* for $p < 5.0e-2$ and ** for $p < 1.0e-2$).

166 considering gender balance important. Yet a greater percentage of women (87.6%)
167 than men (74.9%) express this view (Fig. 2b, $\chi^2(1, 1206)=30.4$, $p<1.0e-4$), whereas a
168 considerably greater percentage of men (25.1%) than women (12.4%) dismiss gender
169 balance in research groups as not really or not at all important. The latter is dispro-
170 portionately common among male postdocs, who account for the highest percentage
171 among those dismissing gender balance as rather unimportant (30.3%; vs. 13.2% of
172 female postdocs; Fig. S2). These results show how gender representation alone can
173 be perceived differently between genders. Moreover, we show that gender balance in
174 research teams seems to be more important to female than to male geoscientists.

175 **3.2 Perceptions of Gender Bias**

176 In addition to differences in the perceptions of gender imbalance, female and male
177 scientists experience gender-bias of colleagues at their institutions differently. The ma-
178 jority of male respondents consider their female and male colleagues (69.2% and 58.0%,
179 respectively) as little to not biased regarding gender discrimination. Moreover, only
180 a small percentage of male respondents view their female and male colleagues (12.2%
181 and 17.7%, respectively) as somewhat to strongly gender-biased (Figs. 2c & 2d). In
182 contrast to men, female respondents perceive gender-bias of their female and male
183 colleagues differently: while a majority of female respondents (58.3%) see their female
184 colleagues as little to not biased, a minority of them (33.1%) perceive their male col-
185 leagues as little to not biased. Similar to male respondents, 12.6% of women consider
186 their female colleagues as somewhat to strongly biased. However, 33.3% of female
187 respondents consider their male colleagues as somewhat to strongly biased (Figs. 2c
188 & 2d). This perception is more pronounced among women at higher career levels,
189 with 48.9% of female professors considering male scientists as biased, as opposed to
190 around 27% of both female undergraduate and graduate students (Fig. S3). Among
191 male geoscientists, there is no clear relationship between perception of gender bias and
192 career stage (Fig. S3): full professors account for the highest percentage among those

193 who consider male scientists as biased (21.3%), while male assistant and associate pro-
194 fessors account for the lowest percentage (14.5%). In summary, although both genders
195 consistently regard male scientists as more gender-biased, female respondents perceive
196 male scientists as gender-biased by a considerably larger proportion (33.3% female
197 vs. 17.7% male respondents, $\chi^2(2, 1220)=71.1$, $p<1.3e-3$). Interestingly, these gender
198 differences do not occur in the perception of female scientists' gender bias (12.6% fe-
199 male vs. 12.2% male respondents, $\chi^2(2, 1220)=16.6$, $p<4.8e-4$ except for p (“*Somewhat*
200 *to strongly biased*”)=0.91). Possible explanations for these findings include that (1)
201 men are less aware of gender bias and its implications at workplaces (Flood & Russell,
202 2017) and more critical of scientific studies depicting gender bias in STEM disciplines
203 (Handley et al., 2015), and (2) women are more susceptible to experience gender bias
204 (e.g., Williams & Ceci, 2015). Notwithstanding the emphasis on gender-biased male
205 scientists, research has also reported same-gender bias among women faculty (Moss-
206 Racusin et al., 2012) and examples of female faculty being more critical of women than
207 men (i.e., *the queen bee syndrome*) (Ellemers et al., 2004).

208 **3.3 Impacts of Gender Inequality**

209 Our data show the prevalence of gender inequality in scientific institutions (i.e.,
210 workplaces), organizations (i.e., professional societies such as the EGU) and meetings
211 (e.g., conferences). Beyond everyday work, scientific organizations and conferences
212 play an important role in supporting researchers as they provide scientific journals
213 and grants, are gateways to academic careers and show where and how scientists
214 participate in the geoscience community (Ford et al., 2018; Biggs et al., 2018; Potvin
215 et al., 2018; King et al., 2018).

216 Experiences with gender bias (negative, positive or both) in scientific institutions
217 (e.g., in terms of supervision style, pay gap, recruitment, promotion, and support by
218 mentors) are reported more often by women (55.7%) than men (29.4%), resulting in
219 an average of 47.0% among all respondents. Whereas male participants experience

220 “mostly positive” and “mostly negative” biases at equal rates (9.5%), female respon-
221 dents experience negative bias at a considerably higher rate (25.8%) than positive
222 bias (3.1%, Fig. 2e, $\chi^2(4, 1220)=126.5$, $p<1.0e-4$ except for $p(“Don’t know”)=1.6e-2$).
223 While a quarter of the female participants has been exposed to negative biases, about
224 the same fraction has reported experiences with both positive and negative biases, com-
225 pared to only 10.4% of male participants (Fig. 2e). As women particularly at higher
226 career stages have reported a combination of positive and negative biases (Fig. S4),
227 this might reflect situations in which women felt advantaged or were actually favoured
228 over their male colleagues in the competition for tenure track positions (Williams &
229 Ceci, 2015).

230 Considering that 37.8% of female full professors have experienced negative gender
231 bias, but only around 20% of female undergraduate and graduate students (Fig. S4),
232 the impact of gender inequality on women seems to intensify with increasing academic
233 rank. Another, more preferable explanation of this difference could be a recent shift
234 towards a more gender-inclusive climate in science, which exposes fewer young women
235 to biased behaviour than at the time today’s senior women scientists started their
236 career. Among male geoscientists, on the contrary, postdocs account for the highest
237 percentage of experiences with negative bias (14.3%, compared to 8.5% of full profes-
238 sors; Fig. S4). Moreover, female participants who report an underrepresentation of
239 either female or male tenured scientists in their departments (Fig. 2a) experience neg-
240 ative biases in their institutions more often (28.2%) than those from gender-balanced
241 workplaces (16.4%, Fig. S5, $\chi^2(1, 746)=3.0$, $p=8.2e-2$, “Don’t know” accounting for
242 8.8% discarded). These findings are in line with earlier reported negative impacts
243 of male-dominated academic institutions on women such as sexual harassment and
244 unequal pay (Elsevier, 2017; Funk & Parker, 2018).

245 Gender bias appears to be less pronounced in scientific organizations (e.g., in
246 terms of selection for oral presentations, representatives, awards and panel members)

247 compared to scientific institutions, with 28.4% of the respondents having experienced
 248 bias in scientific organizations in some way (negative, positive, or both). Nevertheless,
 249 a greater percentage of women (32.9%) than men (19.2%) have experienced some kind
 250 of bias in scientific organizations, and negative biases are almost twice as frequent for
 251 females (16.0%) as for males (8.2%) (Fig. S6, $\chi^2(4, 1220)=37.1$, $p<8.5e-4$ except for
 252 $p(\text{“Yes, mostly positive”})=0.61$ and $p(\text{“Don’t know”})=0.61$). The disadvantage per-
 253 ceived by women also reflects the unequal speaking opportunities for women at the
 254 AGU Fall Meeting reported by Ford et al. (2018).

255 According to our survey data, gender imbalance at scientific meetings (e.g., in
 256 terms of raising questions, speaking up, received responses by colleagues) has a sig-
 257 nificant impact on the overall experience and behavior of scientists and women in
 258 particular: the majority of female respondents (58.1% female vs. 24.9% male) feel
 259 at least to some extent affected by gender imbalance at scientific meetings (Fig. 2f,
 260 $\chi^2(2, 1220)=145.3$, $p<1.0e-4$ except for $p(\text{“Don’t know”})=8.1e-2$). In contrast, men
 261 are more than twice as likely as women (69.2% and 32.9%, respectively) to feel not
 262 at all or not really affected by gender imbalance at scientific meetings. These results
 263 align well with recent findings reported by King et al. (2018) who observed at two
 264 Canadian geoscience meetings that only 20% of questions were asked by women and
 265 women were more likely to ask questions in female-dominated sessions. Our findings
 266 further demonstrate the possibility of an exclusionary and sexist climate for women
 267 at geoscience conferences—a phenomenon that has been reported for other scientific
 268 disciplines before (Settles & O’Connor, 2014). Overall, these results highlight that fe-
 269 male geoscientists experience negative impacts of gender inequality at their workplaces,
 270 organizations and conferences substantially more often than their male colleagues.

271 **3.4 How Important are Role Models?**

272 Role models can encourage students and early career scientists to pursue a career
 273 in academia as they show career possibilities and reduce stereotypes about scientists

(Canetto et al., 2012; Young et al., 2013; Dasgupta & Stout, 2014). Accordingly, Vila-
Concejo et al. (2018) showed that a lack of role models is perceived to be a key obstacle
for gender equity. Hence, providing same-gender role models is now one of the most
promising retention strategies for female scientists in the geosciences (Hernandez et al.,
2018). To the majority of respondents (76.6%), role models are somewhat to very im-
portant for their career choices. However, there is a significant gender difference (Fig.
2g, $\chi^2(2, 1220)=69.7$, $p<8.4e-4$) between those who consider role models as rather im-
portant (“*somewhat important*” or “*very important*”) and rather unimportant (“*not*
very important” or “*not important*”). A great majority of female participants (83.6%
females vs. 62.2% males) fall into the first category, whereas 32.1% of male respondents
(vs. 14.4% females) fall into the second category (“*Don't know*” accounting for differ-
ence to 100%). Gender differences become also apparent when looking at different
career stages (Fig. S7): while role models are most important for women right before
the most leaky part of the pipeline, i.e., the PhD level (87.9%, compared to 79.1% of
female BSc and Msc students and 80% of women professors), they matter the most to
men at the postdoc and assistant or associate professor levels (67.5% and 69.7%, re-
spectively, compared to 55.6% of male undergraduates and 51.1% of male professors).
Moreover, 36.7% females (vs. 7.5% males) prefer same-gender role models, compared
to only 1.8% (vs. 3.7% males) preferring other-gender role models and 57.1% (vs.
76.6% males) indicating no gender preference (Fig. S8, $\chi^2(3, 1220)=128.6$, $p<1.0e-4$
except for p (“*Other gender*”)=7.0e-2). Furthermore, women from gender-imbalanced
departments (Fig. 2a) are more likely to consider role models as important (86.5%)
compared to those from gender-balanced departments (73.6%; Fig. S9, $\chi^2(1, 758)=5.7$,
 $p=1.7e-2$, “*Don't know*” accounting for 7.3% discarded). These results underline that
role models—particularly female role models—are more desirable and more crucial for
female than male geoscientists, especially in institutions where these role models might
not be available due to the scarcity of women senior scientists.

3.5 How Important are Family-Friendly Working Conditions?

A recent study found that “parenthood is an important driver of gender imbalance in STEM” (Cech & Blair-Loy, 2019). That is because family obligations are still mostly seen as female responsibilities and women take on a disproportionate amount of domestic work including parenting (Editorial, 2012; Rosen, 2017). Moreover, in many countries, childcare is expensive and scarce (Newton, 2012). Balancing the demands of family responsibilities and being a young scientist striving for tenure is perceived as one of the biggest barriers for young women in academia (National Research Council, 2006; Newton, 2012; Gay-Antaki & Liverman, 2018). Additionally, hiring biases still persist against young female scientists who might interrupt their career to start a family, as this will impact their scientific output (National Research Council, 2006; Raymond, 2013; Vila-Concejo et al., 2018). The combination of these obstacles most likely plays a role in the smaller number of female scientists (on tenure-track) having children compared to their male peers (Holmes et al., 2008). Our data show that family-related working conditions (e.g., the option to work part-time, daycare facilities for children) are important (“*at the moment*” or “*in the future*”) to the vast majority (76.1%) of survey participants (82.8% females and 73.9% of males; Fig. S10; $\chi^2(1, 1162)=12.0$, $p=5.4e-4$, “*Don’t know*” accounting for 4.8% discarded). Family-friendly working conditions are important “in the future” especially for younger researchers at the BSc and MSc level (54.2%), PhD level (71%) and postdoc level (50.4%). Accordingly, they are particularly important “at the moment” for the more advanced career levels, with male full professors showing the highest percentage among all career levels and both genders (63.8%; compared to 53.3% of female professors; Fig. S11). In contrast, only 17.2% of female and 26.1% of male geoscientists (overall 19.2%) consider family-related working conditions as “*not (very) important*”. These findings emphasize that the compatibility between work and family is highly relevant for most geoscientists, and women in particular. To facilitate a healthy balance between family and work in academia, institutions need to foster affordable daycare, support the return from parental leave and

329 grant flexible working hours (Vila-Concejo et al., 2018). Progress in this regard would
330 not only benefit many female scientists, but also encourage the increasing number of
331 male scientists with egalitarian role attitudes to reconcile family responsibilities with
332 academic careers (Damaske et al., 2014; Flood & Russell, 2017).

333 **3.6 Gender Quotas: a Divisive Matter**

334 There is a contested debate on possible benefits and harms of gender quotas as a
335 major policy tool to mitigate gender imbalance in academia, particularly at the highest
336 career levels (e.g., Vernos, 2013; Wallon et al., 2015). Proponents argue that the belief
337 in meritocracy itself is biased (Christensen & Muhr, 2018), and that a quota system
338 accelerates the achievement of gender parity by ensuring the presence of role models
339 for female scientists, particularly early in their careers (Nature Editorial, 2013; Pyke &
340 White, 2018). Opponents question the efficacy of quotas in addressing the underlying
341 discrimination, advocate instead for a purely merit-based system and point out the
342 potential stigma associated with individuals hired via a quota system (Vernos, 2013;
343 Wallon et al., 2015). This ambivalence is also evident in our survey, showing that
344 both positions are almost equally strong: 39.3% of the respondents are in favor of
345 gender quotas, while 33.2% are against them. However, opinions on gender quotas in
346 academia are strongly gendered (Fig. 2h, $\chi^2(2, 1220)=56.2$, $p<1.0e-4$ except for the
347 neutral position with $p=1.9e-1$): while nearly half of women (44.9%) are in favor of
348 quotas, the same holds for less than a third of men only (27.9%). On the other end of
349 the spectrum, around half of the male respondents (47.0%) but only about a quarter
350 of female respondents (26.3%) are against quotas. The remainder (28.9% female and
351 25.1% male) have a neutral position. Being at a critical moment in their scientific
352 career, female postdocs show the highest approval rate of gender quotas (56.1%),
353 followed by female BSc and MSc students (50.5%; Fig. S12) In contrast, the approval
354 of gender quotas by male respondents is highest among professors (34.%; Fig. S12) and
355 lowest among geoscientists potentially striving for tenure (22.1% among male postdocs

356 and 25.0% among male assistant and associate professors), which possibly reflects fears
357 of being disadvantaged by quotas in favour of female colleagues during a critical stage
358 on tenure-track. Among those who acknowledge the importance of gender balance for
359 a healthy research group (Fig. 2b), 44.8% (49.0% of women and 34.9% of men) support
360 gender quotas for academic positions, compared to only 12.0% (17% of women and
361 7% of men) among those who dismiss gender balance as “(rather) *unimportant*” (Fig.
362 S13, “*Don't know*” accounting for 1.1% discarded, $\chi^2(2, 1206)=124.0$, $p<1.0e-4$ except
363 for the neutral position with $p=9.8e-2$). These results clearly indicate the polarizing
364 nature of quotas as an adequate tool to combat the leaky pipeline, especially in view
365 of the considerable opposition among female respondents who would actually benefit
366 from a quota system. Instead of mandatory gender quotas, softer measures to reduce
367 gender bias in the hiring process, such as anonymous applications (Åslund & Skans,
368 2012) and formalized interviewing procedures (Holmes et al., 2015), might meet with
369 more approval from the geoscience community.

370 **4 Insights into the Perceptions and Impacts of Gender Inequality**

371 Almost 30 years after its first recognition, the persistence of the leaky pipeline for
372 female scientists still poses a great challenge to our scientific community. The insights
373 revealed by this survey underscore the gendered perceptions and impacts of gender
374 inequality within geoscience academia:

- 375 • Although most geoscientists are well aware of the leaky pipeline and value
376 gender-balanced research teams, men appear less receptive to this matter.
- 377 • Male scientists perceive their female and male colleagues as equally (un)biased,
378 while female scientists perceive their male colleagues as more biased than their
379 female colleagues.

- 380 • Female scientists report negative gender biases at their workplaces and scientific
381 organizations about twice as often as male respondents, and a majority of female
382 respondents feel affected by gender imbalance at scientific meetings.
- 383 • The impact of gender inequality on women becomes more severe higher up the
384 career ladder.
- 385 • Having same-gender role models and family-friendly working conditions is more
386 important to female scientists.
- 387 • Gender quotas in academia are a divisive matter; while gender quotas have a
388 greater approval by women than men, they are not endorsed by the majority
389 of geoscientists surveyed. Male mid-career geoscientists who might be directly
390 affected by gender quotas are particularly opposed to gender quotas.

391 In light of the above, we show that male geoscientists generally feel less impacted by
392 gender inequality, which suggests that they are also less aware of its negative impacts
393 on female geoscientists. However, no true progress can be made as long as we do
394 not fully acknowledge the problem of gender inequality and the resulting female un-
395 derrepresentation in geoscience faculty (Raymond, 2013; Vila-Concejo et al., 2018).
396 Therefore, we believe that implicit gender bias training for all scientists is one of the
397 most promising strategies to increase awareness and recognition of the issue. Men
398 should also be invited and made feel welcome to join the discussion about gender
399 equality, which is often a topic solely addressed to and by women. Gender inequality,
400 however, is not only a female issue; it affects both women and men (Flood & Russell,
401 2017).

402 A thorough catalog of best practices and strategies to overcome gender inequal-
403 ity has been, for example, proposed by Holmes et al. (2015) and Vila-Concejo et al.
404 (2018). Based on the outcomes of our survey, we stress the following strategies as the
405 most promising approaches to retain more female scientists in geoscience academia: 1)
406 implicit gender bias training to combat unconscious biases, 2) transparent candidate

407 selection criteria of institutions and funders for hiring processes and funding oppor-
408 tunities, respectively, 3) better promotion and representation of female scientists by
409 selecting them for prestigious decision making roles, 4) inviting more men to an open
410 discussion about gender equality and 5) granting more rights, flexibility and support
411 for parents to share parental responsibilities and to transform academia into a more
412 family-friendly workplace. We believe that these strategies are feasible endeavors for
413 individual scientists, scientific institutions, organizations and funders. The successful
414 implementation of these measures will greatly help to retain more women as they climb
415 up the career ladder and ultimately seal the leaky pipeline in the geosciences.

416 **Author contributions**

417 A.P. initiated this study; S.R.L. conducted the statistical analysis of the data;
418 T.H.M.v.E. conducted an earlier data analysis; all authors helped to draft the sur-
419 vey questions and the manuscript; A.P., S.R.L. and S.K. co-wrote the paper with all
420 authors contributing to discussing and interpreting the results and refining the paper.

421 **Competing interests**

422 The authors declare no competing interests.

423 **Data availability**

424 All data used in this study are available in the Zenodo repository:

425 <http://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.2596561>.

426 **Materials & Correspondence**

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