

GEXcel Work in Progress Report Volume XVII

Proceedings from GEXcel Themes 11–12
Visiting Scholars:
Gender Paradoxes in Changing Academic and
Scientific Organisation(s)

Edited by
Sofia Strid and Liisa Husu

Centre of Gender Excellence – GEXcel

**Towards a European Centre of Excellence in
Transnational and Transdisciplinary Studies of**

- Changing Gender Relations
- Intersectionalities
- Embodiment

Institute of Thematic Gender Studies:

Department of Gender Studies, Tema Institute,
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GEXcel Work in Progress Report Volume XVII:
Proceedings from GEXcel Themes 11–12: Gender Paradoxes in Changing Academic and Scientific Organisation(s)

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Centre of Gender Excellence Gendering Excellence – GEXcel

Towards a European Centre of Excellence in
Transnational and Transdisciplinary Studies of:

- Changing Gender Relations
- Intersectionalities
- Embodiment

*Nina Lykke,
Linköping University, Director of GEXcel*

In 2006, the Swedish Research Council granted 20 million SEK to set up a Centre of Gender Excellence at the inter-university Institute of Thematic Gender Studies, Linköping University and Örebro University, for the period 2007–2011. Linköping University has added five million SEK as matching funds, while Örebro University has added three million SEK as matching funds.

The following is a short presentation of the excellence centre. For more information contact: Scientific Director of GEXcel, Professor Nina Lykke (ninly@tema.liu.se); GEXcel Research Coordinator, Dr. Silje Lundgren (coordinator@genderexcel.org); GEXcel Research Coordinator, Dr. Gunnel Karlsson (gunnel.karlsson@oru.se); Dr. Sofia Strid (sofia.strid@oru.se); or Manager, Gender Studies, Linköping, Berit Starkman (berst@tema.liu.se).

Institutional basis of GEXcel

Institute of Thematic Gender Studies, Linköping University and Örebro University

The institute is a collaboration between:

Department of Gender Studies, Linköping University;

Gender and Medicine, Linköping University

&

Centre for Feminist Social Studies, Örebro University;

Gender Studies, Örebro University

GEXcel board and lead-team

– a transdisciplinary team of Gender Studies professors:

- Professor Nina Lykke, Linköping University (Director) – Gender and Culture; background: Literary Studies
- Professor Anita Göransson, Linköping University – Gender, Organisation and Economic Change; background: Economic History
- Professor Jeff Hearn, Linköping University – Critical Studies of Men and Masculinities; background: Sociology and Organisation Studies
- Professor Liisa Husu, Örebro University – Gender Studies with a Social Science profile; background: Sociology
- Professor Emerita Anna G. Jónasdóttir, Örebro University – Gender Studies with a Social Science profile; background: Political Science, Social and Political Theory
- Professor Barbro Wijma, Linköping University – Gender and Medicine; background: Medicine
- Associate Professor Katarina Swahnberg – Gender and Medicine; background: Medicine

International advisory board

- Professor Karen Barad, University of California, St. Cruz, USA
- Professor Rosi Braidotti, University of Utrecht, The Netherlands
- Professor Raewyn Connell, University of Sydney, Australia
- Professor Emerita Kathleen B. Jones, San Diego State University, USA
- Professor Elzbieta Oleksy, University of Lodz, Poland
- Professor Berit Schei, Norwegian University of Technology, Trondheim, Norway
- Professor Birte Siim, University of Aalborg, Denmark

Aims of GEXcel

- 1) To set up a temporary (five year) Centre of Gender Excellence (Gendering EXcellence: GEXcel) in order to develop innovative research on changing gender relations, intersectionalities and embodiment from transnational and transdisciplinary perspectives.
- 2) To become a pilot or developmental scheme for a more permanent Sweden-based European Collegium for Advanced Transnational and Transdisciplinary Gender Studies (CATSgender).

A core activity of GEXcel 2007–2011

A core activity is a visiting fellows programme, organised to attract excellent senior researchers and promising younger scholars from Sweden and abroad and from many disciplinary backgrounds. The visiting fellows are taken in after application and a peer-reviewed evaluation process of the applications; a number of top scholars within the field are also invited to be part of GEXcel's research teams. GEXcel's visiting fellows receive grants from one week to 12 months to stay at GEXcel to do research together with the permanent staff of six Gender Studies professors and other relevant local staff.

The Fellowship Programme is concentrated on annually shifting thematic foci. We select and construct shifting research groups, consisting of excellent researchers of different academic generations (professors, post doctoral scholars, doctoral students) to carry out new research on specified research themes within the overall frame of changing gender relations, intersectionalities and embodiment.

Brief definition of overall research theme of GEXcel

The overall theme of GEXcel research is defined as transnational and transdisciplinary studies of changing gender relations, intersectionalities and embodiment. We have chosen a broad and inclusive frame in order to attract a diversity of excellent scholars from different disciplines, countries and academic generations, but specificity and focus are also given high priority and ensured via annually shifting thematic foci.

The overall keywords of the (long!) title are chosen in order to indicate currently pressing theoretical and methodological challenges of gender research to be addressed by GEXcel research:

–By the keyword 'transnational' we underline that GEXcel research should contribute to a systematic transnationalizing of research on gender relations, intersectionalities and embodiment, and, in so doing, develop a reflexive stance vis-à-vis transnational travelling of ideas, theories

and concepts, and consciously try to overcome reductive one-country focused research as well as pseudo-universalising research that unreflectedly takes, for example ‘Western’ or ‘Scandinavian’ models as norm.

–By the keyword ‘changing’ we aim at underlining that it, in a world of rapidly changing social, cultural, economic and technical relations, is crucial to be able to theorise change, and that this is of particular importance for critical gender research due to its liberatory aims and inherent focus on macro, meso and micro level transformations.

–By the keyword ‘gender relations’, we aim at underlining that we define gender not as an essence, but as a relational, plural and shifting process, and that it is the aim of GEXcel research to contribute to a further understanding of this process.

–By the keyword ‘intersectionalities’, we stress that a continuous reflection on meanings of intersectionalities in gender research should be integrated in all GEXcel research. In particular, we will emphasise four different aspects: a) intersectionality as intersections of disciplines and main areas (humanities, social sciences and medical and natural sciences); b) intersectionality as intersections between macro, meso and micro level social analyses; c) intersectionality as intersections between social categories and power differentials organised around categories such as gender, ethnicity, race, class, sexuality, age, nationality, profession, dis/ablebodiedness); d) intersectionality as intersections between major different branches of feminist theorising (for example, queer feminist theorising, Marxist feminist theorising, postcolonial feminist theorising etc.).

–Finally, by the keyword ‘embodiment’, we aim at emphasising yet another kind of intersectionality, which has proved crucial in current gender research – to explore intersections between discourse and materiality and between sex and gender.

Specific research themes of GEXcel

The research at GEXcel focuses on a variety of themes. The research themes are the following:

Theme 1: Gender, Sexuality and Global Change

On interactions of gender and sexuality in a global perspective.

Headed by Anna G. Jónasdóttir.

Theme 2: Deconstructing the Hegemony of Men and Masculinities

On ways to critically analyse constructions of the social category ‘men’.

Headed by Jeff Hearn.

Theme 3: Distinctions and Authorisation

On meanings of gender, class, and ethnicity in constructions of elites.

Headed by Anita Göransson.

Themes 4 and 5: Sexual Health, Embodiment and Empowerment

On new synergies between different kinds of feminist researchers' (e.g. philosophers' and medical doctors') approaches to the sexed body.

Headed by Nina Lykke (Theme 5) and Barbro Wijma (Theme 4).

Theme 6: Power Shifts and New Divisions in Society, Work and University

On the specificities of new central power bases, such as immaterial production and the rule of knowledge.

Headed by Anita Göransson.

Themes 7 and 8: Teaching Normcritical Sex – Getting Rid of Violence.

TRANSdisciplinary, TRANSnational and TRANSformative Feminist Dialogues on Embodiment, Emotions and Ethics

On the struggles and synergies of socio-cultural and medical perspectives taking place in the three arenas sex education, critical sexology and violence.

Headed by Nina Lykke (Theme 8) and Barbro Wijma (Theme 7).

Theme 9: Gendered Sexuated Transnationalisations, Deconstructing the

Dominant: Transforming men, 'centres' and knowledge/policy/practice.

On various gendered, sexuated, intersectional, embodied, transnational processes, in relation to contemporary and potential changes in power relations.

Headed by Jeff Hearn.

Theme 10: Love in Our Time – a Question for Feminism

On the recent and growing interest in love as a subject for serious social and political theory among both non-feminist and feminist scholars.

Headed by Anna G. Jónasdóttir.

Themes 11 and 12) Gender Paradoxes in Changing Academic and Scientific Organisation(s).

Theme on gender paradoxes in how academic and scientific organisations are changing and being changed.

Headed by Liisa Husu.

In addition, three cross-cutting research themes will also be organised:

- a) Exploring Socio-technical Models for Combining Virtual and Physical Co-Presence while doing joint Gender Research;
- b) Organising a European Excellence Centre – Exploring Models;
- c) Theories and Methodologies in Transnational and Transdisciplinary Studies of Gender Relations, Intersectionalities and Embodiment.

The thematically organised research groups are chaired by GEXcel's core staff of six Gender Studies professors, who together make up a transdisciplinary team, covering the humanities, the social sciences and medicine.

Ambitions and visions

The fellowship programme of GEXcel is created with the central purpose to create transnational and transdisciplinary research teams that will have the opportunity to work together for a certain time – long enough to do joint research, do joint publications, produce joint international research applications and do other joint activities such as organising international conferences.

We will build on our extensive international networks to promote the idea of a permanent European institute for advanced and excellent gender research – and in collaboration with other actors seek to make this idea reality, for example, organisations such as AOIFE, the SOCRATES-funded network Athena and WISE, who jointly are preparing for a professional Gender Studies organisation in Europe.

We also hope that collaboration within Sweden will sustain the long-term goals of making a difference both in Sweden and abroad.

We consider GEXcel to be a pilot or developmental scheme for a more long-term European centre of gender excellence, i.e. for an institute- or collegium-like structure dedicated to advanced, transnational and transdisciplinary gender research, research training and education in advanced Gender Studies (GEXcel Collegium).

Leading international institutes for advanced study such as the Centre for the Study of Democracy at the University of California Irvine, and in Sweden The Swedish Collegium for Advanced Studies (SCAS at Uppsala University) have proved to be attractive environments and creative meeting places where top scholars in various fields from all over the world, and from different generations, have found time for reflective work and for meeting and generating new, innovative research. We would like to explore how this kind of academic structures that have proved very productive in terms of advancing excellence and high level, internationally important and recognised research within other areas of

study, can unleash new potentials of gender research and initiate a new level of excellence within the area. The idea is, however not just to take an existing academic form for unfolding of excellence potentials and fill it with excellent gender research. Understood as a developmental/pilot scheme for the GEXcel Collegium, GEXcel should build on inspirations from the mentioned units for advanced studies, but also further explore and assess what feminist excellence means in terms of both contents and form/structure.

We want to rework the advanced research collegium model on a feminist basis, including thorough critical reflections on meanings of gender excellence. What does it mean to gender excellence? How can we do it in even more excellent and feminist innovative ways?



Editors' Foreword

The contributions to this volume are the results of the activities carried out within the frame of GEXcel eleventh and twelfth research theme, *Gender Paradoxes in Changing Academic and Scientific Organisation(s)*. It comprises work-in-progress papers produced by the fifteen visiting scholars working under themes 11–12. All fifteen GEXcel visiting scholars stayed at Örebro University, Sweden, different periods during spring and autumn 2011.

The report is of a work-in-progress character, and the papers presented here are to be elaborated further. The reader should also be aware that due to the fact that, as this is a report of working papers, some minor editorial modifications have been made to some papers, but the language of those contributed by non-native speakers of English has not been specifically revised.

We thank Gunnel Karlsson and Mia Fogel for all their assistance in the arrangements of Research Themes 11–12.

Sofia Strid and Liisa Husu



Interrogating Gender Paradoxes in Changing Academic and Scientific Organisation(s)

Liisa Husu

How are academia, science and scientific organisations changing and being changed in Sweden, Europe and globally, and how are these changes related to gender?

Seen from a historical perspective, it becomes evident that feminism has changed academia, science, and academic and scientific organisations (Schiebinger 1999). However, current views on changes in gender relations in academia and science frequently appear as contradictory, claiming a persistent male dominance on the one hand, or an emerging new imbalance in women's favour on the other. Recent European gender and science statistics demonstrate how women continue to be a minority of European researchers in higher education, the business sector and in governmental research, and how the gatekeepers shaping the research agenda, and the heads of universities and research institutions are overwhelmingly male (EC 2009a, 2009b). Paradoxically, we are simultaneously warned that women are about to 'take over the universities' (see Husu 2005; Quinn 2003; Morley 2011).

Academic and scientific organisations are key sites of societal, academic and scientific knowledge production. These sites, as well as the nature of much academic and scientific work, have experienced rapid changes in recent decades. Such changes include: globalisation and increasing internationalisation of institutions, policies and academic and scientific work; rapid technological change; new forms of governance and increased accountability; new stratifications of institutions and professions with increased emphasis on competition, excellence and top performance and; and prioritising STEM fields in research policy. These changes are increasingly shaping the contexts of academic and scientific work, careers, organisations and knowledge production, nationally, regionally and globally.

Despite such rapid changes, it can be argued that it is rather a lack of change that characterises the gender patterns in many, even most, academic and scientific organisations and settings. Gender patterns in academia and science have been shown to be highly persistent and resistant to change, regardless of cultural setting. Horizontal, vertical and even contractual gender segregations continue to characterise the academic



and scientific labour force. Men continue to be over-represented among the gatekeepers who set the academic and research agendas. Workplace cultures, networks and interactions in academic and scientific organisations continue to show highly gendered patterns (see Currie et al 2002; EC 2009b; ETAN 2000; Eveline 2004; Hearn 2004; Husu 2001, 2005, 2007; Husu et al 2010; Husu and Koskinen 2010; Leemann and Stutz 2010; Morley 2007; Pellert and Gindl 2007; Riegraf et al 2010; Sagaria 2007; Siemienska and Zimmer 2007; Van den Brink 2010).

This wide range of gender inequalities remains so despite the fact that the recruitment pool to academia and research has been rather heavily feminised/feminising in several fields, such as medicine, and despite a wide variety of interventions aimed at changing academia and science towards greater gender balance and gender awareness. The evidence accumulated on the dynamics of gender equality interventions in academia and scientific organisations, and the experiences of different change agents, show significant organisational gender inertia and various forms of resistance, implicit and explicit, against attempts of changing the asymmetric gender order (see Blanpain and Numhauser-Henning 2006; EC 2008a; Fogelberg et al 1999; *Higher Education in Europe* 2000; Morley 1999, 2005; Müller 2007; Pincus 2002; Riegraf et al 2010).

Indeed, promoting gender equality in academia and scientific research is currently strongly on the agenda of various major stakeholders, nationally and internationally. This has occurred in:

- Universities (see, for example, Fogelberg et al 1999; MIT 1999; *Higher Education in Europe* 2000; LERU 2012);
- National research councils and major funding organisations (see Husu et al 2010; NSF 2007; EC 2009b);
- Leading science journals such as *Nature* and *Science* (see Barres 2006; Bhattacharjee 2007; *Nature* 1999, 2009, 2013; Stevenson 1997); and
- International intergovernmental organisations: the United Nations (Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, 1995) and its specialised agencies, such as UNESCO (Harding and McGregor 1995; UNESCO Courier 2007); the OECD (2006), and the European Commission (EC 2003a, 2003b, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2008a, 2008b, 2009a, 2009b, 2011; ETAN 2000; Rees 2002, 2007).

Gender paradoxes in how academic and scientific organisations are changing, and are being changed, have been the main focus in GEXcel research themes 11 and 12. Science is here understood in its wider meaning, as in the German term ‘Wissenschaft’ or the Swedish ‘vetenskap’, including all disciplinary areas, and referring not only to natural sciences.

Changes constituted both by long-term macro trends and by more immediate policy interventions are of interest here. Many changes seemingly appear as non-gendered, or are represented as such. GEXcel research themes 11 and 12 interrogate the gender dimensions and gender impacts of both these sets of changes on academic and scientific organisations, on academic and scientific work, and knowledge production.

The GEXcel research themes 11–12 were addressed by three sub-themes, which are partially overlapping:

(a) **The paradox of change:** How can we understand the contradiction between rapid ‘non-gendered’ changes, on the one hand, and the widely observed gender inertia or lack of change in gender relations in academic and scientific organisations, on the other? In what ways are various seemingly ‘non-gendered’ change processes gendered, such as globalisation, technological changes (see, for example, *Journal of Technology, Management and Innovation* 2010), or changes and ‘reforms’ in governance? What is the role of various gatekeepers and gatekeeping processes and practices in promoting, facilitating, or blocking and preventing change towards more gender equal academic and scientific organisations?

(b) **The paradox of excellence:** What kind of gendering processes can be observed in new and emerging stratifications of academic and scientific organisations, disciplines and professions? What kind of gender impacts can be discerned in the design, implementation and developments of different initiatives and programmes bearing the ‘excellence’ label in different national and organisational contexts? In what ways are the policies and actions promoting excellence, and promoting gender equality perceived and presented as contradictory?

(c) **The paradox of interventions:** How can we understand the contradiction of long-term gender equality promotion in academic and scientific organisations in many cultural settings, and the slow change in gender relations in academia and science? Can gender equality interventions inadvertently enhance inequalities and how? What kind of contradictions and resistance do gender equality change agents experience in science and academia? How to analyse the gender dynamics and impacts of seemingly non-gendered interventions such as reforms in appointment, evaluation, funding or salary systems?

All in all fifteen GEXcel Visiting Scholars from nine countries were invited to spend a visiting period from a few weeks up to four months in GEXcel at Örebro University during Spring and Autumn 2011, to work on their research related to the research theme, interact intensively with other GEXcel Scholars and GEXcel host scholars, to give and receive collegial feedback, and discuss and develop potential future collabora-

tions (see Strid, Husu and Gunnarsson 2012). Various further collaborations among the Visiting Scholars and GEXcel have been developed since, such as a joint panel in the 2012 Gender and Education conference in Gothenburg, and several GEXcel Visiting Scholars have returned or are planning to return to Örebro after 2011 for longer or shorter periods, and some have joined the Örebro gender studies research milieu as affiliated researchers.

The Visiting Scholar positions for the doctoral students and postdoctoral researchers were internationally advertised, and the Scholars were selected in competition and by peer review to pursue their research projects related to the research theme. The selected Visiting Scholars were Dr. Marieke Van den Brink (Radboud University Nijmegen, Netherlands), Dr. Jennifer de Vries (University of Western Australia, Australia), Professor Heike Kahlert (Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich, Germany), Dr. Mia Liinason (Lund University, Sweden), Dr. Paula Mählck (Stockholm University, Sweden), Irina Nikiforova (Georgia Institute of Technology, USA), Dr. Maria do Mar Pereira (London School of Economics, United Kingdom, and Universidade Aberta, Portugal), Dr. Helen Peterson (Linköping University, Sweden), Helene Schiffbänker (University of Vienna, and Joanneum Research, Austria), Monica Wirz (University of Cambridge, United Kingdom), and Dr. Angela Wroblewski (Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna; University of Vienna; Vienna University of Economics and Business, Austria). Three of the Visiting Scholars were selected as doctoral students: Irina Nikiforova, Helene Schiffbänker and Monica Wirz, and two of them, Nikiforova and Schiffbänker, have subsequently obtained their Ph.D. Four scholars were invited as Senior GEXcel scholars to Örebro: directrice de recherche Suzanne de Cheveigné, CNRS, Centre Norbert Elias, France; Professor Emerita Jan Currie, Murdoch University, Australia; Professor Louise Morley, Sussex University, United Kingdom, and Professor Teresa Rees, Cardiff University, Wales. In addition to working on their own research the senior Scholars provided advice and individual mentoring and coaching to the junior scholars. The composition of the group of Visiting Scholars enabled ongoing in-depth international comparisons between regions, countries, institutions, career systems and welfare regimes.

The topics of the GEXcel theme 11–12 scholars research projects covered a wide range of approaches and issues related to the research themes: from macro approaches to science and research policy in Europe to leadership, management and career advancement; from analysis and reflections on gender equality interventions and gender equality change agents to exploring the paradoxes of the status of gender studies in different cultural settings.

Two conferences and several roundtables were organised around the research theme. The first was a kick off conference in May 2011. Roundtables with the Visiting Scholars and local researchers addressed such themes as ‘Imagining the feminist university of the future’, and ‘Interrogating interventions’. The major event of GEXcel theme 11–12 was the international conference *Gender Paradoxes in Academic and Scientific Organisation(s): Change, Excellence and Interventions* that took place at Örebro university on October 20–21, 2011 (see Strid and Husu 2013). The conference gathered together 60 participants from thirteen countries. The GEXcel senior scholar, Professor Louise Morley delivered the keynote presentation. Most of the other GEXcel theme 11–12 scholars presented their research and were involved in the plenary panel discussions around key conference themes. All in all 30 papers were presented in three parallel sessions, addressing the paradoxes of change, excellence and interventions from a multitude of perspectives and national and organisational contexts, and demonstrating the wide and vital interest in this research area internationally. A collection of conference papers of a number of other participating researchers, and the conference programme is published as a separate volume in this series.

GEXcel research themes 11 and 12 provided a very fruitful and productive international platform to discuss theoretical, methodological, political and transnational issues related to gender, change and academic and scientific organisations. Comparing the contextual settings and conditions and agendas of change processes transnationally and transdisciplinarily gave both new insights and evoked déjà vu commentaries, and inspired future research ideas.

Gender scholars need to continue their critical assessments of the changing academic and scientific landscape on macro, meso and micro levels, to question the implementation of the ‘excellence’ discourse in different academic and scientific settings, and to scrutinize the impacts of governance reforms, specifically those inspired by new public management, on gender relations and gender and other inequalities in academia. Gender equality interventions need to be constantly interrogated by gender research; they simply cannot be successful without close connections and dialogue with critical gender research, assessing their basic assumptions, tools, practices and impacts. These much needed critical approaches should not mean that we shy away from addressing change in academia and science in a more visionary way. This means imagining and envisioning, in both theoretical and practical terms, how different kinds of feminist futures would look like for academic and scientific work and organisations.

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Chapter 1

Promoting Excellence in Research? Then Integrate a Gender Dimension!

Teresa Rees

Universities and research institutes are necessarily concerned with excellence in the research that they conduct. Rigorous peer review mechanisms assess quality in the allocation of research funding and in publishing papers and books. In the UK, the Research Excellence Framework focuses attention on the quality of the research that academics produce and its impact; the results inform the allocation of funding for research for the next six years. Indeed, many countries have introduced such mechanisms to ensure that science budgets follow quality in research. What is strange is how there is a blind spot in determining research excellence through all these processes. All too often, inadequate attention has been paid to the significance of gender as a variable in the design, analysis and writing up of research. There are alas all too many examples of research projects where gender has been inappropriately ignored, to the detriment of the quality of the research. Moreover, this omission has sometimes had dire consequences; an impact of an unwelcome kind.

The European Commission conducted a post hoc review of the way in which gender was addressed in projects funded under the Fifth Framework Programme (Klinge and Bosch 2001). It demonstrated weaknesses in many projects, across all disciplines, because gender as a variable had been ignored. In the US, drugs have had to be withdrawn from pharmacy shelves because while they were not tested on women, they were prescribed to them, with adverse consequences. Drug testing all too frequently involves only male mice, rats and then humans in clinical trials, largely because it is cheaper. As a consequence, women are expected to accept medicine with much less of an evidence base. The aspirin a day mantra is derived from research tested only on men: heart disease is different in women. Anaesthetics and pain relief has not traditionally taken account of the impact of the gender of the patient. At the same time, research on breast cancer and osteoporosis has tended to exclude men, despite the fact that they may experience both conditions.

But it is not just medical research that has ignored gender. Dummies designed to test the impacts of crashes in newly designed cars have only recently included female versions, and even now, the positioning of airbags are positioned so that they kill the foetuses of pregnant women



sitting in passenger seats if they inflate. Gender is a highly significant organising principle in the labour market, career trajectories, wages and life span, as the recent report *An Anatomy of Economic Inequality in the UK* demonstrated (Brewer et al 2010). Gender is a critical variable in patterns of consumption of public and private goods and services. There is a growing literature on the weaknesses of research that ignore gender, as a recent special issue of *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews* shows (see especially Rees 2011). This will have an impact on impact.

The need for sex and gender analysis in research has been recognised in the US for some time, by both funding bodies (the guidelines of the National Institute of Health have insisted on the inclusion of women and minorities as subjects in clinical research since 1993) and by the publishers of research, such as *Circulation* (Journal of the American Heart Association) and the *Journal of the American College of Cardiology*. The latter requires authors to ‘provide gender-specific data, when appropriate, in describing outcomes of epidemiologic analyses or clinical trials’ or ‘specifically state that no gender-based differences were present.’

In the European Union, Swedish and German funding bodies have long stipulated that researchers need to address the gender dimension in their research proposals and that gender aspects of research should be considered in evaluation. New hard-hitting Spanish legislation for universities is designed to ‘...promote the inclusion of gender as a cross-cutting category in science, technology and innovation...’, including ‘the definition of the priorities of scientific and technological research, research problems, theoretical and explanatory frameworks, methods, collection and interpretation of data, findings, applications and technological developments, and proposals for future studies’.

A group of 13 research leaders from across the European Union, facilitated by genSET, an EU FP7 funded project coordinated by UK, have made a commitment to address this issue in their own institutions and recommended that other leaders need to ‘buy into’ the importance of the gender dimension in research (see genSet, no year). They include leaders in universities and research institutions, science journal editors and those responsible for companies with significant Research and Development operations.

The European Commission Directorate-General for Research and Innovation is concerned about the international competitiveness of research in the European Union and has just published a document calling for significant structural changes in research institutions, in order to enhance ‘excellence, gender equality and efficiency’ (EC 2011). Following the disappointing lack of attention to gender in the Fifth Framework Programme on a voluntary basis, the Commission insisted that in the

Sixth Framework Programme, each funded project should seek to have a gender balance in research teams and should deliver a gender action plan to ensure the gender dimension was addressed in the research. However, the latter failed, largely because of lack of gender expertise in the research teams and among evaluators and monitors. The Commission is currently rethinking how to achieve better attention to the gender dimension in Horizon 2020.

There is a danger that the UK in particular is getting left behind in recognising the importance of paying attention to gender in research. This may impede the ability of UK researchers to win funding from international bodies in the future. There is however, a growing recognition that ‘something must be done’ about the appalling statistics on women in science in the UK, especially as the REF equality and diversity guidelines encourage institutions to provide evidence of a ‘good research environment’ through, for example, paying attention to good employment practices for women as well as men in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM). The guidelines specify that if a University has achieved Athena Swan kitemark (Athena, no year), which indicates good practice in the employment of women in STEM, then this is ‘evidence’ of a good research environment.

The Athena Swan principles are as follows:

- To address gender inequalities requires commitment and action from everyone, at all levels of the organisation
- To tackle the unequal representation of women in science requires changing cultures and attitudes across the organisation
- The absence of diversity at management and policy-making levels has broad implications which the organisation will examine
- The high loss rate of women in science is an urgent concern which the organisation will address
- The system of short-term contracts has particularly negative consequences for the retention and progression of women in science, which the organisation recognises
- There are both personal and structural obstacles to women making the transition from PhD into a sustainable academic career in science, which require the active consideration of the organisation
- There is some interest in developing Athena Swan in other countries. Some European Union member states have their own schemes to address women in science. However, progress on the issue of gender in research is less discussed.

Nevertheless, following a letter published in *The Lancet* on this issue by the genSET research leaders, all the *Lancet* journals (*The Lancet*, *The Lancet Oncology*, *The Lancet Infectious Diseases*, and *The Lancet Neurology*) have now agreed a policy on data analysis by sex. A statement will go into ‘Information for Authors’ for all four journals: ‘We encourage researchers to enrol women and ethnic groups into clinical trials of all phases, and to plan to analyse data by sex and by race.’

Implications for university research strategies

What are the implications of this agenda for Universities? In the first instance, scientists need to be trained in methods of sex and gender analysis, both to conduct better research, but also to peer review the work of others effectively. An audit of the curriculum across the University to ensure that the gender dimension is tackled appropriately is essential, to ensure new researchers are aware of its significance as a variable and to improve the education of all.

Secondly, existing researchers need to draw upon the expertise of gender specialists. Fortunately there are some sources on this. Yellow Window, a not for profit based in Belgium is funded by the European Commission Research and Innovation Directorate General to provide training and tools for researchers in the EU (Yellow Window no year) (see below). The Commission has also recently launched a website, ‘Gendered Innovations’ (EC no year) that demonstrates not simply that ignoring the gender dimension can produce poor research, but that it can also miss exciting innovations. The website has been prepared by Prof Londa Shiebinger of Stanford University, and Prof Martina Schraudner of the Technical University of Berlin. Shiebinger’s own website contains many examples of innovation derived from a gender informed approach to research.

Thirdly, as Research Councils seek to control the supply of proposals, universities are increasingly introducing their own internal peer review systems. It is important to ensure internal reviewers are trained in identifying weaknesses in proposals when gender has been ignored or not addressed properly. This will be valuable staff development if internal peer reviewers conduct work for the growing number of international bodies funding research that see this as a quality issue.

Finally, accounts of impact should bear in mind the gendered nature of society and the effect of that on the ways and means by which the research has an effect.

All this means investing in the development of gender experts, and integrating them and their expertise into research projects routinely. There

are training needs here for researchers and research administrators. Gender is a research leadership issue.

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Chapter 2

Knowing Women: Gender, Power and Research. Counting Women Into Knowledge Production

Louise Morley

Momentum has been building for several decades on the subject of full and fair participation in the knowledge society, with questions raised about how custody of knowledge and knowledge production processes overlaps with social hierarchies (Walby 2011). This has been theorised in relation to geographies of knowledge and geometries of power (Epstein et al 2008; Kenway and Fahey 2009), suggesting that spatial, historic and economic power relations determine the recognition, production, control and application of knowledge. The emphasis has been on developing more inclusive accounts and processes which challenge traditional cartographies of circulation, and hegemonic messaging systems of the North and include disqualified and indigenous knowledges. Cognitive justice theories advocate knowledge diversity and the equality of knowers (Santos 2007).

Southern theory is another conceptualisation that calls for a new ‘world social science’ – one that is inclusive of many voices and for more democratic global recognition of social theory from societies outside the dominant European and North American metropole (Connell 2007). Scholarship on Orientalism (Said 1991), and ‘representing the other’ (Wilkinson and Kitzinger 1996) maintains that there are knowers and known in the global academy, and that these positions are influenced by colonial and patriarchal power relations, positivism and hegemonic hoarding of knowledge and power.

The power relations that permit the disqualification of knowledge and sanction what counts as quality and value have also been developed in feminist epistemology. Independence and purity of academic inquiry have been extensively questioned (Hughes 2002; Letherby 2003; Wickramasinghe 2009). Feminist epistemology considers how gender influences concepts of knowledge, inquiry practices, meaning-making, and dissemination. Feminist contributions have addressed the affective dimensions of knowledge; the natures of justification, rationality, the cognitive agent; and the nature of truth (Longino 2010). The concept of situated knowledge is central and challenges positivistic notions of ob-

jectivity and the logocentric hold of disembodied vision (Haraway 1988; Hartstock 1998). Research also performs cultural work *e.g.* reinforcing normative femininities. For example, Yadlon's (1997) influential study of breast cancer research reported how women were informed that they were more likely to contract the illness if they were childfree, late mothers or failed to conform to normative body weights. Braidotti (1994) theorised the intersection between identity, subjectivity, and power and indeed, the embodiment of the subject. This argument posits that what is known and the ways in which knowledge can be known is related to the position *i.e.* the values, beliefs, materiality and perspectives of the knower. Knowledge production, in this analysis, is never neutral or innocent and is always infused with power and is an invested process.

The gendered research economy

The model of woman-as-other in relation to male-as-norm in academic life has been systematically and globally documented and analysed (Currie et al 2002; Morley 1999; Morley et al 2005). Research is a large-scale global industry. If certain groups are persistently excluded, this represents a form of distributive injustice. It appears that research resources and opportunities are competitively structured and replicate and reproduce gender hierarchies. Women currently constitute only twenty-nine percent of world's researchers (UNESCO 2010). The highest proportion of women are to be found in countries with the lowest Research and Development expenditure *e.g.* Greece. The lowest proportion of women is in countries with the highest Research and Development expenditure countries *e.g.* Austria (European Commission 2008). Sexual difference invariably means hierarchy and women, it seems, continue to be present where power and money are not (Spender 1980). There is a catalogue of absences and exclusions. Women are less likely to be journal editors or cited in top-rated academic journals (Tight 2008), and under-represented on research boards that allocate funding (European Commission 2008). They are also awarded fewer research prizes (Nikiforova 2011). Women are less likely to be principal investigators. The European Commission has conceptualised the lack of women as principal investigators in funded research projects as an indicator of archaism in the research sector and recommends that research institutions need to be modernised through structural change (European Commission 2011).

An aspect of structural change that has attracted critical attention is that of peer review. Women's research skills and competencies appear to be persistently misrecognised. A classical study of the peer-review system of the Swedish Medical Research Council, revealed that female applicants for postdoctoral fellowships had to be 2.5 times more produc-

tive than their male colleagues to get the same peer-review rating for scientific competence (Wennerås and Wold 1997). In their 1997 investigation of gender, peer review and research funding, the Wellcome Trust found that women do not apply to the Trust for project or programme grants in the proportions that would be expected from the number of female academics working in UK universities. The situation is continuing today, with serious questions about who acts as gatekeepers of precious research resources. Rees (2011) identified how scientific excellence is socially constructed and highly gendered and that gender bias exists in peer judgements of excellence. Opaqueness in decision-making, unsympathetic classifying gazes, cognitive errors in assessing merit, lack of transparency and unsupportive and discriminatory institutional practices have all been cited as mechanisms of exclusion in the evaluation of research excellence (Morley 2013).

The importance of reviewing research resource allocation processes has been a priority in some national locations. The Swedish Research Council, in 2010, identified goals for achieving gender equality that included achieving and maintaining equal gender distribution in evaluation panels; ensuring that the percentages of female and male applicants for grants correspond to the percentages of women and men among the potential group of applicants for research grants, and ensuring that women and men have the same success rates and receive the same average size of grants, taking into account the nature of the research and the type of grant (European Commission 2011).

Gender bias in assessment of excellence and peer review raises questions about whether women are discriminated against in the peer review process itself or by discriminatory practices that are institutionalised throughout academia. Gendered divisions of labour in academic work mean that women are often in professional positions which do not enable or encourage them to apply for research funding e.g. temporary contracts or contracts heavily weighted towards teaching and learning rather than research. Women are globally under-represented as professors and leaders in higher education (Morley 2013). The problem could also be culturally engrained, in the sense that women have been traditionally cast as unreliable knowers. There has been a wealth of feminist scholarship on gender and reason e.g. Walkerdine (1998), which has emphasised how femaleness is invariably positioned on the devalued side of: mind/body; nature/culture; reason/emotion; animal/human dualisms. Women and women's work continues to be associated with inferiority and supplementarity, as Code (1991:10) observes:

If the would-be knower is female, then her sex is epistemologically significant, for it disqualifies her as a knower in the fullest sense of that term.

Research excellence is implicitly tied up with the economy of prestige in higher education, with global rankings and league tables playing a crucial part in reputation and the value of universities –in terms of the exchange value of their degrees in the labour market, student recruitment and competitive advantage in research bidding processes. It would appear that some of the universities consistently in the top five of global league tables have some of the lowest numbers of women professors. For example, the UK, after four decades of equity legislation, still only has twenty percent women professors. Oxford, however, only has 9.4 percent (Frankl-Duval 2012). Harvard's former President, Larry Summers, made a statement in 2005 stating that the under-representation of women in science and engineering could be due to a 'different availability of aptitude at the high end', and less to patterns of discrimination and socialization (May 2008; Summers 2005). His sexism certainly did not impede his career progress. He went on to become an adviser to Barrack Obama and was shortlisted to lead the World Bank in 2012. However, many women discover that their belief systems are an obstacle in their career trajectories with speculations whether counter-hegemonic research is less likely to attract funding (Morley 1999). A constant challenge that many feminist academics confront is how to navigate between the excitable speech of gender sensitivity and the somewhat bloodless prose of funding agency imperatives?

Women in research = representational space?

In post-feminist cultural space gender equality is frequently reduced to quantitative change and the liberal feminist notion of counting more women into existing structures. A mathematical relationship is encouraged between one population and another, suggesting a zero sum game. Furthermore, gender in the academy seems to unravel in parallel spaces, with students and academic staff progressing on separate trajectories. For example, women students are constructed as agents of capacity, with young women's assemblage for productivity a notable feature of post-feminist discourse (McRobbie 2007; Ringrose 2012). Women's desire for undergraduate education has been a global success story. While the number of male students quadrupled globally from 17.7 to 75.1 million between 1970–2007, the number of female students rose six fold from 10.8 to 77.4 million. There is now a Global Gender Parity Index of 1.08, meaning that more women than men are entering higher education as

undergraduates (UNESCO 2009). Instead of being a cause for celebration, this has provoked debates about women's 'over-representation' in the global academy and has produced a feminisation crisis discourse (HEPI 2009; Leathwood and Read 2009; Morley 2011a).

This is paradoxical, to say the least! As soon as an under-represented group decodes access to elite domains, the domains lose their distinction (Bourdieu 1984; Morley 1997). Representation is seen to be a happiness formula symbolising the inclusion of marginalised groups (Ahmed 2010). However, representation is not always transformative and can result in new constituencies being expected to assimilate and conform to normative practices. Braidotti argued that it is not possible simply to insert new wine in old bottles. She calls instead, for a feminist project of subjectivity that 'implies the transformation of the very structures and images of thought' (Braidotti 1994: 120).

I believe that there needs to be a distinction between gender equality in terms of research employment, decision-making research structures and grant capturing potential and gender in the research content, processes and conceptualisation. The notion of ontology as epistemology means that simply inhabiting an identity or protected characteristic implies sensitivity to that particular structure of inequality. This essentialised argument posits that the inclusion of women in research processes and structures automatically implies gender awareness/ equality. Including more women on research boards is an important part of opening up opportunities to a more diverse constituency. However, it does not automatically imply that processes or the projects that are funded will be more gender sensitive. The issue of what constitutes gender sensitive research engages with questions about how to conduct research without reducing gender to a demographical variable. Further questions relate to how to intersect gender with other structures of inequality in order to avoid treating women as one single category of analysis, unmarked by divisions of social class, ethnicities, sexualities, and disabilities. Furthermore, the research industry is fierce and highly competitive, with marked distinctions between 'winners' and 'losers'. A challenge is for research to avoid the identifications of successful individualism and contribute more widely to capacity-building and social transformation.

Transformative research

A further complicating research agenda that is emerging- particularly in some high-income countries- is that of research impact or knowledge exchange, mobilisation, and transfer (Levin 2004; Rickinson et al 2011). Research quality is evaluated in terms of its policy, social, economic and community impact. Research is thought to have had impact when audit-

able occasions of influence are recorded from university research to another agent or organisation (Dunleavy 2011). Scrutiny of public monies means that UK research councils now require impact plans to be submitted with research proposals and impact reports one year after research projects are completed. Research excellence in audits is also evaluated in terms of impact. This has been a controversial development, with critics berating the fact that knowledge is no longer seen as legitimate in its own right, but only in its application, and that a *mechanics* of knowing has emerged with simplistic notions of cause and effect (Hey 2010).

The requirement for auditable effects and accountable change of knowledge transferred into diverse contexts raises questions about attribution and the rational-purposive understanding of change (Saunders 2010). How do we know if changes that take place are a result of research findings or the consequences of other more abstract and quixotic social and policy processes? There are also gendered implications. For example, what are the impact measures of gender sensitive research? Is research only used and heard when it continues dominant narratives? If it disturbs and disrupts, is it dismissed and disqualified? If gender research fails to transform practices, does this mean that it has failed as research? The next section investigates the complexities of impact in an international feminist research project.

Widening participation in higher education in Ghana and Tanzania

The research project ‘Widening Participation in Higher Education in Ghana and Tanzania: Developing and Equity Scorecard’ (WPHEGT) was a feminist inquiry that incorporated quantitative and qualitative data to examine opportunity structures for women, mature students and those from low socio-economic status backgrounds (SES) (Morley et al 2010). In addition to collecting statistical data on how gender intersects with poverty and age in four programmes of study in one public and one private university in Ghana and Tanzania (Morley 2012; Morley and Lugg 2009; Morley and Lussier 2009; Morley et al 2010), the project conducted 200 interviews with academic staff and policy-makers and 200 life-history interviews with students (52 women in Ghana and 51 in Tanzania, 48 men in Ghana and 49 in Tanzania). Students were asked about their experiences of primary, secondary and higher education, with questions about their motivations, transitions, support, decision-making and first impressions relating to higher education, its impact on them and their future plans. Academic staff and policymakers were asked about policies, interventions, strategies and challenges for widen-

ing participation, and the part that their universities had played in working towards the *Millennium Development Goals* (Morley et al 2010).

The study did not set out to interrogate gender violence, but interview data revealed heterosexual sexual harassment of women by men as a discursive and actual practice in all four case-study institutions (Morley 2011b). Sexual harassment was reported by staff and students. The most common form of sexual harassment cited was the *quid pro quo* or sex-for-grades exchange in which some male lecturers considered that they had a patriarchal entitlement to the sexual favours of their female students. Manuh, Gariba and Budu (2007: 138) also discuss 'transactional sex', or 'sexually transmitted grades', in their study of higher education in Ghana. They added that this type of sexual corruption was rarely formally reported by female students, for fear of victimisation and stigmatisation. Spatial justice was a further consideration, as the omnipresence of sexual harassment marked out the territory as male, by deterring women from seeking tutorial support from male tutors or making themselves visible in class. This led to difficulties for female students' physical and emotional well-being, and had an impact on the learning environment and their learner identities. A female student in the Tanzanian public university comments:

Being a girl costs sometimes...There are some things in which people can take advantage of you because you are a girl...There are corrupt staff... Certain staffs like if you want help they say you have to do this or that, it is not your fault but he does that so that he can get you... get sex

A female academic manager in the Ghanaian public university describes how sexual corruption was normalised:

Sexual harassment is a way of life at this university ... and people don't like to talk about it ... the female students are very vulnerable to lecturers... and the girls think that's a legitimate way to get marks. Boys think the girls have an advantage because they can get marks that way and the men think if the girl comes to me and she's a grown up she's asking for it ...

Students and staff in both countries raised the issue of sexual harassment as an impediment to gender equality. Some located sexual harassment as being about gender and power, rather than about sex. Other students, however, represented it purely in terms of an agentic transaction in which female students chose to negotiate academic advantages via the strategic use of their (commodified) sexuality. Seventeen males and nine females out of one hundred students interviewed in Ghana saw gender difference in terms of preferential treatment for women. Transactional sex was per-

ceived, not as a patriarchal abuse, but as women's aggressive, competitive and capacious actions and agency. The existence of sexual harassment positioned female students in an impossible academic space. If they achieved academically, this was attributed by some to their 'favoured' position in gendered academic markets. If they failed academically, this was evidence of their lack of academic abilities and preparedness for higher education (Morley 2011b). Women were positioned as corrupt/fraudulent learners, imposters, without entitlement to higher education. They were seen by many as post-feminist strategic agents, not victims, who constructed corporeal style to manipulate essentialised male desire.

The WPHEGT project reported a multitude of findings on poverty, access, disability, mature students, women in science etc. (Morley et al 2010). However, the findings on sexual harassment seemed to be some of the most affectively loaded, with media coverage (Daily Graphic 2010; Morgan 2010), and strong reactions at 'knowledge exchange' events (Eifah 2011). At a seminar in Ghana, senior academic and managerial staff stressed the existence of policy on sexual harassment. Some male members of staff blamed women students' 'indecent dressing' and suggested that we interviewed the 'wrong' students. Many female staff wanted to support the victims and raise awareness of the issue and the support mechanisms. Students were angry and outraged. They responded in terms of agency and activism and wanted to initiate a zero tolerance campaign and student union representation on disciplinary hearings. NGOs called for partnerships and coalitions to challenge socio-cultural patterns of gender violence. They were vociferous in challenging sexist assumptions about dress, citing how Africa did not have a history of covering up women's bodies. The findings certainly had impact. However, if the practices of sexual harassment continue, does that mean that the research has failed?

In conclusion

Knowledges are now understood as embodied, situated socially, culturally, racially, sexually, linguistically, and politically. It has become increasingly recognised that knowledge claims are informed by contexts that include the affective and subjective e.g. personal testimony; and theories of inclusivity e.g. southern theory and cognitive justice. Gender is not simply a demographical variable, but is in continual production. Emphasis on numbers only can disguise: how gender is formed/reformed in the spatial and temporal contexts of higher education. They can also occlude how micropolitical gender regimes regulate women's identities and actions e.g. gossip, rumour, and actual and symbolic gender violence.

Entering research does not mean that women have become separated or liberated from old inequalities. Democratisation is not access to knowledge and knowledge production systems monopolised by the elite. However, knowledge production can be a site of resistance, change and possibility. More inclusive and embodied accounts can show how gender is enacted and reproduced. Underpinning all these observations is for the need to create knowledges that undo gender (Butler 2004), and shift the very gender order itself.

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Chapter 3

Trying to Keep Afloat: The Unchanging Situation of Women in Science in France?

Suzanne de Cheveigné

This working paper is an update on the place of women in science in France in 2012, following on reports for the European Commission's expert groups Women in Decision-Making (Wirdem – which produced *Mapping the Maze*) then Gender and Excellence (which produced *The Gender Challenge in Research Funding*). It is a somewhat discouraging exercise: the situation has barely evolved in spite of – or because of? – the massive reorganisation of French academic structures over the past 5 years. In the present paper, I shall first draw a quick picture of the present state of the public research system – a difficult task because it is still evolving rapidly. Then I shall provide some elements concerning the situation of women in general before focussing mainly on that of women in academia. Finally, I shall discuss the major public debate (*Assises de la Recherche*) that is presently being carried out first on the Web, then publicly, 26 and 27 November 2012.

Within Western Europe, France often appears as an 'average' country, intermediate geographically but also sociologically between the Nordic and the Mediterranean countries. It is often close to its neighbours and/or to the EU average in opinion surveys. France appears to be average on the Women in Science issues too. The proportion of female researchers, all sectors included, is close to the EU-15 average (28% in France and 29% respectively, 35% and 36% in higher education). The proportion of women in Grade A academic positions in France is also close to the EU average (19% and 17% respectively) (EC 2009b). Why then does the country appear to be getting so far behind on Women and Science (W&S) issues (see for instance the discussions in: EC, 2008, 2009a and earlier studies such as Osborn et al 1999; Rees 2002; Xie and Shauman 2003; EC 2004, 2005)?

Perhaps the reason we get this impression is simply that France is not moving forwards, as many of its neighbours are. Over the past decade, while the proportion of women in research have increased in Europe, it has slightly regressed in France. The proportion of Grade A female academics has barely changed in the past few years whereas it doubled in

Switzerland and was multiplied by 1.5 in Germany, as we shall discuss below. In what follows, I shall attempt to provide some elements to help understand this situation.

Organisational changes

A few words first on the French research system. The country has a strong research tradition but has trouble increasing its R&D spending to reach the ‘Lisbon target’ of 3% of its Gross Domestic Product. It reached 2.26% in 2009 after a long stagnation (it was 2.32% in 1990). The system is characterized by a relatively strong civilian public sector, which employs approximately 39 800 women researchers (i.e. 33.4% – 32.0% in 2003) and 79 200 men researchers. The business sector employed about 30 900 women researchers (19.9% – 20.3% in 2003) and 124 700 men (Data for 2009, http://www.insee.fr/fr/ffc/chifcle_fiche.asp?tab_id=206 accessed 16 November 2012), mainly concentrated in major industry: automobile, pharmacy, telecommunications and aeronautics.

In the Universities, which are practically all public, teaching and research personnel have heavy teaching charges (about 200 hours per year, not including preparation, administration, etc.). Numerous ‘grandes écoles’ or engineering schools form students but many are not very active in research (except for a few exceptions, like the Ecoles normales, the Ecole polytechnique or the Ecole des hautes études for the social sciences). Research organisations play a large role in French research: although they employ fewer people than the Universities they represent a big task force since they can do research full time. The CNRS (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique) is the largest among them – indeed it is the largest research operator in Europe. At the end of 2010, it employed 25 630 permanent personnel. A number of smaller, more specialized research organisations exist alongside it (in medicine, agronomy, computing etc.).

In the public sector, the majority of personnel hold tenures. However, the number of temporary doctoral or post-doctoral positions has rapidly increased over the past few years with the development of competitive funding by project. This has provided many more job opportunities for young PhD’s than there used to be in France, but has brought on a great deal of job instability that hits young women (and young men) just at the time when they could be starting a family.

The French public research system – after a profound crisis in 2004 when hundreds of laboratory directors symbolically handed in their resignations – has undergone enormous organisational changes. Strong pressures coming from the Bologna reform and EU funding require-

ments have pushed France to adjust to international norms. The Shanghai ranking of universities caused a profound shock. Post 1968, French Universities had been divided up with, for example, three in Strasbourg, Marseille and Toulouse or thirteen in Paris and its suburbs. None of these relatively small universities ranked high on the Shanghai list and that caused a sudden rush to regroup them. An enormous upheaval is now taking place in a number of universities because of this.

Another part of the general reorganisation was the move to make universities autonomous – they used to be state-dependant, and in fact still are for the vast majority of their funding. To allow this to happen, a new law on research (Loi relative aux libertés et responsabilités des universités – Law on the liberties and responsibilities of universities, LRU) was passed in 2006. Following that, an independent evaluation agency (AERES) and a competitive funding agency, the National Research Agency (ANR) were created the following year, in 2007. All this has brought on profound changes in power relations and in resource-sharing academia. Perhaps not surprisingly, women do not seem to have gained much in the battle!

The situation of women in France

Before considering women in research, I would like to point out a few elements that indicate a possible worsening of the position of women in France in general. This question would obviously need more systematic researching but there are some worrying signals. The 2001 Helsinki report for France (<http://cordis.europa.eu/improving/women/reports.htm>) pointed out that the context was generally favourable to women, in particular with numerous crèches (20% of small children attend them), free whole-day schooling available for children from age 2 on and tax deductions covering about 50% of the cost of childcare or housekeeping costs – a strong restriction being that these tax deduction do not help people with incomes too low to pay taxes. However, over the past 10 years, the opportunities for the schooling of two-year-olds have plummeted: the proportion that age group that benefits by them has dropped from 34% to 12%. This leads a lot of women to take a break in their career or to work part-time. Women's activity rates are average for Europe: in 2011 they were 66.2% and 74.8% respectively for women and for men (Age 15 to 64, http://www.insee.fr/fr/themes/tableau.asp?reg_id=0&ref_id=NATCCF03170 accessed 15 November 2012).

Another cause for worry is the evolution of France's Global Gender Gap Index (<http://www.weforum.org/reports/global-gender-gap-report-2012> accessed 15 November 2012). The country is now at the 57th position out of 135 countries. It had reached the 15th rank in 2008

– unfortunately, its index has been dropping ever since (see table below – note that the number of countries ranked has slightly increased over the period).

Year	2012	2011	2010	2009	2008	2007	2006
Gender gap index	0.6984	0.7018	0.7025	0.7331	0.7341	0.6824	0.6520
Rank	57	48	46	18	15	51	70

Table 1: Gender gap index for France (Data from Global Gender Gap report, reference above)

France gets top scores on ‘Educational attainment’ and ‘Health and survival’. On the other hand, it has two weak areas, one of which is ‘Political Empowerment’: the recent drop in score was mainly due to a decrease in the percentage of women in ministerial positions. The new government set up in May 2012 is, for the first time ever, exactly gender balanced so this point will no doubt improve. The other weak factor, practically stagnant since 2007, is ‘Economic Participation and Opportunity’. Within it, wage equity, and the place of women in decision-making and income are, in that order, the worst elements – these are dimension that directly concern us here.

Women in science

If we now focus on women working in science professions, our suspicion that France is at best standing still – and perhaps slipping backwards – is confirmed, at a time when many comparable European countries are moving ahead. (For earlier studies on the French situation, see Boukhobza et al 2000; Barré et al 2002; Crance and Ramanana-Rahary 2003; Hermann and Picq 2005). Growth rates of numbers of scientists (all sectors) in France between 2002 and 2006 were +3.1% for women and +3.2% for men, when the EU-15 averages were +7.1% and +3.7% and EU-27 averages were +6.3% and +3.7% respectively (EC 2009b). In other words, while proportions of women in science were increasing in Europe, France was slightly regressing! If we focus on the Higher Education Sector, the proportions are low, but better balanced (+3.4% for women, +1.7% for men) (EC 2009b).

The problem appears early: only 43% of all PhD’s were delivered to women in 2009 when the EU27 average is 45% and the United States are at 52% (EC 2012). In fact, it looks as though, compared to its neighbours, France isn’t providing a sufficient recruitment pool of women. This needs more researching – when are women students disappearing and why? The president of one of the major science universities, University Paris VII Denis Diderot, quotes figures for mathematics: 31.3% women in second year of Master but only 19.4% preparing a thesis

(interview June 2011, <http://www.amue.fr/presentation/articles/article/parite-homme-femme-dans-le-monde-universitaire/>). They really seem to be balking at the perspectives of a research career!

Of course, sheer numbers of women in science are only an element of the question – the ‘glass ceiling’ that mysteriously prevents women from moving up the hierarchal ladder is an essential part of the picture. Here again, the situation is barely moving in France. The proportion of grade A female academics gained two percentage points from 2002 to 2009 (going from 17% to 19%) while it more than tripled in Switzerland (from 11% to 37%) and nearly doubled in Germany (8% to 15% for 2010 in this case) and in Austria (9 to 17%) (EC 2012).

The Ministry for Higher Education and Research provides figures for 2010 for the university teacher-researchers: globally, there are 36.2% women, 42.4% in Grade B (maître de conference) and 22.6% in Grade A (professeur) (<http://www.enseignementsup-recherche.gouv.fr/pid24768/parite-et-lutte-contre-les-discriminations.html>). The problem is that when Grade A and Grade B levels are grouped together, part of the dynamics of the glass ceiling effect are lost: the progressive rarefaction of women as they rise through grade A positions doesn’t show up and the difference between the bottom and the top levels doesn’t look as bad as it really is. Fine-grained statistics are really needed to understand the problem.

CNRS statistics

CNRS provides very complete information in a specific gender report that it now publishes every year (<http://www.cnrs.fr/mpdf/> accessed 27 November 2012). It includes the year’s recruitments but also times series on the presence of women in different positions at all levels – governance, selection committees, permanent and temporary positions – one could simply wish to have the time series disaggregating by discipline. So far, the universities don’t publish anything nearly as complete. Compared to universities, CNRS has a smaller proportion of women researchers but a less difference between Grade A and Grade B.

	Total	Grade A	Grade B
Universities	36.2 %	22.6 %	42.4 %
CNRS	32.3 %	25.4 %	37.1 %

Table 2: A comparison of proportions of women researchers in University and CNRS (see references in text)

Women are under-represented among CNRS researchers but not among support staff: at the end of 2010 they made up 42.5 % of the permanent CNRS population, i.e. 65.1 % of lower level support staff, 43.7 % of

the higher level support staff (engineers) but only 32.3 % of researchers. These proportions have changed extremely slowly. Indeed, when the CNRS was created in 1946, 30 % of the researchers were already women (Kaspi and Raimunni 2004).

Women also have trouble moving up the hierarchical ladder (see table below). Both support staff and researchers are affected, even though their modes of evaluation and promotion differ. The different senior researcher levels (DR – directeur de recherche) are Grade A, equivalent to professor. Junior researcher (CR – Chargé de recherche) is grade B. The global figures in 2010 were 37.1% women among CRs and 25.4% among DRs. However, as I said, it is worth looking in detail at all the levels. Promotion from the lowest level, CR2, to CR1 is in practice automatic. The glass ceiling appears at the passage from CR1 to DR2, a highly competitive bottle-neck. Because of that, women ‘accumulate’ in CR1, just below the ‘ceiling’. Once that obstacle is passed, moving on up from DR1 to DR1 then to the ‘classes exceptionnelles’ (exceptional categories) remains difficult and the proportion of women keeps on dropping. (Note that, in 2010, there were only 9 women DRCE2 so fluctuations can be high).

Évolution de la part des femmes par grade depuis 2007 (en %)

	2007	2008	2009	2010
DRCE2	8,7	10,6	10,2	17,3
DRCE1	15.4	11.1	9.1	9.8
DR1	14.3	14.4	17.0	17.7
DR2	26.6	27.4	27.6	28.3
CR1	38.6	38.7	38.7	38.6
CR2	31.9	31.7	30.5	31.4
TOTAL	31.8	32.1	32.2	32.3
Post-doc	38.0	37.1	36.5	36.5
Doc	35.5	36.7	38.7	38.5

Table 3: Proportion of women per grade in CNRS (CNRS Gender Report 2010)

In 2010, the average age of promotion from Grade B to Grade A was 45.9 years, with a differential in favour of men of 1.5 years. However, the differential was 7 years in Mathematics, between 4 and 5 years in Environment and Ecology and in Nuclear Physics and 3 years in Human and Social Sciences. (These figures can fluctuate from year to year – the populations in the cases quoted here vary from 18 to 47 – so an analysis over several years needs to be done.)

CNRS also has personnel on temporary contracts at doctoral and at post-doctoral levels – the proportions of women are also on Table 3. We can see there that the glass ceiling effect extends below the permanent positions – the proportion of women starts decreasing from doctoral level on up: the population that CNRS recruits is less feminized than the post-docs and doctoral students it employs. CNRS only employs a small proportion of all doctoral students, but they are less feminized than the total population of PhD laureats (43 % women in 2009).

CNRS statistics also allow us to draw some degree of historical perspective from the data broken up per age group for researchers. This is possible due to the fact that people have tenure in CNRS and hardly ever leave the organisation, even for promotion. In 2010, out of 11 450 researchers, 20 permanently moved to another organisation, 10 died and 7 gave up their job (Bilan Social 2010). (Young mathematicians are the exception – for them, the ideal thing is to move to a professorial position in a university. That leaves room for women who don't hit a glass ceiling: proportions of CR and DR are equal). So, because the CNRS pipeline doesn't leak, we can compare generations to get a picture of earlier recruitment practices. The most feminized age stratum is 45 to 49 years with 37.2% of women. In the group 10 years older, they represent only 33.6%. More surprisingly, they are only 30.0% – in the group 10 years younger.

So, apparently, there was a 'golden age' for women, roughly situated in the second half of the 1990s and things have since gotten worse. Indeed, among the CR who were recruited in 2010, only 33% were women when, inside CNRS, there were 37.1% women. This phenomenon of non-replacement of women was most obvious in the sectors of Ecology and Environment, Human and Social Sciences and Information Sciences (again, previous years need to be checked to confirm the tendency). The same phenomenon can be observed for the highest level of support staff (ingénieurs de recherche – research engineers) that recruited 24.2% of women in 2010 whereas the population in CNRS included 30.2% women. The same tendency was true in 2007 and 2008 but was reversed in 2009 with 35.1% women among the recruited.

Recent years have been tougher for women – but not for men. It is often said that women have a hard time when resources become scarce but something different seems to have happened here: opportunities increased but women didn't seem to get their share. Recruitments have increased – here are about 260 fewer researchers in the 45–49 years age group than in the recently recruited 35–39 years group. (Most people are in the organisation by that age: average recruitment age is 31.4 years into CR2). However, this increase in population wasn't evenly shared:

the number of men increased by about 230, the number of women only by 30. In other words, men benefitted much more than women by the increase in the number of positions.

This situation is really preoccupying: over the past decade and a half, a period when CNRS was officially taking on board gender questions – the Mission pour la place des femmes au CNRS was set up in 2000 – the place of women was clearly regressing.

Gatekeeping

Gatekeeping activities (Husu 2004) are very frequently pre-empted by men and there is little reflexion on the subject in France. However, this should change to some degree when new legislation comes into force – a lot of excitement is to be expected! Gatekeepers are all the people who control decision-making and access to resources. They can be members of policy-making committees but also of evaluation committees (for funding, recruitment, attributions of diplomas, etc...).

As discussed in Gender Challenge in Research Funding (EC 2009a), the argument for having gender balanced committees isn't simply that they are automatically more favourable to women – indeed various research shows that women can be just as prone to gender stereotypes than men. Getting onto committees makes women more visible within the research system and allows them to get them into networks. It also gives them an inside view of how evaluations and policy-making work, as well as a wider view over research activities in and around their field, that can help them in their own work. This is of course true for both men and women – but it is only fair that women get their share of these benefits. Within an organisation, participation in committees helps 'naturalise' their presence, at all levels.

There is plenty room on policy-making boards in France – according to a report of the 'Cour des Comptes', the control body for all French public institutions, there are far too many such boards (La gestion de la recherche publique en sciences du vivant, <http://www.ccomptes.fr>). The 2006 research law set up yet another one, the High Council of Research. There is also an Academy of Science and an Academy of Technology.

According to *SheFigures* 2012, boards include on average 27% women – but the figure is for 2002! (see Carisey 2006 for an extended analysis of their presence).

Here are a few examples of some of the more important policy-making or counselling boards.

- The ‘Steering committee for the elaboration of the national strategy for research and innovation’ that defined the present research priorities in France included 2 women out of 18 (11%), the Chair was a woman.
- The High Council for Science and Technology (Haut Conseil de la Science et de la Technologie, auprès du Président de la République) counts 8 women out of 22 (36%, an improvement compared to 24% in 2009). The Chair is a man.
- The High Council for Research and Technology (Conseil Supérieur de la Recherche et de la Technologie, auprès du Ministre de la Recherche) is one of the very few gender-balanced committees: 21 women out of 44 (48%). Chaired by the Minister, who is a woman. (<http://www.csrt.fr/>)
- The Academy of Science: the Mathematics section includes 2 women out of 26 (8%), Physics section 3 out of 35 (9%), Human Biology and Medicine 4 out of 35 (11%), ... There are slight improvements since 2009 (the figures were 4%, 6% and 10% respectively)
- The Scientific Council of CNRS: 10 women out of 29 27 (37%, 31% in 2009), the Chair is a man.
- The Administrative Council of CNRS: 6 women out of 21 (29%, 4% in 2009), Chaired by the President of CNRS, presently a man.
- Among the ninety-odd university presidents, the number of women has dropped from 14 in 2008 to 8 in 2012. France has practically the lowest proportion of female heads of institutions in Europe, at 6%, tailed only by Turkey and Luxemburg (EC 2012).

Other types of committees evaluate people or projects to allocate positions, funding, diplomas. They work at very different levels: high level policy-making in the realm of evaluation or of funding right down to the visiting committee out in the field or the doctoral committees. Data is easily available for the top-level boards but getting a clear view of lower level isn’t easy.

Let us take as an example, the evaluation agency AERES (Agence d’évaluation de la recherche et de l’enseignement supérieur – Agency for the evaluation of Research and Higher Education, <http://www.aeres-evaluation.fr/>). Its President is a man as are the 3 sectorial directors immediately below him. The agency has a main Council (Conseil) made up of 11 women (44%) and 14 men – its chair is male. There are 117 scientific delegates, in charge of organising the evaluation activity in different disciplines – 32 of them are women (27%). Finally, in the field there are the visiting committees in charge of the evaluation of the different units. Their composition is available in the reports written on the

laboratories, universities or teaching units they evaluate – that means a lot of compiling. However, AERES provides some statistics in its annual report (AERES 2011). The proportions of women experts evaluating whole establishments in 2011 were 21% among the experts and 13.6% among the chairs of the visiting committees. For evaluating doctoral formations, there were 33% women among the experts – the proportion of chairs isn't given. The figures for the evaluation of research units and laboratories aren't given either. A systematic compilation would be useful. Anecdotaly, in 2009 an all-male committee visited my own laboratory. One of our main topics was gender studies...

The same sort of analysis can be carried out on the national funding agency ANR (Agence nationale pour la recherche – National Research Agency). In September 2012, although the director general is a woman, six of the seven heads of scientific departments are (a slight improvement: at the creation of the agency, they were all male). The Administrative Council counts only two women among its eleven members – admittedly one of them chairs it. The 'Council of Prospective', with nine members, includes no women and there are none among the chairs of the 'Scientific Committees by Sector'. One should go on working through the program committees, the call committees, the individual evaluators ... The agency doesn't systematically publish gendered success rates for its funding programs.

Globally the situation is improving – but very slowly! However, there is some hope because a new law will come into effect in 2015. Known as the Sauvadet Law and voted in March 2012, it will impose a minimum of 40% of the minority gender in university councils and in all recruitment and promotion committees within the civil service. However, it is planned that its application will be adapted to the 'specificities' of HES and research – they benefited by exemptions under the previous legislation. This reform, if really applied, will bring major changes in the French research system – and, hopefully, in mentalities.

Assises de la recherche

A major public debate about research and higher education is going on at present (Autumn of 2012), set up by the new government. Gender issues are remarkably absent. A search among Internet contributions brings up 4 with the keyword women (femmes), 1 with gender (genre) 1 with parity (parité) and 2 with diversity (usually understood as ethnic diversity). The main W&S associations (Femmes et Science, Femmes et Maths, Femmes ingénieures) contributed the list of 20 propositions that they had initially prepared for the presidential elections of May 2012. Their four main themes are 1) deconstructing stereotypes about women

and science; 2) encouraging young people and particularly girls to study science; 3) rethinking the place of science and engineering in education and 4) improving the careers of women scientists, engineers and support staffs.

The new Ministry for the rights of women also contributed a particularly interesting document. It also picks up four main topics, but not quite the same ones: 1) improving equality within universities and research organisations (careers, committees, councils); 2) improving gender balance during training and act on career choices; 3) fighting all forms of sexist violence; 4) developing and disseminating gender studies. Gender studies are less obvious for the W&S associations because it still tends to be seen as a social science question. The Ministry also wisely picks up the question of violence which is not science specific, of course, but which should not be ignored.

Women are depressingly absent from the mainline contributions. For instance the one made by the Conference of University Presidents doesn't include the words 'women', 'gender' or 'parity' – 'equality', when used, doesn't refer to men and women. The whole process will be interesting to analyse, but it doesn't look as if the place of women in research will come out as a major topic. As we have seen, the situation in France is remarkably rigid. However, the law that will impose 40% women on committees in 2015 may bring on some change – as long as research doesn't manage to re-negotiate exemptions. There will certainly be plenty of opportunity for further research on this topic.

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Chapter 4

Processes of Differentiation in Swedish Research Policy: Gender and Silence

Paula Mählck

Previous research in Sweden suggest that current forms of profiling of research and concentration of research funding also engenders a process which homogenizes the Swedish research landscape: in terms of the number of research orientations as well as in terms of the individuals who are going to shape that future landscape (Benner et al 2010; Sandström 2010). In this context, research into the gender dynamics in research funding structures at European level has highlighted the importance of gatekeepers (Husu 2010).

In accordance with recent research into the changing landscape of HE institutions in UK and its gender equality impacts (Leathwood and Read 2009; Morley 2011), I suggest that the current process of profiling of research, which is implemented at systemic level through concentration of research funding leading to an increased differentiation between and within HEIs in Sweden, risk to reinforce structures of skewed gender distribution at staff level. Despite a growing numerical representation of women in academia even at staff level, the positions designed for research are still male dominated (HSV 2010). Feminist research has brought important insights on the processes of excluding and diminish women at the higher levels in academia and ways which this is further intensified by the scientific evaluation of research applications in major program initiatives (Sandström et al 2010). This process is also potentially related to classed and racialised structures of inequality through the location of such programs. Focusing particularly on race/ethnicity in the following, I note that the latter is more difficult to verify empirically since there is very limited access to statistical measures – with the exception of gender distribution – at the higher staff levels of academia.

While most studies on research policy or research practice have not focused particularly on issues of social equality, such issues have often been at the core of feminist knowledge production (Government report 2011:1). Feminist studies of knowledge production can therefore be seen as *both* particularly vulnerable sites for an increasingly neo-liberal knowledge agenda as well as possible sites for resistance (Leathwood

and Read 2009). The forceful networks, persons and NGOs rooted in feminist activism in Sweden have not only paid an important role in the establishment of the field of gender studies as an academic discipline but has also brought the issue of gender equality on the political agenda. Nowadays statistics on gender stratification at university staff level are readily accessible through national statistics, allowing for detailed studies on gender distribution along horizontal and vertical lines (HSV 2010). While it is important to highlight the work which has been done within feminist circles in the Swedish field of Gender in academia, which have demonstrated persistent patterns of exclusionary and discriminatory practices against women at all levels in academia (Government report 2011: 1) the central position of this field on the state political agenda also becomes apparent by virtue of several state initiatives relating to it and the direct funding of the field that has resulted (Government report 1995: 110; Committee Instruction 2009: 7).

When it comes to the distribution of researchers with migrant background – not to talk about race and ethnicity – at staff level no such statistics are available (the official term in Swedish national census is country of birth. This category includes individuals born abroad or born in Sweden with two parents born abroad (SCB 2009)). This silence is not only visible through the absence of national statistics but is also reflected in the limited number of studies from an intersectional power perspective that include race/ethnicity – and the means by which this relation is not only mutually constituted by, but also itself constitutes, other power relations such as gender- and class relations in the production of knowledge. (There exists a few important exceptions, however the majority of the studies is theorising the field of Gender studies/academic feminism or academic practice and not explicitly research policy. For studies on academic practice see de los Reyes (2007) and Saxonberg and Sawyer (2006). For studies in the field of gender equality work in academia see de los Reyes (2009)). The field of studies of migration and/or ethnicity and race and higher education and research policy has access to only very limited direct state funding compared with the field of Gender in Academia in Sweden (for an extended discussion on the silence with regard to race in Swedish research policy please see Mählck (2012a). For an extended discussion of colour-blindness and Swedish white privilege please see Mählck (2012b)). This also raises epistemological issues about the field of research policy and studies on higher education in Sweden: From this empirical and epistemological platform, what research questions are supposed to be formulated and whose interest does this serve?

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Chapter 5

Merit and Occupational Attainments of Women in Computer Science

Irina Nikiforova



Introduction

In an era of gender equality and anti-discrimination laws, prizes and awards in fields of science and technology remain a stark reminder of women's invisible presence and attainments in these disciplines. In a stretch of roughly a century, over 300 men have won Nobel Prizes in sciences and only 16 women (also see McGrayne 1998). An analysis of six international prizes and awards in technology revealed that only four (2.9%) women compared to 136 men have been recognized (Husu and Koskinen 2010a). During 45 years of the Turing Award, presented for technical contributions to computer science, 55 men and only two (3.5%) women have been honoured. These numbers raise critical questions about the functioning of the reward system in science and the ability of women scientists to compete for honour and recognition in the academic community.

The explanation as to why women scientists are missing from the historical record of scientific achievements and the public memory of producers of knowledge is complex, as multiple factors intersect, reflect, and contribute to women's low status. While the participation of women in the science and engineering labour force in the United States has been increasing since the 1970s, it continues to vary by field, age, employment sector, status of the employing institution, and rank. As a group, women are less successful than men in the number of doctoral degrees received as well as in rank and salary (Long 2001). On average, women in science have lower publication productivity (Cole and Zuckerman 1984; Xie and Shauman 1998) and visibility (Long 1992) than men. Furthermore, it takes women longer to achieve academic ranks (Cole and Zuckerman 1984), than men and, compared to men, they are promoted more slowly (Long, Allison, and McGinnis 1993; Sonnert and Holton 1995b). Although some high-achieving women scientists do not have low publication productivity, they represent a smaller percentage (compared to men) of high achievers in the extreme right-tail of the distribution of



publication productivity (see, for example, Fox 2005). The invisibility of these women is particularly puzzling.

Lack of sufficient qualifications 'has always been held to explain in part why women do not secure access to certain professional jobs' (Rees 1989/1992: 28). However, women who have aspired to advancement and who have earned doctoral degrees in male-dominated fields have earned the qualifications that would allow them to secure professional positions. Advances in computing technologies in the second half of the 20th century created new jobs and careers, but did women scientists manage to succeed in the institution of science historically built around male attributes of success? Since masculine dispositions (qualities, thinking, expression) are part of the culture dominating scientific fields, to be knowledgeable means to possess masculine qualities (Woodfield 2000). Likewise, when it comes to success in science, Traweek (1988) concluded '...the virtues of success, whatever their content, are associated with men' (1998: 104). Defining success in terms of masculine dispositions would constitute a socially privileged meaning system in computer science that is likely to accord importance and symbolic weight to some distinctions and qualifications over others in evaluations of scientific contributions. Failure to recognize the excellence of women researchers may, in fact, demonstrate yet another subtle and hidden form of discrimination observed in other contexts of academia in the times of anti-discrimination laws (see Husu 2001).

Multiple studies have reported the operation of particularistic biases in evaluation and selection procedures in seemingly merit-based system of academia. When examining academic recruitment and selection for full professorship in the Netherlands, researchers found evidence that women's presence on the selection committees was associated with their chances for appointment, while in predominantly male committees, 'similar-to-me' selections were likely to take place (van den Brink, Brouns, and Waslander 2009). Assessment of academic merit remains 'flexible and problematic' even when merit could be 'seemingly deconstructed and made transparent by dividing it into subcategories according to which the rating is performed' (Husu 2001: 153). A clear demonstration of how evaluations can be manipulated was presented in the study of recruitment and selection protocols in which, in some cases, the abilities of undesired candidates were played down while those of desired candidates inflated, leading to the consistent outcomes in which women were less likely to be labelled as 'excellent' (van den Brink, Benschop and Jansen 2010: 1474).

Prizes and awards are traditionally used to indicate scientific excellence (Husu and Koskinen 2010) and could potentially increase visibility

of women in scientific fields. A scientist, recognized by a prize, becomes an ambassador for the discipline in the scientific community and in public at large (Cole and Cole 1973). Recognition asserts property rights (the recognition by others) in science and invoke almost immediate fame that become ‘symbol and reward for having done one’s job well’ (Merton 1973: 294). High profile awards in computer science (such as the Turing Award) are instrumental in attracting public attention, funding for research, and elevating the status of the field. The stories of outstanding contributions help to create a (heroic) *saga* in the culture of computing. Somehow women are missing from those stories. Thus, it is important to examine merit and occupational attainments of women in computer science because 1) utilization of talent and intellectual potential of women benefits science and society, 2) results can inform policies and practices promoting equity, and 3) because recognition of merit and achievements of women has a strong gender component owing to historically underprivileged position of women in science.

Questions

This study aims to analyse the attainments of women pioneers in computer science and assess their merit and prize-worthiness by comparing their education and career achievements to other computer scientists: 1) women who won the Turing Award, 2) men who won the Turing Award, and 3) men who did not win the award. Computer science is a strategic research site for the study of recognition through prize-winning. Being a new interdisciplinary field, it has multiple and competing standards of performance and lower consensus (than disciplinary fields) in judging the significance of contributions, with consequences for recognition.

Women of interest to this study are those who earned Ph.D. degrees and, by doing so, were well positioned to contribute to research in computer science during the period of formation of the discipline, from the 1970s to the present (2011). The key questions of the study are:

- How do the educational and career attainments of women computer scientists compare to those of men and women prize-winners (and the control group)?
- How can the differences in career attainments inform efforts that promote gender equity?

According to the normative perspective, awards in science are distributed based on meritocratic evaluation, which involves impersonal criteria and previously confirmed knowledge and not ‘personal or social attributes of protagonists’ (Merton 1973: 270). Specifically, a strong publication record may constitute evidence of scientific productivity and thus

of a significant contribution to science, possibly worthy of an award. Alternatively, the quality of a scientific contribution can be recognized as reflected by citation counts, which indicate the impact, usability and award-worthiness of the contribution. Furthermore, career attainments may also be influenced by a scientist's network of collaborators who represent the scientist's *social capital* (Granovetter 1973, 1985; Burt 1992; Coleman 1988, 1990; Lin 1999, 2002) and can bring various resources and rewards such as jobs, information, trust, and (possibly) even recognition. Moreover, scientific career attainment may constitute and reflect employment in a prestigious university. Researchers have long established that being at a major university increases the likelihood of being recognized (Crane 1965; Long 1978). Finally, consideration for technical awards such as the Turing Award in computing may rely on the extent to which one is known by key decision-makers in the ACM scientific community.

Data and method

Identifying a sample of women computer scientists

Using the National Science Foundation (NSF) statistics (NSF 2006) as a guide to the number of women who have earned a computer science degree, I retrieved a list of graduates who received a Ph.D. in computer science between 1970 and 1976 from the ProQuest *Dissertations and Theses* database. Since the database listed authors' first and middle names, I was able to identify gender and select only women from the names of dissertation authors.

Only one-third (out of 92) of the identified women computer scientists with a Ph.D. had a biography and some academic experience in their professional careers. For the other two-thirds of the women graduates for whom published biographies were not available, Internet searches provided clues that they were either industry researchers or professionals assuming a variety of responsibilities. For 38% (of the 92) no biographical references were available in online sources (not even a website, or professional contact). The selected one-third (N=30) of identified women represented a group of researchers who had persisted in computer science and who had either an academic career or a mixed career combining industry and academic experience. At present (35 to 41 years later as of 2011) these women could be the possible candidates for professional awards.

To assess educational and career attainments of the selected group of women computer scientists, I collected biographic and bibliometric data. The biographic information came from the *American Men and Wom-*

en of Science directory (multiple editions). Biographical entries usually contain basic demographic data (date and place of birth, marriage year, number of children), information on education, work experience, membership in professional associations, and honours received. I extended the biographical data by collecting bibliometric data from the Thomson Reuters *Web of Knowledge* database, specifically the *Science Citation Index Expanded* (SCI-EXPANDED). The *Web of Knowledge* provided bibliometric information on the number of publications, the maximum citation count, and the number of collaborators.

In this study I used descriptive statistics to summarize educational and career attainments of women researchers and then a comparative approach to assess their achievements in relation to other computer scientists: 1) women who won the Turing Award, 2) men who won the Turing Award, and 3) men who did not win the award.

Variables: early career advantages: a fellowship, a publication with advisor, first job in top department

The importance of the educational setting is conveyed by scientists themselves, who specifically acknowledged in their education ‘the quality of regular science instruction, peers’ attitudes toward scientific or academic excellence, fellowships and financial support, mentors and role models, and special educational environments’ (Sonnert and Holton 1995a: 166). As a result, fellowships were included in the present study as a type of exclusive reward as opposed to research assistantships, which are more common (see Gaughan and Robin 2004; NSF 2006). Publications with mentors/advisors were included because they positively affect scientists’ subsequent productivity (Long and McGinnis 1985) and later career placement (Fox 2003; Crane 1965; Zuckerman 1967). The rank of the doctoral department and sponsorship by the mentor (and not simply publication productivity) also influence the prestige and location of a scientist’s first job (Cole 1979; Long, Allison, and McGinnis 1979). First job is a critical point in careers of scientist, thus, it is included in the assessment of career attainment.

Number of publications

Publication productivity, measured by the rate of publications, was found to be the best predictor of how peers judge fellow scientists (Cole and Cole 1973; Sonnert 1995c). Therefore, the rate of publications was chosen for the assessment of career attainment. This finding is consistent with prior observations that eminent scientists tend to be productive

researchers (Allison and Stewart 1974; Fox 2005; Reskin 1977; also see a review by Fox 1983).

Highest citation count

A contribution worthy of an award is likely to manifest several outstanding characteristics that substantially influenced the community, reflected in the number of citations to a publication describing that particular finding or invention. I used citation count of a single most cited publication as a measure of the impact of the contribution. A highly-cited publication can indicate the usefulness of a contribution (Long 1992) and thus establish grounds for recognition.

Eminence: number of awards

Accomplished scientists typically receive a large number of awards (positive reinforcements) throughout their careers (Cole 1979). Prior recognition and peer esteem together with past successes are likely to increase the probability of additional recognition. This phenomenon, known as ‘cumulative advantage’ (‘the social processes through which various kinds of opportunities for scientific inquiry as well as the subsequent symbolic and material rewards for the results of that inquiry tend to accumulate for individual practitioners of science,’ see Merton 1988: 606), can operate together with the *Matthew Effect* (‘accruing of greater increments of recognition for particular scientific contributions to scientists of considerable repute and the withholding of such recognition from scientists who have not yet made their mark’, see Merton 1968/1973: 446) and increase the likelihood that an already recognised scientist received another award. Thus, in this study, I used the number of the awards as a measure of eminence. In addition, because induction into exclusive societies such as in the National Academies of Sciences or Engineering (NAS, NAE) marks exceptionally high status (Garfield (1977) found that the membership of Nobel Prize winners in national academies was very high (92%) and represents one of the highest achievements for U.S. scientists (Cole and Cole 1973; Feist 1997), induction into the National Academy of Science and Engineering was also noted.

Number of co-authors, Turing co-authors/committee members

In addition to representing a form of intellectual capital, collaborators are also social capital through which scientists can access other resources (e.g., powerful networks, information, jobs, collaborative opportunities, consulting) (see Burt 1995; Coleman 1988; Granovetter 1973; Lin 2002). Social capital, embodied in relationships among researchers, generally takes on one of three forms: ‘obligations and expectations, which

depend on trustworthiness of the social environment, information-flow capability of the social structures, and norms accompanied by sanctions' (Coleman 1988: 119). In the scientific community, as in other communities, moral bonds of trust not only facilitate knowledge transfer but may also be used in the evaluation of peers in the decisions concerning rewards. Collaborators that are most knowledgeable about the significance of shared research are likely to be similar in their values, their outlook on research frontiers, and their interest in promoting their research area.

Employment in elite organisations

Researchers have long established that employment at a major university increases the likelihood of being recognised (Crane 1965; Long 1978). Scientists in prestigious departments also tend to be productive, for productivity was found to conform to the norms of the department (Allison and Long 1990). Being in a highly ranked department increases one's visibility in the research community. In fact, positional and reputational successes were found to influence each other (Cole and Cole 1973). For these reasons, department affiliation (measured at the 27th year after one's Ph.D.) was one of the measures of career attainment.

Visibility in the ACM: publications

Since the Association for Computing Machinery presents the Turing Award, the visibility in the ACM is important for recognition. A high level of visibility through networking (interactions, communication, collaborations) was found to distinguish the careers of successful scientists compared with less successful scientists (Sonnert and Holton 1995a). Professional organisations often become focal places for research community interactions and the dissemination of new knowledge, and thus, visibility in the ACM was considered in the analysis of career attainment.

Findings

Educational attainment

The group of women who persisted in mixed (academic and industry) careers in computer science is a distinguished group of researchers. Table 1 provides a summary of the institutions at which women received their Ph.D. degrees, and Table 2 summarises their career attainments. If we are to compare women to men computer scientists in mixed careers (although in a slightly longer time frame, from 1942–1981), we find that although both groups attended the top five universities for computer science in the United States, more (15 out of 30) men Turing Award winners

attended top five universities, compared to 30% (9 out of 30) of women. In addition, the universities where women received their Ph.D. degrees were more *diverse* than the universities attended by men Turing Award winners, representing a more *converging* pattern of schools compared to women.

Career attainments

Early career advantages matter because inequality emerging during the early stages of scientific careers is likely to be based on particularistic selection and sponsored mobility, for a young scholar has not yet demonstrated his/her productivity (Zuckerman 1988: 530). The available data indicate that women scientists were just as likely to publish with their advisors as the control group of men while Turing Award winners were twice as likely to publish with their advisors.

Table 1. Universities Where Selected Women and Men Computer Scientists Received Their Ph.D. Degrees

		Women (n=30)		Men (n=30)	
	University	Number of Ph.D. Degrees	% of Group Total Ph.D. Degrees	Number of Ph.D. Degrees	% of Group Total Ph.D. Degrees
Top Five Universities for Computer Science	Stanford	4	13.33	5	16.67
	MIT			4	13.33
	UC Berkeley	2	6.67	3	10
	CMU	3	10	2	6.67
	Cornell			1	3.33
<i>Subtotal</i>		9	30	15	50
Other Universities	Princeton			5	16.67
	Harvard	1	3.33	5	16.67
	U of Illinois	3	10	1	3.33
	Cal Tech			2	6.67
	Syracuse U	2	6.67		
	UT at Austin	2	6.67		
	John Hopkins	1	3.33		
	Northwestern U	1	3.33		
	Penn State	1	3.33		
	Rice U	1	3.33		
	Southern Methodist U	1	3.33		
	U of Chicago	1	3.33		
	U of Colorado	1	3.33		
	U of Delaware	1	3.33		

U of Michigan			1	3.33
U of Virginia	1	3.33		
U of Washington	1	3.33		
U of Wisconsin	1	3.33		
UC San Diego	1	3.33		
UCLA	1	3.33	1	3.33
<i>Subtotal</i>	21	70	15	50

Fewer women scientists were able to find first jobs in top departments for computer science while almost five times as many Turing Award winners started their careers in the top five departments. Considering that particularly during the 1970s, universities were likely to hire their own graduates or those from similarly prestigious departments (Burris 2004; McGee 1960; Hargens and Farr 1973; Long 1978; Long, Allison, and McGinnis 1979; Long and McGinnis 1981), scientists who attended the top departments had advantages in securing jobs in a similarly prestigious departments. It is all too common that mobility in academia is ‘mainly horizontal or downward and seldom upward’ (Burris 2004: 249). Even in this respect women were at a disadvantage. Only three women scientists out of the nine who attended top computer science programs found jobs in the top five universities. By comparison, almost the same number of Turing Awards winners as those who attended the top universities and half of the control group computer scientists found jobs in top five universities. Overall, 75% of women found their first jobs in the academic sector (compared with 80% of men winners and non-winners, see Nikiforova 2012); however, only 55% still remained in academia 27 years later, and only two women (9% of the 22) were working in top computer science departments (see Location in an Elite Institution in Table 2).

The productivity of women scientists over the course of their careers (as of 2011) was lower than that of Turing Award winners (at the time of their awards) but higher than that of the control group of computer scientists. Women published an average of 25.7 publications, compared to 28.2 for Turing Awards scientists, and 21.5 for the control group of men scientists. Similarly, the impact of publications of women, measured by the maximum number of citations of the most cited publication, was lower than that by Turing Award winners but higher than that by the control group of scientists. Women had received an average of about 110 citations, compared to 198.5 for Turing Award winners (at the time of the award) and 90.9 for the control group.

One of the most salient differences between women and men Turing Award winners and non-winners was the number of prior awards. As

a group, Turing Award winners had received about 51 honours and awards prior to their Turing Awards while women and the control group scientists had received one-third and one-fourth as many (14 and 12 awards respectively). However, each of the two women honoured with the Turing Award had two awards prior to receiving the Turing Award. The same pattern follows the membership in the National Academies of Science and Engineering: more (half of the group) men Turing Award winners than both women and the control group had been inducted into these exclusive societies. However, both women computer scientists who won the Turing Award were NAE members.

A relatively surprising finding was that women scientists had a larger number of collaborators than men award winners and non-winners. On average, women had about 34.4 collaborators in their professional careers while men Turing Award winners had only 25.7 and non-winners had even fewer, 19.9 collaborators. (One obvious explanation for this is that men's publications and co-author count was collected for a time period of about 27 years (on average) after they received a Ph.D., while the same statistic was collected for women for about 37 years (on average) after they received their Ph.D. degrees. As such, women had more time to publish and collaborate). However, with regard to the type of collaborators, the patterns remained consistent: more Turing Award winners had collaborators who either had already won the Turing Award (24) or were at some point Turing Committee members (15). Women had fewer than half as many (4) Turing Award winners among their collaborators but more collaborators who were Turing Committee members (6) compared to the control group scientists (2). Both women computer scientists who had won the Turing Award had one Turing Award winner in their collaborator network and two Turing Committee members, providing additional evidence of the importance and utility of professional networks of collaborators. It is also important to note that according to available data, 14% of Turing Committee members, since its existence, were women; four of them were part of this study

Another significant difference between Turing Award winners and non-winners was in visibility in the ACM, in particular, in the publication venues. While nearly all Turing Award winners (29) had published in ACM journals, slightly over half of the women (16) and the control group scientists (17) had done so. In addition, men Turing award winners (10) and non-winners (4) had more awards from the ACM than women scientists (1). However, women and men non-winning scientists were more likely to have done some service activity for the ACM than Turing Award winners.

Discussion and conclusions

The studied group of women computer scientists is a highly selective group of researchers who persisted in mixed careers in industry and the academic sectors. However, their careers were not successful at every stage. The findings indicate that women researchers started with fewer career advantages than the comparable group of men scientists in terms of publications with advisors and first jobs in top computer science departments. About 13% of women scientists and 30% of Turing Award scientists published with their advisors. Only three of the nine women scientists who attended the top computer science programs found their first jobs in the top five universities while almost all Turing Award winners and half of the control group computer scientists, who attended the top universities, found jobs in the top five universities. Starting with few advantages meant that women were less likely to accumulate other advantages, owing to the cumulative nature of success in science (Merton 1968/1973; Zuckerman 1977). In fact, some researchers noted that women tend to accumulate more disadvantages over the course of their careers rather than advantages (Castaño and Webster 2011).

As a group, women were less productive in publications than Turing Award winners but more productive than the control group of scientists. However, a small portion of women high achievers had very high publication productivity (and high impact citations) that matched and in many cases exceeded that of Turing Award winners (see also, Fox 2005). The overall publication productivity of women is likely to contribute to their low visibility, also reflected by other variables. Women's publications received fewer citations than those of Turing Award winners. Similar to the control group of scientists, they received 3.6 times fewer awards than Turing Award winners (prior to their award). Even though women had many collaborators, among them, there were fewer Turing Award winners (six times fewer) and Turing Committee members (2 times fewer) than among those of Turing Award scientists. The low publication rates of women and the control group scientists in ACM journals suggest their relative distance from the ACM community and possible contributions on the margins or in other communities of computer professionals.

The situation of women in computer science seems to follow the general pattern of women in science in which women's low productivity is 'both cause and effect of their career attainments' (Fox 2006: 23). In the study of Turing Award scientists, I found a high correlation among scientists located at top institutions, receiving early career advantages and having resourceful collaborators who are already Turing Award winners and Turing Committee members (Nikiforova 2012). This pattern suggests that with access to prestigious and highly

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics, Career Attainment Measures for Women and Men Computer Scientists

Career Measures	Women Computer Scientists			Men Computer Scientists					
	Graduates with a Ph.D. from 1970–1976 (n=30)			Turing Award Winners with a Ph.D., 1942–1981 (n=30)			Control Group with a Ph.D. from 1939–1983 (n=30)		
	Mean	Median	Total	Mean	Median	Total	Mean	Median	Total
<i>Early Career Advantages</i>									
Fellowships	.03	0	1*	.10	0	3	0	0	0
Publications with advisor (y/n)	.13	0	4*	.30	0	9	.13	0	4
First job in top 5 (elite) depts.	.10	0	3*	.47	0	14	.20	0	6
<i>Productivity</i>									
Publication rate	0.94	.927	28.32	1.22	.9	37	.89	.54	27
Publications total	25.67	14	770	28.23	22	847	21.5	12	645
<i>Impact</i>									
Citations (max)	110	48	3192	198.5	80	5955	90.87	25.5	2726
<i>Eminence (Awards)</i>									
Honors and fellowships	.47	0	14	1.70	1.50	51	.40	0	12
NAS and NAE memberships	.10	0	3	.53	.50	16	.03	0	1
<i>Location in an Elite Institution</i>									
Employment in top 5 (elite) depts at the time of the Turing Award	.07	0	2	.50	.50	15	.13	0	4
<i>Number of Collaborators</i>									
Co-authors	34.41	29	998	25.7	23.5	770	14.9	7	446
<i>Types of Collaborators</i>									
Co-authors Already Turing Award winners	.13	0	4	.80	0	24	.30	0	9
Co-authors members of the Turing Committee	.20	0	6	.50	0	15	.07	0	2
<i>Visibility in ACM</i>									
ACM publications	.53	1	16	.97	1	29	.57	1	17
ACM awards	.03	0	1	.33	0	10	.13	0	4
ACM services	.07	0	2	.03	0	1	.10	0	3

* Data was missing for 6 cases.

visible institutions also comes enhanced visibility in the scientific community and an increased number of prize-winning colleagues and Turing Committee member collaborators.

The sponsorship by organisations and by peers plays an important role in nomination and evaluation for awards. Although some notable women computer scientists were highly productive, their absence among award winners indicates that peers took less notice of their contributions. Further, only seven percent (out of 30) of women computer scientists were employed in the top five computer science departments, compare to 50% of men Turing Award winners and 13% of non-winners. The two women who won the Turing Award had prestigious organisational sponsors (MIT and IBM). We may not know if these women would have been noticed or selected if they had not been affiliated with these prestigious organisations. The low rates of incorporation of women in scientific research, combined with their low rates of success in academic institutions may reflect the self-selection of women into less competitive institutions as well as non-selection by prestigious competitive universities. While both may have operated at once, the result was the same: a situation in which less visible women researchers had less access to research institutions lowering their chances for recognition 35 to 43 years later.

To conclude, when considering the use of prizes and awards as a potential means of increasing gender equity and visibility of women computer scientists, the following three factors need to be addressed: 1) scientist's institutional location (non/prestigious university) and prior awards, 2) willingness of peers to nominate the scientist, and 3) the selection criteria and procedure used by the award committee. The true value of an award is in its capacity to recognise unique achievements contributing to the symbolic purpose of the award. Although nothing prevents organisations from bestowing an award on whomever they choose, the value of an award lies in its capacity to recognize what has been achieved. With award visibility comes the responsibility to establish a fair process for the selection of candidates.

This study informs the theme of paradox of excellence by demonstrating the gendered nature of recognition: in seemingly disinterested and objective evaluation system of academia, until the last six years, no women computer scientists were recognized (while there were good candidates). The study finds evidence that success in science is often cumulative (as exemplified by Turing Award winners) and that women's disadvantages can start before they even launch their careers in research. A record of achievements is further enabled by employment in top institutions. Thus, we observe another paradox: a researcher is less likely to be perceived as prize-worthy without achievements and a stream of

advantages tied to a job in a prestigious organisation, but to get that job one needs achievements or, a particularistic recognition of potential. Consequently, as a result of the intellectual environment for women researchers in the 1970s that kept them at a distance from top institutions, the pool of women candidates, perceived to be worthy of recognition, remained small. Future research should a) investigate how to ensure fair evaluation process for awards, b) examine who, where and why colleagues nominate (and not) peers for awards; and c) explore how award granting and employing organisations can help in recognizing excellence of contributions of women scientists and alleviate the historical invisibility of this group.

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Chapter 6

‘The Men Next in Line Aren’t Interested Anymore’. Feminization of Senior Management Positions in Swedish Higher Education

Helen Peterson

The multiple meanings of feminization

The term ‘feminization’ usually refers to women entering the labour market or a specific occupation or position at an increasing rate (England and Boyer 2009). However, as Elianne Riska (2008) points out, it is a term that frequently is being used by different actors in different contexts with various meanings. Sometimes the expression ‘feminization of an occupation’ is strictly used to signify the numerical turn when the gender composition of an occupation switches from being male-dominated to becoming female-dominated and that women compose more than 50 % of the occupational practitioners. However, sometimes ‘feminization’ signifies an increase of women in an occupation or in a position regardless of the exact proportion of women or that women are reaching about a third in an organisation (Adams 2005).

Besides the numerical aspects, the term ‘feminization’ is also used to denote qualitative changes of social and cultural/symbolic nature in an occupation (Deem et al 2000). These qualitative aspects concern the impact women’s increasing numbers have on the characteristics of the occupation, such as status, pay, values, organisation of work, professional practices and professional identity (Adams 2005). Here, social and cultural feminization refers to how work discursively becomes marked as ‘women’s work’ at the same time as it is transformed into a less prestigious work, with limited opportunities for advancement and weakened job security (England and Boyer 2009). Although demographic feminization can be interpreted as a sign of increasing gender equality, feminization processes are complex and can be contradictory and not always strengthening women’s position in the labour market (Bolton and Muzio 2008).

In contrast to the abovementioned theories other researchers suggest that men and masculine values will continue to dominate an occupation, demographically feminized, while women become integrated but not genuinely equal to men. Instead women will comply with the occupational norms and masculine values (Bolton and Muzio 2008). Others again, use 'feminization' to describe organisational processes and practices following women's entry into an occupation that produce a new form of gender segregation that recreate organisational power dynamics and gender relations, with women still subordinated to men (Riska 2008). There is also a lack of agreement on to what extent men leave a feminized occupation or why women are allowed to enter a previously male-dominated occupation (Coventry 1999).

The fluid definition of demographic feminization and the sometimes contradictory ways of defining symbolic feminization are most likely possible to ascribe the variable and various effects of feminization but also the fact that feminization processes occur under turbulent conditions with economic, cultural and political restructuring in the labour market (Deem et al 2000). In order to grasp the multiple meanings of feminization, studies need to include investigations of new skills requirements in feminized occupations and critical analyses of how skills are gendered and how women and men respectively are expected to perform in accordance with these gendered skills (Riska 2008).

Feminization of academic management

Also in international research on feminization processes in academic management the results are multifaceted and complex to interpret. Rosemary Deem (2003) describes how demographic feminization of senior management positions in higher education has transformed masculinist perceptions of management and how the masculine norm in management can be challenged by women when they do management differently. Nevertheless, although women are now gaining access to management positions to a high degree this does not necessarily automatically entail that gender relations in management are also being challenged (cf. Priola 2007). On the contrary, previous research has illustrated how the number of women in management can increase while the male norm persists (Leathwood 2005). Therefore, as Louise Morley stresses, gender relations in academic management needs to be conceptualized beyond access (Morley 2011).

Further, researchers have suggested that the increasing number of women in academic management might be accompanied by a decline in the status and a de-skilling of management work (McTavish and Miller 2009). However, Deem et al (2000) also describe that the British further

education sector has gone through not only a demographic feminization but also a social and cultural feminization of management. According to their results, women managers in the further education sector 'used their demographic rise to management to create new opportunities and ways of doing things' (Deem et al 2000: 245).

Previous research has placed these feminization processes in a turbulent occupational setting marked by the restructuring of higher education, with a shift from collegiality to managerialism. The research results are ambiguous and complex when it comes to the impact of this shift on women's opportunities in academic management and to what extent this is a setting where women are truly empowered (Leathwood 2005).

Is academic management feminized in Sweden?

Swedish higher education management has witnessed a feminization in the demographic sense during the last 20 years. In 1990 only 14% of Vice Chancellors were women but by 2010 this had increased dramatically to 43% (Peterson 2010). In real numbers this translates into an increase in the number of women Vice Chancellors from mere 5 in 1990 to 16 in autumn 2010 (out of a total of 37). Sweden is thus among the countries with the highest per cent of female university Vice Chancellors in Europe. In *She Figures 2009* the average proportion of female Vice Chancellors in the 27 EU countries was estimated to be 13% (European Commission 2009: 93). The proportion of women in Pro Vice Chancellor position in Swedish academia also increased between 1990 and 2010 – from 19% to 60% (Peterson 2010). In real numbers this increase translates into an increase in the number of women Pro Vice Chancellors from a mere 6 in 1990 to 25 in 2010.

The aim of this work in progress text is to present some exploratory and preliminary analysis of the multiple meanings of feminization in academic management that will be further analysed. The paper examines to what extent women's increased access to senior management positions in Swedish higher education (demographic feminization) is accompanied by a less pronounced masculine management norm and/or a de-skilling of management work (social and cultural feminization). The article will discuss what Riska (2008: 13) calls 'the important question', but in the setting of higher education management (and not medicine which is the field Riska studies), thus asking: 'What is there in current higher education management that requires new skills, and why are women attracted to and/or recruited to these management positions if the skills requirements are redefined?' An alternative but related and relevant question is: 'why are men to less extent attracted to/or recruited to these management positions?' However, only women were interviewed in this study

and the focus is on how women managers experienced feminization in Swedish higher education.

Methodology and empirical material

The paper draws on qualitative interviews with 22 women in senior management positions in ten Swedish higher education institutions: four Vice Chancellors (Head of University), six Pro Vice Chancellors, five Deans (Head of Faculty) and seven Pro Deans. Fifteen of these women were professors; five were associate professors and two senior lecturers. Their age ranged from 44 to 64 and they had between 20 and 30 years' experience of working as researchers, lecturers and managers in the Swedish academia. They came from different academic disciplines and faculties; law, art, medicine, theology, humanities, social sciences, technology, natural sciences and educational sciences.

The interviews were performed between February and April 2010. They lasted between 40 and 70 minutes and were semi-structured and fully transcribed. The semi-structured character of the interviews enabled attention to be paid to individual differences in the women's unique career narratives. The aim of the interviews was to learn more about policies, practices and processes that produce, reproduce and change vertical and horizontal gender segregation in higher education. The interviewed women were asked to describe their current work situation and their academic career, to reflect upon the academia as a work place for women from a more general point of view, and changes occurring over the past 20 years. They were also encouraged to develop their own ideas and opinions related to the increasing number of women in higher education management.

Women challenging men as a norm

The Vice Chancellor in Swedish academia has been described in terms of the 'lonely and strong leader', 'charismatic', 'magnificent' and 'the Vice Chancellor is king!' (Fahlgren et al 2007: 14–17). These descriptions reflect the masculine connotation of management and the link between management and masculinity that favours the promotion of men but marginalise women (cf. Wajcman 1998). The comparison with kings implies the status, prestige, respect and influence that are linked to the Vice Chancellor position. But these descriptions also constitute a management role that is self-evident for a man but not so for a woman. This is an environment in which women academic leaders have described their own experiences of being marginalised, viewed as 'odd' and not taken seriously (Nydahl 2007: 21).

The women in senior academic management positions interviewed in this study generally agreed that the previously masculine meaning of management was being challenged. They emphasised the importance of the demographic feminization in order to achieve this social and cultural feminization of the meaning of management. According to the women, demographic feminization challenged men as the norm, and men as normal in these management positions, thus transforming the symbolic image of academic management: 'Today, it's just as natural to have a female Vice Chancellor as a male one' (Pro Vice Chancellor 1).

The importance of having a woman Vice Chancellor being superseded by another woman was also emphasized: 'When that happens it becomes more and more normal to be a woman in that position. Somehow then you don't longer notice it so much' (Vice Chancellor 1). However, in contrast, being the first woman in a previously male dominated management position was described as problematic. Some of the women had experienced this; being a pioneer as the first woman in a management position on departmental level, faculty level or university level. A woman who was the first female Vice Chancellor at her university explained the problem. According to her, people needed an 'adjustment period' to 'get used to having a woman Vice Chancellor':

After a while it's easier. It's not a big deal anymore. It becomes a fact: 'This is our Vice Chancellor. She is a woman. OK'. That's it. I think that when you had one, you get used to it. (*Vice Chancellor 4*)

She continued to explain more in detail what people had to 'get used to'. She felt as if she was expected to perform as her (male) predecessor and it forced her to struggle to become accepted as a Vice Chancellor who managed differently: 'I had to explain: "I'm the Vice Chancellor now and you might be used to do things in another way, but now..."'(Vice Chancellor 4).

These experiences are illustrative of how 'masculinity is perceived as an integral quality in the achievement of efficient management' (Cole 2000: 204). But this is a perception that can be challenged and changed. One of the women had experienced being the first woman in a Pro Dean position at her faculty and she noted: 'Someone needs to be the first [woman]' (Pro Dean 4). This expression summarizes how demographic feminization is linked to social and cultural feminization. When that first woman enters a previously male-dominated position, the masculine connotation of that position is challenged and can be changed. The first woman can break 'the initial level of bias', as one of the women expressed it (Dean 4). Demographic feminization in academic management can thus be interpreted as a necessary, but not sufficient, condition

for alternative, non-masculinist management ideologies to develop (cf. Deem 2003). The interviewed women also elaborated more in detail on how they perceived that they managed differently. An analysis of those details will be developed in another context (some examples are given in another, short, Work in Progress text under publication for GEXcel: 'Women Academic Managers in Swedish Higher Education. Managing Differently? Making a Difference').

The transformation of academic management

However, to fully understand the consequences of demographic feminization for the gender relations in academic management, women's increased access to management positions in Swedish Higher Education needs to be further contextualised. There are other aspects of the social and cultural feminization that need to be taken into consideration. The time frame studied in this text, 1990–2010, has also been described as a period characterized by managerial roles in the Swedish higher education sector becoming more complex and involving more time-consuming administrative tasks (HSV 2004). This might indicate that demographic feminization in Swedish higher education management is linked to the specific kind of social and cultural feminization that involves high status work becoming less associated with men and simultaneously becoming deskilled and undervalued, leading to a degrading of prestige (England and Boyer 2009; Leathwood 2005). Is Swedish higher education management being feminized in this sense, i.e. transformed into an undervalued and less prestigious job?

The interviewed women all had the same opinion concerning the increased workload for academic managers occurring during the past 20 years. They described the academic management role as becoming less ceremonial and less collegial but more administrative (cf. Dearlove 2002; Winter 2009). According to a Pro Vice Chancellor universities had changed 'radically' from being 'arenas for individual researchers' to 'hierarchical corporations' (Pro Vice Chancellor 1). One of the Deans explained that for her predecessor being a Dean was a 'routine job' (Dean 2). She compared it with the situation today: 'The workload for both Dean and Pro Dean has increased tremendously' (Dean 2). One of the Pro Vice Chancellors had worked in academic management positions for 10 years and described an 'increase in tempo' and that 'the pace is faster' and 'the demands are higher' (Pro Vice Chancellor 6). A Pro Dean with 30 years of experience of academic work described the changes she had witnessed: 'The administrative workload for a Pro Dean is really much heavier compared with before' (Pro Dean 1).

One of the Vice Chancellors referred to academic management as being transformed into becoming more 'professionalized' (Vice Chancellor 4). This professionalization involved a distinct separation of the role as manager from the role as researcher. Academic management had become a separate career track parallel to the research track and the teaching track. This was a new way of thinking one of the women explained: 'Earlier the best researcher was supposed to be the manager due to the logic "if you are good at something you are probably good at something else"' (Dean 5). Management positions in higher education, such as Head of department, Dean, Vice Chancellor, are temporary part-time jobs occupied by academics, or so called manager-academics (Dearlove 2002). These formal leadership roles are rotating rather than permanent. Traditionally the manager-academic is elected by members of the faculty, often based on scholarly reputation rather than leadership skills (Winter 2009). According to the interviewed women leadership skills started to become more important at the same time as scholarly achievements were becoming less important.

Before, these positions have been distributed according to year of service: 'It's your turn now'. Today, these positions require completely different work efforts and skills. (Pro Dean 3)

A consequence of this is changes in the skills requirements for effective management and the decreasing importance attributed to the Vice Chancellor being a (full) professor (Peterson 2010). A new kind of management was called for: 'We need another kind of leadership than 30 years ago' (Pro Dean 3).

The women thus constructed academic management 'today' in relation to academic management 'in the past/before'. This is a contextualisation of their current work situation that relates to on-going changes in higher education. The last 20 years the Swedish higher education sector has undergone a restructuring. Increased autonomy has been accompanied by intensified evaluation schemes, performance measures, profit-orientation, quality indicators and procedures of self-assessment (Barry et al 2006). The managers' heavy workload was related to increasing 'extreme competitiveness' between higher education institutions concerning 'external funding' (Dean 4). This situation meant that higher education institutions were 'evaluated and assessed' and had to document everything, for example publications, to be able to compete (Pro Dean 3). The previously self-regulating professors, used to 'minding their own business' (Dean 4), now had to provide evidence that they contributed to reaching teaching and research targets, thereby producing substantial information in need of compilation and analysis. This was one aspect of

the increasing administrative burden that influenced the academic management role.

For the academic managers this restructuring translated into work demands involving attending ‘meetings more than 40 hours every week’ (Pro Vice Chancellor 6) with committees, boards and different groups working on ‘new policy proposals’, ‘following up annual reports’, ‘making strategic decisions’ – and ‘producing an enormous amount of paper’ (Dean 3).

Academic management as a professional challenge

The increasing workload resulted in a problematic work situation for the academic managers. Only one of the 22 interviewed women stated that she worked a regular full time week (i.e. 40 hours). Generally, they estimated their weekly hours of work to be between 50 and 70. Answering the question how much she worked each week one of the interviewed Vice Chancellors exclaimed: ‘Oh! All the time! I don’t know. Fortunately I don’t count but... well... an enormous lot of hours’ (Vice Chancellor 4). These long hours qualifies academic management to be considered as a so called ‘extreme job’ (Burke and Fiksenbaum 2009).

While all Vice Chancellors and some Pro Vice Chancellors were appointed to their position for six years on a full time basis the Deans and the Pro Deans had a three year part time contract allowing them to continue to do research and teach between 50% and 20% of their working time. They were thus manager-academics (Dearlove 2002). In addition to being an academic manager they were supposed to carry out prescribed teaching and research functions within their discipline. However, to handle the combination of the management role and the scholarly role was challenging for the women: ‘It’s difficult to find time to do research’ (Pro Dean 1). The work situation for these women manager-academics became characterized by role conflict (cf. Acker 2012). Due to the character of management work, taking the shape of ‘an awful lot of meetings’ (Pro Dean 6), it was the academic work and the research tasks that was cut out from their busy schedule when time was scarce. A Pro Vice Chancellor had her management position on 50% and was expected to do research 50% of her working hours. However, she explained how problematic it was because of the workload as an academic manager: ‘It’s not unusual for me to have meetings from 8 am until 6 pm. It’s not unusual’ (Pro Vice Chancellor 2). Consequently, to work more than 40 hours each week became their only possibility to find time to do research.

The implication of this is that due to the time limited character of the management role, usually stretching between three and six years, the option to be a manager full time was not an attractive option, even if it

would have decreased their workload and daily stress. Even if academic management is becoming more professionalized and recognized as a separate career track it still has a temporary character. When the prestige linked to the management role diminishes this temporary character becomes more problematic because of the increasing competition for external funding. One woman, who was a Pro Dean on 80%, explained that she in reality worked as a manager on 100%. However, according to her it was 'impossible to let go of research even for just a year' (Pro Dean 6). Keeping up a relatively active research profile was important because academic managers need something 'to go back to' (Pro Dean 6) after their temporary management period comes to an end. An alternative way of making a professional career decision means not accepting a management position until at the end of the professional career without any intention to 'go back to the old role as a researcher' and hence strategically 'move into management three years before retiring' (Dean 3).

Discussion

Most of the women managers interviewed in this study followed the line of reasoning that appear in previous research on occupational feminization, that link demographic feminization to social and cultural feminization (cf. Adams 2005; Bolton and Muzio 2008; Deem et al 2000; Riska 2008). One of the managers came to the conclusion that men would continue to retreat from the academic management positions because of one specific change – the increase in workload (cf. Coventry 1999):

Some of the men that would be next in line for a management position might not be interested in it anymore. Because it's too much hard work. (*Pro Dean 3*)

The women's stories seem to support a specific case of social and cultural feminization – when occupations become associated with women while simultaneously being deskilled and undervalued men will start to abandon the occupation and women will be allowed access. One of the interviewed women also touched upon the link between the workload for managers and the number of women in the management position. According to her, women entering an occupation entail an almost automatic degrading of prestige. She explained: 'A management role is easily transformed into a servant role. Especially if many women hold the position' (Pro Dean 2). She continued to elaborate on the details of this kind of feminization process:

The academic management positions will follow the same pattern as we see everywhere. When women reach over 50% the positions will

lose all prestige. And then even more women are allowed to enter. (Pro Dean 2)

Although it might be an oversimplification to assume that women entering the management positions will automatically entail a degrading of prestige, it is interesting to note that the management positions in higher education are depicted as no longer attractive career options compared to the research career-track (cf. Dearlove 2002). From this follows that men might be less interested in an academic management career and instead more attracted to pursue the more prestigious career as 'excellent researcher' (Fahlgren et al 2007). It is also possible that men will start to abandon formal management positions while continuing to exercise power in an informal way (cf. Hearn 1999), thus establishing new gender power relations in academia (Riska 2008).

Conclusion

The paper concludes that demographic feminization of senior management positions is intertwined with social and cultural feminization in the Swedish higher education sector. The results thus suggest that demographic feminization is not sufficient to claim that gender is not still structuring senior academic management. This paper highlights how important it is to distinguish different aspects of social and cultural feminization and how these aspects are linked to changes in gender relations, power, status, influence and management skills. Considering social and cultural feminization of academic management is important at a time when academia is being restructured as is currently the case in Sweden and in many other countries. This is a context that constitutes an interesting backdrop against which to explore gender relations and how these can be challenged or changed.

The results have implications for policies approaching gender equality in a mere quantitative manner, pointing out the weakness of this approach (cf. Peterson 2011a). Thus, a quantitative approach to gender equality, focusing exclusively on demographic feminization, is inadequate because it fails to contribute to real change and falls short to genuinely empower women. Structural and cultural barriers do not automatically change with the increasing number of women (cf. Neale and Özkanli 2010). Instead, an in-detailed approach to the different aspects of feminization can shed light on relevant nuances concerning how the restructuring of higher education will influence gender relations in academic management.

Investigating gender relations within an occupation or in a position using the term 'feminization' highlights the paradoxical nature of gen-

der relations (cf. Bolton and Muzio 2008). The paper illustrates the stability with which prestige and status in the labour market is linked to gender relations but also how feminization involves a potential to challenge and change gender relations. The paradox has a similar logic to the double-bind dilemma facing women in management positions (Peterson 2011b). When women emphasize that they can contribute as managers because they are different from the norm, this norm is not always challenged but can instead be reinforced. The same argument that used to prevent women's exclusion from an occupation or position can be used to reinforce gender segregation. The problem with the 'women making a difference'-approach is that it fosters the 'women as different (from the ideal/norm)'-approach. It might also entail that women 'have to carry the burden of proving that they make a (positive) difference' (Hovden et al 2011: 409). However, being different from the norm means that there is a potential to challenge the norm (cf. Mavin and Bryans 2002).

The preliminary analyses presented here will continuously be explored. In addition, some of the results concerning changes in requirements skills in academic management will be further investigated in a research project starting in 2013, financed by the Swedish Research Council for Working Life and Social Research: 'From Rector Magnificus to Strategic Manager: Changing Management Ideals in Swedish Higher Education'.

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Chapter 7

Successful Implementation of Equality Policies at Universities: The Case of Appointment Procedures For Full Professors In Austria

Angela Wroblewski

Introduction

Austria has a long tradition of equality policies for the university sector, which resulted in the development of a coherent and constant policy mix by the turn of the century (Wroblewski, Leitner 2011). The main driver of this development was the Federal Ministry for Science and Research, which initiated and financed almost all measures to promote women in academia and to implement gender mainstreaming. Since the new law covering the organisation of universities (Austrian Universities Act 2002) came into force the framework for gender equality policies has changed fundamentally. Universities are now autonomous institutions, and university management (especially the rector or vice chancellor) is responsible for the development and implementation of gender equality policies. The Austrian Universities Act not only defines a general duty of female advancement but also institutions to promote equal opportunities: each university is now required to draw up and adopt a female advancement plan, to establish an organisational unit responsible for the coordination of activities relating to equal opportunities, the advancement of women and gender research (referred to as a coordination unit), and to establish an equal opportunities working group.

A comprehensive analysis of the implementation of gender equality policies under the new organisational law shows that based on this sound legal foundation a broad variety of policy mixes has developed at university level. Depending on the design and level of commitment the results achieved differ between universities (Wroblewski et al 2011; Wroblewski and Leitner 2010). However, neither the legal framework nor the implementation of targeted programmes at university level alone does bring about change. Reaching sustainable development towards equality requires a change in traditional, mostly unquestioned – but

clearly gender biased – practices (Yancey Martin 2006). To achieve a change of gendered practices it is necessary to initiate reflection and reflexivity of everyday practices.

In the following I will illustrate this need for reflection and reflexivity by describing universities as gendered organisations and by focussing on appointment procedures for full professors. Furthermore I will discuss the role of two key players with regard to initiating reflection and reflexivity: the rector and the equal opportunities working group.

Gendered practices in appointment procedures for full professors

In recent years, gender bias in appointment procedures for full professors has been discussed intensively (e.g. Brouns 2003; Pasero and Pridat 2003; EC 2004; Färber and Spangenberg 2008; Van den Brink et al 2010). The Austrian Federal Ministry for Science and Research itself launched a project some years ago to develop quality standards for appointment procedures for full professors. This project focussed specifically on transparency and equality (AQA 2010). Key actors in appointment procedures should be encouraged to develop alternative practices to reduce the gender bias that is inherent in traditional ways of doing things.

The appointment process for university professors in Austria is regulated in the Austrian Universities Act, with each university finalising and formulating its own specific procedures within the framework of its own statute (appointment guidelines, female advancement plan). As mentioned above the Austrian Universities Act establishes a general duty to advance women, which also applies to the appointment procedure. Despite this general duty the law address several issues identified in literature as the main barriers for women in appointment procedures. In concrete the Austrian Universities Act states that all positions must be advertised publicly. Comparable assessments must be obtained for all (shortlisted) applicants. The equal opportunities working group can file an objection in the case of suspected discrimination and thus halt the procedure. And with a 2009 Amendment to the Austrian Universities Act a 40% female quota for appointment commissions was introduced.

Some universities have tried to reorganise their appointment procedures in a way that accords more importance to transparency and equality. They experienced severe barriers in the implementation process. These barriers are mostly a consequence of the unquestioned and seemingly gender neutral practices that in sum constitute the appointment procedure. Such practices in appointment procedures offer a good

illustration of the gendered organisation of universities (Acker 1991). Universities are a specific and almost text book case of a gendered organisation because of their long tradition of no female participation. The structures, rationales and ceremonies that govern university life were developed at a time when women were explicitly excluded. They are based on practices that are primarily oriented towards academic merit and are thus seen as gender neutral. It was not until a significant number of women entered this male dominated domain that practices which had previously been taken for granted were exposed as gendered in their effects. For instance, the habilitation as a qualification for full professors was not intended to discriminate against women. Yet nowadays, there can be no doubting its gendered effects – one of the reasons why it is currently being questioned. Nevertheless, it is still the dominant qualification requirement for full professors in German-speaking countries. Despite its clearly gendered effects, it persists in part because it is so deeply rooted in the structures and beliefs of academic institutions. Another example that may well have gendered effects is the practice of ranking the three candidates in the final shortlist (*Berufungsvorschlag*) in appointment procedures. This practice was developed at a time when universities sought to restrict the power of the emperor and force him to adopt the decisions made by university collegial bodies. Although not required by law, most members of appointment commissions see it as a “natural practice”, i.e. as something that has always just been done.

These kinds of practices are very resistant to change because they are not questioned, people do not reflect on them, and most stakeholders feel that there are no alternatives available. As Patricia Yancey Martin (2003: 344) points out: “many gendering practices are done unreflexively; they happen fast, are ‘in action’, and occur on many levels”. Debra Meyerson and Megan Tompkins (2007: 308) describe the power of unquestioned practices to resist change as follows: “The stability of institutions rests on their capacity to constrain people’s capacity to imagine alternatives to existing arrangements. The quality of being taken for granted means that existing institutional arrangements are not held up to critical scrutiny; they are seen simply as the way things are.”

This lack of reflection and reflexivity about traditional and seemingly gender neutral practices in fact turns out to be the main barrier to change in gendered organisations. Formal regulations or guidelines are a further key barrier, because nothing will change if regulations are simply met by ‘ticking the appropriate boxes’. There are numerous examples of actors simply following the regulations and sticking with traditional ways of doing things. One typical such case is the way the active search for qualified female candidates (a stipulation in most female advancement plans)

is handled. Here these regulations require the university body advertising the post to take adequate measures to motivate qualified female candidates to apply for the position. In most cases, positions are advertised in the traditional way and then also forwarded to specific networks of female academics. This ticks the required boxes for this specific regulation and at the same time leaves traditional practices untouched.

So how do we go about initiating the reflection and reflexivity about traditional practices which would seem to be the precondition for a sustainable change in practices? Who in turn could be responsible for initiating this reflection and reflexivity? I would like to draw a distinction in the following between 'reflection' – thinking about something seriously or considering something carefully – and 'reflexivity' (Moldaschl 2010; Yancey Martin 2003). The latter requires more intense involvement on the part of the individual actor, who has to revise or reappraise his/her thoughts, perceptions and concepts in order to identify the possible gender relevance of (established) practices. This approach challenges the traditional everyday practices which are carried out without question and essentially perceived to be gender neutral. Hence, reflexivity requires a high level of individual involvement and a clear willingness to discuss traditional practices and change them in the long run.

The role of the rector

There is no doubt that rectors play a central role in tackling the gendered university. However, Austrian rectors define their role in different ways. According to interviews conducted at Austrian universities between 2009 and 2011, rectors adopt three different approaches to equality: (1) an active role, (2) a supportive role and (3) a passive role. (At the time of the interviews, all rectors at Austrian universities were male. Accordingly, any results from the case studies are presented using the male form of address. A gender neutral form is used for references to the general function of the rector. The interviews were conducted in the context of the evaluation of a state financed programme to increase the share of female full professors at Austrian Universities (Wroblewski et al 2011; Wroblewski and Leitner 2010)).

If a rector assumes an active role, he feels responsible for gender equality and defines equality as a university's priority. In an ideal scenario, equality goals not only gain priority, they also become part of the university's profile. In other words, equality becomes a topic the university uses to position itself in comparison to other universities. An active rector is also characterised by the fact that he is aware of structural barriers to women and deems the university to be responsible for taking action to reduce gender bias. He has a certain level of gender competence, but is

not a gender expert (in the sense that he is familiar with gender theory or the current equality discourse). He shares the necessary tasks with gender experts (e.g. members of the equal opportunities working group or equality office) in the university, thus providing them with a certain form of symbolic capital. In other words, people at the university are aware that gender experts have a lot to say with regard to gender equality.

If a rector adopts a supportive role, he supports gender equality goals in principle but does not define himself as responsible for action. He underlines the importance of gender equality goals in public, yet delegates responsibility to an authorised person or committee (such as the equal opportunities working group). This person or group develops measures to promote equal opportunities, which the rector will then implement. Accordingly, the level of commitment on the part of the stakeholders in the university depends mainly on the effectiveness of the responsible body. If equality goals are not transferred successfully from the university to the individual, they will remain superficial and have no effect on everyday practices.

If a rector remains passive, he does not feel responsible for equal opportunities and may even ignore the relevance of corresponding goals because he does not recognise subtle or obvious gender discrimination. This is mainly due to his perception that other institutions or bodies (like schools or society as a whole) are the main founders of inequalities and therefore also responsible for taking measures to reduce gender discrimination. As a consequence, the university itself has no (or only limited) scope of influence. Implemented gender equality policies remain superficial and are very unlikely to be successful.

If the rector takes his duty to advance women and promote gender equality seriously – like in the first and second scenario described – he develops a comprehensive, coherent and consistent policy mix to pursue equality goals. In most cases, the rector is aware of the subtle forms of gender discrimination. He knows that he has to take action and establish the framework for equality policies at his university. He is also willing to take unpopular measures and deal with internal resistance to equality policies. In most cases, he establishes cooperation with gender experts at the university (e.g. the equal opportunities working group). They propose and develop specific equality measures, which the rector finances and implements. He values their expertise and defines and implements a specific set of actions with regard to gender equality. He also transports equality goals from the top level in the organisation to the lower levels in the hierarchy. This allows them to seep into the whole organisation and become a matter for all stakeholders. Thus, all stakeholders must become agents for gender equality goals; because everyone knows that

they will ultimately have to justify any lack of progress. I assume that this is the key factor for reflection and reflexivity as the following example illustrates.

Starting points to initiate reflexion and reflexivity

As described above the rector decides if he assumes a role at the forefront of equality activities which means to change existing practices incrementally. One situation which illustrates the scope of action open to the rector is the selection of a candidate from the final shortlist of three candidates in appointment procedures for full professors. Under the provisions of the Austrian Universities Act, the appointment commission invites all suitable candidates to a personal presentation and hearing after completion of the external and internal assessment process. The commission draws up a shortlist of the three most suitable candidates for the advertised chair based on these assessments and this hearing. The rector then selects the candidate with whom he/she wants to start negotiations. The law does not require the candidates on the final shortlist to be ranked, although it is common practice to do so. In principle, the rector is free to choose any candidate on the shortlist. However, in most cases he/she usually sticks to the proposal and begins with the top ranked candidate. Some rectors are even of the opinion that they have no room for manoeuvre and have to respect the ranking. Others take a different approach: they explicitly define all three candidates as equally qualified and deliberately start negotiations with a female candidate on the list even she is ranked second or third place. To legitimise this departure from the ranking, they refer to the legally stipulated duty to advance women should a male and a female candidate be equally qualified. In the interviews, rectors underlined that they only deviate from proposed rankings in favour of female candidates. In principle, any such deviance is considered very problematic, as it could be interpreted as a devaluation of the work of the appointment commission. However, the duty to advance women is seen to take precedence over any such potential appraisal. The rectors also emphasised the need for sound and widespread communication of the reasons behind such a decision. This transparency is necessary to secure acceptance of the female candidate by other members of the university and to avoid the impression that she only got the job because she is a woman.

But the real challenge for rectors remains the transfer of equality goals from the top echelons to the front row. If unquestioned but gender biased practices are to be changed, university members have to accept and adopt equality goals in their everyday lives. Ada Pellert (1999) calls this challenge the 'art of managing experts'. Adopting the university's

equality goals into one's own sphere of influence requires a certain kind of gender know-how as well as willingness to reflect on and change everyday practices if they contain gender bias.

So how can this agency be created among stakeholders to avoid a situation in which only highly motivated gender experts participate? How can equality goals be incorporated into university culture? One – and perhaps even the only – successful way of doing so is to formulate binding internal goals which explicitly address all stakeholders. The Austrian Universities Act establishes the so-called performance agreements between the Federal Ministry for Science and Research and each university as the main steering instrument, because these set the university's budget for a three-year period and define its expected performance (e.g. number of students, graduates, cooperation with industry, etc.). These agreements also have to include equality goals and concrete measures to promote equality. Most universities also have some form of internal performance agreements in place, which offer them the possibility to implement equality goals within their sub-units (e.g. faculties or departments). They also provide the rectors with a framework to demand justifications if goals are not reached. This approach is extremely important, because it initiates reflection on everyday practices and encourages stakeholders to think about the gender bias associated with traditional practices and look for alternative ways to proceed. Since they are applicable to all stakeholders, and stakeholders in leading positions (e.g. heads of faculty, heads of department) are now accountable for their realisation, equality goals have finally become part of university culture.

However, appropriate measures are also required to support this approach of creating agency with all stakeholders and address any positive or negative developments. One university in Austria, for instance, gives a gender award each year to the faculties or departments which performs best with regard to its equality goals. In addition to such positive measures, sanctions also appear to be necessary.

Another key factor for a successful implementation of equality policies at university level is the establishment of a cooperation structure between the rector (university management) and the gender experts (e.g. the members of equal opportunities working group, researchers in gender studies, equal opportunities office). This structure is necessary because while the rector may be gender aware, he/she is in most cases not a gender expert. Furthermore, equality goals could conflict with other university priorities and should therefore be under the protection of a specific authority. In appointment procedures for example, the rector has to certify that the final shortlist contains the three best qualified candidates and that no discrimination has taken place. Hence, he/she

has to certify the procedural correctness of all decisions as well as the associated gender relevance. This is a complex and demanding task. At some universities, the rector shares this task with the equal opportunities working group: the rector attests to the formal correctness, while the working group certifies that the shortlist is non-discriminatory. The rector will not start contract negotiations with his preferred candidate without the explicit approval of the equal opportunities working group. An approach of this kind grants symbolic power to the equal opportunities working group and strengthens the position of its members in appointment procedures.

Specific measures to increase gender awareness among university staff and improve their ability to reflect on traditional and seemingly gender neutral practices would also seem to be required. This awareness and reflection are preconditions for recognising inherent gender bias. Reflection on traditional practices may lead to reflexivity, i.e. consideration of one's own related role and perceptions. At the moment, there are however no good practice examples available – at least in Austria. Some universities have recently begun attempts to develop training measures which address particular target groups (e.g. professors, academics/scientists) and focus on the specific situation in universities.

Equal opportunities working group

Despite the rector the equal opportunities working group highly influences the relevance of equal opportunities as well as the design of concrete measures. Its members also have a high potential to initiate reflexion and reflexivity. This potential arises from the rights and tasks formulated in law and in the university statute. In essence, the working group has to be involved in all steps of the appointment procedure and has the right to raise an objection and thus halt the procedure in case of suspected discrimination. E.g. the working group has to agree on the text of the advertisement and the job description. If it suspects that an advertisement is tailored to a specific person, it can raise an objection. The working group verifies whether the post is being advertised broadly and if measures are being taken to inform qualified women about the vacancy. If an active search is carried out for qualified women, the working group might be involved in the process or serve here in an advisory capacity. All applications received must be passed on to the working group by the end of the application period. The working group must be provided with the list of applicants for peer review, the list of candidates invited to hearings and the final list with the three best qualified candidates. Since the introduction of the 40% quota of women in all university bodies, the working group has also been responsible for compliance to this rule. If a commis-

sion does not meet the quota, the working group has to consent to its composition and therefore must be provided with sound justification for the non-compliance. If the working group does not give its consent, the respective commission or body has to be reconstituted.

As a maximum of two members of the working group participate in all meetings of the appointment commission and in the hearings, they have the possibility to put all decisions of the commission into question. Advice of working group members are taken seriously because of potential sanctions. The challenge for the working group is to position itself in a way that equality matters are not seen as their sole responsibility. On the contrary the pursuit of equal opportunity goals has to become the duty of all commission members. This is supported by an established and accepted division of work and responsibility with the rector. At some universities work of the equal opportunities working group is perceived as part of quality management. This is probably the most ideal perception of the instrument because this essentially equates to the gender mainstreaming approach. Furthermore, these universities seek to increase transparency in their appointment procedures (in the sense of well-documented and traceable decision making) and to integrate a gender perspective in the procedure. One approach to doing so is the development of specific candidate assessment indicators (e.g. experience with gender studies or gender mainstreaming, reference to academic age instead of biological age). Other (or additional) approaches include requiring an active search for female candidates in all procedures and demanding an equal representation of women both in appointment commissions and among reviewers.

Consequent interventions of the equal opportunities working group create a situation in which such gender specific regulations are well-known by all stakeholders and implemented in practice. Furthermore, if the rector defines equality as a priority and consequently asks for justification of failures to achieve equality goals, the work of the equal opportunities working group is seen as supportive, and the working group itself is viewed as an instrument that ensures gender neutrality and therefore contributes to the quality of appointment procedures. Situations in which different criteria are used for men and women, or in which criteria are differently interpreted, are seen as obfuscation or thoughtless action. The task of the working group is interpreted as that of a watchdog to draw attention to such situations, although avoiding them remains the responsibility and duty of all stakeholders.

Despite the clear regulations, the interview partners at these universities were also very much aware of the more subtle mechanisms of discrimination that they do not cover. Indeed, there is an on-going debate

on how to deal with such subtle forms of discrimination and increase awareness of their existence and form among all stakeholders. The equal opportunities working group plays a central role in this process because it initiates the discourse on a general level and poses concrete questions in commissions. In one interview, a member of the working group reported that they comment on the formulation of the advertisement when they feel the stipulated requirements allow for different interpretations. Such interventions are accepted – although not always without discussion or dispute – and given serious consideration. Most importantly, they have increased awareness for gender bias in everyday practices.

Concluding discussion: reflection, reflexivity and stakeholder involvement

As indicated above, rectors play a central role in implementing equality goals at university. They not only have to define equality as a core priority, they also have to guide, convince or maybe even force university members to adopt such goals and pursue them in their everyday practices. This is a challenging task, and good practice examples are currently still rare. But there are numerous examples which show that the formulation of strategic equality goals alone does not initiate the expected change in practices. If equality goals are implemented without the support of the relevant stakeholders, they will meet with resistance. Debra Meyerson (2001) discusses possibilities to initiate cultural change in an organisation. She advocates a step-by-step strategy that has the potential to avoid resistance and initiate sustainable change. She also identifies “tempered radicals” as the main driver for cultural change in an organisation, especially if they have the support of top management.

There can be no doubting the importance of tempered radicals for a sustainable change in practices and in university culture. Nevertheless, tempered radicals should work within a specific institutional framework that opens up a long-term perspective and provides them with security and scope for action. Specific institutional preconditions have to be met to activate the potential of these tempered radicals. They challenge traditional practices, which could lead to conflicts with established university members (who might even be a radical’s own superior or supervisor). Conflicts are very likely in situations where reflection has not yet begun. Here, traditional norms are still seen as gender neutral and proven: questioning them might be interpreted as dysfunctional and unnecessary. Developments that have been achieved can also become lost when a tempered radical leaves the university (e.g. because of retirement, job change or maternity leave). It might also be advantageous for different

people to take up the function of tempered radicals – especially in the case of voluntary or honorary posts and time-consuming engagements in order to avoid negative consequences for the tempered radical's own professional career.

In the context of appointment procedures for full professors in Austria, the members of the equal opportunities working group could act as tempered radicals. The rights and duties of the equal opportunities working group are formulated in the Universities Act 2002 (e.g. information rights, right to participate in appointment decisions, possibility to stop procedures in case of suspected discrimination). This framework provides them with the authority to challenge traditional practices and initiate their adaptation in cases of inherent gender bias. The fact that the equal opportunities working group has the option to impose sanctions if interventions are ignored would seem to be particularly important, because it means that interventions by tempered radicals gain much more significance and cannot easily be ignored. In Austria, this framework is – at least in theory – provided for members of equal opportunities working groups by law. In a case of suspected discrimination, they can stop an appointment procedure. The law also stipulates that they should not suffer any disadvantages in their job as a result of their participation in the working group. However, these stipulations also have to be put into practice, and the rector plays a central role in doing so. A rector may set practices that emphasise the importance of the working group or even act as a tempered radical in his/her own right. Collaboration between tempered radicals would seem to be extremely powerful in challenging and initiating a change in gendered practices. This requires not only a strong commitment, but also a high level of gender competence and a pronounced willingness to enter discussions or even conflicts. An intense discussion of the reasons behind decisions is necessary to achieve sustainable results and initiate organisational change. It is the constant discussion of how things could be done differently or why tried and tested practices no longer suffice that has put equality topics on the agenda and will serve to ensure that they become a matter of standard practice in the long run.

However, even if rectors are key actors, they themselves are still subject to a framework formulated by law. In Austria, a central factor in this framework are the performance agreements with the Federal Ministry for Science and Research, which force universities to formulate equality goals and provide the ministry with instruments to monitor developments and sanction a lack of commitment (at least in theory). However, the effectiveness of these instruments depends on their use by the ministry. If sanctions are not imposed on universities, the instruments

will ultimately lose their impact and significance. Hence, a successful implementation of equality goals requires a consequent integration of such goals in all steering instruments, policies and measures and a constant addressing of the topic by the ministry. At present, equality goals seem to have been replaced in importance by growing problems in other areas (e.g. regulation of access to universities, university funding). No sanctions are currently enforced if a rector fails to show commitment to equality issues. This reduces the significance of equality and leaves the commitment up to the individual. Consequently, progress continues to depend on rectors acting as tempered radicals or being aware of their importance. How and to what extent a rector uses the possibilities provided by law is ultimately still a matter of personal choice. To alter this arbitrariness, tempered radicals are definitely required – not only among rectors or in universities, but also in government ministries.

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Chapter 8

Why so Few? How Gatekeepers Explain the So-Called Leaky Pipeline

Heike Kahlert

Gender politics in academia have been arguing and working for (more) gender equality since the beginning. Therefore a lot of institutional and organisational measures were introduced to bring gender change forward. In German academia, however, it took a very long time to put the ‘gender question’ on the political and organisational agenda of the gatekeepers in science politics. It were not mainly democratic reasons that opened the minds of science political elites and rectors for this topic but first of all economic reasons. Now, in times when ‘excellence’ is one of the leading ideas for developing universities further to compete in the global knowledge market and when international reviewers accused German academia of not being able to be excellent enough without having (more) gender equality, ‘gender equality’ seems to be important for the future of the university and for Germany’s place in the global knowledge economy – at least on the rhetoric level.

In this work-in-progress-paper I will present findings from an empirical study in Germany on the question how female and male professors from different disciplines, fields of expertise and (academic) ages explain the so-called leaky pipeline. Special interest will be given to the connection between the normative rhetoric of gender equality in science politics and the organisational practice in the views of so-called gatekeepers in academia. What do the gatekeepers say about the role of gender and gender equality in professional careers of their doctoral candidates? And how do they describe their professional practices to put gender equality in action while supervising and promoting doctoral candidates? My empirical material consists of interviews that were conducted in the context of a research project on academic careers in political science and chemistry in the transition to the postdoc-phase. (The project under my leadership is called ‘Statuspassage Promotion: Betreuung und Förderung am Beispiel der Fächer Politikwissenschaft und Chemie’ (‘The doctorate as status passage: Supervision and promotion by examples from political science and chemistry’). It has since January 2011 until December 2012 been funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research and the European Social Funds for Germany.)



I will start with some reflections on the so-called leaky pipeline by giving some statistical data on the overall proportion of women and men according to qualifications at German universities (1). The figures make clear that more women than men leave academia after finishing the doctorate. Then I will make some remarks on the gatekeeping role of professors and thereby pay special attention to the importance of gatekeeping for the academic career development of women in the postdoc-phase (2). In the next step I will introduce the methodology of the qualitative study (3). The next part of the paper consists of reconsidering five explanations for the so-called leaky pipeline that can be worked out of the interviews with the gatekeepers (4). The paper ends with some conclusions (5).

The leaky-pipeline in German academia: figures and state of research

Science and academia are institutions that by politics are expected to actively promote the production of gender equality. Nevertheless universities and research still also contribute to the production and reproduction of inequalities. That is the case for academic careers, too. In German universities and research institutions, the doctorate is the formal starting point for being able to run an academic career. With regard to the overall proportion of women and men according to status groups and qualifications at German universities one can see that the gender gap concerning the doctorate has scaled down during the last years: In 2011 44.9% of doctor's degrees were earned by women (cf. Destatis 2013). With getting the doctor's degree the academics reach a crucial point in their careers: The doctor's degree is an opener for running a professional career on the labour market outside of academia and also for starting an academic career in German universities and research organisations. Thus, during the doctoral phase courses are set for further professional development of highly qualified people.

Experiences up to now and research results make clear that the problem of gender inequality in academic careers will not only be solved by the increasing proportion of female doctoral students and doctorates finished by women in the short or in the medium turn. First, there are still grave gender differences between the disciplines and only very small changes concerning gender equality in most of the disciplines. Second, with regard to the next career step in German academia, the postdoctoral lecturing qualifications called 'habilitation', there are only very small changes in the direction of gender equality and the male dominance seems to be more or less stable: in 2011 25.5% of postdoctoral lecturing qualifications were earned by women and 19.9% of professorships are

held by women (cf. Destatis 2013). Between the doctorate and the postdoctoral lecturing qualification proportionally still more women than men get lost in the academic career path in German universities. This loss of women is described as ‘leaky-pipeline’ (cf. Berryman 1983; Xie/Shautman 2003). However, one should reflect on this metaphor because it suggests that there is a career ‘pipeline’ in academia. For the German system of science this idea of ‘pipeline’ is not true: There is nothing like a career ‘pipeline’ with organised transitions from one career stage to the other and no idea that all excellent qualified people in academia should become professors.

Research results show that a mixture of self- and external selection is responsible for the loss of women on their ways to top positions in science and academia. This selection process consists of an interplay of individual, institutional and structural factors (cf. e.g. Kahlert 2013). One crucial point for climbing out of the scientific career path for women seems to be the phase of the dissertation or, to be more exact, the transition from the dissertation to the postdoc-phase (cf. Allmendinger et al 1999; Beaufays 2003; Vogel/Hinz 2004). This period of time is the period in the life course of an academic when a professional in the German system of science has to decide about the question whether to follow an academic career or not. This decision becomes so important in the German system because there are no permanent positions beyond professorships, and for getting a professorship one has to successfully complete the postdoctoral phase with a postdoctoral thesis (or an equivalent qualification). Normally the transition period from the dissertation to the postdoc-phase is also the period when a professional has to decide about the question of founding a family. One could suppose that the question of family formation is one aspect that influences the decision for or against an academic career after the dissertation, but one should stay sceptical whether this is true or whether it is said to be true by prejudice and gendered stereotypes of life courses and the gendered division of labour.

Why proportionally more women than men leave the science system after the doctorate still has not been analysed for the German system of sciences and the humanities yet. The processes of career orientations and career planning in this status passage have not been studied with regard to a comparison between the sexes and the disciplines. One part of my research deals with the perspectives of the next generation of academics and their ideas and social practices to run their professional careers (cf. Kahlert 2012). In another part the perspectives of gatekeepers on the careers of the next generation of academics are analysed and their

professional practices to promote doctoral students are considered. The following parts of this paper give attention to this question.

Professors as gatekeepers

Compared to professional careers in different organisations one characteristic of academic careers lies in the fact, that they are organised by co-optation. One does not reach the next career step when one has fulfilled special requirements and/or qualifications but these requirements and qualifications are necessary preconditions to have the chance to be co-opted. The co-optation process can be described as jumping from one career stage to the next. It depends on already established academics. They select those academics being considered to be qualified or to fit to the concerning career stage. According to Harriet Zuckerman and Robert K. Merton (cf. 1973: 522) these established academics could be regarded as gatekeepers. The gatekeeping role:

is basic to the systems of evaluation and the allocation of roles and resources in science. (...) Various distributed within the organizations and institutions of science, it involves continuing or intermittent assessment of the performance of scientists at every stage of their career, from the phase of youthful novice to that of ancient veteran and providing or denying access to opportunities (Zuckerman and Merton 1973: 521–522)

Gatekeepers regulate scientific manpower. With regard to the input and distribution to personnel, first, they evaluate the promise and limitations of aspirants to new positions, thus affecting both the mobility of individual scientists and, in the aggregate, the distribution of personnel throughout the system. Second, with regard to the allocation of facilities and rewards, gatekeepers operate largely through broad- or narrow-spectrum 'panels of peers' that recommend and determine the distribution of fellowships, research grants, and honorific awards. And third, with regard to the outputs of the variously allocated resources, the gatekeeper role is organised principally in the sub-roles of referees, charged with gauging the validity and worth of manuscripts submitted for publication, and of editors and editorial staff who make the final determination of what shall be published and delivered.

For the context of my study, the career development of the next generation, the gatekeepers decide about the entry to and the advancement of highly qualified people in the science system. In this respect supervisors of doctoral candidates are gatekeepers. They influence the career opportunities and the mobility of postgraduates and postdoctoral candidates and by doing so they also regulate the gender proportion of the

academic personnel. To evaluate the role of gatekeepers from a gender perspective it is important to discuss who selects, who can be selected, which rules shape the selection process and which criteria are taken into account. Liisa Husu supposes that at least hidden, maybe also even not reflected mental models and attitudes of the gatekeepers with respect to the sex of the candidates could play a role in the selection process (cf. Husu 2004).

Therefore, the analysis of gatekeepers' gender concepts can shed light on the attitudes of gatekeepers with regard to gender equality in science and academia and also on their impact for putting equal opportunities into action. Thus it is quite astonishing that only very few and mostly older empirical studies (cf. Anger 1960; Holzbecher 1997; Graf 2011) are concerned with these questions.

Methodology of the study

The empirical background of the paper consists of 17 qualitative interviews with male and female professors from different fields of political science and chemistry in the German system of science and academia. The interviews focus on attitudes and experiences of the interviewees with respect to the supervision and promotion of the next generation of academics. In the comparative context of the study the interviewees were selected by means of theoretical sampling. Besides discipline and sex selection criteria were orientated to diversity in order to reach a maximisation of perspectives.

The sample of interviewees consists of four female and five male professors from political science and of four female and four male professors from chemistry. The original plan was to interview four professors per discipline and sex. During the study I got the opportunity to interview a fifth professor from political science. This interview was also fully integrated in the study. All interviewees represent different disciplinary areas. They work at different German universities in the Old and the New Laender, are of different academic ages and possess different experiences in supervision and promotion of the next generation of academics. Also, the interviewees are differentiated with respect to various payment groups and to life styles (partnership, marriage, singles, with or without child or children).

All interviews were conducted by myself and took one up to two and a half hour. Afterwards they were digitally recorded and transcribed according to special rules. The interpretation of all 17 interviews is orientated to content analysis and still work in progress while writing this paper. Because of the limited space of this article here I will not go further into empirical details and quote from the interviews. Rather, I will

concentrate on the description of five arguments that can be worked out of the empirical material. These arguments focus the answers of the gatekeepers why proportionally more women than men leave academia after having finished their doctorates and why there are so few women in scientific top positions in Germany. The arguments deal with, first, family formation and gendered division of labour in private life, second, asymmetric gender relations in private partnerships, third, gendered career planning and necessary investments in academic careers, fourth, working conditions and the academic work ethic and last but not least fifth on psychosocial factors and professional competence.

Explanations of gatekeepers for the loss of women on the academic career ladder

The summary of the gatekeepers' explanations for the loss of female academics on the way to academic top positions shows very clearly, that most of the answers to the question 'Why so few?' deal with gender differences in the life courses and life plans of the next generation of academics. The gender concepts of the gatekeepers are nearly unbroken orientated to heterosexual partnerships and a family model that consists of a male breadwinner and a female care worker. The gatekeepers do not challenge the fact that women study and maybe also get doctor's degrees. However, most of the interviewees see the career possibilities of women with a doctor's degree after having finished the doctorate being immediately influenced by the biological opportunity to become pregnant and by the biological limit of the fertile phase. In case of experimental chemistry the gatekeepers also mention laws for employment protection of pregnant and breastfeeding women that keep them away from work in the laboratories.

The gatekeepers' explanations of the career planning of women are contradictory: In part they mirror the male breadwinner model that makes it possible for women's life planning to give only lower-ranking priority to their professional careers. In contrast, other interviewees say that women take their professional careers so serious that becoming and being a professor is not attractive enough for them because the professorial job goes hand in hand with a high work load, a large amount of insecurity during the qualification process and low income possibilities. According to another pattern of answers some gatekeepers state that women do not get the idea to plan an academic career because they are supposed not to be able to imagine becoming a professor. So, on the one hand the gatekeepers are able to introduce women becoming professors

and planning their careers according to this aim. On the other hand the gatekeepers deny women to pursue such a career plan strongly.

A third bundle of explanations deals with the working conditions and the work ethic in science and academia. Thereby the foreground is described in terms of disadvantages of the professorial job and of the career path until one gets a call to become a professor. The gatekeepers see a lot of disadvantages in the professorial job: laws for limited employment until one becomes a professor, high workloads and expectations to be permanently available. Of course, these disadvantages count for women and men in academia, but the gatekeepers construct these aspects as being more problematic for women than for men, because women are also introduced as being responsible for the care work. At the same time some gatekeepers reflect on different structures of opportunities and chances for women and men in science and academia. According to most of them women are disadvantaged with respect to protection and career advancement because of male dominated rope teams and networks.

The gatekeepers also outline different gender concepts with regard to psychosocial factors and professional competences. According to these gender concepts, women have a high self-reflexivity but also a low self-confidence, they lack ambition and risk willingness and, in the case of theoretical chemistry, also knowledge. On the contrary, men are introduced mirror-inverted. The polar constructed gender concepts make clear that the gatekeepers only partially appreciate gender differences. Mostly gender differences are presented as deficits. Thereby all interviewees explain the gender differences in behaviour and professional competences by primary and secondary socialisation, but not by nature.

Discussion and conclusions

Compared to older German studies on professorial views of female students and professors (cf. Anger 1960) one can see stability and change in the gender constructions of the interviewees in this study. The gatekeepers do not use naturalising arguments to explain why women are not interested in science or why they are not able to work in academia as in older studies. Instead of that, the interviewees seem to be well informed about the influence of socialisation on career planning and career courses. As in older studies the gatekeepers see the main reasons for gender inequality in science and academia first of all in conditions and influences outside of academia. Thereby mainly the gender relations in private partnerships and families and socialisation processes outside of science and academia are taken into account to explain the practices of women's doing career. Even if the gatekeepers explain the loss of women in academia

with aspects internal to science or academic organisations, these aspects do not belong to the area of the interviewees' influence: employment laws, laws of employment protection and the payment structure in academia are determined by legislative authority, and the high work load in science rather seems to be caused by global competition on the scientific knowledge market and the scientific dynamics of knowledge production than by the professional practice of the gatekeepers.

Thus, individual possibilities to influence the academic career system and the careers of the next generation of academics are introduced as being highly limited. Only very few gatekeepers see their influence on careers of younger academics in their practices to hire and promote the personnel for postdoc-positions and professorships and for encouraging female (post)doctoral academics to start and proceed an academic career. The other interviewees do not position themselves as agents of promotion and/or gender equality. It seems as if they do not have a developed gatekeeping consciousness. However, most of the interviewees seem to be more or less informed about the necessity and concrete measures to promote gender equality in academia. In their views gender equality first of all depends on changes in societal conditions like flexible and highly qualified child care facilities, individual attitudes of men towards highly qualified women and the socialisation of women before entering the universities. Therefore the gatekeepers describe organisational and individual opportunities inside of academia to put gender equality into action as limited or not existent.

With regard to the gender paradoxes in academic and scientific organisations the preliminary results of my study reported here illustrate a discrepancy between gender equality rhetoric on the official science political level and the social practice in universities and research. Further research should and will concentrate on the links between different gatekeepers' gender consciousness in connection with their practices to career promotion of the next generation embedded in different organisational, disciplinary and gender cultures in academia.

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Chapter 9

Which Challenges do Research Teams Face? Collaboration and Competition in Cooperative Research in Austria

Helene Schiffbänker

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Introduction

While a lot of research exists on the level of individual researchers, such as career progression, leaky pipeline, and more and more research is done on the institutional level – for example about research culture, organisational change (e.g. Sagebiel 2010; Kaiser et al 2012) – *teams* so far are hardly in the focus of research, neither generally nor from a gender perspective. Teams are seen as adaptable systems, reacting quickly and flexible to markets' and customers' changing demands (Antonioni 2000, Ilgen et al 2005). Teams become more important because of globalization, technological change and increasing competition on the markets (Henttonen 2010). Besides, teams and collaboration in teams become increasingly important for scientific innovations (Wuchty et al 2007).

The term 'team' is often used synonymously for 'group', but in differentiation to the latter, a team has specific processes and a social dimension (Foster 1982). Henttonen (2010) even sees the social factor as being constitutive: 'A work team thus comprises individuals who consider themselves and others a social entity'.

Team success is often measured by team effectiveness or team performance. Individual or social aspects like team members' satisfaction with working atmosphere or personal commitment to team targets are rarely analysed in this context (see for example Boos 1991). In high-performance teams allowances and autonomy are relevant success factors (Van Van Mierlo et al 2006; Wageman 1999). Yet, decision processes within the team need more time (Ostergaard et al 2011) and so may have negative consequences for the performance.

Team leadership is discussed as one central success factor: For innovation processes, leaders' empowerment behavior is relevant for team

communication (Tang 2010), transformational leadership is especially important in heterogeneous teams (Kearney and Gebert 2009).

Related to gender, two argumentations become visible: the first is to use different arguments to bring more women into research and technology, either that more women (in teams) bring better (team) performance and a better working atmosphere, or that a greater (gender) diversity and heterogeneity of research teams is an innovation potential that offers new markets (Schraudner 2010; Schiebinger 2008). This outlines already the second kind of argumentation in the context of teams and gender, namely that women and men have different skills and characteristics and so contribute differently to the challenges teams face – an argumentation that easily can reinforce gender stereotypes (like women are better in communication). Recent research confirms that the presence of women in teams greatly improves collaboration (Bear and Woolley 2011). Ostergaard et al (2011) found that an appropriate organisational culture is necessary to benefit from diverse teams. The literature on diversity of teams and their impact on team performance shows no clear correlation: ‘A notable aspect of past diversity research is the contradictory nature of the results across studies. (...) The evidence is complicated because diversity seems to interact with a variety of other group and organizational factors’ (Jehn and Bezrukova 2004: 704).

Study design

The study is conducted in the field of cooperative research in Austria where about 6.4% of all researchers are occupied, of which 24.1% are female (Schiffbänker 2011: 15). Cooperative research is located at the interface university – industry and intends to transfer basic research into companies. Research teams working at this interface have to deal with very different rationalities and norms established in these two different spheres of knowledge production. These aspects had to be taken into account for the design of this explorative study and may be seen as limitations in the generalization of the findings.

A first aim of the study was screening the structure of research teams and the subjective experiences in teams. Our main research interest lied on the forms and processes of cooperation and collaboration in research teams, including communication structures and knowledge transfer. We also focused on competition within the team and on the strategies to deal with it. This brings up the topic of team leadership and its impact on team success.

We used a qualitative research approach, combining an artefact analysis with other methods of qualitative data analysis (hermeneutical and content analytical analysis). For this analysis we have selected three for-

mal teams representing best the heterogeneity of cooperative research teams in Austria. Out of each research team, five interviewees have been chosen by theoretical representativeness (Lamnek 1993), regular team members as well as team leaders. The interviews were conducted with a simple guideline in March and April 2012 and lasted from 45 to 80 minutes. They were taped and fully transliterated.

After the qualitative analysis has been finished, we tested the results in an online survey covering all cooperative research institutions in Austria, answered by 410 researchers.

The study was done in cooperation with a management consultancy with a broad experience in team processes, but also with the aim to integrate a view from non-researchers and avoid a self-bias as researchers ourselves when interpreting data.

Findings

Team structure and team identity

The selected teams represent a variety in some formal aspects: Some teams are permanent meaning that all researcher have a permanent position at a (bigger) research institution and so work together for a long time, while other teams are just built up for a special target and so work together only for a limited period of time. The organisational context differs as some teams are one out of many other teams within their research institutions, while other teams represent a whole research institution. Also the location makes a difference: in some teams all members are located at the same place, sometimes even work in the same room, while other teams are trans-institutional, the team members working together are organised between institutions from different cities or states.

Parallel to this formal heterogeneity we noticed a broad variety in the personal definition of 'team', often being applied based on a subjective sense of belonging rather than on formal structures. This was perfectly visible when we asked four members and the leader of one formal team: 'Who belongs to your actual working team?' All five interviewees mentioned a different team. This subjective definition of a given team, this lack of team identity poses a challenge for team leadership, since efficient team processes require precisely this common team identity. When interviewing team leaders we noticed an awareness for team building factors and a team identity, primarily created through common research goals or visions: 'The target is to find a solution for the problem (...) that can be used in practice. We really want to find a solution with practical relevance – that is the binding element around which all other aspects are

grouped' (team leader, male). Other important identity factors are a similar understanding of the work tasks and a good working atmosphere.

Cooperation and collaboration

Cooperative research at the interface of basic research and applied research/ development, due to the complex problem constellations it is dealing with particularly in technical fields, requires interdisciplinary cooperation in teams, mostly spanning several institutes and organisations to have all competences that are needed for the project realisation. Knowledge management is a challenge and for the internal organisation of teams, for knowledge transfer and innovations processes, very different forms of informal or formalised communication channels are used. Team leaders find themselves involved in a process of searching for efficient communication structures, centred around questions concerning the amount of space and time required for knowledge transfer, for creativity and innovation and the settings needed. Asked for the main problems noticed in the personal research team within the last three years, communication is mentioned first, followed by team leadership.

The creation of trustworthy cooperation relationships is seen as an essential prerequisite in cooperative research teams which requires time. A team needs time to become able to work well together, to understand the other researchers without too much communication. So teams need time to become functional. The individual researcher's ability to do her/his work depends on the work of colleagues. Therefore confidence is required, confidence that everyone is closing ranks, using the contributions for common, not for individual goals. This is of specific relevance when research comes close to market development with large economic potential. Then confidence within the team is essential that a research product is not used or sold for personal purpose.

Competition

The existence of competition between team members commonly has been denied in the interviews, it seems to be a taboo. One potential reason therefore might be the already mentioned need for collaboration: It is not functional to compete against someone you need to work with. Also, common research goals might contribute to avoid or reduce competition. Furthermore, it has been mentioned in the interviews that due to budget shifts, research money is more and more limited and so all team members are in the same boat, working together to get funding for further projects. And finally, cooperative research has only few hierarchical positions, so the competition for positions is limited, and team leader often involve a broad range of researchers for important decisions. It

was also mentioned that the ‘scientific age’ is well accepted in the way that a junior scientist does not compete to a senior one. For publications, it is common practice to add all researchers who contributed to the research results in different ways; sometimes more than ten people are listed as co-authors. While internal competition in the team is denied, external competition was mentioned well, for example to be in competition with other teams (within the research organisation or outside) or simply the competition with other researchers for scientific reputation or for funding money.

(Definition of) success

In this context, the definition of success appears as a complex challenge. On the one hand, success in cooperative research has to meet scientific standards, counting publications and patents. On the other hand success is evaluated in cooperation with industry research partners like finding access to industry partners and research funding, being able to transfer research questions and results into companies’ language, finding common research goals and providing marketable, simple solutions. Unlike for scientific outcomes, there are no specific indicators to measure these kinds of activities: As there are no success factors, these activities are not measurable, not comparable, not rewarded and not transferable to other research contexts (for example university careers). Therefore, success in cooperative research remains defined along scientific outcomes, and scientific indicators are related to the individual level.

This is a contradiction to the high meaning of team work in the field. To be successful as a team you need researchers who are more team-oriented than following an individual career track. Indeed, team leaders mentioned that they try to hire team-oriented researchers rather than lone fighters. Team players are important, i.e. those who contribute both socially and in terms of expertise to the smooth functioning of the team and the teamwork. A team-oriented attitude to work can mean setting acquisitions (for the team) and the functioning of the team as a higher priority than publishing – but just publications are an important indicator for individual career progress, and team focused activities do not contribute to individual career success. A metaphor from an interviewee illustrates precisely these challenges between individual and team success: ‘Cooperative research is not a team-sport like football or soccer. It is maybe more like a ski-team or a ski-jumping-team where you say: ok, to a special extent, everyone is a lone fighter and no one envies the other for the success. But there is also team competition where you win when all together are in good form’ (team member, male).

Leadership

Team leaders play an important and strong role in these areas of conflicts. They set up priorities between different targets for the research team or develop strategies to distribute the different success definitions between the team members: So for example, in some teams a part of the researchers are encouraged to focus on publishing while others mainly work with industry partners. This internal hierarchy has been reported as being unfair by some researchers. Other team leaders either choose scientific indicators as relevant for team success, while a third group does not see scientific standards as relevant benchmarks for cooperative research.

Although several good social practices could be identified in the interviews for meeting these demands, there is still potential for professionalisation in the area of team leadership functions. This is partly due to the fact that in teams of cooperative research, leadership is legitimised primarily through technical expertise and scientific reputation, meaning that an understanding of leadership as an independent qualification with its own set of skills is not widespread. This concerns team leading skills: So when asked what expectations to the team leader have been met at least, the process of team building had been ranked first, second the individual career support.

Gender may play an important role in this context, but unfortunately because of limited financial resources, we were not able to look for gender differences in leadership more in detail. Anyway, we could find a noticeable share of female team leaders both in the teams we analysed by interviews and in the online-survey. Team members did not mention sex and gender as relevant factors for leadership. Yet, a female team leader reported not to be accepted as leader without any doubts, she feels put in question by junior researchers who prefer asking a male senior researcher rather than her the female team leader, for consultation.

Discussion

In line with Henttonen (2010) our analysis shows clearly that in cooperative research in Austria, 'team' is defined subjectively along a social feeling of individual belonging rather than on formal structures. This is a veritable challenge for team leaders, as a common identity is seen important for cooperation and collaboration within teams: Complex questions that have to be solved at the interface of basic research at universities and industry-partners require well organised research teams with complementary competences and a personal well-fit together. It is the responsibility of the team-leader to develop a sufficient social cohesion

as prerequisite for well performance as a team. Team leaders perform a steering function for team processes as they decide what achievements are to be recognised and how success ought to be measured. They decide how teams deal with the fact that ‘the principle of achievement, at the end of the day, still invites cooperation, while the principle of success unleashes animosity’ (Neckel 2008: 64).

As so far team leadership is mainly located on the scientific or project management level, it becomes visible that social processes, that are necessary to make the team feel as a team, are often driven by other researchers, not the team leaders. ‘Team-Mamas’ (also male ones) work hard and invest a good part of their working time to make a team work and create a feeling of belonging together. This kind of work is not rewarded, neither are the team players who prioritise team activities to personal career steps. New indicators are needed that measure team-related activities to counter-balance potential disadvantages. So far, publications and patents are the only success indicators – based on the individual performance – what may make team players appear less successful.

Our data show that team leadership needs a better professionalisation, acknowledging that being a good scientist or excellent engineer does not mean that you are able to bring out the best of all your team members. Trainings for leading competences do exist, but they are rarely made use of; mostly due to time restrictions, but also because they are not accepted or appreciated. It is regarded as important that the research institution, as superior system to teams, defines standards what is expected from team leaders. Therefore, a formalisation of leading competences would be one option to encourage potential team leaders to trainings.

Finally, it has to be recognised that working in transdisciplinary teams including non-researchers or researchers from different research sectors needs time: time to build up confidence and simply get used to a way of working together.

These findings may help to understand better actual challenges in cooperative research teams in Austria. To gain more general findings, further research is necessary comparing cooperative research teams with research teams in universities and in companies and also analysing the relationship between organisation and teams more systematically.

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Chapter 10

Gender Pay Equity in Australian and Swedish Universities: Are Pay Equity Audits an Impetus for Change?

Jan Currie

Introduction

In an attempt to eliminate the social, structural and systemic impediments hindering women's potential in the workplace, there has been a strengthening of equal employment opportunity (EEO) legislation in a number of countries in the last decade. Chicha (2006) identified the pay equity legislation in Sweden and in some jurisdictions in Canada (Ontario and Quebec) as a model to emulate. Despite this strengthened legislation, gender inequities persist in countries around the world.

This paper explores why the pay gap between women and men in higher education seems particularly resistant to change. The gender pay gap measures the difference in average salaries between women and men. The measure usually converts part time employees into full time equivalents to measure comparable female and male salaries. The gender pay gap in universities in Europe, North America and Australia ranges from about 14% to 25% depending on the country.

Although females have begun to equal and sometimes surpass men in their qualifications in many countries, the higher echelons of academe have been breached by only a handful of women. Despite the persistence of the gender pay gap in Australia and Sweden, the focus of this study, there is evidence of increasing acceptance of women into universities, including at the senior management level. Females graduate from Australian universities in higher numbers than men (Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations Higher Education Statistics 2010). Yet Australian female academics are less likely to secure research-only positions (Equal Opportunity in the Workforce Agency, 2008) and senior positions in research teams and in research management (Bell and Bentley, 2005). In Sweden, for the past 30 years, more women than men entered higher education. In 2007/08 academic year, 57% of the entrants and 64% of graduates were women. Of PhDs, 47% were awarded to women (quite an improvement from 1988 when the proportion was

only 24%). Women were promoted to senior lecturer at the rate of 41% yet only 18% of professors were women. Just as Australian and Swedish women are gaining entry to universities in higher numbers, researchers (Barry, Berg and Chandler 2012, in Sweden, and Currie, Thiele and Harris 2002; Blackmore 2011, in Australia) have suggested universities are becoming less desirable places to work because of new public management reforms that have reduced collegiality and cooperation and introduced a heightened sense of managerialism and competition.

Impetus for change and challenges

In a special edition of *Gender, Work and Organization*, Benschop, Mills, Mills and Tienari discussed ways to change organisations into more gender-equitable workplaces. They observed, 'We know relatively little about how to ensure sustainable change' (2012: 2). They recognized that there was a persistence and resilience to inequalities and that these changes are only partially realized. This is in part because the old gender order leaves traces and has to co-exist with emerging changes. They discussed the paradoxes of change in the way that it contains elements of stability and flux, noting that 'women constantly need to negotiate their identities vis-à-vis the dominant corporate masculinity' (2012: 4). In the Swedish International GEXcel Conference, Gender Paradoxes in Academic and Scientific Organisations (2011), Professor Teresa Rees, a panel participant, made a similar comment about stability and flux, 'Patriarchy is like play dough – it keeps changing its shape.'

At the GEXcel Conference (2011), a number of researchers presented papers about the kind of equality programs that can bring about change in universities. From discussions at this conference, it was clear that legislation was necessary but not sufficient to bring about change (other programs are discussed below). The type of legislation was also important. It had to have sanctions that were strong enough and enforceable to make a difference to large organisations. Conference presenters also argued that legislation based upon individual discrimination cases is not as effective as legislation based on class action suits. For example in the UK, the Gender Equality Duty enacted in 2007 'moves gender out of individual grievance modalities and into recognition of the need for a new kind of radical approach to equality – one which places more responsibility with service providers to think strategically about gender equality, rather than leaving it to individuals to challenge discriminatory practices' (Morley 2011: 5).

Expecting organisations to change voluntarily, as in Australia, has little power to alter the current situation. Those who argue against quotas often identify that it is just a matter of time before more women will

replace men on boards and in senior management positions. This phenomenon is known as “the pipeline effect”, suggesting that when women gain the right experience and qualifications, they will merit these positions and begin replacing men.

In a media release, ‘Pipeline to the top jobs still a pipedream for women’, the Equal Opportunity in the Workplace Agency (EOWA 2010) stated that the number of women managers (8%) and directors (8%) in Australia had barely changed over the past eight years. With encouragement from the Australian Institute of Company Directors more women (13.8% in 2012) have become board directors on the ASX top 200 companies (Conway 2012). To date, Australia has resisted quotas, relying instead on companies to make voluntary changes even though there is doubt expressed from many quarters as to how long this might take.

Concerned about leaving changes to the pipeline effect in universities, Morley argued that gender inequity is far from a pipeline problem that will be resolved as women ‘join the procession’ (2003:154). Women have already joined the procession in large numbers, often equalling males at the lower ranks in universities; however, they do not make similar progress through the ranks to full professors or to senior management positions.

Drawing on the work of Gherardi (1994), Martin (2006) and Poggio (2006), van den Brink and Benschop argued that ‘gender is not a static entity but a dynamically situated social practice’ (2012: 87). Van den Brink and Benschop (2012) studied the selection processes of full professors in seven Dutch universities in three fields: humanities, medicine and natural sciences. They found that the procedures differed by field, meaning that there is no ‘one size that fits all’ approach that can undo inequalities. In general, there was a persistent practice that arose in the selection processes of questioning women’s qualities and constructing them as inferior to men’s.

To what extent have Australian and Swedish universities been able to implement changes in their institutions? This research is based on case studies in four universities (two in Australia and two in Sweden) and their political processes of implementing gender equity programs.

Research study

Although the gender pay gaps were similar, there were differences in how the Australian and Swedish universities undertook their pay reviews and responded to wage inequities. A striking difference between the two countries is that pay reviews are mandatory in Sweden and any unjustified pay differences detected have to be remediated within three years. In contrast pay reviews are voluntary in Australia and no payments are

made when gender pay gaps are detected, even if it could be determined that they were unjustified.

Two Australian universities: Riverside and Techpark

Riverside completed pay equity audits in 2008 and 2011. Techpark completed a pay equity audit in 2010. To monitor changes, both decided to conduct audits at least every two years. They undertook these audits voluntarily using the Western Australian Pay Equity Tool (PET no year) which facilitates the audit process. The audit tool is simple to use and allows organisations to determine their overall gender pay gap and identify where the largest gaps occur within organisations so that strategies can be targeted to reduce these. The two universities have similar gender pay gaps (Riverside at 21% in 2011 and Techpark at 19% in 2010).

Two Swedish universities: Forestview and Lakeside

Swedish universities calculate their gender pay gaps in a different way to Australian universities. They first analyse the gender pay gap for each occupational category and in each faculty. If gaps are present, they evaluate the pay of female-dominated and male-dominated occupations to see if there are any discrepancies. The occupations they compare have to be equivalent on a 100 point scale using ten attributes, such as qualifications, responsibility, physical and psychological stress of the job, etc. If the pay gaps are found to be unjustified, those with lower salaries are increased to match the higher salaries over a three-year period.

At Forestview, internal pay analyses have been completed each year since 2004 and any differences in salaries remediated over a three-year period. The Equity Coordinator reported that the overall gender pay gap, currently at 16%, was shrinking every year as gaps were discovered and remediated. These gaps are not always in favour of women. For example, it was found that female librarians and student counsellors had higher salaries so male employees' salaries in these categories were remediated.

At Lakeside a pay equity audit completed in 2006 resulted in a minor remediation of salaries. After the Swedish Gender Ombudsman found that Lakeside's analysis had not been done correctly, the university's Gender Equality Board requested that Human Resources (HR) submit another pay analysis. However, as of the writing of this article, HR has not completed another audit. In 2006, the overall gender pay gap for Lakeside University was 15%. A further analysis was begun at Lakeside in 2009 but a union member objected to the hiring of the same outside consultant who did the 2006 analysis. Consequently, the analysis was aborted. It is now planned that a new analysis will be done in

2012 when the university enterprise agreement has to be completed. The aborted 2009 analysis revealed that the level of inequality had worsened for some groups: female lecturers in health care, switchboard operators and cleaners. These have yet to be remediated because of the collapse of the pay equity analysis.

Discussion and concluding comments

When trying to address inequalities, Benschop et al (2012) concluded that there were distinct sites of gendered practices where notions of equality remained contested and for each site, it was necessary to analyse the discursive and material practices of inequality. The discourse of merit is relevant to this study of the gender pay gap in universities. Traditional notions of merit present themselves as gender neutral but actually advantage men and disadvantage women. This was evident at Lakeside where the discursive notion of merit was raised when the medical faculty was appointing professors and there was an agreement to apply affirmative action within this new faculty. However, the dean asserted that the concept of merit was gender neutral and that the best candidate would be appointed without applying affirmative action.

Researchers for years have long questioned the concept of merit (Burton 1988; Bacchi 1999; Eveline 2004) pointing out that the “best person for the job” is often defined in stereotypically masculine terms, such as decisive, high achieving, competitive, hardworking, etc. This gendered construction of merit was also evident in the lower special allowances paid to female academics at Riverview. These allowances, which were paid at the discretion of faculty deans, exacerbated the overall gender pay gap because higher allowances tended to be offered to academics in male-dominated areas like engineering and medicine.

At the Swedish International GEXcel Conference (2011) in a workshop discussion on interventions, it was noted that if feminist academics and equity officers are going to be successful in changing universities, they have to be looking constantly for openings where change strategies can be initiated and remaining alert to closures that will make it difficult to initiate change. This was one of the messages in Pincus’ study in trying to identify where barriers are erected making it difficult to implement change.

Sweden’s many years of pay equity strategies and equal opportunity legislation to engender greater equality have led to increased percentages of women in important positions: second highest percentage (47%) of women in its national parliament in the world and 46% of its ministers are women. Yet Swedish universities remain male-dominated at the top,

despite Sweden's long term support of gender equality across the political spectrum since the early 1970s.

Australia has taken a different, more voluntary, route in terms of its legislation than Sweden and there has not been strong support across the political spectrum for pay equity reviews and affirmative action. Australia's representation of women in parliament (25% in the lower house and 36% in the upper house) and as ministers (25%) is considerably lower than Sweden's. Yet Australian universities appear to be about equal to the Swedish universities in having a higher number of female students and female junior academics than men. The two countries are alike in their male-dominance at the professorial level with slightly fewer women as professors in Sweden (18%) than in Australia (23%).

Over the past 20 years Sweden has improved the percentage of women in senior university management from a low base: rectors from 14% to 43%; pro vice chancellors from 19% to 60%; deans from 3% to 31% and pro deans from 0% to 46%. Australia has also increased the percentage of women in senior university management but the figures are not nearly as high as Sweden. As in Australia, the rectors or vice chancellors tend to head smaller and less prestigious universities. Swedish university committees often have a 50/50 balance which means that female professors have to serve on more committees now because of their smaller numbers (quoting Helen Peterson on a panel at the Swedish International GEXcel Conference 2011). Most Australian university committees aim for a 40/60 split between women and men.

Support for gender equality from vice chancellors and rectors can affect the direction of a university. For example, at Riverside University in Australia when a female vice chancellor was hired in 1990, the university had only 2 out of 76 (3%) professors who were women. She mentored her successor so that he would continue the drive to increase the percentage of women in the university and in senior positions, which he has done. By 2010, 17% of professors were women, closer to the Australian national average of 23%. Pincus noted the importance of getting men on side and concluded that 'if gender equality work is to move forward within organisations and working life, men also have to be engaged in this work' (2009: 201).

De Vries (2010), in her organisational analysis, concluded that substantive change requires a dual approach of grassroots strategy and executive champions. For example, at Riverview a female vice chancellor and later her male replacement championed leadership development for university women who were then empowered to initiate cultural and practical changes in their own areas. US research has found that female university presidents have followed a similar path as the Australian fe-

male vice chancellor to reduce gender inequalities and tend to appoint more women to senior positions (Cohen and Huffman 2007). It is too early to see if the female rector at Forestview in Sweden will champion gender changes but there is already a belief that she will continue the drive of the male rector who saw gender equality as a priority. Not all female university heads will prioritize gender equality. However, if they support gender equity strategies, they are more likely to make a difference and effect a reduction in inequities in their universities.

By initiating grassroots action and gaining executive approval for gender equality strategies, there is an increased likelihood that greater equity for women will eventuate. Neoliberal policies affecting universities will also take their toll on gender equality strategies. In Australian universities individual pay negotiations are commonplace and men appear to be gaining higher salaries from these negotiations. Swedish universities are proceeding down this neoliberal path. The Swedish academic union has given its support for negotiating salaries on an individual basis and there is already some negotiation of individual salaries and fringe benefits. If universities decide to use individual contracts, this is likely to disadvantage women. As one of the gender equality coordinators in Sweden noted, 'One has to be ever vigilant and never turn one's back as it is so easy for gender equality to stall or go backwards'. This echoes the concerns expressed earlier about stability and flux in changing organisations and the constant need for renewal of gender awareness among staff. In conclusion, these case studies attest to the fact that gender change is hard work in the academy and remains a continuous struggle, which must take place simultaneously on multiple fronts: discursive, cultural and structural.

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Chapter 11

‘We are just Stubborn Academic Leaders’: The Reception of Feminist Research in the Academic Organisation

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Marieke van den Brink

Introduction

The dynamic, complex and multiple ways in which social inequalities are reproduced in the academic system has been documented extensively by gender scholars (Aisemberg and Harrington 1988; Bailyn 2003; Deem 2007; Eveline 2005; Husu 2001; Morley 1999; Van den Brink 2010). This line of research has generated a good deal of knowledge and understanding concerning the ‘gendering of academic careers’ and has shown that the processes that give rise to inequalities are complex and multifaceted. Yet, despite this body of knowledge and equal-opportunities legislation and affirmative action initiatives stemming from this knowledge, progress towards gender change in academia remains slow. The under-representation of women in senior academic positions persists at an international level, regardless of the variation in the history of higher education in different countries and regardless, too, of their varying equality policies (EU 2008, 2009; NSF 2009). Many institutional gender and diversity initiatives are largely symbolic and fail to deeply influence organisational culture and institutional behavior. Gender inequality seems like an unbeatable seven-headed dragon that has a multitude of faces in different social contexts (Van den Brink and Benschop 2012b).

There is a need for more empirical research to understand the success or failure of gender and diversity organisational change (Acker 2006) also in the academic system. The major problem confronting institutions trying to create more inclusiveness in terms of gender and diversity is not the lack of good ideas, but the inability to implement them successfully (Tierney 1999). Although there is some research on the success or failure of feminist interventions in organisations (Benschop and Verloo 2006; Ely and Meyerson 2000b; Eriksson-Zetterquist and Styhre 2008; Isaac et al 2009) and the lack of commitment or even resistance

of powerful actors towards diversity policies (Cockburn 1991; Connell 2006; Crosby et al 2005; Hing et al 2002), little research has been done on the learning process (or the lack thereof) of senior management in gender and diversity change processes. Commitment of top managers or academic leaders is considered crucial for the initiation, implementation and follow up in diversity change processes (Helms-Mills et al 2008; Williams et al 2005; Williams and Clowney 2007). Academic leaders must be committed to equality as an institutional priority and they need to create a sense of urgency. They function as gatekeepers because they have to give the financial support for diversity initiatives, hire diversity managers, and the way they think about the issue has its repercussions on the way the issue is handled by the organisation. Their learning process about gender mechanisms, therefore, is crucial to understanding the decisions made for gender and diversity change initiatives and exploring the opportunities how these leaders can be engaged in change projects.

This paper examines the reception of feminist research knowledge by academic leaders (president, provost, dean, or department head level) to gain a better insight in their learning process. As academic leaders are ascribed a central role in the success or failure of gender change programs. I will analyse the subject from a management learning perspective but also take the role of processes of power and resistance into account. Drawing on auto-ethnography, I study the reception of specific feminist research: my thesis on professorial recruitment and selection in the Netherlands. This study has led to many invitations to speak about this issue on many academic occasions. I did not plan to study receptions of feminist knowledge by academic leaders, rather this arose through my involvement as speaker on several academic occasions. Receptions of the research during public lectures varied from complete agreement to even hostile and rude comments. I was advised to use these encounters for an analysis on the reception of gender research.

This paper is structured as follows. I begin by building a conceptual framework to study the reception of feminist knowledge by university leaders. I combine relevant concepts from gender and diversity studies on change in organisations. I then provide a brief overview of the content of the dissertation and describe the research methodology. The case analysis leads to a discussion of three receptions of my dissertation research by academic leaders. I conclude by an analysis of the learning process of academic leaders in the Netherlands.

Academic leaders, change processes and organisational learning

How to change gender inequality has been the focus of feminist organisation scholars for many years (Deutsch 2007; Ely and Meyerson 2000b; Hearn 2000; Liff and Cameron 1997; Nentwich 2006). While there have been successes in beating overt discrimination and gender inequalities, changing the processes and practices that reproduce gender in more opaque and subtle ways has proven to be much more difficult (Benschop and Verloo 2011). In recent years, there is a consensus in the literature on feminist interventions that deeply rooted practices and beliefs can only be changed by 'a persistent campaign of incremental changes that discover and destroy the deeply embedded roots of discrimination' (Meyerson and Fletcher 2000: 128). Scholars of gender change in organisations emphasize the need for transformational change (Meyerson and Fletcher 2000; Verloo and Lombardo 2007) of organisational practices and routines in contrast to policies that target women that are not able to disrupt the pervasive and deeply entrenched imbalance of power in the social relations between men and women (Ely and Meyerson 2000a; Liff and Cameron 1997). Therefore, we need more knowledge about the conditions that could lead to transformational change. Koot (1998) argues that cultural change is only possible when two conditions are fulfilled. First, the members of an organisation should experience the change as important and necessary. Second, organisational members should be enabled to reflect on their own culture and question current interpretative schemes. Therefore, I turn to the literature on organisational learning processes.

In organisational learning theories, it is argued that one can only learn when underlying governing values are altered and reflected upon. To analyse the learning potential of academic leaders, I draw upon the well-known work of Argyris and Schon (1976, 2002) about single and double loop learning. When actions are designed to achieve the intended consequences and to suppress conflict about the governing variables, a single loop learning cycle usually ensues. On the other hand, when actions are taken, not only to achieve the intended consequences, but also to openly inquire about conflict and to possibly transform the governing variables, both single loop and double loop learning cycles usually ensue. In single-loop learning, individuals, groups, or organisations modify their actions according to the difference between expected and obtained outcomes. In double-loop learning, the individuals, groups or organisation question the values, assumptions and policies that led to the actions in the first place; if they are able to view and modify those, then second-

order or double-loop learning has taken place. Hargrove articulates the goal of double loop learning:

...empowering people to transform who they are and reinvent themselves by helping them to see how their frames of reference, thinking, and behavior produce unintended consequences... to surface and question the way they have framed their points of view about themselves, others, or their circumstances with the idea of creating a fundamental shift (p. 22).

Double loop learning means challenging assumptions, beliefs, norms, routines and decisions, rather than accepting them and working within those limitations. This type of learning is often a challenge because it is difficult to see implicit patterns that underlie our human systems, and we resist facing up to anything at odds with our self-image.

Case and methodology

In this section, I will briefly describe the content of my feminist research to better understand the nature of the reception of this knowledge in this particular setting, before turning to the data collection methods.

Thesis on academic recruitment and selection

The aim of my dissertation was developing insight in the gendering of appointment practices of the most influential people in the academic world – full professors (Van den Brink 2010). To reveal these gender practices, I combined quantitative and qualitative empirical methods, including the recruitment and selection protocols, 971 appointment reports and 64 interviews with members of appointment committees. Supposedly gender-neutral organisation processes, such as the implementation of transparency policies, the search for talent and the construction of scientific excellence, have been exposed as being based on hierarchical conceptions of masculinity and femininity.

First, my dissertation showed that recruitment and selection is a political process involving negotiations between a range of actors (Van den Brink et al 2010). Elite scientists in gatekeeping positions consistently use micropolitics (Morley 1999) to achieve their goals; they deliberately lobby for or construct new positions, framing the profile to suit a particular candidate and resisting or undermining the policy measures of administrative staff. The protocols for gender neutrality were easily overruled when decisions have to be made fast to appoint or retain candidates deemed to be ‘excellent’. My analysis of the appoint reports shows that almost half the committees (44%) consisted solely of male committee members and no women took part in those strategic coalitions.

Second, this dissertation has shown that in the Netherlands the majority of new professors (64%) are recruited by means of closed procedures involving formal and informal networks of scouts. Scouts function as gatekeepers since they decide which candidates are nominated and which remain excluded before the official process even starts; they exercise considerable control over flows of information and access to vacant positions (Husu 2004). This scout system is justified by academics and universities as necessary in the 'war for talent'. Gatekeeping is tied in with several gender practices (Van den Brink and Benschop 2008).

Third, the dissertation illustrated that the objective measurement of scientific excellence is an illusion. Excellence is a social construction and the power to define it is in the hands of academics who are in the position to decide which criteria are considered relevant, and who have the possibilities to invite successors and the resources to nurture or develop excellent academics. My study revealed double standards in the attribution of excellence to men and women candidates (Van den Brink and Benschop 2012a). The data provided several examples of the appointment procedure of male candidates who did not excel in all respects, whereas women were often rejected because they fell short of excellence in some areas. This suggests that the discourse of excellence in fact becomes one of suitability in the case of male candidates, while women have to be excellent after all.

Data collection

This must be seen as an explorative study, based on my own interpretations and experiences while talking about gender inequality issues in the academics setting. This developed into a reflexive, composite methodology, combining participatory action research, documentary analysis and autoethnography (Boyle and Parry 2007). Autoethnography is defined by Sparkes (2000: 21) as a 'highly personalized accounts that draw upon the experience of the author/researcher for the purposes of extending sociological understandings. Following Hearn (2003), I seek to build on critical work on academic organisations and analyse critical processes, incidents or episodes to elucidate more fully the way feminist knowledge is perceived by academic leaders in the Netherlands and how this influences their learning process. I will use my own knowledge, through keeping research notes along with public documents. I have not interviewed academic leaders about their opinions, motives and experiences, but talked to them informally at receptions and talks.

Data are drawn from discussions stemming from public lectures and encounters in the academic setting where at least some academic leaders (president, provost, dean, or department head) were present between

2009–2012. In total, I have research notes from sixteen formal public lectures on gender inequality in academia. All of them were held in the Netherlands, except one in Germany, Sweden and Belgium. Approximately 20 formal and informal discussions I had with academic senior leaders are also reflected upon. One is recorded on video. In addition, I will use written documents (articles in university magazines, formal letters) between 2009 and 2012 in which academic leaders commented upon my research, including a written reaction of the Minister of Education and Science.

Results: responses to feminist work

In this section, I address the research question on how academic leaders responded to the findings of my PhD thesis. I identify the most commonly used rhetorical schemes: denial, resistance and commitment. Before I present these schemes, I would like to reflect on the circumstances under which these findings are gathered. The responses of academic leaders are gathered during public lectures or private conversations. I am aware that probably most of the academic leaders were not inclined to argue against the topic of gender and diversity, especially not on an occasion where gender inequality is on the topic of the agenda. This has to be taken into account before reading and interpreting the findings.

Denial

Gender discrimination is something from the past or happening at another institute

During most of my presentations, I encountered some sort of denial by university leaders of the described gender inequality practices. They argued that forms of gender inequality in academia do exist, but that they had been capable of eliminating these harmful practices from their institutions. Gender discrimination, they argued, was something from the past or something that might happen at another university, but not at their institute anymore. This defensive response was most clearly demonstrated by a dean from a medical faculty in the Netherlands. After hearing about my dissertation from a colleague who heard me speak at a meeting at the prestigious Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, he invited me for a meeting at his office ‘to discuss my thesis’. Being in the presumption to be asked advice how to decrease gender inequality in his institution, I was rather astonished by the way the discussion developed. During our meeting, I had the feeling I was examined by my PhD committee again. First of all, he was rather shocked by the findings of the 77% of closed recruitment procedures in the medical sciences

and started to question whether his institution was also represented in the data material. After confirming this, he took another look in the book and then asked me in which time period my research had taken place. I told him that my data were stemming from 2003–2004, the time my PhD research was conducted. Then, he told me that these exclusionary practices *might* have been taken place at this institute, but that these practices were abandoned and that no such thing was happening right now in this university department anymore. He had personally taken care of the issue, and could ensure that all vacancies had been openly advertised in the last two years.

This response, denial in terms of time period or place, was very common in the discussions after my presentations. For instance from a research manager of a physics department:

I do not recognize this. But it is also the case that....I've been here only for three years, a little bit more than three years. And I haven't been involved in many appointment procedures, and I can tell you that the number of women applicants is not that substantive. I can't say that I've experienced this [closed recruitment procedures, *author*] in this institute (academic leader; STEM fields).

It is important to note that these were responses to the presentations of my empirical findings of inequality practices in Dutch academia. Although it is completely understandable that individual experiences differ from my research results, they simultaneously were assuring that these practices did not happen at their university.

It's all about quality

The denial of the knowledge on gender inequality also featured in the discourse around quality. The reluctance to consider gender as a relevant factor in career opportunities stems from the notion that the university is an objective and gender-neutral institution where meritocracy dominates and from the norm of equality that appears widespread in most academic fields. The most telling example of this discourse, stems from a university rector. In the time of my public defense, my dissertation had yielded substantial media attention, and I had given several interviews for university magazines in the Netherlands. After being interviewed about the core findings of my research in the university magazine, the journalist interviewed prominent academics from that particular university to collect some illustrative stories of my results. Before this magazine was printed the journalist also went to the university board for comments. The university rector responded to this journalist: “this cannot be true; the only thing we take into account in this university is quality”.

This quality argument was also very common discussion about the findings of my research. This argument was also frequently used when deliberating solutions for inequality in academia. In one meeting, it was mentioned several times that they are not willing to lower the standards. It was argued that interventions, such as creating special positions for women, would lead to better qualified men making way for lesser qualified women. At the same time, it was argued that quality has nothing to do with gender and that quality should be assessed without any reference to gender.

You're overreacting

The last responses of denial of gender practices could be grouped into downplaying the results by arguing that the problem is not so urgent. They argued that women have more chances nowadays to be promoted to top positions due to gender equality programs. Women are overrepresented in recruitment processes, shortlisted women are overcompensated. In some events, academic leaders were even making references to the feminization of the profession.

In the humanities, that's not an issue anymore. There are so many women at that department, I think they are very happy when they have the opportunity to appoint a man. In our department [social sciences, *MvdB*] we sometimes say in jest 'let's do something different and appoint a man'. (woman dean, social sciences)

It is probably worthwhile to note that this humanities department only had 14 percent women professors.

Resistance

This is not 'proper' knowledge

On several occasions, university leaders questioned the quality of the dissertation. This critique had different forms varying from blatant critique towards comments with more subtlety.

First, it was often argued that the research only provided "anecdotal evidence", by drawing attention to issues that I had not been studying, like hard evidence from experimental settings in which resumes of men and women are compared. The main critique can be summarized as 'weak methodology', as if they had never heard of small-scale qualitative research that delivers empirically grounded description, complex analyses and delicate theorization (Lewis 2010).

The most intense response I encountered in Germany. I was invited by a Minister of State to give a lecture during a round table of gender equality in Technological institutes. Taking into account the more formal cul-

ture in Germany, I had prepared a rather formal presentation in contrast to my more loose style of presenting the material in the Netherlands. I had 20 minutes to inform a group of 20 men (institute directors) and a female Minister of State. After my lecture, and the lecture of a German equal opportunity advisor, the group was given some time to reflect on what they had heard. First of all, they emphasized issues I supposedly hadn't researched, such as disciplinary differences, and quality differences between male and female candidates. Second, some of them argued that the images I had drawn was completely not realistic for Germany (which of course could be the case), drawing on their own experience in selection committees in Germany and the United States. Till so far, I could agree, although German colleagues on international conferences did recognize my results to be similar to gender mechanisms in Germany, it was possible that my results were mostly applicable in a Dutch setting. However, one of the directors told me that "I was completely misinformed about the way professors were recruited". Having no experience as scientist or selection committee in the Netherlands, the German professor was blunt enough to say that my data were not correct, and that the written documents I had studied, and the informants I had interviewed, had told me a story that was not representing 'the truth'. He had based his verdict on the basis of listening for 20 minutes to my presentation. What made it worse, was that my fellow presenter, apologized for possible misinterpretations (in her and mine presentation), and argued that it was good to discuss the points that could be wrongly reported.

Another encounter found place in writing. After my public defense, a woman academic wrote about it in a university magazine in the western part of the Netherlands. The dean was furious of such inclinations, and wrote a comment in the same faculty paper stating that "at our faculty there is no such thing as discrimination between men and women. Elsewhere they do, when we have to believe Marieke van den Brink". Further on, he writes: "It is wonderful to critique everything, but it helps when this critique is grounded by factual knowledge". This example shows that the dean of the faculty considered the research as an opinion instead of scientific knowledge as the knowledge does not fit their idea of good science.

Commitment

The Messiahs

Luckily, there are also encounters in which academic leaders showed commitment and understanding. During the presentation in Dresden, in reaction of the rather offensive comments of one academic director, another director argued that whether or not this complete story is true,

we [the men present] should take it seriously and not just resist, as some of this information may actually be helpful to improve diversity in their institutes.

During many other encounters, academic leaders stressed the need for more gender equality at universities. Increasing the number of women professors was perceived as the only way to break the circle of not having examples to mimic (role models) and of men selecting other men due to the similar-to-me-effect. Some of the academic leaders took over the business rhetoric. Although it is laudable that these academic managers turned into change agents in their institutions and maybe even in the Dutch university system at large, we have to take a closer look at their rhetoric. One of the dangers is the temporality of the attention to women in science.

Also the Minister of Education showed commitment to the results of the study. As two political parties in the Netherlands asked questions about the results of the study in the Parliament about the non-transparent appointment procedures and asked what the Minister would do about it. The Minister of Education being interviewed for radio told that it had to be possible for women to combine family and career. However, this point was hardly addressed in my research and certainly not the issue here. And again, women were held responsible for their underrepresentation in science.

Discussion and conclusion: from inertia, to awareness and commitment

This paper examined the reception of feminist research about gender inequality practices in professorial appointments by academic leaders. Gender and diversity scholars have argued that transformative change is needed to alter the deeply routinized practices and beliefs in organisations (Meyerson and Fletcher 2000). Theories on organisational change on their turn argue that (academic) leaders and their learning potential have a crucial role to play in making change happen. When academic leaders who are in charge of gender equality are not aware of their blind spots or wrong assumptions about the problem, there will be no change at all.

The receptions of the feminist study about their own organisational practices gave indications for a complex learning cycle. Academic leaders denied or even resisted the research findings. The data showed strong defensive routines (Argyris 1986) by academic leaders that prevented a structural change in their tacit values concerning quality and diversity. Defensive routines are actions that prevent the individual from experienc-

ing threat and simultaneously prevent learning how to correct the causes of the threat in the first place. This means that these defensive strategies prevent them from reflect on their fossilized norms and ideas about gender in academia. These ideas are not easily changed and the image of the masculine academic remains widespread. For academic leaders to learn about gender equality, they have to put aside their personal interest, positions and values and invest in adjusting organisational practices. These leaders should be able and willing to reflect on their own culture and values and question current interpretative schemes. They should endorse the problem of subtle gender inequalities and make an active contribution to the diagnoses. Challenging norms and assumptions is difficult. The everyday structures of individual and corporate lives are taken for granted, not noticed. In effect, they are invisible to those who follow or hold them. Learning and awareness about gender and diversity in organisations takes mostly place at the incremental level ('there has to be an equal number of women), sometimes at the level of reframing (we should think about reframing our policies and practices), but seldom at the transformational level (a shift in context or point of view).

Despite the emphasis in my research study and other feminist knowledge to transforming organisations and their practices, interventions are still mainly targeting women and women's child bearing and family responsibilities as still considered the main argument for women not making it to the top. Due to this scientific ethos, the influence of gender practices in academic evaluation is largely denied. Although they acknowledge the fact that something is done, the majority of the academic managers I spoke, still see the change potential in women themselves, and not in organisational practices and structures. Despite my emphasis on the subtlety of gender inequality practices, the need for 'hard' evidence was still audible. Another strong discourse was the quality discourse about the need for the best academics and the fear for losing quality when feminist interventions such as creating special women's chairs were installed.

Learning should entail changing fossilized norms and ideas about gender at work. This means being reflexive on these norms. The gender practices are acknowledged as something possible but unacceptable within the workplace, but are simultaneously framed as something that has been dealt with in the past and that is no longer relevant for day-to-day interactions (Benschop and Doorewaard 1998; Czarniawska and Calás 1998; Kelan 2009). The reluctance to consider gender as a relevant factor in career opportunities stems firstly from the notion that the university is an objective and gender-neutral institution where meritocracy predominates and, secondly, from the norm of equality that appears

widespread in most academic fields. The restraint learning cycle can lead to rhetoric of superficial or ‘happy diversity’ discourses about improved performances without changing the fossilized norms and ideas underneath work practices, and without gender and diversity change.

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Chapter 12

Exploring Nordic Feminist Organisational Theory and Practice Through the Lens of the 'Bifocal Approach': Contributions to the Theory and Practice of Transformative Gender Interventions.

Jennifer de Vries

Introduction

This paper follows on closely from my previous paper (The Bifocal Approach': (Re)positioning Women's Programs published in Strid, Husu and Gunnarsson 2012) where I shared my enthusiasm at discovering a wealth of Nordic scholarship vitally concerned with the research and practice of transformative gender interventions in organisations. That paper introduced the 'bifocal approach' and identified some of the critical and to an extent shared issues faced by transformative gender interventions.

In this paper I explore nine Swedish interventions in depth and in comparison to the bifocal approach and the CIAR dual agenda approach developed by members of the Centre for Gender in Organisations (CGO) and popularly known through the Moving out of the Feminist Armchair special edition of *Organization* (2000 v7). All of these approaches share a common foundational scholarship – most particularly based on the 'doing gender' perspective (see Gunnarsson et al 2003: 6) based on the work, amongst others of West and Zimmerman and Joan Acker. CGO scholarship has been influential in the thinking of feminist organisation scholars and was influential in framing my own research but is largely absent as an influence within Nordic scholarship.

This is not an exhaustive review. While my introduction to Nordic scholarship began with the edited volume *Where Have All The Structure Gone?* (Finland, Norway, Sweden collaboration) and took in the scholarship of Norwegians such as Kvande (2003, 2007) and Finns such as

Korvajärvi (2003) the final sample of interventions is entirely Swedish. This is partly a reflection of my time in Sweden and the excellent work of VINNOVA the Swedish Government Innovation Agency in providing excellent publications in English (Döös and Wilhelmson 2009; Danilda and Thorslund, 2011; Lorentzi 2011; Andersson et al 2012). While most earlier formative research is only available in Swedish this is changing rapidly with growing publication in English.

My aim is to highlight the considerable strengths of this body of research in translating feminist theory into practice and to place it in a broader context, in order to further my own and other's reflections and scholarship. In doing so I hope to bring together a bibliography of texts that would provide a useful starting point for others wishing to engage with this scholarship.

It is not possible to engage with Nordic scholarship without being exposed to a great deal of discussion regarding innovation. This is partly a result of funding sources, e.g. Innovation Norway, VINNOVA (Swedish Government Agency for Innovation Systems), which seems extremely generous relative to other countries but can be problematic when it doesn't embrace transformative change (Lövkrona et al 2009). There is a lively dialogue in the literature concerning Innovation as a gendered construct, which I will not pursue here (for an overview see Chapter Five Danilda and Thorslund 2011). It is also argued that challenging norms and creating new pathways, as necessary in gender equality work, can be beneficial to innovation. In a number of the interventions reviewed here innovation and gender are paired as part of the business case for gender change interventions.

In the following section I briefly explore the categories I have used in the comparative tables.

Intervention approach and model of change

A critical issue in organisational gender change is the interplay and relationship between (individual's) agency and (organisational) structure, both in terms of how this is theoretically understood and how it is translated into the design of the intervention. Benschop and Verloo (2011: 279) highlight the difficulty of combining agency and structure, noting that '...gender equality strategies primarily target individuals or structures and only rarely transcend this dichotomy.'

At first glance the understanding of gender as performative, contextual and fluid, the work of West and Zimmerman and others might lead to a focus on agency. Acker's work on gendering processes helped to combine the individual and interpersonal doing of gender with the symbolic and structural elements, in effect the organisation doing gender.

Grappling with these theoretical influences and how to translate this into intervention approaches is evident in all of the interventions reviewed here. Most particularly Nordic scholars explored this in their edited volume *Where have all the structures gone?* (Gunnarsson et al 2003). As Kvande (2003) explains, the doing gender perspective opened up possibilities for analysing dynamics and change, but also limited their perspective, disappearing structures and power relations. Gunnarsson (2009: 2) later reflected on how this strong Nordic tradition of combining the 'doing gender' perspective with the work of Acker 'makes the everyday doing of gender visible and at the same time creates a relation to the institutional and structural level and makes social power relations visible'. This fosters a process-oriented perspective includes gendering practices and gendering processes, which as Gunnarsson observes makes it easy to combine with action and interactive research approaches. I would argue that this enables many of the interventions reviewed here to address the problematic dichotomy between agency and structure observed by Benschop and Verloo (2011).

The majority of change strategies adopted by organisations continue to focus on women as problematic, ignoring gendered structures and power relations. These liberal feminist approaches contrast with the transformative 'Frame 4 re-visioning of workplaces' approach many are familiar with from the CGO approach (Meyerson and Fletcher 2000). In my view transformative change is necessarily radical, intent on disrupting the gender power relations and structures. While Meyerson and Fletcher argue in *The Modest Manifesto* that the revolution is over and that change will only occur through an incremental creep 'small wins' approach (explored below), this does not imply that evolutionary change is not radical.

The interventions chosen here do not necessarily explicitly claim radical transformative intent, this is largely implied or understood as a result of the theoretical foundations on which they are building. 'Gender equality work founded on gender studies is going to be provocative because it means you're looking at power structures in the workplace and making visible the way a gender order is created through a number of everyday actions in the organisation' (Andersson et al 2009:75). The interventions often include a focus on individuals, however building the gender knowledge of individual men and women is very different to the liberal focus on (fixing) women. Building the gender competence and change agency of men and women, for example teaching people to understand, observe and intervene in Acker's gendering processes, creates the link between individual and organisational change. The nature of this change is potentially radical and transformative. As Andersson et al (2009: 78)

explain ‘The Action learning method distinguishes between development and learning which lead to improvement and development, and learning which lead to fundamental changeFundamental change comes out of working on looking at reality in a completely different way.’

Finally I wish to draw attention to issues of organisational access, partners and partnership building, and the sustainability of any change process. I have identified them as fundamental issues to be addressed by gender interventions that seek to disrupt the gendered status quo (de Vries 2010). I argue that they arise from the fundamental gap between the researchers’ understanding of gender and the required gender change and the organisational understanding of the ‘gender problem’ often still primarily defined as a lack of women. In examining the CGO dual agenda approach I noted a cascade effect, where the way in which the intervention was ‘sold’ to the organisation by linking it with business effectiveness became problematic in building partnerships, which in turn influenced sustainability. Rao et al (1999: 21) concluded from their overview of a number of transformative gendered change projects (including development projects and CGO projects) that the linking of goals, such as the business case or social change agenda to the gendered change agenda, was problematic. While Acker refers to this as the ‘double bind’, Rao et al refer to this pairing as a ‘fundamental dilemma’. In the case of the CGO this resulted in ‘losing gender’.

It is interesting to note therefore the strong focus on linking innovation and gender in the Nordic context. Danilda and Thorslund (2011: 14,15) describe this as the ‘innovation case for gender diversity’, in effect the ‘third wave of arguments’ for the business case, ‘focussing on gender diversity as critical for the adaptive and innovative capability of business’. This is linked to the economics case for gender equality, which stresses the wider economic benefits’ (Danilda and Thorslund 2011: 27) effectively pairing ‘equality and growth’. The aim is to shift ‘the discourse on equality from a socially worthwhile yet potentially expensive aim towards an economically productive investment...contributing to economic success’ (Danilda and Thorslund 2011: 46). I have therefore examined this pairing more fully in the tables below.

This is an exploratory piece and I should note limitations to the data. Interventions documented here were at various stages of completion, with some interventions written about repeatedly, while other publications may have been missed. Not all articles were designed to give an overview of their intervention. In some cases the focus was on research methods or tools or the role of the researcher. It is also important to note the time lag between doing the work and publishing the work. Further material concerning these interventions may be in the pipeline. There re-

main gaps where publications/reports were written in Swedish and some conference papers were not included when marked as works in progress and I was unable to find later published work. As this is an ongoing inquiry, I am keen to hear from others regarding work that has been omitted that could be usefully included.

Comparative summary of transformative interventions

Table 1. CIAR dual agenda and bifocal approach

	<p>Centre for Gender in Organisations, (Symposium Team, 2000; Coleman and Rippin, 2000; Ely and Meyerson, 2000; Meyerson and Kolb, 2000)</p> <p>global retail and manufacturing company</p> <p>Moving out of the feminist armchair</p>	<p>Bifocal approach</p> <p>(de Vries, 2010; de Vries, 2011)</p> <p>https://jennifer-devries.squarespace.com</p> <p>University and policing organisation</p> <p>Women's programs as strategic interventions</p>
Intervention approach	<p>Collaborative Interactive Action research (CIAR) approach, a partnership 'research with people' approach.</p> <p>A 'dual agenda', linking advancing gender equity with increasing organisational effectiveness. (business case). The dual agenda was considered essential to gaining and maintaining organisational access, making the work politically viable.</p>	<p>Using a pre-existing intervention, a leadership development for women program as a platform for building transformative change. Maintaining a focus on both individual and organisational development and gender change (bifocal)</p> <p>Transformative change requires an understanding of gender equality that includes a focus on men, women and the gendered organisation.</p> <p>Year long program for 30 women each year comprising workshops, one on one mentoring, peer learning (mentoring) groups and final presentation to organisation.</p> <p>Leadership model based on identity, power and organisational culture</p>
Model of Change: Theoretical model of change and how this is operationalised	<p>'Frame 4' a re-visioning of workplace cultures, designed to address deeply embedded gendered assumptions practices and processes.</p> <p>A process rather than a destination, where each organisation is unique and there is no template, or even a final imaginable destination.</p> <p>'Small wins' experimental approach to organisational change, where researchers and expert insiders together would decide on and implement small scale experiments that disrupt the gendered organisation and increase organisational effectiveness. Based on understanding that organisational change is fragmented and continuous</p>	<p>Linking individual to organisational change.</p> <p>Incremental revolutionary change</p> <p>Positioning leadership development as a lever for change.</p> <p>Development of individual's gender insight through engagement with the program, building gender change agency and relying on the small wins experimental and incremental approach to organisational change.</p>
Organisational access: How the intervention was framed/sold	<p>Organisational and individual buy in were based on the dual agenda link to improving business effectiveness.</p>	<p>The bifocal links something that fits within the current and limited ways of understanding gender equality – a focus on (the lack of) women, with something that requires a radical shift in understanding and is usually beyond the current capacity of the individual and the organisation prior to an intervention. Linking something known and safe with something unknown and risky is used to move the more radical agenda forward.</p>
Partners and partnership building: Who and how?	<p>Negotiated with CEO</p> <p>Insider partners were appointed (rather than volunteers), constantly changing through downward delegation, primarily women and not strategically placed. Insiders struggled with the change process and collaboration became difficult, with partners increasingly focussing on organisational effectiveness.</p>	<p>Engaged with men and women at all levels of the organisation. Deliberate constituency building (developing gender insight) with executive level champions of the program, senior male and female mentors and mid to junior level female participants.</p>

Sustainability of the change effort	The research process was always going to be finite. The change effort therefore needed to be owned and maintained from within the organisation, long after the researchers are gone as the change process is never complete. Researchers identified numerous tensions between the partnership building necessary for a sustainable change process and the nature of the change agenda, which culminated in 'losing gender'. The intervention ultimately did not continue and the gender focus was lost in the change efforts that did occur.	Variable. Sustainability of intervention – in one organisation 5 years, in another ongoing and in 15th year. Sustainability of individual/organisational change. Individuals engagement with gender change highly variable, but peer learning groups promising in supporting leadership development that undermined gendered leadership norms. Change continued to occur well beyond life of formal program
Transformative intervention?	Gender became 'lost', with organisational members preferring to focus on organisational effectiveness.	Despite a consistent pull towards reducing gender to women (as deficit), and to minimise focus on organisational culture/practices as problematic some success was experienced in holding on to the transformative goals of the intervention
Outcomes: individual & organisational	Outcomes became decoupled from gender	The intervention often struggled to hold onto the 'long' transformative agenda, on occasion being reduced to a training program for women. Particularly with champions and mentors there were insufficient opportunities and time to develop their gender insight. A small minority of champions and mentors exercised leadership and change agency underpinned by gender insight developed during the program. The program was more successful in its work with the women. Women participants saw and claimed themselves as leaders in new ways, thereby challenging the gendered status quo, and using the small wins approach to achieve change. Peer mentoring played a key part in this development and peer support often continued far beyond the end of the formal program
Noteworthy/interesting	The 'dual agenda' pairing proved problematic, ultimately undermining the gender change agenda. The way that the intervention was 'sold', had implications for partnership building and in turn the sustainability of the intervention.	Re-theorising women only programs as strategic interventions, translated into practice through program design and curriculum Importance of critical feminist theory on leadership, gender and the gendered organisation as framework underpinning program Focus on champions as important gatekeepers for gender initiatives
Strengths	Groundbreaking and courageous reflexive account of the difficulties in implementing transformative interventions. Became a benchmark study for others. 'Small wins' model, a joint experimental approach to organisational change that seeks to unearth gendered assumptions and workplace practices	Use of existing popularity adopted strategy to ease issues of access, partnership building and sustainability. Unproblematic access to range of organisational players, male and female at various levels/roles. Willing participation Longer term vehicle for change effort, replicated on yearly basis Peer mentoring a significant contributor to sustainability of women's leadership development and change agency

Table 2a. Swedish intervention approaches

	(Rosell 2003) Alstom Power Sweden AB 'Turbine women'		(Höök et al 2009) manufacturing company, energy company, technical university Women as power resources	(Lövkrona and Widén 2009) Lund University AKKA gender integrated leadership program*
Intervention approach	Grounded theory and interactive research. Researcher contributes theoretical knowledge, practitioners supply practice, no ready made solutions, intervention produced in collaboration.		Working with groups of women from three organisations, both separately and combined. Challenging the construction of women as inadequate in organisations through using the theoretical concept of women as a power resource (women can exercise power), with a view to challenging and changing status quo	Aiming to build a gender-conscious leadership through an in-house mixed gender leadership program with gender focus. Began as women only program, now mixed gender program for academic staff Year long program of monthly meetings with seminars, meeting observation, meeting university leaders group projects, final report.
Model of Change: Theoretical model of change and how this is operationalised	Focus on disrupting gender creating practices in heavily male dominated industry '...look at masculine and feminine constructions as organisation practices, change becomes possible.'		Links individual change to organisational change. Situates women at the centre of defining, designing and evaluating change. 'If something represented a change to the women, the researchers would consider it as a change within the organization'.	Academic organisation and culture are problematised from a gender perspective. 'gender theories offer ways to observe, analyse and explain social and cultural phenomena to do with gender...power relationship between men and women is central'. Leadership learnt thru knowledge of organisation, knowledge of leadership and knowledge of self – each with strong critical gender lens
Organisational access: How the intervention was framed/sold	Business case, goal to increase numbers of women managers/engineers Link to recruitment, creativity, productivity		Externally funded, 2 year project, negotiated with senior executives responsible for gender equality	Negotiated in-house
Partners and partnership building: Who and how?	Began with interviews, managers (2M & 7F), former managers (4F) Analysis using Korvajärvi's 3 forms of everyday practices: images, self-definitions & interactions, and how they interact with each other and formal and informal structures. Next step to be workshops and appointment of group to guide work.		Reference group, 3 different participant groups, each with 10–12 senior women, selected by organisations. Two meetings first year with homework, building gender knowledge and reflection. Second year, workshop, conference joint and separate meetings (approx total 8 days) Designed to build network, connect with organisations and support women to design change initiatives	30 academics each year (aspirational leaders), apply to do program, in 3rd year of program at time of writing

Sustainability of the change effort	Intervention unfinished at time of writing	Not clear	Continuing program, new intake each year, evolving intervention
Transformative intervention?		Maintained through researchers constant holding onto women as a power resource, despite women challenging this	Facilitated by gender focus in leadership model. Held onto despite resistance from participants, but undermined by some male participants.
Outcomes: individual & organisational		Not detailed here, referred to networks, new projects, strategic alliances, management training, recruitment improvements, implementing strategic positions, dissemination of knowledge, making project visible	Gender structures have become more visible to men and women who previously denied existence of discrimination
Noteworthy/interesting	Noted that for the company equality work is politically correct	Challenging male dominance in organisations in theory and practice required constant reflection, on part of women and researchers. Process of conveying gender knowledge is foundational, continuous and hard work	Can compare single gender with mixed gender program. Men dominated program, more competitive behaviour, contested gender knowledge and experts, and held group back from 'what can we do' discussions. Will require greater emphasis in future groups on groundrules and process to deal with this.
Strengths	Clear model of gendering processes and explication of how masculine and feminine produced in highly masculine workplace	Challenging the implicit 'deficit approach' associated with women's programs Clear focus on women as change agents and process for empowering them. Translating theoretical concept into practice Discusses what constitutes organisational change, changing men, changing themselves?	Mixed gender leadership program with a gender integrated focus Doing gender work with mixed gender leadership groups remains uncommon, with most leadership programs delivered in a gender blind fashion.

* Suitcase method http://www3.lu.se/pers/jamstalldhet/resvaskan/suitcase_method_2009.pdf [access Nov 27, 2012]

Table 2b. Swedish intervention approaches

	(Andersson et al 2009; Andersson and Amundsdotter 2012; Lorentzi 2011: Ch 3.) Fiber Optic Valley innovation system Middle Managers as Change Agents	(Amundsdotter 2010) Trade union How changes in culture can be facilitated NB Amundsdotter involved in the previous and subsequent intervention – substantial overlap in methods of working with group across the three interventions	(Gunnarsson 2009; Amundsdotter 2012) Faste laboratory (eight industrial companies and seven academic divisions at Luleå university)
Intervention approach	Action-orientated gender research, merging the doing gender perspective and learning theory within action research tradition Building gender aware 'change managers' Gender Network, 13 middle managers (male and female) from 12 member organisations, met on 13 occasions over three years, totalling 20 days. Tripartite management group of project manager, gender researcher and facilitator	Action oriented gender research Single organisation 10 meetings, 20 days in total for initial group over 18 month period 6 month knowledge phase	Combined feminist research and action research approach. Focus on joint knowledge production (co-research) through joint reflective learning, to achieve sustainable gender competence development. 3 yr project, 2–4 gender researchers
Model of Change: Theoretical model of change and how this is operationalised	Create gender aware organisations Building gender knowledge and empowerment of middle managers to create gender change within their organisation. 3 phases: uncovering the doing of gender, mobilisation strategies for change, working with change	Change agents 'expected to examine their own organisation from a gender perspective and contribute to goals and action plans for gender equal organisations' Focus on linking group's joint learning with their organisation	Creating a gender conscious organisation 'Gender competence is central for the project as well as driving forces to transform the knowledge to new sustainable practices'
Organisational access: How the intervention was framed/sold to the company	VINNOVA funding CEO's decided whether to participate. Business case, pairing gender and innovation Gender (gender-segregated labour market) as a constraint to growth and innovation.	Inside agitation from women regarding inequality. Support from the top, internal funding of in-house program, did not seek funding, unusual in Swedish context	VINNOVA funding for network project Link to innovation, specific focus on recruitment processes and the formulation of competence and skills
Partners and partnership building: Who and how?	Middle managers asked to participate by their CEO's Use of gender scholarship, including Acker as a tool for building knowledge; experiential work (using gendered group process as starting point); analysis of own workplace thru observations, interviews, surveys, focus on interactions and patterns of communication; gender coaching in workplace settings eg meetings. Senior managers offered 3 day leadership development program that incorporated gender awareness	17 union representatives (9F & 8M) Change agents towards end of project undertook observations at in-house conference and reported back in-situ to organisational members, highlighting norms of male dominance. Powerful intervention that strengthened sense of self as change agent.	'Gender equality actors' managers from member companies and Lulea University Focus on learning processes, building gender knowledge, Amundsdotter focuses on one company in her account - 13 meetings over two years, totalling 11 days Process model – making patterns visible, mobilisation processes, change processes Amundsdotter 2009

Sustainability of the change effort	Sufficient time for deep learning to occur for individuals. Change agents draw up action plans to implement in own organisation. Solo operator in all bar one organisation, lacking collegial support in workplace. Senior management sanctioned the work but majority did not prioritise it	Dissemination strategy – Researchers worked with first group, subsequent groups led by 2 women and 2 men from first group.	Intervention in progress at time of writing
Transformative intervention?	Gender focus maintained, and eventually owned/ understood in gender network. Focus on changes undertaken by change managers within own sphere that impact on organisational practices—eg organising meetings more democratically, changing gendered expectations of their staff, allocation of tasks and opportunities. Dissemination strategies within own organisation not detailed. System wide effects include networks between organisations, demand for gender knowledge, an example of social innovation in itself, improved attractiveness of Fiber Optic Valley due to positive media coverage. Five years later – establishment of a learning community to support ongoing work.	Gender was not paired with business case, clear gender focus was maintained After 3 years, based on report of 4 participants who led subsequent groups People dare to challenge prevailing culture, greater opportunity to speak, men's domination no longer accepted, equality is no longer claimed as already achieved (as it was pre intervention), everyone has had opportunity to make gender observations, greater awareness of what gender equality means, irony and ridicule has decreased, gender as an issue has changed from low to high status, leadership has become clearer about gender issues, jokes and poor attitudes are things of the past.	Processes clearly designed to maintain gender focus Seeing gender in action in and outside of work context, changes in own behaviour – as a role model, hiring women.
Noteworthy/ interesting	Target middle managers – recognise their distributive power 'We saw a change in the project when the participants realised they could act on their own authority... their actions can create differing roles for women and men.'	Uses Four Rooms of Change model to address resistance Some group work undertaken in single sex groups Change agents seen as bearers of new norms Participants struggle with unfamiliar reflective learning process	Questions commitment of companies to this kind of project in light of GFC Questions link between gender and innovation Noted that knowledge and insight does not always lead to action
Strengths	Combination of approaches to building gender knowledge and personal insight as foundation for change agency. Focus on double-loop transformative learning process and use of group to support learning. Creative use of Acker's gendering processes as tool for building gender knowledge Substantial timeframes.	Intensive experiential learning – to make gender 'visible' and therefore open to change Useful model of dissemination, participants facilitate subsequent groups. Novel intervention of 30 gender observers at conference, feeding back gender observations as gendering occurs. Brings gender into daily activity of organisation	Intervention design, and intervention processes – as noted in previous examples.

Table 2c. Swedish intervention approaches

	(Scholten et al 2012) SFIN, a food innovation industry network organisation in a Triple Helix cluster (industry, university, public bodies)	(Blomqvist and Frennberg 2012) Swedish Institute Excellence Centre FOCUS hosted by a Division of FOI Swedish Defence Research Agency	(Lundqvist and Westberg 2012) Dellner Couplers AB Manufacturing company
Intervention approach	Action-orientated gender research and development project with aim to develop a gender-sensitive innovation network Project manager male (network insider) 2 researchers, 2 consultants, all female Focus on identifying and creating infrastructure for sustainable gender equality in a network organisation	Action research Twofold objectives: 'the advancement of gender equality and the development of productivity and competitiveness of an organisation'	Interactive research One year intervention Two activities to involve whole company Survey re attractive work Mutual exchange regarding survey results and concept of doing gender
Model of Change: Theoretical model of change and how this is operationalised	Sought qualitative changes which address norms and values – working towards system-changing rather than system preserving equality processes. 'intention to give SFIN's key actors insights and tools for analysing daily activities from a gender perspective and to develop practical tools together to address gender issues in proposals from external stakeholders and when planning innovation developments Focus on SFIN as natural arena for building knowledge and planning interventions...make gender awareness 'leak' through system	'Increase gender awareness and change gender-related mindsets and actions which may restrain creativity and innovation in the organisation' Evolutionary not revolutionary, change as long-term and continuous	Gender-equality an important pre-requisite of sustainable growth Aim for a more gender mainstreamed organisation so as to retain and attract the most suitable labour for the future Gender as a positive component in building a stronger employer brand
Organisational access: How intervention was framed/sold	By invitation Funded by VINNOVA Prompted by question 'where are the women?' SFIN wanted research results on how to attract women	Funded by VINNOVA Funding applied for before researchers joined project Moved from business case towards ethical case as project developed	Triple Steelix innovation system cluster gained VINNOVA funding for research in a private company. Difficulty finding company to participate during global downturn. Employer brand became eventual door opener
Partners and partnership building: Who and how?	Struggled with who are the partners – the network organisation and/or the innovation system. Wanted to partner with SFIN and Focus Area Managers. Told to focus on system and partners and stakeholders of SFIN instead. Researchers agenda undermined by internal project manager. Steering group and CEO withdrew from collaboration. Not able to deliver knowledge building on gender and innovation	Volunteers (M & F, diverse parts of organisation and roles) selected and invited based on interest and commitment. Some with high status and power, savvy in change processes Stable group over multiple years, took ownership and responsibility Researchers emphasise education level and research background of 'co-researchers' Co-researchers trained in gender knowledge, involved in definition and implementation of project tasks Focus on organisational culture, internal processes and dissemination	Presentation to 20 middle managers All personnel invited to participate in survey and workshop, with 13 workshops, of 3 hour duration.

Sustainability of the change effort	Research completed but intervention not fully realised	Well placed co-researchers, well developed gender knowledge, and ethical rationale that suited workplace culture suggest good sustainability, however not explicitly explored	Engagement with all personnel designed to improve sustainability of change Time frames suggest deep change unlikely
Transformative intervention?	Project marginalised. Focus on absent women reduced gender equality to a women's issue	Authors claim lack of resistance to project despite transformative approach.	Focused on differences between men and women rather than doing gender eg in responding to survey material. Participants seldom raised gender issues, focussing more on aspects such as management, physical work conditions, communication between departments etc
Outcomes: individual & organisational	Completed various activities and mini projects – eg interviews (development dialogues), analysis of newsletters and homepage from gender perspective, while other initiatives that required collaboration did not occur. Action orientated research did not occur.	Evolutionary change – gender perspective integrated into policies, procedures and practices Examples given: Changes in advertising and interviewing practices Rectify under-representation of women in project management roles Input into gender equality plan	Focus on making enterprise a more attractive place to work Eg size of male and female locker rooms in proposed extension, subcontractor ordered to be aware of gender when designing webpage
Noteworthy	Defining problem as absence of women limiting changing (transformative) and SFIN's wish to fix the absence of women (body counting) – system preserving. Developed model of inward (production of gender by SFIN as a network organisation) and outward facing activities (to place gender issues on innovation system agenda) to describe approach to working in a Triple Helix network system.	Draws comparison between CGO intervention and this intervention Researchers attributed comparative success to insider-initiated project, quality/education level of co-researchers, early development of gender knowledge (avoided focus on women) time for research and change processes to unfold. Drew on fair treatment, organisational justice, a sense of fair play and solidarity as motivators for change	Problems establishing reflective dialogue and focus on gender in initial workshops, overly cautious. Revised format to be more challenging introducing pictures and anecdotes Interactive research intent and intervention design appear incompatible. Design driven by researcher and HR manager, with minimal capacity for organisational members to drive process or knowledge production
Strengths	Reflexive account of difficulties transformative GE interventions can encounter. Specifically who are the partners and the reality of what is required from partners in terms of hard work and time in action research	Challenges the inevitability of resistance in gender change interventions. Claim maintaining openness to joint inquiry on part of researchers, rather than becoming defensive is important contributor to lack of resistance	

Reflections and moving forward

The unique circumstances of social context, funding, and a critical mass of scholars sharing a theoretical approach has supported the development of 'innovative' action oriented and leadership development gender interventions. Strengths include:

- Strong theoretical grounding of the research, with focus on developing theory and practice
- The number and diversity of interventions, creating a significant pool of scholarship to draw on
- A variety of settings and designs, from in-house programs, to working across networks and clusters
- Variety of co-researchers/partners/participants, including men, at various places in organisational hierarchies
- Capacity to hold onto the gender focus. Pairing with innovation business case appears to be legitimised and sustained – partly as a result of external funding, and the gender equity discourse in Sweden
- The number, skills and tenacity of researchers, working in teams
- Focus on developing individual's gender knowledge as an essential component to the intervention and the development of tools and processes to assist this eg Acker's gendering processes used as theory, a tool and a model for change
- Empowerment of participants as change agents
- Substantial timeframes (number of workshop days and duration of intervention) and intensive groupwork often built into the design

Future research (Nordic and elsewhere!) would benefit from a more clearly articulated model of change and how the model is operationalised and translated (designed) into the intervention approach. An evident weakness in the currently available body of scholarship is the lack of attention paid to tracking and documenting outcomes, particularly organisational outcomes. Several available process tools developed in Sweden include outcomes – for example the equilibrium cycle developed by the Business Leadership Academy (Lorentzi 2011: Ch 4.) (<http://jamstall.nu/en/toolbox-2/equilibrium-cycle/>;<http://jamstall.nu/en/toolbox-2/the-ladder/>) may be helpful. There is insufficient focus on dissemination of the change effort and therefore sustainability of the change intervention. While the amount of time and intensive engagement with organisational actors is a strength in building gender knowledge, attention to developing less time intensive and costly interventions will be required to enhance take-up in other contexts and countries.

Finally, the ‘Bifocal approach’ was developed as a way of operationalising a transformative intervention specific to women’s leadership development programs. However, clearly the notion of a bifocal approach linking individual and organisational change is more broadly applicable. The key, and what keeps the intervention from falling into a liberal individual focus is the nature of the gender work with individuals. For me this is the most outstanding aspect of the Swedish contribution – the development of the gender knowledge of organisational partners, through the use of gender scholarship, tools and processes.

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Chapter 13

Women on Corporate Boards in the UK: The Paradox of Interventions

Monica Wirz

Introduction

‘A snail could crawl the entire length of the Great Wall of China in 212 years, just slightly longer than the 200 years it will take for women to be equally represented in Parliament’ (EHRC 2008). Women directors in the FTSE100, which comprises some of the biggest and most influential companies trading in Britain, could be expecting around 73 years for parity to materialise (ibid). The Chartered Management Institute (CMI) predicts it would take almost a century for women’s salaries to be equal to men’s in the UK (BBC 2011). This is what the influential right-of-the-centre magazine, *The Economist* (2011), calls the *Hundred Years’ War*.

This paper discusses the paradoxes of change and intervention by looking at the topic on women’s participation in high positions. In particular, it is interested in how the UK is dealing with the intensification of this debate through intervention initiatives, namely gender quotas for corporate boards and similar measures. It starts by describing the factors that have influenced the debate on gender parity in corporate boards in the UK, both from an international perspective and from a critique of the existing discourses circulating around this topic. It then looks at how these have had an impact on the government’s agenda and instigated an official review of this issue. Finally, this paper pays specific attention to the different stages of this review and its recommendations, including the voluntary code of conduct generated by the executive search sector. It argues that, in the British case, the strong liberal tradition on the part of the government and its close alignment with global corporate interests leads to a situation in which discourses of transparency and commitment to change are run in parallel with an embedded resistance towards legal interventions into business practices, whereby gender parity pays the ultimate price.

Background

Putting 'women on boards' in the agenda in Britain

The 2010 general elections in the UK marked the end of 13 years of the Labour Party in government and the start of the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition. To mark the beginning of this partnership, the Coalition programme document advocated 'a Britain where social mobility is unlocked; where everyone, regardless of background, has the chance to rise as high as their talents and ambition allow them' (Cabinet Office, 2010: 7). '[T]oo many people of all ages [are] held back because of their gender, race, religion or sexuality. We need concerted government action to tear down these barriers and help to build a fairer society' (ibid: 18). In an unprecedented move, the Coalition was explicit in its position regarding gender and leadership: '[w]e will look to promote gender equality on the boards of listed companies' (p.18). The mechanics through which this was to be achieved are related not only to the guiding principles of the Coalition Programme – 'freedom, fairness, responsibility' (p.3) – but also, and principally, through the liberal politico-philosophical framework that informs them. Equality of opportunity rather than equality of outcome, through the removal of obstacles that prevent individuals from achieving their potential and goals, orients the government's agenda.

The contributing factors behind the government's pledge of intervention in this area reflect an overall recognition that gender parity in positions of decision-making within corporations has become a topical issue in the Western world: the United Nations sees it as a precondition for justice and democracy and as a requirement for women's interests and rights to be taken into account (UN 2007). The World Economic Forum (2010) argues for parity on the basis that national competitiveness strongly depends on *whether* and *how* female talent is utilised. The European Commission (2010) sees having more women in senior positions as 'key to economic stability and growth'.

Consensus has been achieved, at least on a level of public discourse (and along very superficial lines that do not deconstruct gender *per se*), regarding the assumption that women should be active agents at all areas of the economy, including at the helm of state, political, academic, scientific and commercial organisations. Perhaps predictably, given the rate of globalisation, a certain convergence of those discourses is noticeable across different national and institutional sites. What elicits concern in these is the upstaging of pro-justice or pro-democratic arguments by merely instrumental, pro-market rationalisations.

From a macroeconomics perspective, governments tend to argue on the basis of national competitiveness and macroeconomic advantages,

such as the positive effect of women's participation in the labour market has in addressing the problems related to the looming pension crisis and population ageing (OECD 2008). Likewise, given women's higher level of tertiary educational attainment than men in the EU (European Commission 2011: 55) and in a time when human capital is a main source of competitive advantage in the global economy, the female talent pool is seen as an untapped source of resources within any nation's economy. Women as valuable resources, rather women as citizens with entitlements and rights, provide the rationale of the debate at this level.

From a microeconomics perspective, gender parity is considered in terms of the *business case*: after all, once cost-benefit analyses have been undertaken, it is good for the 'bottom-line' to have women onboard. The benefits listed in this approach range from the optimisation of the talent pool pipeline, the correlation between the number of women in a company's leadership team and its performance – evaluated both in terms of efficiency levels and profitability (Kotiranta et al 2007; McKinsey 2007), to the reduced exposure to risk and bankruptcy correlated to it (Maitland 2009). Gender balance in corporate decision-making is understood to 'boost creativity and innovation by harnessing complementary knowledge, skills and experience (European Commission 2011: 56). In a context where women make up a considerable proportion of the consumer market, women in management are also perceived as a 'company asset' that may help to enhance companies' reputation and image in the marketplace. Once again, women's access to positions of power is framed as a means to and end, albeit for corporate gains, not for gender parity.

Intervention in the British context

The debate in Britain is influenced by both the external factors and the general discourses discussed above. Added to that, at a national level, the UK also benefits from a well-established record of antidiscrimination legislation dating back from 1970, when the Equal Pay Act was introduced. The most recent, the Equality Act 2010, brings together previously separate pieces of legislation on sex, race, disability, sexual orientation (among other 'protected characteristics', such as gender reassignment, marriage, pregnancy, maternity, etc.) in an attempt at harmonisation of definitions and duties. This law requires public bodies in the UK to demonstrate that their decisions are made in a 'fair, transparent and accountable way, considering the needs and rights of different members of their community, by demonstrating they have paid "due regard" to equality issues in the decision making process' (BIS 2010: 3). Discursively, legislation in the UK supports gender parity on the basis of non-discrimination, equality of opportunity, rights and justice. With regards to gender, the

argument is that it is within women's rights to be represented at all levels of the economy and society: the fact that women make up 50% of the population, yet are virtually absent on boards, can no longer be justified on any reasonable grounds (Sealy et al 2009; Vinnicombe et al 2010).

The British legal system seeks to address structural disadvantages by allowing for positive action through (State or corporate) policy initiatives. These involve the provision of specific facilities or procedures, such as childcare facilities, awareness training, career breaks or fast tracks, mentoring and shadowing schemes (Heery and Noon 2008). Mostly, they can be put in Sinclair's category of attending to problems that *women have*, so that they may have the opportunity to adapt to the existing (male) norms (2005). Other more direct and assertive forms of interventions, however, tend to be shunned. As in the US, positive discrimination is unlawful but for in a few situations, such as in the case of disability or as a means to increase women's representation at political parties (EHRC 2010a). As such, it is perceived to be 'an exception to the general principle of non-discrimination, rather than a means for achieving it' (Hervey and Rostant 2010: 1). The legal position in the UK differs from that in the EU, which permits national measures that attempt to prevent, remove or compensate for professional disadvantages that women face in their careers, in order to ensure 'full equality in practice' (Hervey and Rostant 2010: 1). To this degree, the EU law has made clear steps in distancing itself 'from the formal libertarian notion of equality on which UK law is based' (ibid). There has been no significant public debate in the UK so as to take advantage of the broader legal framework provided by the EU.

In brief, positive discrimination, positive action's more dauntless version, entails policies and practices to promote diversity and integration, as well as to address historical and structural social inequalities by proactively encouraging disadvantaged groups to participate in the social, economic and political life of a country (Scott and Marshall 2009; McLean and McMillan 2009). Its proponents' arguments normally echo Crenshaw's (2007: 1):

Think for just a moment about what is missing in the way that affirmative action is usually framed. The debate is usually premised on the metaphor of an equal-opportunity race, where we all began at the starting line. (...) What if we really looked at the different lanes that (...) runners have to run in? If we looked at that, we'd see that some of those lanes are nicely paved, even surfaces, beautifully well-lit with freshly painted lines. Other[s], though, have to navigate lanes that are riddled with obstacles and debris... Affirmative action is quite simply

a commitment to remove the effects of these obstacles that impede the race for some, using a wide variety of tactics and strategies.

From this perspective, positive discrimination is conceptualised as a necessary tool to create equality of opportunities with privileged groups, as well as an enabling process for fairer and well-integrated societies. The claim here is that formal equality, namely ‘treating people alike’ by merely offering access to institutions and places of employment, in a libertarian sense, is an insufficient means for traditionally excluded groups to be able to gain actual entry to these spaces (Hervey and Rostant 2010). In other words, ‘opportunities are not “really” equal unless societies have neutralised in some way the inequitable effects of social background.’ (Phillips 2006:19). Importantly, this claim goes beyond even the point in which initial/formal entry has been gained, as these groups will normally require support to achieve a more substantial representation, given the barriers they will find in gaining critical mass and acceptance in roles that have not been historically associated with them. Thus, in order for *substantial* gender equality to be achieved, one might need to take intervention measures based on equality of *outcome* while the end goal is actually equality of *opportunity*.

Critics of interventions based on positive discrimination dismiss them as yet another form of discrimination – ‘reverse discrimination’ – and as a system that actually negates equality and merit, further reinforces ingrained prejudices and stereotypes, and finally, that ‘permits whole sections of society to avoid competition’ (McLean and McMillan 2009: 1). Such policies are not only opposed by privileged or majority groups, who feel that any other criteria but merit would be unfair treatment, but also by the very potential recipients of such policies, who fear further stereotyping, being seen as tokens, as lacking in merit, or as undeserving recipients of special treatment. Finally, some question whether such policies would have a disproportionately favourable impact on the wealthier or more privileged segments within such disadvantaged groups (Hervey and Rostant 2010).

This paper takes the position that the starting premise for any type of intervention at the point of recruitment of a given role is based on the *plus factor* principle (Fullinwider 2010). This means that all things being equal (other relevant criteria, such as specific qualifications or experience), then gender becomes a decisive factor in the selection of a candidate. In other words, whereas gender comes to the fore as an *additional* factor, it does not insulate the individual from comparison with other candidates. Consequently, no complaints on the basis of unequal treatment may be claimed by the candidate who has not been selected

through such intervention measures. By definition, there is no such a thing as *reverse discrimination* in this case.

The current debate on gender quotas for corporate boards in Britain echoes the points discussed above. For example, while quotas (voluntary or statutory) may in the long-run have an effect on gender equality, especially regarding visibility and voice, at first quotas are likely to have a limited impact in society, as they would benefit a narrow segment of well-educated women, already on a management career track, and who are most likely white, able-bodied and middle-class. However, in spite of any eventual conceptual divergences regarding positive discrimination, clearly the lack of progress in this area requires being systematically addressed. The ultimate aim of such critique and subsequent interventions is clear: to promote institutional change so that organisations can meet the non-discrimination mandate. In this sense, selection by gender is a means to such change. That such selection also compensates individual women by putting them in places they really deserve is an incidental by-product of a process aimed at non-discrimination (Fullinwider 2010).

In practice and as previously discussed, whereas documents such as the Equality Act 2010 are premised on normative values of justice, actual policies have a distinctive pro-market flavour. These mark the intersection with corporate interests and the point of departure from the concept of justice and equality as the main basis for gender parity. Here, discourses involving gender diversity (rather than gender equality) and talent management become more prevalent. The introduction to ‘The Female FTSE Board Report 2009’ (Sealy et al 2009) by the then Leader of the House of Commons, Lord Privy Seal, and Minister for Women and Equality, Harriet Harman (a Minister of Parliament for the Labour Party), illustrates this point: the government’s position here is for the optimisation of the “talent pool”, based on women’s potential role in supporting economic recovery, the understanding of customers, and tackling groupthink (Janis 1972 and 1982) on homogeneous boards (one of the alleged causes of the 2008 global crisis). The following year, her successor as Minister for Women and Equality, this time a Conservative party member, Theresa May, shows the same ‘business-case’ approach prevailing over equality arguments:

In these challenging economic times, it is more important than ever that companies located in the UK use all the talent available to grow the economy and continue to compete at the highest level in domestic and international markets. (...) The Coalition Government has made a strong commitment to promote gender equality on corporate boards and we are firm in our belief that the UK needs to make the most of everyone’s talents and that more balanced corporate boards must be

better for everyone –investors, employers, employees and customers. (...) The challenges facing more women on boards are significant and systemic. However, the potential positive influence of women on business is becoming clearer with research showing a strong correlation between a company's performance and the proportion of women serving on its executive board in terms of turnover and profit, good corporate governance, reputation and the development of the female talent pipeline.

Arguably, the 2008 crisis has at least helped to expose corporate boards and executive suites' homogeneous composition and to sensitise public opinion to issues related to gender on company boards. Even the CBI – Confederation of British Industries, a bastion of male hegemony and the UK's top business lobbying organisation, has declared that the 'damage caused to the industry is linked to boards composed exclusively of white males' (Sealy et al 2009: 12):

If there is ever a time for women to make a decisive breakthrough in corporate boardrooms, it is surely now. Many boards, especially in financial services, are in flux after the testosterone-fuelled excesses that led to financial disaster. There is a desperate need to rebuild trust, more easily achieved if boards better reflect customers and the public. (CBI, Published in the editorial of the Financial Times, 19 May 2009).

The quotas debate in the United Kingdom

It is in this context that the UK joins the international debate on gender board quotas. The incoming Coalition Government commissioned The Davies Report *Women on Boards* in August 2010, as a direct response to the growing dissatisfaction with the institutional inertia regarding the 'painfully slow' progress in this area (EOC 2007: 3). Lord Davies of Abersoch, CBE was invited to undertake a review to identify the barriers for women's growth in organisations using the FTSE350 as a starting point. His brief was to 'consider the business case for having gender-diverse boards' (BIS 2011), and to make recommendations regarding what government *and* business could do to increase the proportion of women on corporate boards. The review was led by a steering board composed of five other businesspeople and an academic, Professor Vinicombe, whose work in the field of gender diversity within organisations, including the Female FTSE Board Report has become *the* point of reference for both government and industry. It has also involved a consultation with different stakeholders and an online call for evidence that generated 2654 responses.

The report *Women on Boards* reinforces the urgency of improving the gender balance of corporate boards and summarises the problem as one of supply and demand: ‘Fewer women are coming through to the top level of organisations’ (here, the corporate pipeline is positioned as the problem with supply), whereas the challenge with the demand arises out of the fact that there are women in the UK ‘who are more than capable of serving on boards who are not currently getting to these roles’ (BIS 2011: 3). Interestingly, the report’s description of the problem illustrates a paradox within this dynamic of supply and demand: while there are so few women coming through, so many qualified ones fail to be perceived as legitimate candidates. Going beyond the report’s conclusion that the ‘pace of change is not good enough’ (BIS 2011: 3), this paper argues that the problem of women in top positions is not only numerical but also involves how the business community defines its leadership prototypes and how gender is an unspoken but integral part of this conceptualisation.

Nonetheless, the recommendations in this report have fallen short of quotas. They instead favour the position of disclosure, voluntary targets and codes of conducts on the part of the industry. The adoption of a ‘comply or explain’ approach in itself is not surprising, in that it reflects British praxis in this context: the UK Corporate Governance Code upholds the same approach as the foundation of the Code’s flexibility (FRC 2010). Still, the opinions expressed in the call for evidence clearly demonstrate that the public opinion is ready for more decisive interventions: “during the course of this review some people told us that the only way we could make real change in increasing the number of women on boards was by introducing quotas. They said that other routes have already been tried, but women still remain a minority on UK boards” (Lord Davies of Abersoch, CBE in BIS 2011: 2).

The process of decision-making in this review suggests, once again, the paradoxical position regarding change and interventions. While some gatekeepers (government, industry associations, corporations) demonstrate willingness to promote change through official occasions/statements and articles in the media) they also simultaneously resist it, as can be seen in this report’s plan of action. Or *inaction*, as few concrete implementation measures or sanctions have been put in place to support the goal of increased representation. An analysis of power relations among the stakeholders in this debate also suggests similar incongruities: while some stakeholders are called to give evidence, little is done regarding their call for ‘new laws/rules’ or the introduction of quotas (BIS 2011: 33).

In this report’s final recommendations, responsibility to promote change has been attributed to Chairmen and Chief Executives of UK

companies, who in turn should be supported by investors and executive search firms. The government has been assigned a ‘supporting role’ (BIS 2011: 3), but with no direct role attributed to it, despite the clear plea for regulation on the part of the respondents who replied to the call for evidence or the Coalition’s own pledge to provide ‘concerted government action to tear down these barriers and help to build a fairer society’ (Cabinet Office 2010: 18). In a scenario in which interventions to achieve numerical parity are so thin on the ground, it seems unlikely that one would find many beyond academic circles to engage with the even more fundamental debate of going ‘beyond gender quotas’. The following section looks at the role of the executive search sector in achieving gender-balanced organisations, given the specific attention they received in the Davies Report.

The executive search sector: part of the problem or part of the solution?

For the first time, the executive search sector has been explicitly singled out as *part of the problem* in this debate. As such, it has been given the task of getting together as a group and drawing up a Voluntary Code of Conduct that addresses gender and best practice (BIS 2011: 5). Undoubtedly, the conversion of the *principle* of parity into *practice* requires careful consideration as to how gender plays (or not) a part in the nomination process for positions of leadership. Executive search firms have a unique and politically relevant role in this process. Out of all the potential candidates capable of running organisations, the chosen few who will end in elite positions that are responsible for making decisions that will potentially impact the global economy and the lives of millions of people are more likely than not those who have been recommended by executive search firms’ short lists.

As far as the top-end of corporate selection (especially at an executive level) is concerned, executive search firms play a vital strategic role. They are deemed to be responsible for the facilitation of “more than one-third of all six figure executive moves and more than three-fourths of the highest profile CEO transitions around the world” (McCool 2008:17). Their scope encompasses a wide range of practices: from the traditional focus on commercial operations, such as Financial Services, Consumer and Industrial Services, to scientific and high-tech segments, such as Technology and Communications, or Life Sciences and Healthcare Services. Globalisation and the trend of universities being run as a business also point towards the growth in the number of academic appointments being made through specialist outfits. With an effectiveness level estimated to be twice as high as other services’ sectors (CIPD 2010: 8), the execu-

tive search industry, together with employee referrals, is perceived as one of the most effective recruitment methods at the high-end corporate level (Terpsra 1996). Arguably, they are also ‘the single most influential form of management consulting engaged by organizations’ (McCool 2008: xvii). To this effect, executive search firms are more than mere gatekeepers of yet another organisational process. They are our modern day ‘king makers’.

Since the 1990s, however, the way top positions come to be assigned has been coming under increasing scrutiny: both the accounting scandals, such as in the Enron or WorldCom cases, and subsequently the global recession in the financial sector have all been directly attributed to the derailment of leadership (Sealy et al 2009). With regard to gender, many of these institutional failures have been attributed to the ‘testosterone-fuelled excesses’ (ibid: 12) of mostly male-driven boards. For the first time, the way leaders are *selected* has been directly connected to the systemic failure to create gender-balanced boards. In the introduction to the results of the inquest into this matter, Lord Davies (BIS 2011: 2) stated: ‘given the long record of women achieving the highest qualifications and leadership positions in many walks of life, the poor representation of women on boards, relative to their male counterparts, has raised questions about whether board recruitment is in practice based on skills, experience and performance.’ The link between gender parity and the executive search sector had been established.

The executive search sector’s response to this challenge has been to reaffirm its own commitment to the development of the talent pool. Indeed, it claims that this is an issue of vital concern for the sector: after all, it is in an executive search firm’s best interest to be able to draw on the widest range of candidates as possible, as this is not only likely increase its rate of success, but also to improve its own profit margin if assignments are finalised in shorter periods of time. Furthermore, the Association of Executive Search Consultants (AESC 2010) has estimated that 50–70% of senior managers would be eligible for retirement in 2010. Their successor group, the so-called *Generation X*, is understood to be much more transactional and self-interested (Strauss and Howe 1998). Their more ‘mobile’ career pattern translates into higher activity levels for companies’ human resources departments and executive search firms alike. Alongside these demographic changes, the increase in mergers and acquisitions, the trend towards the globalisation of businesses, and a more complex and technologically-driven corporate environment contribute to an increasing demand and competition for the talent pool. They also advantage the search sector, as in-house HR struggle to cope with either the volume (AESC 2009: 3) or complexity of this new market

(Cronin 1981; Rutledge 1997). Once again, the participation of women in corporate life is a matter of business sense.

Nonetheless, it is still the case that selection processes tend to be reactive and unsystematic, rather than part of a thorough succession planning strategy. This is felt especially in the rarefied environment of Corporate Boards, where the old-boy network is far from being a dying species. Fernández-Aráoz, Groyberg and Nohria's (2009) survey with CEOs of multinational corporations (MNCs) and search consultants has pointed to unreliable practices that 'relied heavily on subjective personal preferences or on largely unquestioned organisational traditions, often based on false assumptions' (p. 76): over 50% of the respondent companies declared that they still relied on the hiring part's 'gut feeling' and their understanding that the selected candidate had 'what it took' to take on that position. The Davies Review supports these figures: in contrast with the picture suggested by McCool (2008:17), nearly 50% of directors surveyed in the UK had been "recruited through personal friendships and contacts, only 4% had a formal interview and only 1% had obtained the role through answering an advertising (Higgs and Tyson in BIS 2011: 20).

Executive search firms' attempt to address this erratic approach to selection, and turn it into a business opportunity, by offering transparent, 'methodologically sound', and rigorous processes as unique selling points and competitive advantages. A case in point has been the introduction of competencies scales, a recruitment tool that is now widely used by many of the prestigious global executive firms that aims to systematise the search process. Through the introduction of a set of metrics that reflect the client organisation's requirements and priorities, and against which candidates are matched, the goal is to minimise bias from subjective sources. In advocating a 'rigorous, strategic and objective' approach to hiring (Fernández-Aráoz et al 2009: 77), executive search organisations position themselves as a highly regarded strategic partner who can add value to their clients' business through their professional and 'scientifically-based' processes. In so doing, an organisational identity and reputation based upon professionalism and discourses of objectivity and impartiality can be seen to gradually emerge.

As corporate loyalties and job security have made way for performance-conditional positions, individual executives themselves have started to construct their own professional identities as sole agents in charge of their career development (AESC 2009: 3). Such a combination of factors has paved the way for securing the executive search sector's positioning as *the* point of reference when filling high-level vacancies at an executive level: by the 21st century the role of executive search in the

selection of global elite executives had become ‘institutionalised’ in the eyes of both clients and candidates (Beaverstock 2007: 28). Depending on how its practices are structured and if indeed these safeguard the selection process against subjectivity and ingrained biases, the executive search sector has indeed the potential of making an invaluable contribution towards non-discriminatory hiring practices. The Davies Review urged (BIS 2010: 20): “the whole process of board appointments by the Nomination Committee should be more transparent and open to challenge”. Concrete steps must be taken in this direction, however, and until concepts, such as *excellence*, *transparency*, *leadership* and *gender* itself are fully problematised (beyond academia), dominant interests will continue to resist change efforts by paying lip service to attempts at change and intervention.

Still, the exercise involving the Voluntary Code of Conduct for the Executive Search sector can be read as a step towards this systematisation process. On 22 July 2011, almost five months after the Davies Review was published, 20 leading executive search firms announced its release. The Code sets out seven principles of best practice for the sector which are supposed to cover the key stages of the search cycle: from the initial brief from the client to the final stage after the chosen candidate is about to undergo the induction period with the company. The executive search firms involved assert that the Code will help corporations improve board effectiveness and increase the proportion of women on their boards. The Code was described as the way forward by Lord Davies, and welcomed by government, companies and media alike (FMWF 2011; MWM Consulting 2011). Notwithstanding, no questions were raised as to how a group of competitors could be expected to collaborate freely on an issue that is an integral part of their business interests and sustainability. Nor how these cohorts, who up to now has been judged as ‘part of the problem’, may be expected, almost single-handedly and without any guidance or expert moderation, to deliver the solution to such an endemic and complex problem.

Conclusion

The Paradox of interventions: promoting women onto boards in Britain

Paradoxes are propositions which premises rely on well grounded and sound reasoning, but that nonetheless lead to self-contradictory or logically unacceptable conclusions. They also seem to provide an accurate way of defining the situation of women in positions of decision-making in Britain. With the prolific amount of evidence available, the reasons

why women should be represented at the helm of organisations are well ground in justice, social, political, and economical arguments. The benefits of gender parity are equally wide-ranging: not only for the women who occupy top-level positions, but also for organisations and society as a whole. It would seem logical that ‘strategic engagement with both the state and the market is the prudent response to a public sphere that is uncertain and unpredictable for women’ (Simon-Kumar 2004: 499).

That the current ‘engagements’ are so lacking in teeth illustrates the extent to which this is an area so rife in paradoxes. The British case, through the Davies Review, is the latest of a series of examples of how so many contradictions and incoherencies may coexist at such close proximity without raising much concern. This paper has attempted to demonstrate how, despite being pressed by strong evidence, countries and companies alike resist gender parity interventions that may impinge both on their liberal epistemic frameworks and on their ingrained understandings of gender and their roles in society. Accordingly, they resort to diverting impression management strategies when no substantive action has been taken. Indeed, as van den Brink and Benschop (2012) have vividly suggested, gender inequality resembles an unbeatable seven-headed dragon. Positions are open for experienced and well-qualified dragon slayers.

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Chapter 14

On Being Invisible and Dangerous: The Challenges of Conducting Ethnographies in/of Academia

Maria do Mar Pereira

Doing ethnographic research with, and of, one's peers is not something that academics often do. According to Shauna Butterwick and Jane Dawson, producing such ethnographies is 'one of the greatest taboos' of academic practice (2005: 52). In a striking illustration of the power of this taboo, Sarah Williams and Frederick Klemmer start an article on ethnographies of academic communities with a box with the following text: 'This space is where I would have liked to present a complete ethnography of [an STS seminar]. (...) But some of my colleagues told me that studying them would be problematic' (1997: 165). For these authors, such ethnographies are an 'unrepresentable object' (1997: 165). According to Elizabeth Sheehan, studying other academics is considered 'bad taste' (1993a: 255) and Heidrun Friese argues that this is because '[a]cademics don't like to be made into objects. They like to be the subjects who turn others into objects' (2001: 288; see also Alvesson 2003). Therefore, the relative lack of ethnographies of higher education (HE) (as opposed to primary and secondary education) can be understood as a form of 'collective "averted gaze"' from the inner workings of academia (Wisniewski 2000: 5).

And yet, authors working from a range of perspectives have for decades insisted that is not only valuable, but also imperative, to subject academic practice to detailed and critical social scientific investigation (see for example Becher 1989; Bourdieu 1988; Morley 1998). In the introduction to her trenchant essay on the commodification of HE in contemporary Britain, Mary Evans calls for greater attention to the cultures and practices of academic life, arguing that 'universities would repay the investigation of trained ethnographers. The rich mix of species would be rewarding in itself, as would the contest between the spirit of the university past with the reality of the university present' (2004: ix). My own experience of conducting an ethnographic study of the negotiation of the epistemic status of women's, gender, feminist studies (WGFS) in Portuguese academia (Pereira 2011, 2012a, 2012b) confirmed that universities are rich and rewarding sites for analysis of the multiple (gendered)

paradoxes of contemporary processes of social change. It also threw into sharp relief, however, that one inhabits a 'strange and precarious place' when researching peers, 'walking a touchy tightrope between discretion, loyalty, and [critical] distance' (Friese 2001: 307). In this piece, I draw on that project to explore the challenges posed by the demanding balancing act of walking this tightrope. I start by providing a brief account of my research, and then weave together descriptions of fieldwork interactions with broader debates about feminist methodologies, ethnographic practice, and the study of academia, in order to reflect on the process and ethics of conducting ethnographies of/within the academy.

Observing academic (boundary-)work

Sitting in a campus café, a group of young scholars discuss the papers they hope to present at the upcoming conference of the national sociological association; one advises another not to submit her abstract to the strand on gender because it is 'full of feminists', who make interventions which are too political and unsociological. After the public defense of a doctoral thesis on women in science, the board of examiners meets to discuss whether the feminist qualitative methodology used in it is rigorous enough to make the thesis an acceptable piece of scholarly work. At a well-attended conference, a feminist scholar argues that being more attentive to contemporary women's and gender studies research will allow mainstream social scientists to produce better knowledge. These real and imagined scenes, set in common sites of academic work and sociability, are all instances of what one might call *scientific boundary-work* (Gieryn 1999). Such official and unofficial academic interactions play a decisive role in shaping the conditions for research and education in WGFS, and the degree to which, and terms on which, WGFS research is supported by academic communities, funders or policy-makers (Pereira 2008; Morley 1995; Stanley 1997). Therefore, as part my study of the institutionalisation of WGFS in Portugal, I was keen to observe situations like these to analyse the discourses that are produced in them about the *epistemic status* of WGFS, i.e. about the extent to which the field is able to produce 'proper' scholarly knowledge (however that is defined in a particular academic context). I analysed these discourses through a 10-month period of ethnographic fieldwork in Portugal (2008/2009), during which I collected and produced empirical material through a) participant observation, b) interviews and c) archival/library research.

I conducted *participant observation* in public and semi-public events, such as defences of doctoral theses, undergraduate and postgraduate lectures, book launches, academic meetings (including the annual general meeting of a WGFS professional association) and, especially, con-

ferences. Several authors have drawn attention to the importance of conferences as ceremonials (Egri 1992) whose role goes beyond that of exchange of knowledge. They are also sites for professional socialisation and collective identity formation (Egri 1992; Bell and King 2010), for the evaluation and regulation of academic work (Bell and King 2010; Ford and Harding 2008), and for (re)production and legitimation of academic hierarchies (Friese 2001) and of broader forms of inequality and discrimination, namely in relation to gender, class and race (Bell and King 2010, 1997; Ford and Harding 2009; Gillies and Alldred 2007; Stanley 1995; Hey 2003). I approached these events as sites in which to observe forms of public boundary-work and examine how WGFS and non-WGFS scholars adjust the maps of scientificity they draw and discursive tools they use, depending on the conditions of contexts and the profiles of audiences.

I also conducted 36 semi-structured *interviews* with scholars, students and other individuals in diverse positions vis-à-vis WGFS, in a wide range of disciplines, a variety of institutions from across the country and at distinct levels of seniority. The interviews had a dual status as empirical material. They provided much information about the historical and institutional context of the processes of negotiation of epistemic status that I was observing, as well as valuable insight into what happened in less public, but influential, spaces that I did not have access to, such as corridor talk and meetings of departments, academic boards, journal editorial collectives and research teams. (Rabinow (1986) draws attention to the important role of ‘corridor talk’ in shaping academic hierarchies and reputations (see also Wellin and Fine 2007). Hurdley (2010) attempted to do an ethnography of relations between corridor life and informal networks of power in universities. Her article provides a compelling account of both the importance of empirically researching those relations, and the enormous methodological and ethical difficulty (impossibility?) of doing so). However, it soon became clear that interviewees’ answers were not transparent accounts of ‘real’ facts. I noticed that the stories they told me in interviews were not always identical to the versions of those stories which I heard them tell in other situations, or did not entirely match the stories told by other interviewees about the same event or interaction. In many instances, I also know, or suspect, that interviewees preferred to not talk in the interview about particular – more sensitive or confidential – issues, possibly because I am myself a member of the community. Moreover, some interviewees narrated the development of Portuguese WGFS or of particular initiatives in ways that highlighted the pioneering and influential character of their own interventions and downplayed the relative relevance or scientificity

of others' initiatives. Much like other authors have observed in studies with scientists (Gilbert and Mulkay 1984; Lee and Roth 2004; Potter and Mulkay 1985), some participants more or less explicitly presented themselves in the interviews as a certain type of knowledge producer: one who is generating quality scholarship and doing the proper or best kind of WGFS. Taking all this into account, I would argue that interviews with academics can be seen also as in themselves sites of scientific boundary-work and of negotiation of the relative epistemic status of disciplines, theories and scholars.

I do not see this as evidence that interviews are too subjective, misleading or staged and therefore not reliable (Monahan and Fisher 2010) – I would argue that interviews were no more staged than the conferences or classes I observed. Rather, I consider that this makes them valuable additional material through which to analyse the constant work of managing epistemic status. I therefore engaged with interviews also as discourse to analyse, rather than just as sources of (always partial, contextual and mediated) information about WGFS in Portugal. In other words, and following Karen Henwood's lead, I approached interview talk both as a *topic* – i.e. as 'episodes of situated interaction and talk' (2007: 271) that can be analysed critically from the perspective of the identity-work and boundary-work that they do – and as a *resource* – providing useful information about 'processes and realities located beyond the interview as a specific text and context' (2007: 272) (Heyl 2007; see also Cortazzi 2007; Holstein and Gubrium 2000; Lee and Roth 2004). As Lee and Roth (2004) argue, this identity-work in interviews with scientists is a co-production involving both interviewer and interviewee: their narratives are produced in response to my questions and my more or less explicit framing of them as protagonists worthy of being heard and researched. I analyse this co-production in more detail in the next section.

In order to better understand that co-production, it is of course necessary to consider my own positionality. I am, in many senses, an insider of the community I studied. Although I have never held an academic position in Portugal and was not affiliated to any institution there during fieldwork, I am a Portuguese feminist scholar who has for many years participated in Portuguese WGFS as a student, researcher and conference attendee. During my undergraduate and early postgraduate training I was taught by some of my participants; I had also previously collaborated with others in academic or activist initiatives. I am also an insider in other ways: I share a class background with many of the participants and am a daughter (and niece) of academics (chemists and psychologists), some of them members of university administrations in institu-

tions where I did not conduct fieldwork. To use Diana Forsythe's (2001) words, I am 'science kin' and so spent much of my childhood visiting university corridors and laboratories, and listening to meal-time discussions about the macro- and micropolitics of Portuguese universities and funding bodies. Being an insider offered considerable advantages in access to sites, people and information and in making me feel relatively at ease in many fieldwork settings. (This can make a significant difference to the emotional experience of research, as illustrated by the accounts of scholars who describe the crippling impacts of feelings of discomfort and alienation in life or fieldwork in universities (Neal 1995; Sheehan 1993b; Gillies and Alldred 2007; Mahony and Zmroczek 1997)). However, I want to complicate this dichotomy of insider/outsider (Naples 2003; Ergun and Erdemir 2010; Nelson 1996) because my insiderness was not a stable given, but something that I was sometimes tested on and called to demonstrate, as I will discuss below.

An academic studying other academics: the challenge of (in)visibility

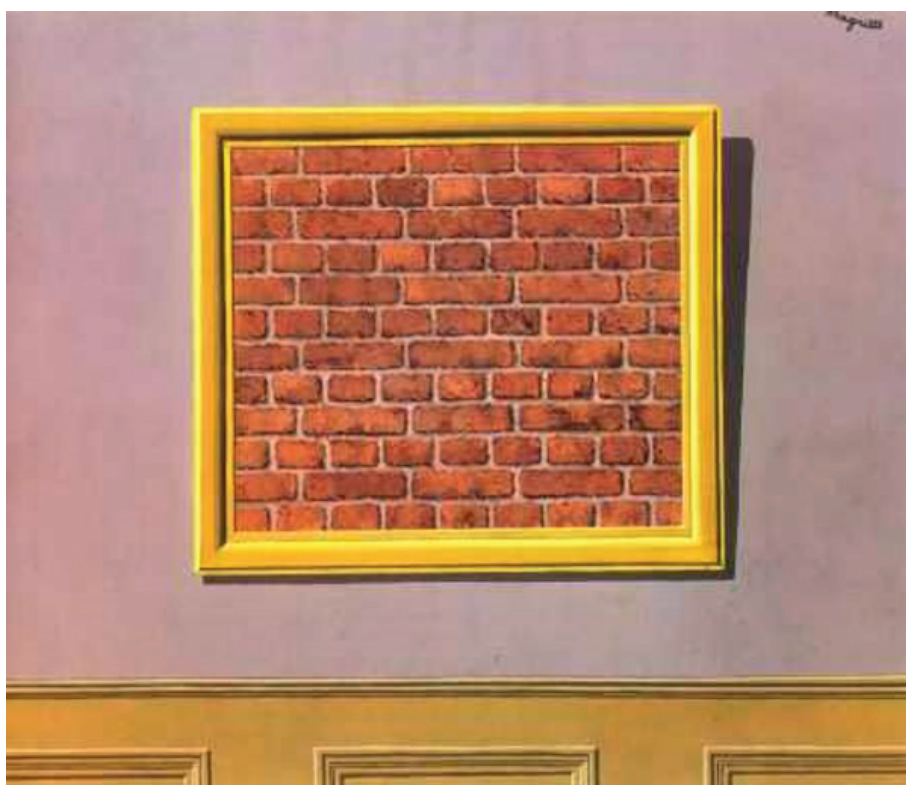
According to Rose Wiles et al, '[s]tudies conducted by academic[s] (...) of their peers raise specific ethical issues that are not *distinct* from those inherent in all research' but pose complicated challenges (2006: 284, original emphasis), particularly, I would argue, vis-à-vis ethics, power and positionality. Alice Červinková et al identify two key challenges: a) ethnographers of the SSH are part of the academic community and hierarchy they study, and so when 'studying the "familiar" (...) social scientists are also situated in the field in terms of epistemic, thematic and personal proximities/distances' (2007: 2); b) fieldwork often 'does not have clear boundaries and expands in temporal, spatial and social terms beyond the defined sites under study' (2007: 2; see also Downey et al 1997). Anne Beaulieu argues that these challenges make these studies 'busy' ethnographies (2010: 463) that demand constant attention and force the ethnographer to 'simultaneously attend to multiple kinds of accountability' and engage in 'a kind of hyper-reflexivity that requires both skill and intensive work' (2010: 460–461). This, as Sheehan notes, can at times cause 'almost paralysing' anxiety (1993b: 75) and place the researcher 'on tenterhooks [especially] during the writing up process' (1993b: 85).

One of the greatest challenges when conducting research in universities is engaging analytically with practices one is accustomed to. Many ethnographers studying academia or their own communities have highlighted the importance of a perspective that 'makes the familiar strange'

(Wöhler 2009; Wisniewski 2000; Hurdley 2010; Bourdieu 1988). I initially found this approach helpful but have come to see it as not entirely suitable for my study. This is partly because it implicitly relies on the traditional assumption – much criticised by feminist scholars – that analysis requires estrangement. It is also because I consider that it is impossible to estrange oneself from negotiations of epistemic status, even analytically. Announcing that I have attempted to make the familiar strange risks masking my inevitable imbrication in the practices that are my object. Others have framed this challenge through an alternative metaphor: one of visibility. Michel Foucault writes, ‘I attempt to make visible what is invisible only because it’s too much on the surface of things’ (1989 [1969]: 58). (Forsythe combines the two narratives, writing ‘[w]hen dealing with informants very like oneself, a major challenge is to make the familiar strange enough to be able to “see” it’ (2001: 194))– There are advantages to this formulation but I see it as also unhelpful. It frames the researcher as someone who ‘can see what most people fail to see’, as Maureen McNeil puts it (2007:141), and this raises two problems. Firstly, it positions the researcher’s perspective as a sort of ‘conquering gaze from nowhere’ (Haraway 1990: 188). Secondly, it does not adequately describe my object. Negotiations of epistemic status often go unnoticed, but are not invisible: feminist (and other) scholars have discussed them at length (Pereira 2012b) and my participants easily spot and insightfully examine many of its manifestations. Like many other aspects of academic life and work, my object is both hyper-visible and invisible, and that is what makes it extremely arduous to research.

I find it helpful to draw instead on a frame metaphor. The frame of a painting has an impact on what we see in it (for example, whether/how colours stand out) and how valuable or worthy of notice the painting seems; nevertheless, our gaze tends to be directed at what it is inside the frame. My study focuses on the frame of scientific claims, rather than their content. As Rena Lederman attempted to do in her academic ethnography, ‘attention shifts from the substance (...) of scholars’ products to how those products are made: to the relatively backgrounded, taken-for-granted practices of knowledge production’ (2006: 483). By drawing attention to the frames of academic claims, what I produce is, in a sense, a portrait of a frame – like René Magritte’s *The Empty Picture Frame*. Like Magritte’s, it is a representation of a frame that is itself within a frame, i.e. it has its own partiality and selectivity. To put it differently, my analysis of frames cannot step outside its particular frame – the frame of what is seen to constitute proper scholarship in the fields of feminist and ethnographic scholarship that I draw on and want to be recognised in. This frame metaphor is not without its own problems, but it helps to

highlight, as Magritte also attempted to do in his piece, that ‘the frame of each picture (...) [is an] artificial barrier’ and that ‘[l]ike a Möbius strip [the frames I analyse and the frames of my analysis] overlap, containing each other in their reversibility’ (Stoltzfus 1995: 166). (Using a similar metaphor slightly differently, Ortner writes that in interviews with other members of the ‘knowledge classes’ it sometimes happens that we ‘start stepping on each other’s toes (...) [because] “[we’re] both «framers»”; that is, [we] are in the same structural position with respect to the knowledge in question’ (2010: 225)).



René Magritte, *La Saignée (The Empty Picture Frame)*, 1938/9

Observing the frame is, in practice, exceptionally difficult. When I began observation, negotiations of epistemic status seemed to be both present everywhere and extraordinarily hard to observe. This negotiation often involves explicit claims and vivid ‘soundbytes’, but much of it is less overt and straightforward material – for instance, how an audience reacts, or whether and how it chooses to engage with a speaker after a presentation. Observation also required ‘re-educating’ my brain and body. I could not participate in events in the habitual ways: for example,

during observation in classes I would sometimes slip into the familiar mode of taking notes about the *content* of theories (as I had done over 10 years as a student in HE) rather than focus on how they were *described*. The amount of information to be processed and the degree of alertness required were so unexpectedly overwhelming that for several months after ending fieldwork, I still found it daunting to attend conferences, although I was now supposedly off-duty.

This on-duty or off-duty state was an aspect of fieldwork that was particularly tricky to manage. While in Portugal, any instance of academic practice that I observed, or interaction with scholars that I engaged in, could in principle provide fieldwork material, which required being constantly attentive. (And like for many other ethnographers (Pring 2001), toilets were instrumental as sites in which to hide to rest or make notes of coffee-break conversations). The fact that I was always potentially on-duty was not a source of anxiety only for me. Beaulieu notes that ‘in studying other scholars, a backstage is difficult to manage’ and adds that ‘why [a backstage] is needed is of course the productive question here’ (2010: 10). I want to argue that there is another (more?) fundamental question at stake: what about our colleagues’/participants’ need of, and right to, a backstage? Like Lederman, I was often invisible as a researcher because ‘[t]he apparent ordinariness of my presence would make it seem that I was not doing “research” at all (when I was)’ (2006: 488), and this became an issue on some occasions.

One such instance took place after a PhD viva. While celebrating the candidate’s success over drinks with other attendees, I chatted with the candidate (one of my interviewees), two senior scholars (also interviewees) and two PhD students – A (a student enrolled in a WGFS programme with whom I had discussed my PhD) and B (a student in a mainstream discipline who I had not met before). One senior scholar said that the research topics chosen by the freshly-passed PhD candidate and student B ‘are not really my thing; I think Maria’s topic is much more interesting’. Others laughed and nodded in agreement, except student B, who asked what I worked on. I explained that I was conducting an ethnography of academia looking at the status of WGFS. The senior scholar half-jokingly said ‘she is dangerous, you know, you need to watch out for what you say around her, she makes a note of everything!’ Student A added ‘it’s true, I saw her furiously scribbling in her notebook all through [a recent WGFS conference] and also just now, during the viva’. The PhD candidate looked surprised, ‘you were doing fieldwork in my viva?! Are you doing fieldwork now?’ I confirmed that I had been on-duty, checked that the examinee had no objection and assured everyone that I was, from that moment on, off-duty. (I see this exchange as an

instance of the ‘work-break game, (...) the intricate play of appearances that all fieldworkers engage in at one time or another. [It involves the] smoothing-over of the “embarrassing” procedures of ethnographic fieldwork’ and consists in the temporary ‘concealment of ethnographic labor initiated by the ethnographer (who must put away pen and notebook, or digital recording device)’ (Breglia 2009: 129–130)). A senior scholar replied ‘we’re safe now!’ As Hurdley notes, as academics we often share gossip and may ‘repeat all [we] saw and heard; yet [our] sight and hearing bec[o]me dangerous senses once [we] assume the role of researcher’ (2010: 518).

My status as an observer always potentially on-duty and dangerous also seemed to bleed into my life outside fieldwork and Portugal. During a workshop at a WGFS conference in the US, the one-sentence description of my project which I offered to the rest of the group during a round of introductions was met with animated questions about whether I was on fieldwork ‘right now’. I answered that I was only doing fieldwork in Portugal. But a few minutes later, when I took my pen to write an interesting point someone had made, a delegate pointed at me and jokingly and loudly said ‘she’s taking field notes about us! We’re being observed and this will end up in her thesis! Watch out for her!’ Everyone laughed and I explained what I had written and reassured them that I was not on-duty and would not analyse their discussions. Both episodes have, however, ended up being mentioned in my published work, perhaps confirming the suspicion that ethnographers of academic practice are not to be entirely trusted, and use whatever material they can find. I see these examples as illustrating the anxiety and ‘acute vulnerability’ (Williams and Klemmer 1997: 166) felt by academics when they are, or perceive themselves to be, the object of the analytical gaze. Most importantly, I see them as highlighting the slipperiness of the terrain tread by ethnographers of the SSH (and other ethnographers ‘at home’), whose both invisible and hyper-visible position amidst their participants/colleagues means that boundaries between data and ‘real life’ are exceptionally, and often problematically, fuzzy.

I was not, however, the only one doing the observing in my fieldwork. My participants are, of course, co-experts in my field (in her study with WGFS academics, Veronika Wöhrer writes ‘[d]rawing on feminist debates about social research methodologies (...) I want to call the protagonists of my study “co-researchers” (...): [t]hey were not only experts in *their* field, but also experts in *mine*, i.e. in a field, that we *shared* – and we both were aware of this fact’ (2009: 1, original emphases). I echo these comments, but prefer to call participants ‘co-experts’ rather than ‘co-researchers’, to acknowledge the fact that they were not directly in-

volved in co-designing or conducting the study) so I was frequently the object of their gaze and questioning, namely in what concerned the quality and appropriateness of my methods or theoretical framework – in other words, the extent to which I was producing knowledge in a proper way. For example, I was often asked, especially by senior scholars, if I was using author x and why not ('you can't do a study of this without using x', one of them said). Managing these questions successfully required being familiar with the scholar's own epistemological position and adapting my claims about the scientificity of my work accordingly. On one occasion, I was asked by a relatively quantitative WGFS scholar what 'units and grids of analysis' I planned to use. I explained that I was not conducting that kind of analysis (she reacted with a suspicious expression) but had a set of research questions which structured my ethnographic observation; this seemed to reassure her. In another interview, I was faced with the reverse situation. A qualitative WGFS scholar asked brusquely 'how do you intend to measure the status of WGFS?' I replied that I did not plan to measure it because I consider that it cannot be measured. She smiled, became visibly more relaxed and said 'that was a bit of a test question. I often find that sociologists like you love to measure everything and that's why I can't stand sociologists!' I explained that despite having been trained as a sociologist I now see myself more centrally as a feminist researcher and am critical of several sociological methods and assumptions; she became visibly more interested. Much like the participants, I too was doing boundary-work in the interviews and through these 'pragmatic performances of disciplinary competence' (Pels 2000: 164) trying to position myself as the right kind of researcher in the eyes of a particular (and changing) audience.

Other authors, especially those who did fieldwork with academics as part of doctoral research (Neal 1995; Sheehan 1993a; Wöhrer 2008; Millen 1997; Červinková et al 2007; Eggmann, 2008 quoted in Mayer 2009; Simbuerger 2008), also report having been similarly tested or questioned by their academic participants and having to carefully manage how they described their object or methods and (physically or discursively) presented themselves. This has been conceptualised primarily as an instance of dynamics of power in fieldwork relationships and I agree that these tests of scholarly quality play a key role in marking who counts as an expert in these interactions. However, I consider that there is more happening here. Describing her interviews with scientific Nobel laureates, Harriet Zuckerman notes that 'they were continuously evaluating the performance of the interviewer, *just as they subject their own colleagues to incessant evaluation*' (1972: 165, my emphasis). Indeed, I would argue that these negotiations in fieldwork with academics are

not just a feature, symptom or mode of asymmetrical power relations between researchers and participants; they are also a manifestation of more general, on-going processes of production of scholarly authority and demarcation of proper knowledge.

A feminist studying other feminists: the challenge of vigilance

Researchers of the social sciences and humanities and of the techno-sciences have often found that participants were resistant and even hostile to their studies (Neal 1995; Wöhrer 2008; Mayer 2009; Forsythe 2001; Millen 1997; Sheehan 1993b). The scholars who I approached, however, were almost always enormously interested in, and supportive of, my research, as well as extremely generous with time, patience and information. I was often told that ‘the research you are doing is very important’ (email from participant), relevant or useful. However, this generated its own challenges. Participants closely examined my work at different stages and were what I want to call a *vigilant* community. They are ‘watchful; steadily on the alert; attentively or closely observant’ (*Oxford English Dictionary*), both of the phenomena that I was examining – which, as co-experts, they have also reflected on in detail, often for many years – and of the claims that I was producing about those phenomena and their/our community. They are also *vigilant* participants in the sense that they sometimes position themselves more or less explicitly as a ‘guardian or keeper’ (*Oxford English Dictionary*), concerned with a field which they understand to be in some, or many, ways vulnerable. This vigilance manifested itself in different forms. Some participants insistently asked what I was planning to write and (much like Sheehan’s (1993a) and Platt’s (1981, 1976) participants) what other interviewees had said. As I wrote up my findings, I received phone calls and emails from participants asking if my “conclusions are ready”. One recent email read, ‘I hope the writing up is going well, and I am looking forward to seeing what results you have come to, because I am very concerned with the situation [of WGFS] in Portugal’. Such references to concern as a background and driving force of their close attention to my work were made frequently.

From the beginning of this project, I have shared with participants/co-experts this concern with the relatively marginal status of Portuguese WGFS and this belief that it is vital to empirically examine it. However, managing these shared commitments has been extremely challenging, for many reasons. A key one is that scholars disagree on what type of analysis of WGFS’ status would more productively contribute to improve its

situation. Indeed, and to use Evans' words, trying to identify what might be most 'relevant' and useful for such a heterogeneous field 'opens up [a big] can of worms' (1983: 328). Moreover, my participants are not just on the receiving end of claims about the lesser epistemic status of WGFS, but also actively involved in establishing hierarchies between disciplines or WGFS strands on the basis of epistemic demarcations. These internal processes of boundary-work must, I would argue, also be considered in examinations of epistemic status. But how does one 'write about [a] group in a way that preserve[s] the significance of their work as an important feminist project, while providing an honest and critical account' (Davis 2010: 148) of the tensions within it? To what extent does 'writing about the tensions' within feminism 'risk undermining and criticising our very achievements', especially in contexts where feminism is in a vulnerable position and its critics 'may be quick' (Mauthner and Bell 2007: 174–175) to pick up on material that undermines it further?

My research is about scholars who are *vigilant* participants and can read what I write (Hess 2001; Forsythe 2001; Sheehan 1993a, 1993b). Authors argue that in some projects it may be difficult to explain the aims and findings to participants 'without sending [them] to graduate school' (Smith, 1979 cited in Murphy and Dingwall 2007: 342; Shaffir 1991; Punch 1986). In my case, the participants *are* the graduate school and so are able to fully understand my analysis, and have access to a range of public 'means of redress' (Lederman 2006: 488) if they find it deficient. My research is about scholars with whom I share an intellectual and political commitment but who have diverse opinions on the forms that this commitment should take. It is about a community both marginalised and engaged in marginalisation; a group which is very supportive of my research, but whose close attention feels both gratifying and intimidating, encouraging and pressuring. As a (junior) feminist academic studying other feminist academics in these conditions, what is my role? Who am I accountable to or responsible for, and how?

The 'ambiguity and messiness' of ethnographies in/of academia: concluding reflections

These questions have been constantly present for me, especially because I know that feminist academics are, rightfully, 'a very critical (...) readership that keeps feminist ethnographers on their toes', namely in relation to the ways in which 'the researcher is responsible to the groups whom they claim to represent and (...) accountable for any representation produced' (Skeggs 2007: 436). I am not the only researcher preoccupied with these questions. Many authors studying their communities have

reported being pressured to not be a ‘whistle-blower’ (Ahmed 2010: xviii; McNamee 2001) or air ‘dirty laundry’ (Jacobs-Huey 2002; Ergun and Erdemir 2010; Alvesson 2003; Gajjala 2002; Pendlebury and Enslin 2001; Ryan-Flood 2010), and having their work described as a betrayal if they are seen to do so (Islam 2000; Mayer 2009; Murphy and Dingwall 2007). And yet, several scholars have commented on the difficulty of respecting feminist principles of accountability to participants when studying academics, and have argued that seeking empathy and reciprocity in fieldwork relationships in such studies may be an obstacle to producing valuable feminist analyses of academic politics (Neal 1995; Millen 1997).

As I tried to work through all these dilemmas, I was inspired by a particular set of reflections about fieldwork. I am referring here to debates in anthropology and feminist science and technology studies (STS) that have highlighted the political and analytical importance of ‘not taking sides in a predetermined [and stable] way’ and of conducting ‘ethnography [as] (...) a method of being at risk in the face of practices and discourses into which one inquires’ (Haraway 1997: 190–191). George Marcus, a key figure in these debates within anthropology, has called for ‘renegotiations (...) of traditional understandings of [fieldwork] relationships’ and argued for the adoption of a position of ‘complicity’, entailing ‘contingent trust and complex feelings around similarly identified purposes that both converge and diverge’ (2001: 523–524; 1998). According to him, this mode ‘provides a more appropriate frame for thinking about fieldwork relations that move across multi-sited and often contested spaces’ and where the sites studied are ‘complex fields of pre-existing representations that must be incorporated as part of the field of ethnographic inquiry itself’ (Marcus 2001: 524). This focus on the ‘ambiguity and messiness’ (Marcus 1998: 28) of participants’ and researchers’ positions in relation to power and each other is particularly productive in projects, such as mine, where the researcher is ‘caught’, i.e. ‘embedded in a nexus of relationships that each makes its own demands’ (Reddy 2009: 95).

I find this concept of ‘complicity’ very useful in the context of ethnographies with/of academics, but agree with Gustavson and Cytrynbaum that ‘Marcus leaves a fundamental question unanswered: In the everyday craft or doing of ethnography, how does this move look? (...) How did the ethnographer and subjects interact day to day? (...) What representational choices did the researcher make because of this complicity?’ (2003: 260–261). In my case, thinking of the research in this way has, in practice, meant making on-going – but never complete – efforts to shift the angle of analysis, namely by mapping power in relation to WGFS

from many different perspectives. Thinking of the research in this way has also led me to focus both on convergence and divergence within WGFS, i.e. both on what scholars share, and on the hierarchies, differences and boundary-work that separate them. Through this, I attempted to produce an analysis grounded on, and aiming at, what feminist STS scholars have called ‘respectful critique’ (Suchman 1999; Forsythe 2001; 2008). This is a perspective which recasts ethnographic work as ‘an engagement in multiple, partial, unfolding, and differentially powerful narratives’ and which conducts critique as a practice that is not ‘disinterested’ and external but rather ‘deeply implicated’ (Suchman 2008: 152).

Deeply implicated critique is of value in the social scientific study of any object, but gains heightened significance and urgency as a mode with which to engage with academic work itself. At a time when throughout Europe we are witnessing perturbing changes in HE and science – including cuts to funding; expansion of scientific audit, metricisation and quality control mechanisms; pressure for increased publishing productivity; extensification and casualisation of academic labour; and privileging of so-called ‘priority’ STEM subjects (*science, technology, engineering, and mathematics*) over the social sciences and humanities (Alvanoudi 2009; Burrows 2012; Evans 2004; Gill 2010; Lynch 2010; Morley 2003; Shore and Wright 2000; Strathern 2000) – it is imperative to continue engaging in deeply implicated critical analyses of academic practice, namely to ask how these and other trends are (re)configuring old and new (gendered) paradoxes.

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Chapter 15

Feminist Narratives, Feminist Visions: Dilemmas in Feminism

Mia Liinason

As of today, the institutionalization of gender research in Sweden can be described as a relatively successful creation of an oppositional space in the academy: feminist scholars in Sweden have, from different disciplinary backgrounds and theoretical departures, argued for the importance of a safe institutional base for gender research in the academy. In the process of institutionalizing the subject field, feminist scholars have articulated a critical and persistent attitude against attempts to weaken the transformative potential of the subject field. The strong impact from the state has been met with a critical and reflexive attitude among the scholars, to the understanding of feminist historical narratives, conceptual tools, objects of study and modes of working. Suggestions – both from the state and from within feminism – to stabilize or disciplinarize gender research have among feminist scholars been met with a hesitance to, among other things, the fixation of proper names, proper objects or notions of feminism (Liinason 2011).

Simultaneously, though, the relationship between feminist knowledge production, the academy and the state in Sweden is characterized by contradictions and tensions, with paradoxical implications for feminism. Gender researchers have, for example, provided the state with knowledge about gendered experiences, relations and structures, knowledge that was used by different, both left- and right wing, governments to develop policies for increasing a form of gender equality that reifies gender differences (Liinason 2011; de los Reyes, Molina and Mulinari [2002] 2006). In addition, the strong production in gender scholarship in Sweden around women's conditions in society and history has contributed to the production of a hegemonic national discourse in Sweden, in which Sweden is presented as an ethnically homogenous country and internationally marketed as an equal, just and good society – despite the fact that structures of inequality and forms of discrimination are increasing in the Swedish society of today (Tuori 2007; Arora Jonsson 2009; Siim and Skeie 2008; Carbin 2010; Yang 2010; Hellgren and Hobson 2008). Understanding the ambition in feminism as one where dominant discourses and oppressive strategies and structures are studied, visualized and challenged, I find it relevant to analyse how feminist agents manages

the complex power relations in the performance of feminism. In this paper, I discuss feminist narratives and feminist visions, as they appear in the feminist struggle as well as in one's own performance of feminism.

Feminism in time and space

The notion of Sweden as a feminist utopia is distributed among feminists both within and outside of Sweden. However, recent scholarly contributions and feminist activist responses also show that the descriptions of Sweden as a 'women friendly' society (Hernes 1987) needs to be revised against the background of the deep structural and institutional divisions as to ethnic, gender and class differences that exist in Sweden (Yang 2010: 56). The practices of inclusion and exclusion in Sweden has been the topic of investigation for a number of studies by postcolonial and feminist scholars, in which among other things the tensions between migrant women and the Swedish gender equality discourse have been analysed (Ålund 1997). Of particular importance are analyses displaying how the production of knowledge about femininity, gender equality and cultural borders has led to a construction of femininity as white and homogenous and based on articulations of the complementarity between the sexes (de los Reyes, Molina and Mulinari [2002] 2006: 20; Mulinari and Nergaard 2004; Carbin 2008; Eduards 2007; de los Reyes and Mulinari 2005; Eduards 2007). The story of a success of feminism in Sweden is, as it is described in this research, developed out from a close connection between a state initiated gender equality project and gender studies scholarship in the academy (Manns 2009; Carbin 2008; Eduards 2007; Hellgren and Hobson 2008).

Feminist analyses have also paid attention to the lack of self-critique within Western feminism more generally. Understood as having propelled constructions of dominant narratives and a hegemonic canon in feminism, critics are describing the homogenizing practices in Western feminism as forms of cultural imperialism and fundamental secularism (Mohanty [1986] 2003; Brah 1996; Hemmings 2011). Recently, feminist scholars have started to develop analyses where the alleged 'we' in feminism is scrutinized (Mulinari and Sandell 1999; Edenheim and Persson 2006). Here, Ulla Manns understands the homogenizing tendencies in feminism as motivated by a need to collaborate in the common struggle to interrupt the oppression of women, but also describes that such a strategy in the Nordic countries resulted in the exclusion of voices that wanted to take other, and plural, social relations aside of sex/gender into account in the analysis (Manns 2009).

The widespread description of Sweden as unique because of its successful institutionalization of feminism has led to a presence of feminist

awareness in a wide variety of societal arenas, ranging from NGO's, over educative institutions to state official sectors (Hemmings 2006). However, as shown in many scholarly articles (Tuori 2007; Arora Jonsson 2009; Carbin 2010; Yang 2010) there is a close connection between notions of feminism in Sweden and the construction of the nation. The formation of the success story of feminism in Sweden as a national project is possible to understand through Balibar's explanations of the formation of a 'natural' community developed out from references to a common past and shared future (Balibar and Wallerstein 1991). The existence and continued emergence of a narrative around the successful development in Sweden around issues like gender, gender equality, women and men create a nation-building rhetoric. Here, Homi Bhabha has inquired the double movement in which 'national life' is both 'redeemed and iterated' as the result of a split between nationalism as a pedagogical tool, where the people are objects of nationalism, and nationalism as a performance, where the people on the other hand are subjects (Bhabha 1994: 4). To perform the nation, with Bhabha's terminology, is a question of narrating a story which will attract a collective of listeners who find the story compatible with their common culture, established through ideas of a common past and a common future. Hence, the production of feminism as a story of success in Sweden further reinforces these nation-building forces of this narrative, which also involves boundary work – that is, an inclusion of particular groups and an exclusion of other groups from the national community. There is, consequently, a gap between the narratives of Sweden as a nation and the social reality, to which the discourses/narratives of the national community does not correspond. The use of gender equality as a marker of Western modernity more generally – capitalist, democratic, liberal – fixes non-Western cultures as 'backwards' and 'in the need of help from Western philanthropists and experts' (Hemmings 2011: 9). This is, consequently, how a dominant discourse on gender equality 'carries and deflects cultural, ethnic, and racial differences while appearing to operate to reduce the same in the name of a global free market', as Clare Hemmings writes (2011).

Contemporary feminism and identity politics: dilemmas, practices, visions

As described above, feminist ideas have become successfully institutionalized on a wide range of arenas in the Swedish society (state policies, legitimated scholarly practices, popular culture, NGOs etc.). However, the strategies used by feminists to reach this goal has mainly been developed out from ideas of collaboration and consent between women and

men, in which the space for change that has been opened for women has been limited to developing a more just relationship between the sexes only (e.g. visible in the great amount of policy changes aimed at a collaboration between women and men, such as, paternity leave, every second ladies, tax reduction on domestic services, etc.). This means, that the notion of Sweden as a ‘feminist utopia’, or a ‘women friendly’ society (Hernes 1987) not only reproduce a perception of sex/gender as the most foundational social relation – more basic than e.g. race/ethnicity, sexuality, and class – but also that the struggle against discrimination or injustice has taken form as a matter only for those who belong to privileged groups in relation to other social relations than sex/gender (sexuality, race/ethnicity, or class etc.). Research argues for the importance of critical interventions into this production of a story of a feminist success in Sweden, which re/inscribes a ‘welfare-state nationalism, composed by a we-pride towards the world outside’ (Mulinari and Nergaard 2004: 210, 216).

What are we to do with this situation? What are feminists doing with it? What am I doing with it? In feminist scholarship, the desire to stabilize, or fix, feminism’s foundations to certain subjects (i.e. white, heterosexual women), or to certain limitations of feminism (i.e. a united we), has been described as resulting in a disclosure of feminism’s possibilities of bringing about change. This, because, as it is discussed, feminism’s transformative potential lies in its abilities to change the discourses it intervenes into (Ahmed 1998:15; Liinason 2011). Clare Hemmings and Robyn Wiegman therefore argue for a displacement of feminist points of departure and a disidentification with subjective accounts in feminism. These debates, around difference or sameness/unity in the feminist struggle, have offered many fruitful contributions to feminist theory. Still, however, while the importance of an understanding of feminism that is not identical to the subjects of its performers has reached a wide acceptance as a theoretical model for feminism today, it simultaneously produces difficulties for political actions, and identity politics takes shape as a contested issue in political struggles for social justice.

Among autonomous activist grass-root groups in the contemporary feminist movement in Sweden, the responses and reactions to experience and identity politics are variegated and complex. (During 2012, I have been engaged in fieldwork for my ongoing research project on feminist activism in Sweden. In this section I refer to fieldwork notes from three events during the fall 2012: Feministisk Tribunal [Feminist Tribunal] in Stockholm 16 September, 2012. Arr. Feministiskt Perspektiv and Hallongrottan; Kafé Tribunal [Café Tribunal] at Kvinnofolkshögskolan in Göteborg 10 October 2012. Arr. Azadi – intersektionell organiserings;

and Feministiskt Forum [Feminist Forum] in Malmö 2–3 November, 2012. Arr. Malmö Feministiska Nätverk). Some antiracist feminist activists suggest the possibility of limited spaces of political separatism on the basis of identity, as a way to develop a safe and encouraging space, for discussing questions that otherwise become marginalized or silenced in the wider feminist struggle, but also for understanding the implications of these issues, for the struggle, for the wider movement and for the local group. Other groups discuss difficulties with exclusion and inclusion on the basis of experience and identity. This was the case, to mention one example, at one Reclaim the night march on March 8 in a medium-sized town in Sweden. Historically, that is a march that has been women separatist. This particular march, though, was launched as open for all. In practice, however, according to a group of transgender people who wanted to take part in the march, it continued to be a women-only event, which gave rise to a emotionally charged, serious discussion in the group. A third response to the issue is developed in the booklet *Power Handbook. For young feminists who meet racism and sexism in organisations* [Makthandbok. För unga feminister som (be)möter rasism och sexism i föreningslivet], published by the antiracist feminist think tank and resource centre Interfem (2009). In the booklet, feminism is not related to particular individual characteristics, such as sex, gender, ethnicity or sexuality and does not seek any lowest common denominator to unify the feminist struggle. Instead, the feminist struggle is explained as developed from a shared historical knowledge (about racism and sexism) and a common agenda (to unmask injustice and discrimination on the basis of sex and race). Linking feminism to the aims of the struggle, feminism, in the booklet, is not limited to the identities of its performers, but connected with the agenda, which allows for plurality in the struggle.

These different responses illuminate that identity politics still is a burning issue in feminism, but it is not un-reflectedly accepted or silenced. Instead, it is politicized, discussed and questioned – sometimes on the basis of where the limit should be drawn (as in the discussion about the Reclaim the night-march), other times as a political strategy to develop strength (as in the anti-racist feminist's suggestion of a separatist space), and yet other times understood as something that should not exclude performers from struggling for feminist aims (as in the *Power Handbook*).

The shift from identity politics to the creation of a common feminist agenda takes shape as one of the most important issues for activist feminism of today. There are different suggestions to what this common agenda should be. With a focus around the current political-economical situation, issues mentioned are: a struggle against neoliberalism, against

the current right wing government Alliansen, against capitalism, against militarization, against privatizations and around the need for a re-democratization of the Welfare institutions. Feminist activists discuss the need for visions, for hope and happiness in the struggle and want to practice feminism with a space for critique of the self-image of Sweden as a feminist utopia, and with a space for plurality in the movement, which are ambitions that put high demands on self-critique, humbleness and a willingness to learn from others.

Concluding reflections

In my PhD-thesis, I illuminated the production of a feminist success story in Sweden as a heroic narrative. I argued that it was based upon certain fixations of feminism in time and space and that this produced limitations for the feminist struggle. The Swedish feminist subject, I explained, has been constructed as a white, western, heterosexual woman, as the working mother, who is collaborative to the state on the labour market and to her husband in the household. Here, complementarity between the sexes, I discussed, is understood as one of the core constituencies, an idea based upon a dual sex model where sex/gender is understood as a more basic social relation than, for example, class, sexuality or ethnicity. Also, I described, in this context, certain notions of feminism's past, present and future have been established, which opens up some modes of working but discloses others, invites some agents but excludes others. Finally, I suggested that the transformative potential of feminism only can be put into practice through a destabilization of feminism itself – a destabilization of the feminist subject, of the aims with feminism, and of feminist strategies and practices (Liinason 2011).

In the most profound understanding, such a destabilization means to actively perform a critical reflection over one's own intellectual comfort zones. Therefore, it is also related to the personal motivation behind the feminist project. Hence, destabilization does not seek the boosting moments, but continues to critically inquire into the limits established by the silences or boundaries produced in my own knowledge production. It's ironic, because the very moment I feel happy and content, is also the moment when I fail to critically attend to the limits that take form in my own knowledge production. In 'Toward a More Feminist Criticism', Adrienne Rich writes about this as the paradoxical effects of power relations: 'Essential for the feminist critic who believes that her work is 'a pursuit with social meanings rooted in the "real world" is a clear understanding of power: of how culture, as meted out in the university, works to empower some and disempower others' ([1981] 1994: 94). Instead of viewing myself (a Swedish feminist scholar based in Swe-

den) as part of the solution, I am becoming more and more inclined to analyse what it means to perceive myself as part of the problem, as Clare Hemmings writes (2011). Now, at a time and in a context where feminist knowledge production is relatively successfully institutionalized in the academy, I would suggest that this is particularly relevant to take into account. Among other things through reflecting over the moments when the pleasure with successes obstructs the (self)critical gaze, when desire to practice feminism overpowers the urge to make radical resistance through which things can change, or when the fear of being rejected disempower feminist stakes. Rich closes her essay with the following words: 'I hope that feminist criticism can renounce the temptation to be graceful, pleasing, and respectable and strive instead to be strong-minded, rash, and dangerous. I hope that feminist critics in the universities can take their own work seriously as a political force, as part of the network of communications for the survival of our movement.' (99). These are classical feminist words, but, particularly against the background of the so frequently referenced successful institutionalization of feminist knowledge production in Sweden, no less significant in the here and now.

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