A *Festschrift* for LIISA HUSU
on gender, science and academia

Does knowledge have a gender?

ÖREBRO UNIVERSITET

EDITORS: Sofia Strid, Dag Balkmar,
Jeff Hearn & Louise Morley

PHOTO
Ulla-Carin Ekblom

DOES KNOWLEDGE HAVE A GENDER?

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PREFACE

It is a great pleasure for me to honour Liisa Husu on her official retirement. As the first Professor of Gender Studies at Örebro University and leader of the multidisciplinary Centre for Feminist Social Studies (CFS), I was very happy to welcome Liisa to both positions, when I retired at the end of 2009. To put it simply: I can hardly think of a better successor.

When Liisa came to Örebro we were in the middle of the GEXcel project, the Gender Excellence Centre and the five-years visiting scholar programme we were running together with Linköping University. I continued as a Senior Professor to work with GEXcel and lead the Örebro part of it, now together with Liisa. From that time of intense collaborative activities and ever since – as I continued to be active part-time in the doctoral programme and the research milieu – we have been working as colleagues in a mutually supportive and genuinely good spirit.

Liisa's academic career is a very successful combination of research merits and femocratic work; and her Alma Mater has awarded her prizes for excellence in both, the University of Helsinki Gender Studies award in 2002 and the University of Helsinki Gender Equality Prize in 2009. In Finland, she was the National Co-ordinator for Women's Studies for 15 years and served as Senior Adviser on Gender Equality Policy for the government before she went back to full-time research; she completed her PhD at the University of Helsinki in 2001. Then, for the next decade, followed a Research Fellowship, EU research projects, and national research project leadership at the University of Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, and at Hanken School of Economics, Helsinki.

Liisa's PhD thesis, *Sexism, support and survival in academia: academic women and hidden discrimination in Finland*, laid the ground, on one hand, for her future research interests: gender in science, academia and knowledge production, and her special focus on gender dynamics and inequalities in scientific careers, organisations and science policy. On the other hand, her research, enriched by her long femocratic work experience in Finland and internationally, made her also highly qualified for the many kinds of evaluative and other expert activities she has taken on after 2001. Clearly, her qualifications speak for themselves given the high demand for her expertise, as shown by the various educational and expert commissions she has been involved in Sweden and internationally; and she has been invited to speak and present her research in many, over 30 I gather, countries in all parts of the world.

At Örebro University, as in most other universities, the initiation and development of Gender Studies was – and still is – a struggle on several fronts. Besides the never-ending hard work Gender Studies teachers and students have in common with colleagues in other disciplines, a kind of gender-oriented struggle for academic legitimacy has been with us all along. But if anyone Liisa Husu knows that without "support" no "survival" in Academia, and in 2018 we celebrated the 40 years anniversary of teaching Women's Studies/Gender Studies at Örebro University.

I want to thank you, Liisa, for how successfully you have navigated our discipline and the CFS through periods of sometimes fair wind and sometimes stormy weather against us, and always acting in a professional manner. I am also happy to be around now when your successor on the professor's chair has joined the Gender Studies group, although, sadly, it is in the time of the corona pandemic.

However, and finally, it might be good, in these troubling times, to recycle the imperative which the early 1980s Women's Studies Conference in Umeå, Sweden, directed to us feminist academics: *Gråt inte – forska!* (Don't cry – do research!)

Anna G. Jónasdóttir,
Professor Emerita

CONTENTS

Introduction: Does knowledge have a gender?

Sofia Strid, Jeff Hearn, Dag Balkmar and Louise Morley

THE TITLE OF THIS VOLUME captures a central question in contemporary Gender Studies and Sociology. It has, in different ways, preoccupied the researchers who contribute to this *special* volume for many years. Inspired by feminist theory and practice, it addresses the gendering, the complex gendering, of knowledge, science, research, policy, equality, academia, universities and higher education, along with many interlinked reflections and memories on working together, collegiality and friendship.

This book is special in three ways. First, *what it is:* it is for Liisa, but it is not about Liisa. It is about work inspired by her work, and includes chapters drawing on her work, applying her work in different contexts, and describing how Liisa as a person has inspired the contributors and their texts. The volume thus gives multiple responses and reflections on questions around the gendering of knowledge, as a celebration of all that work that has affected and inspired many. Second, *what it covers*: it very much spans the specifically academic and the specifically personal, as well as some more hybrid academic-personal contributions. Indeed, we, as editors, had some discussions about whether to organise the book into three such sections. Eventually, we decided that categorisation was too absolute, and that the mixing of academic and personal was part of the play; the personal is political, after all. Also, rather than simply using alphabetical order of authors, we thought that it in the spirit of the book to reverse and subvert that order — after all, why should Zamboanga Bulbul always so unfairly come after Aardvark? Third, *how it was produced*: because of how it came about and was produced during special times of Covid-19, with a lot of e-mails, covert phone calls, secret meetings, and discreet discussions in next-door rooms.

Sofia Strid

“This book started with an encouraging question, secretly whispered in the corridor after a CFS seminar, chaired by Liisa. Like so many other projects, it changed shape and form many times, and did not turn out exactly as initially intended. It began as celebratory drinks in Stadsparken, the picturesque award-winning city park around the corner from Liisa’s home in Örebro, created by the auditor M. E. Bäckström in 1862, and somewhat of a second home for Gender Studies and the Centre for Feminist Social Studies at Örebro University. It then grew into an international symposium on gender and knowledge production, to be organised at Örebro University in the autumn of 2020. Finally, it turned into a 37-chapter co-edited volume on gender, knowledge, science, support, sexism, art and, not least, collegiality and friendship. The final transformation, from symposium to book, took place during an early November morning meeting at a train station, where "Liisa's retirement?" was item number seven on my eleven items list (I think it was the first time ever my list was longer than Jeff's). The question mark was, and still is, significant. How does one retire from academia, from being (an) academic? How does one retire from feminist work? Editing this book during a pandemic and times of physical distancing, with different degrees of lockdown in different countries and regions, has meant new challenges and complexities. Not only in terms of the editorial process and contacts with contributing authors, but in terms of personal reflection on a sustainable recovery from the pandemic and its effects, resistance to the inequalities inevitably produced by it, and the impossibility of "retirement". This "impossibility of Liisa's retirement" has been striking, as shown by the many surprised and, in one case, outright shocked, reactions from the scholars, colleagues and friends who were invited to contribute to this volume. I guess the answer to the above question is: one simply does not "retire" when one's work continues to inspire, motivate and stimulate.

Jeff Hearn

"Editing this book during lockdown has been both somewhat difficult and a rather creative process — perhaps not so much the editing itself, but how it has necessitated engaging, creatively, in blatant deceit, lying and cheating. There have been many occasions, sitting on the sofa, just a metre or so away from Liisa, when I have received beautiful emails with beautiful texts attached and almost said something like "Guess who has just sent this great draft?" — and then the one moment it was almost "Look at this, this one's even got pictures!" Then, there were the scares: the occasion when I had my iPhone on speakerphone, and the contributor-speaker spoke, within clear earshot of Liisa, the dreaded words: "Is Liisa there, can she hear this?" And another, when one of the signatories of the *Tabula Gratulatoria* declaring: "Is Liisa there? It's OK, I signed for the book." Both times creative instant solutions appeared — in the latter case, a whole story

that there was or is another book from a vaguely connected research project that would be presented to her with author signatures at some point in the future. Umm! It seemed to work; but now I can find out for sure. Less dramatic, but equally furtive, has been going for walks on my own, only to hide on a nearby park bench, and have editorial discussions whether there should a comma between the author and the year of books cited. Such are the realities of editing — a small unforeseen effect of lockdown; necessary and surprising deceits in unearthing the gendering of knowledge – and with many pleasures *for you,* Liisa."

Dag Balkmar

"For me, editing this book has not involved much "lying and cheating" – quite the contrary. To my 5-year old daughter I have had to clarify a number of times exactly what I am doing in front of the computer those early mornings and late evenings. To explain academic work to children is far from straightforward. When I claim to "write books and teach students", this is usually met with great mistrust. You do *what*? No nursing, building or driving stuff, clearly, it can't be proper work. However, with this book it was different – this was a book for Liisa. My children have come to know Liisa through the gifts she very kindly has given them at birth(days), Xmas, Easter and the like (including rare Marimekko clothing, Finnish chocolate Easter eggs and lovely Moomin-biscuits). So, when I said "it's a book for Liisa", she was no stranger. I explained Liisa's work is about "women being treated unfairly at the university". "Aha", my 5-year daughter replied with upset voice, "at day-care I never get the *vuxenglas* – only boys get those – so unfair!" Apparently, during lunch, when glasses are handed out to the children around the tables, kids argue about who will get the bigger glasses (the *vuxenglas*). I learn that the *vuxenglas* are very rare, and getting one signals high status compared to the ordinary and boring kids' glasses (the *barnglas*). According to my daughter, some of the boys are, compared with the girls, significantly more successful in getting a *vuxenglas* from the nursery professionals who administer the resources at daycare. No one knows exactly how and why. The prestige that comes with the *vuxenglas* elevates you as someone special, a person with much more resourses than your peers, those stuck with the smaller *barnglas*. With the *vuxenglas* you can relax, you have reached a form of kindergarten excellence and don't have to spend time asking for refills all the time. Thanks to this book me and my daughter got into some serious discussions about gatekeeping, gender equality and how come some boys get more perks compared with girls. Clearly, the struggle for equality in *vuxenglas* continues."

Louise Morley

"Liisa has been my friend, colleague and ally for several decades. I first met Liisa in the 1980s at a European Women's Studies meeting in Florence, Italy. It was a bitterly cold November weekend, and our meeting was in a chilly women's centre. We bonded immediately around shared understandings, policy directions, and priorities for the work. Liisa has always had such a keen eye for policy detail. She is very knowledgeable about so many aspects of gender equality in Europe and is focussed, determined and driven. We have since shared platforms across the globe including in Istanbul, Buenos Aires, and Santiago. It is always a delight to work with Liisa. We energetically debrief and discuss, and Liisa always has the most recent statistics, refers eloquently to contemporary and past policies, and has a hugely impressive personal and professional network of academic and activist colleagues.

I was honoured to work closely with her in 2011 when I was a Visiting Professor in GEXcel in Örebro University. Liisa elegantly hosted gender scholars, at diverse career stages, from around the globe for over a month. Not only did she organise a series of generative academic events in which we exchanged knowledge and developed feminist organisational theory, but she also ensured that we were thoroughly entertained, with wonderful dinners, walks and cultural events. Liisa will be greatly missed as a major figure in European Gender Studies. However, I have no doubt that we shall continue our conversations in Kew Gardens, Helsinki waterfront, and all the places that she knows and loves for many years to come."

Almost finally, we wish to record special thanks to all the chapters authors for their inspiring contributions, and Tuomas Kortteinen and Liina Aalto-Setälä for the wonderful work on the graphic design and the cover, respectively.

Now, please read on …

Örebro, Helsinki and London,
August 2020

Successful implementation of quotas for rectorate positions — may we rest on our laurels?

Angela Wroblewski

INTRODUCTION

A central objective of gender equality policies – both in general and in academia – is to increase the share of women in top positions. Austria has a long tradition of gender equality policies in higher education that dates back to the late 1980s. Over this time, these gender policies have had a threefold objective: (1) increasing the share of women in all areas and hierarchical positions; (2) avoiding gender bias in appointment procedures; and (3) strengthening the field of women's studies (later gender studies). This policy mix was based on Rosabeth Moss Kanter's (1977) thesis of the critical mass. It was assumed thereby that an increasing participation of women in higher education would lead to an increasing share of women in top positions as well as cultural change.

Although women conquered universities at student and researcher level, they initially remained excluded from top positions (full professorships and management). To rectify this situation, a quota for university bodies (rectorate, university council, senate and all commissions set up by the senate) was introduced in 2009 through an amendment to the law governing the organisation of universities (Austrian Universities Act 2002). This amendment stipulated that university bodies had to consist of at least 40 percent women, a quota that was subsequently raised to 50 percent by a further amendment in 2014. The law also provides sanctions for noncompliance as decisions by a body that does not fulfil the quota can be contested.

As a consequence, the share of women in top management positions in universities increased significantly within a couple of years. The share of women in rectorate positions increased from 22 percent in 2005 to 49 percent in 2019. The most significant increase was seen in 2011, when the share of women in rectorates increased by almost 10 percentage points (from 32 percent in 2010 to 41 percent in 2011). In other words, only two years after the introduction of the quota regulation, the overall share of female rectorate members lay at over 40 percent. The number of female rectors likewise increased: in 2007, there was just one female rector in Austria; from 2011 onwards, more and more women were appointed to this role, with their share reaching its peak at 38 percent in 2016 (2019: 29 percent). For the sake of completeness, however, it should be noted that the increase in the share of women among full professors has been far more moderate (from 16 percent in 2006 to 25 percent in 2018). When compared with other countries, Austria ranks above EU average for female heads of universities yet below the EU average for the share of women in Grade A positions (EC 2019).

We can therefore conclude that Austria's introduction of a quota for decision-making bodies in universities has had the desired result. The quota forces those who are responsible for the composition of a body to search for qualified women members. And as the results show, they have been successful in doing so. Interestingly, a recent empirical study on women in university management shows that, on average, women take up a position as rector or vice rector at a younger age than their male counterparts and are less likely to have held a full professorship prior to entering the rectorate (Wroblewski 2019). Hence, their situation differs: men often hold a rectorate position in the final stage of their academic career and retire after their term in office; women, in contrast, hold this management position earlier in their career but do not have the option to return to a chair afterwards.

This increasing participation of women in gatekeeper positions (Husu 2004) carries the potential for cultural change, since it is often assumed that women in decision-making positions will promote women and put women's issues on the agenda. So, does this prove true in practice? To what extent does the increasing participation of women in decision-making bodies contribute to cultural change? To answer these questions, we conducted a study among Austrian female rectors and vice- rectors, which focused — among other things — on the relevance of gender equality goals for women in rectorate positions (Wroblewski 2019).

FEMALE UNIVERSITY MANAGERS AND CULTURAL CHANGE

There has been much critique of the implementation of the quota regulation in Austria, especially with regard to committee work (e.g. participation in senate, *Habilitation* or appointment committees) and the additional burden it places on the few female professors. In other words, "Why should 20 percent do 50 percent of the work?"

The situation is different for rectorate positions since these generally also have resources at their disposal. In the public debate, increasing female participation in rectorates is seen as progress towards gender equality. While this assessment is strengthened by the fact that women are not only assigned "soft" rectorates (e.g. responsibility for student affairs or human resources), they are nonetheless still underrepresented in vice- rectorates responsible for research, most of which are headed by full professors. In some cases, women head the vice-rectorate that is formally responsible for gender equality, diversity or the advancement of women at their university. All of these women embrace this responsibility and see these topics as priorities for the rectorate. They also interpret the reference to gender equality, diversity or advancement of women in the name of their vice rectorate as a demonstration of the rectorate's commitment to these topics. However, while most of them did not actively seek this responsibility, they recognise and accept its importance. As one such vice- rector noted: "Somebody has to do it. But it was also something that interested me."[1]

Those female vice-rectors who are formally assigned this competence pursue different priorities in this regard during their terms of office (e.g. advancement of women, involvement of fathers in unpaid work). These priorities and the concrete measures taken depend both on the level of importance accorded to gender equality at their university when they were appointed to the rectorate as well as on their own corresponding experience. Those of them who work at universities with longer traditions of gender mainstreaming and the advancement of women and/or those with expertise in these fields (e.g. through participation in a working group for equal opportunities or knowledge of gender research) build on the structures that are already in place and work closely with the corresponding experts in their organisations.

At the other end of the scale are the female vice-rectors who are not formally responsible for gender equality, advancement of women or diversity – and also had not wanted this to be the case. As one of them explained in our interview: "It was relatively clear that these tasks would

1 The interviews referred to in this article were conducted by the author in the period from May 2017 to June 2018, as part of a study on women in higher education management (Wroblewski 2019). The study was based on a series of 23 interviews with women who had held a rectorate position in Austria in the previous 15 years. These women represented 16 of the 22 universities in Austria.

not fit in any way with my portfolio." These women also formulated clear reservations towards positive action or specific measures (e.g. the quota regulation) and assigned the responsibility for gender equality to experts in the organisation. Consequently, they did not consider gender equality to be a main task or priority of the rectorate. One interviewee formulated this as follows: "I am a feminist at heart, but we didn't even think about institutionalising the topic. [...] We had so many other things to do that were of higher priority."

Formal competence or non-competence for the advancement of women, gender equality and/or diversity also cannot be linked directly to a feminist background or gender expertise (or lack thereof). While most of the interviewees who are formally responsible for these topics do have a feminist background, some of those who are not are also feminists and/or gender experts. Regardless of their formal competence, those of them who see themselves as feminists all seek to change the structures and processes in their area of responsibility and take a closer look at the actual situation there both for women and men. They also realise that people expect female managers to adopt a different style of management to men. As one interviewee noted: "Even our young colleagues expected that of me."

However, they do take issue with the general assumptions that female rectors or vice- rectors are frequently confronted with. These include, for instance, the assumptions that the gender equality problem is "resolved" with the appointment of a woman or that women in rectorate positions are expected to change the system and "do something for women". This is clearly expressed in the following comment by one of the female vice rectors interviewed: "As a woman in such a role, you are basically always the one who is subject to inadmissible generalisations like [...] 'We've got a woman now, she should do that'."

Furthermore, experiences with the Austrian quota regulation show that the increasing female participation in decision- making does not automatically initiate cultural change. Indeed, of the women interviewed, only those with a feminist or gender studies background formulate a gender equality goal for their term in office and aim at initiating sustainable change. They do so by adapting decision-making processes or criteria, putting women's issues on the agenda or actively promoting women. However,

since gender expertise is not yet included as a selection criterion for rectorate positions, it does not seem realistic to count only on feminists in rectorate positions to initiate cultural change.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

With the introduction of a statutory quota regulation, Austria succeeded in significantly raising the participation of women in university management functions in a short period of time. Yet while this was the result of active search for qualified women to fill these positions, gender expertise or competence in gender equality only appear to have played a limited role in their selection. When interpreting this result, we need to distinguish between the descriptive and substantive representation of women as suggested by Sarah Childs and Mona Lena Krook (2008). Descriptive representation refers to the number of female representatives, whereas substantive representation stands for attention to women's concerns. The increasing level of female participation in top positions indicates first and foremost that access barriers for women to these positions have been successfully dismantled. But this does not automatically bring about cultural change. Furthermore, the law does not address cultural change in the quota regulation context: it is an implicit assumption rather than an explicit goal. This tacit expectation harbours the risk that women in rectorate positions will be automatically assigned responsibility for gender equality and thus also saddled with the corresponding load. Helen Peterson (2015) describes this risk of overload as a potential exploitation of women "in the name of gender".

To increase the substantive representation of women in higher education management, cultural change first has to be formulated as an explicit gender equality priority for such bodies. Second, gender competence should be a prerequisite for all rectorate members regardless of their gender. It should be a required qualification for rectorate positions and should be verified in the selection process. This would also require the inclusion of gender competence in training and qualification programmes for higher education managers. Making gender competence a general requirement for all rectors and vice- rectors would also allow us to challenge the problem raised from a feminist or gender mainstreaming point of view that gender competence is automatically ascribed to women by virtue of biological sex.

To address this blind spot in the gender equality policy mix, the Austrian Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Research initiated a political discourse on gender competence in higher education. This began in October 2016 with the establishment of a working group[2] set up by the Austrian Universities Conference[3]. This working group was moderated by a departmental head at the ministry and was given the mandate to develop recommendations to raise gender competence and awareness for gender diversity among managers of higher education institutions. These recommendations should be concrete, action-oriented and address all relevant stakeholders (individuals and committees). Targets and background information should be provided for each specific recommendation.

As a first step, the working group developed a definition of gender competence that distinguishes gender competence from gender expertise and follows both the gender mainstreaming tradition and a pedagogical concept of competence.

> *Gender competence requires recognition of the relevance of gender attributes for one's own field of work and responsibility. This recognition is combined with the willingness and ability to deal with these gender attributes in one's own work context — if necessary with the support of gender experts. Gender competence also requires the ability to act on the basis of this reflection and to set actions which tackle these gender attributes and its gendered consequences. Hence, gender competence requires constant reflection on the gender dimension in one's own field of work. Gender competence is a basic competence that all stakeholders should have. Hence, university teachers, researchers, administrative staff, managers as well as students should all be gender competent. Gender expertise, in contrast, is defined as a profound knowledge of gender theories and/or experience with gender mainstreaming implementation processes.*

2 The working group consisted of representatives of higher education institutions, student and staff associations, the Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Research and gender experts.

3 The Austrian University Conference (*Hochschulkonferenz*) is a consortium of all higher education institutions in Austria which aims at facilitating cooperation between institutions and formulating common positions for higher education policy.

The working group also prepared a position paper containing a total of 36 recommendations for building up gender competence and ensuring its consideration in all higher education processes and tasks. These recommendations are divided into four sections — gender-competent management, administration, teaching and research. Each of these sections explains the central idea for this particular area and includes 2 to 18 recommendations — along with details of the rationale behind them (i.e. why they are relevant for gender equality), the responsible stakeholders and the groups who will benefit.

Recommendation 6, for example, is as follows: "The working group recommends that higher education institutions (HEIs) define gender competence as a requirement for all members of committees." HEI management is responsible for implementation; committee members and (future) applicants will benefit. The recommendation is justified as follows: HEI committees take numerous personnel and strategic decisions. Hence, committees are of central importance to avoid gender-biased decisions. HEIs may offer training measures for whole committees or individual members, which explain gender competence and its relevance for appointment procedures. In order to act in a gender competent manner, the whole committee — and not just its individual members — has to be gender competent. The recommendation closes by referring to concrete training measures already implemented at one Austrian university and one non-university research institute as well as to existing guidelines for gender-fair appointment procedures.

The members of the working group used the slogan "Because it is 2019!"[4] as a springboard for their discussions and recommendations. This slogan expresses their commitment to supporting gender equality in higher education institutions. However, the policy paper, which was presented and published in early 2019, does not in itself change anything. It is now up to the Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Research to

4 This is an adaptation of a quote from the Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, whose response to a question regarding the gender balanced and diverse composition of his cabinet was: "Because it is 2015!".

moderate a process to strengthen gender competence at institutional level. Given the organisational structure of higher education institutions, concrete measures now need to be developed and implemented. The ministry is using the existing steering instruments to support measures aimed at strengthening gender competence in higher education institutions. Public universities have to include such measures in their performance agreements[5], while universities of applied sciences have to explicate activities that focus on gender competence when applying for additional study courses.[6] To complement these activities and support a political discourse on gender competence, the ministry plans to organise annual events to establish a networking and mutual learning platform for universities which should also support joint or common initiatives. The first such event will take place in autumn 2020.

In addition to the plans outlined above, the goal of strengthening gender competence in HEI processes will also have to be incorporated into existing steering instruments. This will require not only the formulation of corresponding goals at an HEI level but also the development of indicators to measure gender competence in HEIs. Given the complexity of the gender competence construct, doing so will be a challenging endeavour. But it will also constitute an essential step towards cultural change and provide important input for the discourse on gender competence in academia.

5 Each university negotiates a performance agreement with the Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Research which defines its budget, tasks and objectives (including concrete gender equality goals) for a 3-year period.

6 The budgets for universities of applied sciences are based on their student numbers (study places).

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The triumph of 'Excellence'?? Or the retreat of gender equality efforts?

A reflection on gender and science expertise as applied to research councils[1]

Alison E. Woodward

1 This contribution makes use of a non-published draft of a paper by Liisa Husu and myself from 2013 entitled, 'European Research Funding Councils as stubborn sectors: the use of quota to improve gender equality in research decision making'. The paper was presented at the 7th European Conference on Gender Equality in Higher Education, University of Bergen, 29–31 August 2012, the International Political Science Association 22nd World Conference, Madrid, 8-12 July 2012, and Gender Work and Organization 7th Biennial International Interdisciplinary Conference, Keele University, 27-29 June 2012. As a reflection piece for this publication, I have not been able to give credit to the enormous amount of scholarship on these issues in an adequate way, and apologise to the many scholars working on these issues whose work is highly relevant for this piece.

ONE OF THE MANY THINGS I learned from Liisa Husu about gender equality policy in academia was the Byzantine problem of addressing gender inequality in research councils. Finding comparative information about the composition of funding bodies, their governance structures and their evaluation bodies was one of the greater challenges in compiling the landmark set of reports that made up the European Commission sponsored *She figures*, beginning in 2004 and published every third year. The *She figures* empirical demonstrations of gender imbalance in science landed like a bomb in European discussion about gender equality in science.

There were enormous contrasts between the approaches to gender equality in research funding in different parts of Europe. Husu had already extensively documented the case in Finland. In Finland: the requisite combination of tough measures, determination from the top leadership and resources led to substantial changes in the composition of research-funding decision-making bodies and ultimately also in the results for women and men. These became more in balance over the years. These changes paralleled an overall Finnish societal commitment to gender equality.

Similar patterns of change were happening at a slower pace in Belgium. At the time of our most intensive discussions (2010-2014), there were also changes in the wider European context of research councils as they faced up to the challenge of gender bias in science funding. The European Research Area was being consolidated and a number of national Research Councils were considering or had already instituted gender targets or quotas in their evaluation bodies. There was active pressure from feminist scientists such as the loose network around the Gender Equality in Higher Education conferences and its e-list, the European Platform for Women in Science or the Helsinki Group on Women and Science as well as recommendations from groups such as GenSET (2010) or those present at the Gender Summits. The demand was that national Research Councils should go beyond 'ambition' statements and implement hard policy to change gender balance.

For this reflection I unearthed the draft of our joint article which Liisa and I worked on in Örebro. In Belgium, the two research councils (for the Francophone (FNRS) and the Flemish (FWO) communities) had followed different pathways. These two councils cooperated in contrasting fashions with the investigators for *She figures*. My initial question to Liisa was why the first report's figures had only included the information from the Francophone council. The Flemish Research Council in the nineties had been notoriously resistant to conforming to Flemish government policy for gender representation in advisory committees. In tandem it seemed that the Flemish Research Council only slowly responded to requests for data on gender. Knowing about the problems in getting gender disaggregated figures, I had misgivings about the general accuracy of claims in the European *She figures* about research councils. My contacts with Liisa sustained my misgivings. Research councils were not only stubborn sectors in terms gender equality, but also incredibly secretive sectors when it came to revealing decision-making processes and gender representations. Few were willing to let outsiders examine their decision-making, despite being funded by governments and having officially appointed decision-making bodies. The decisions on research funding in the twentieth century were a matter of smoke and mirrors behind closed doors by the already anointed (Lamont 2006; Zippel 2017). In small national research communities, the reputation of a scholar was often more important than documented achievements. Almost all gender and diversity scholarship has demonstrated that clear and transparent rules about promotion and success work to the benefit of under-represented groups. Small research councils were the opposite of this. How one got a research grant was often a matter of power. For younger scholars, it was the power of the promoter, while for senior scholars, their reputation in professional networks could be decisive.

The effort of *She figures* to open the curtain of research funding decision-making was revolutionary as it questioned the quality of science funding in Europe. In retrospect, some of these developments were hastened by the increasing cross European integration of science. Collaboration with Central and Eastern European scientists became much easier after 1989, and the inclusion of many of these countries in the European Union in the mid-nineties further hastened contact, collaboration and comparison. The EU pro-active words about gender equality were strengthened by the new membership of Sweden, Finland and Austria in the EU in 1995. In the field of science in 1999, the European Commission adopted a Communication (COM 1999) 76 Final of 17 February 1999 in which it undertook to develop

a coherent approach toward promoting women in research, aiming to significantly increase the participation of women (Mergaert 2012: 19). That same year the Helsinki Group on women and science was founded. This spurred the investigations of *She figures* which were an important factor in further opening up the closed box of research funding decision-making.

Still, removing the Wizard of Oz curtain hiding research council evaluation procedures remains notoriously difficult. The most recent *She figures* (2019b) only reports on women on boards on research councils, focusing on the management of these organisations (*She figures* 2019b: 131, Figure 6.9). It does not look at the composition of reviewers or measures for equality. The research funding bodies remain stubborn but also extremely secretive organisations, with the large exception of the transparency of decision-making in many of the Nordic countries.

Liisa Husu was actively involved in these efforts to monitor and change gender relations in science. One of her many contributions was turning the spotlight on what sociologists call 'the gatekeepers' (e.g. Husu 2004; Husu & de Cheveigné 2010; van den Brink & Benschop 2014). Research council evaluation panels in Europe were clear examples of 'gatekeepers'. Going on to a top research career without the recognition and financial support of an award from such a body is difficult. The role of selection and gatekeeping in evaluating scholars and rewarding them, as Husu and her colleagues consistently pointed out, is crucial. The *She figures* of 2006 examined data on the composition of research funding and scientific boards dating from 2004. The comparative figures demonstrated the disproportionate dominance of men for the first time. The subject became the focus of a specially commissioned expert report by the EU: *The gender challenge in research funding* (European Commission 2009a) on gender and research funding in 33 countries. Husu and fellow authors showed that members were appointed to such funding boards without transparency, and that there were considerable difficulties in discovering the gender composition of these bodies. Women were underrepresented almost everywhere except in the Nordic countries. These landmark empirical efforts spurred debate. At the European level, they led to fitful efforts to bring gender-balance to bear in the nascent development of the European Research Area, including the increasingly important European Research Council (ERC) (Mergaert 2012).

A number of special factors converged at this juncture. The decade following the UN Beijing Plan for Action (1995) brought increased discussion on how to achieve targets. The EC was reporting on EC activities on women and science in a more concerted fashion. *Stocktaking 10 years on EC activities in Women and Science* (2010) demonstrated that the EC's commitment to a 40 percent gender balance for advisory and expert committees was having an effect on representation in various assessment bodies and monitoring panels. The ERC was launched in 2007. After a delay it adopted a Gender Equality plan for 2007-2013 (ERC 2010) with the aim to challenge gender bias and reach gender balance among peer reviewers.

In retrospect, those 10 years at the beginning of this century look like a golden era. Researchers on European gender equality progress have increasingly identified the second decade of this century as stagnating or even retrogressing concerning gender balance and pro-active gender equality policies at the level of the European Union (Jacquot 2015).

STAGNATION AT THE EUROPEAN AND NATIONAL LEVELS AFTER 2013?

European level

Around 2010 there was also a substantial reshuffling of the organisation between national science funding and research producing organisations. The European Science Foundation (ESF) had grouped almost all national science councils beginning in 1974 and including 67 organisations in 29 countries in 2011, but in an unprecedented upheaval in 2012 the body was dissolved. By 2015, it had phased out most of its cross-European research efforts and collaborative funding schemes. National research funding bodies (who fund around 80 percent of all European research) began forming independent consortiums, primarily among the most powerful northern European granting agencies. A spin-off organisation with some of the main research council players from ESF emerged to take over the role of communicating with the European institutions. It opened in Brussels under the name of Science Europe in 2012. In its first years, research scientists (who in ESF times had been delegated by national councils to participate in scientific advisory and evaluation functions) were recruited for smaller disciplinary panels in Science Europe and stripped of evaluation tasks. While ESF

had never had formal rules on gender representation, under its Finnish secretary general, Marja Markarov, national councils were urged to send delegates to panels from the underrepresented sex. In the new Science Europe, there was little initial enthusiasm for including gender ambitions in policy documents. The Social Science panel launched the issue of diversity and gender as one of the important issues facing scientific organisations. Although there was strong opposition from some scientific panels, a special task force including gender experts from several research councils and gender scientists was tasked with carrying out a survey about the policies of member organisations. In 2017, a policy report with recommendations on good practices was produced (Science Europe 2017) including a focus on eliminating gender bias in evaluation procedures. Although Science Europe now only represented a fraction of national science funding councils, it made a strong symbolic statement. There have been no new Science Europe initiatives in terms of gender (or diversity in broader terms) since the 2017 report. There is a new diversity/gender specialist on the staff in Brussels at this time, but the main activity seems directed to participation in the Global Research Council Gender Working Group.

Flanders and Francophone Belgium: The situation in 2013 and beyond

In Belgium, there were quota regulations for governmental advisory councils starting in the early nineties and evolving into hard law for many parts of the countries. The Research Councils in both sections of the country resisted being considered as advisory bodies in the same sense as other governmental advisory bodies. Nonetheless, by 2013, the situation in the Flemish Research Council (FWO) had dramatically improved, to the point that 30 percent of evaluators on review boards were female by 2013. This was not the case in the Francophone Council (FNRS) which at that time seemed even to have gone backward in representation to 18 percent. The FNRS had resisted being considered statutorily covered by quota laws.

In Flanders, official Decrees in 2003 and 2007 expanded how quota regulations were to be implemented and increased the ambitions by 2012 to a 40 percent proportion. Under the government at that period there was an ambitious Flemish Action plan for equal opportunities that aimed to assure that advisory bodies became balanced. Thus, the necessary tools for changing the gender composition of scientific boards were available thanks to the efforts to quota-ise the advisory world, even if the tools were blunt, complicated to monitor and seldom accompanied with sanctions. By 2012 the Flemish Council had surpassed the French Council. How this occurred can be briefly summarised before turning to the core of this reflection.

FWO in Flanders: (Quota regulation 33%, Flemish goal 40%)	
2004	11%*
2007	20%*
2010	26% (11 of 30 commissions above 33%)
2012	30% (11 of 31 commissions above 33%)
2020	37% (63 of 86 panels: 73%)**
FNRS (French speaking community – no quota regulation)	
2004*	14%*
2007	21%*
2011	18*
2020	21%

Gender proportions and evolution of expert panels evaluating Doctoral and Research Proposals in Flemish and Francophone Belgium

* Figures reported to She figures. Other figures from annual reports from the FNRS, and from staff members of the FWO. FNRS: Table 8. Répartition par genre des membres des différentes Commissions scientifiques du F.R.S.-FNRS lors de l'appel Bourses & Mandats 2018-October 2019, 45.

** In the intervening period, a substantial re-organisation of evaluation panels was carried out by the FWO, dividing responsibility and investing heavily in international recruitment as well as expanding the number of panels.

The combination of a new (female) general director for the Flemish Research Council and female cabinet ministers committed to the gender equality led to the demand of the female minister of science policy (F. Moermans) that the revision of the statutes for the Flemish Research Council include the Flemish quota regulations on the composition of

evaluation commissions (H. Wilems private communication 9-21-2012). In the statutes for internal peer review panels of 2010, the Article 2 Paragraph 4 'Reglement' states that

> *maximally 2/3's of the members can be of the same sex. In terms of the selection of the members, the commission that reviews the applications is asked as the second criteria after scientific excellence; a very important aspect in the appointment of new members is that account is taken of the gender rule, whereby maximally 2/3's of the members can be of the same sex* (Reglement consulted 17 April 2012).

In 2007 a new appointment procedure replaced the old system of allowing retiring members to suggest their replacements and also included term limits. Experts started to be recruited using an open vacancy procedure. International recruitment procedures were put in place, and the working language of panels was changed to English in 2010, allowing a wider recruitment pool of experts.

The FWO reported proudly of its gender ambitions in its annual reports during this period (Monard & Buitendijk 2012) and began publishing tables of gender distributions of funding. However, even if the ambition of one-third of all experts being female was being reached, there was wide variation in the composition of individual panels. The majority of panels were still gender unbalanced towards men. In 2012 according to figures provided by the FWO the range was from 6 percent female in Economics to 63 percent female in biology and only one-third met the quota requirement. Thus, there was remarkable progress since the change in recruitment and appointment procedures in 2007, even if the numbers are not always officially reported in the annual reports. However, in the period from 2007-2012, some panels actually went backwards.

In contrast, the FNRS, which also had a female secretary general, had in its statutes a very weak statement of intention 'to respect an adequate balance between men and women as far as possible'. (Regulation of the Scientific Commissions December 9 2010). In 2012, only 18 percent of panel members were female, and 10 percent of the panels had no women at all. Although the FNRS and its director produced publications on gender in science (Halloin 2011; Beck & Halloin 2017) and participated in major European gender research projects, the statistics remained stubbornly stable.

In reflection on the situation today, things have not changed dramatically for the better in the last ten years for the FNRS. In the case of Flanders, as can be seen in the table above there has been progress towards reaching the goal of 40 percent balance, and a far greater proportion of the panels are now at least one third female, even though there are many more panels. These are very concrete achievements. However, the FWO makes very little of this in its public face in its annual reports and website. The figures in the table were obtained by direct contact with the FWO. In the process of a more thorough going reform of evaluation procedures, the proactive approach to gender diversity disappeared from the public face of the FWO in deference to claimed 'gender neutrality'. The winds for public action on gender equality under the recent Flemish governments have become less supportive. At the same time, the rhetoric in the scientific community of recent time has often taken flight under the label of 'Excellence'.

Thus, the only mention of gender issues on the main website of the FWO is the following:

> *The FWO argues for equal opportunities: The only criterion is the exceptional quality of the researcher and the research proposal, regardless of the scientific discipline, the institutional setting, gender or the political or religious convictions of the researcher.* (consultation of FWO website, 18 June 2020, author's translation)

The regulations regarding panel composition were reformulated in 2017 and the vital quantitative *requirement* for one-third representation disappeared, leaving instead a *target* of two-thirds of the members across all panels of a particular evaluation program (Article 2 Paragraph 3 of the internal rules for internal and external peer review of the FWO). It was difficult to get a public statement about the reasoning behind the change.

The fallback in reporting is in stark contrast to the approach of the European Research Council, and to the recommendations of Science Europe which emphasise the importance of monitoring. In terms of deeds, however, the FWO displays considerable achievements in the last decade.

Despite lacking a quota with sanctions, it has succeeded in moving closer to gender balance. Yet it does not publicly share its achievement nor note efforts to continue to address gender imbalance in science.

In French speaking Belgium, the FNRS head, V. Halloin, has become more internationally visible, becoming President of the European Science Foundation in April 2020, and continues to intervene in support of improving the position of women in science. However, the FNRS does not seem to be making great strides, as can be seen in the table above. Yet in contrast to the Flemish counterpart, the FNRS publishes a bulky report on Gender Equality every year. Public awareness continues to be a strategy, but hard tools seem to be absent.

On the one hand we see the concrete achievement of the Flemish Council in refreshing its corps of evaluators, even as the top management remains heavily male, due to statutory regulations of requiring university rectors to constitute the boards. On the other Francophone side, the picture in terms of real concrete achievements is dishearteningly stable. The FNRS tends to blame reality for the situation (too few women) rather than asking the question of why 'reality' is like this. As far as gender representation in scientific decision-making goes, Belgium ranks low. In the latest *She figures* (2019b), the table on management of Research Councils, foundations and Academic Boards places Belgium in 27th place, with only 19 percent female representation on the relevant bodies. (*She figures* 2019b: Table 6.9), while Finland is ranked seventh.

Reflective conclusions

Many of the sorts of recommendations made by scientists such as Liisa Husu and the Helsinki Group in the 1980s and 1990s are still not implemented today. As Husu argues, without incentives, little happens (Mannberg-Zachari 2017). What is more concerning is that without the monitoring that a comparative cross-European effort on science management can provide, the potential to retreat from earlier successes increases. As national research councils still provide around 80 percent of all external funding to science in the European Union, their role is crucial. Allowing this to continue to occur in national secrecy undermines the use of all talent in Europe. At present there is no organisation that monitors these important national actors in science. Just as one can identify a certain gender exhaustion in European gender equality activism, so can we also identify stagnation in reaching gender balance among the gatekeepers. A decade of stagnation indicates that without continued monitoring, progress can indeed be lost. The place of women in science is not guaranteed. Only detailed examination of the data behind the decision-making can hold public research funding accountable. The rhetoric of Excellence and gender blindness utilised by the new breed of European research councils may be a threat to the goal of the promotion of women in science and gender equity. Gatekeepers of research councils are one part of a complex puzzle in achieving a fairer world for the diverse and talented people in scientific careers. Reflecting on and watching the gatekeepers are a necessary part of coming to a solution of the puzzle.

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Knowledge production in academic fellowships

The role of a feminist ethos

Monica Wirz

AS THE SUN SET OVER the Caribbean Sea, I was introduced to another scholar with whom, as suggested by our host, I might have interests in common. Given how varied the world of academia is, I thanked the gesture whilst foreseeing a polite but short exchange before moving on. In a fortunate stroke of serendipity, however, I learned that not only did we both work in field of gender theories, but also that this academic at the University of the West Indies had also been a GEXcel fellow. As the expression goes, "what a small world!": from the white snows of Sweden to the white sands of the Barbados. A strong connection was immediately formed, permeated by recollections of moments we had experienced in Örebro and Linköping, and of other feminist theorists we both had met. Our conversation has also led to a reflection on how such initiatives impact on us as individuals and as how we produce knowledge as academics.

This chance encounter, anecdotal as it might be, perfectly encapsulates the objectives originally held by GEXcel Centre of Gender Excellence: to "develop transnational, intersectional and transformative gender research, and to become a meeting place for different generations of excellent gender scholars" (GEXcel 2006). Fourteen years after its initial inception, GEXcel was still playing the role of catalyser of people and ideas, still opening doors for further dialogue on gender research and social change. From our conversation, it was clear that the ripple effects of GEXcel's initiatives were being felt even now in our daily actions, as imbued with purpose as that forum first set out to be.

It is my argument that such a long-lasting legacy was mainly possible due to the strong and cohesive feminist ethos which was the crux of the way in which GEXcel's visiting fellowships were designed, structured and managed. From its original concept to the minutiae of its delivery, the programme was ambitious yet nurturing in its leadership style, providing the conditions for non-hierarchical group dynamics and an intellectually stimulating and collaborative work environment. As such, the principles held by GEXcel have enabled its participants, in all the diversity of their backgrounds and research perspectives, to come together in an optimally inclusive manner. The outcomes of this collective were noticeable not only in productive terms, but also – and perhaps more importantly – attitudinally. Its almost unique approach, amidst the increasingly transactional style of the neoliberal university, has succeeded in fostering an open and sharing orientation among its participants which did not end at the close of the fellowship. New standpoints were gained and bonds among fellows have led to further exchanges and cooperation. Most of all, the greatest legacy of the programme and its alternative approach to knowledge production lies in the seeds it has sown and which were subsequently taken across the globe, as its participants reingressed their habitual workplaces. With the benefit of nearly 10 years of hindsight since I myself was part of GEXcel and, with the added experience both as a fellow and as an organiser in other initiatives involving visiting scholars, I have gained a sense of perspective which enables me to assert that this was one of the most successful programmes I have ever been involved in.

This chapter aims to explore what lies behind such a favourable experience and its lingering effects on participants, despite the passing of time. Methodologically, this topic (the legacy and long-term impact of GEXcel as a programme) should ideally be investigated empirically, ideally involving fellows from different years, as well as organisers and other stakeholders (such as the Swedish Research Council, and the Routledge editors). Alas, the timeframe between the invitation to contribute to this book and the deadline to submit this chapter have forced me to limit my ambition and reframe it in a format closer to a thought piece. As such, while not denying the subjective character of my position, my aim is to underpin my reflections with theoretical concepts which I habitually use in my own field of research.

For the benefit of readers who may not have taken part in or be familiar with the format of GEXcel's programme, I shall start by giving a brief summary of the experience from my perspective as a research fellow. What is now known as GEXcel International Collegium for Advanced Transdisciplinary Gender Studies is in fact a permanent follow-up of GEXcel Centre for Gender Excellence, formed in 2006. Back then, this initiative was a collaboration between the universities of Linköping and Örebro, itself made possible thanks to a grant by the Swedish Research Council. Between the years of 2007 and 2013, this centre for research hosted gender studies scholars at different stages of their academic life cycles, offering them the opportunity to work on their own individual research whilst benefitting from the association with other fellows over an extended period of time.

Following calls for proposals, research projects were selected on the basis of their academic merit and their suitability with the research theme in question. Each year dealt with particular research topics, or themes, which served as an orientation for participants' investigations. They covered topics as wide-ranging as Research Theme 10: "Love in Our Time – A Question for Feminism" or Research Theme 2: "Deconstructing the Hegemony of Men and Masculinities". Fellows were given the opportunity to develop their assignment on an aspect of that year's theme in a conducive and well -structured environment. They were also able to rely on each other as a sounding board for their work-in-progress and, more widely, their careers. Routine sessions at the end of each working day enabled the exchange of ideas, kept high levels of motivation and productivity, and provided the opportunity for improving the quality of the assignment *per se*, both as a function of direct feedback from the group and of the exposure to the work being developed by other fellows. The weekly "breakfast meetings" held by the existing faculty at the university, and to which GEXcel fellows were invited, gave an overview of the research being conducted in the department as a whole. They also provided unrivalled insight into Swedish culture more broadly, as candles, cakes and breads showed us an alternative to the meetings to which most of us were accustomed in our home departments (one, arguably, much more appealing than in most other universities around the world). The outputs of the visiting scholarships were written progress reports, workshops, as well as conference open to the wider academic community. GEXcel has also developed a partnership with the publishing house Routledge and, together, they were responsible for the book series Routledge Advances in Feminist Studies and Intersectionality.

The 2011 theme in which I participated as a visiting fellow, "Gender Paradoxes in Changing Academic and Scientific Organisation(s)", for example, explored how – despite the rapid and intense changes which academic and scientific work had undergone in the recent years – institutions were still witness to a contrasting level of inertia regarding gender practices. Or to put it simply: despite so many changes in academia, some things never did seem to change when it comes to gender. With this contradiction in mind, the focus of Research Theme 11 was to interrogate the gender paradox observed within patterns of intrinsic resistance to transformation which often lie at the core of organisational change projects. Three related sub-themes – the paradoxes of change, excellence and interventions - further explored the nature and operation of gendering processes within academic and scientific organisations. Sixteen visiting scholars were directly involved in this theme. Faculty at the host universities have played different roles in the activities but were equally important for building and supporting the culture of this group. The length of individual fellowships was variable, but for part of the duration the whole group of scholars were together for daily sessions, as well as for a conference and related workshops.

I have argued that GEXcel's unrivalled experience was mostly attributable to its feminist ethos which, in turn, was responsible for informing both its format (namely, the design, structure and management of the programme) and leadership style. By a feminist-led format, firstly, I mean a programme which was structured in such a way as to allow a number of scholars from different parts of the world and at varied stages in their careers to work collaboratively and non-hierarchically on related topics. This configuration has had an indelible impact on the knowledge produced in that space: fellows had a balanced schedule, with time to work without distractions on their individual research whilst looking forward to end of the day sessions. These provided the forum for close readings on the theme, exchanges on key issues in the field, as well as an opportunity to give and receive feedback on each others' progress. These assemblies encapsulated near-perfect conditions to probe deeper into the topics being discussed and strengthen the robustness of the knowledge production process. An environment composed of a group of like-minded individuals who were united around the same theme and has meant a lifeline in terms of inspiration and intellectual stimulation to those involved.

A second aspect that distinguished the format of this particular programme regards its deliberate intent to operate the fellowships as a collaborative, group-based initiative. Whereas visiting scholarships are a common occurrence in academic institutions, their mostly individualistic nature – even solitary, at times – may inadvertently also limit the achievement of their full potential. Without a doubt, visiting fellows benefit as much with the chance to work without the daily pressure of their work

environment as host departments gain with the new perspectives these scholars bring when they join workshops or give papers on their research. Yet, the "add on" characteristic of this type of arrangement, such as when a scholar joins an established departmental structure, often leads to inconsistent outcomes. Variable levels of cross-fertilisation are the norm, as this depends on the successful integration and level of exchange among scholars. The emerging hypothesis is that "single" visiting fellowships might yield fewer benefits than in cases where fellowships are planned around a number of scholars working concurrently on related topics, such as in the programme devised by GEXcel.

Further elaborating this premise, the seminal contributions by Kanter (1977a, 1977b) and Dahlerup (1988, 2005) towards the development of Critical Mass Theory may be of value. It proposes that the number of participants in a group in relation to the wider population makes a difference as to their ability to voice their issues and make their own decisions. Quoting Kanter (1977a: 965): "[p]roportions, that is, relative numbers of socially and culturally different people in a group, are seen as critical in shaping interaction. [...] 'Skewed' groups contain a large preponderance of one type [the dominant group] over another [the minority group, or tokens]". The premise of Kanter's and Dahlerup's work in the field of women's representation in corporate and political life, respectively, is that they would be less likely to make a significant impact on decision-making or at a policy level for as long as their presence remained tokenistic. Further research into British legislatures has also observed a similar phenomenon regarding the relative ratios of membership in a social group: "institutions, organisations and collectivities are immediately changed by having greater parity in the numbers of women in political systems of representations" (Puwar 2004: 66).

A parallel might be drawn if this theory were applied to the epistemic contribution made by the visiting fellows to their own work and to the host institution and its members. Would the number of visiting scholars at a given point in time have any relevance in this context? Naturally, it is important to remark that, apart from their institutional affiliations, the (token) members of these groups (visiting fellows) are not qualitatively different from the 'majority' group they are joining (the existing department or institute). Indeed, both groups are likely to have more in common among themselves than with members of their own institutions who work in different fields. Any differences between the dominant and token groups tend to be more subtle and circumstantial, such as those based on daily routines and work environment. For example, host academics would still be carrying out administrative and teaching activities in addition to the research interests they have in common with the visiting academic(s) and, at the end of their working day they would still have to tend to the activities pertaining to their private lives. Conversely, visiting fellows would benefit from the time and freedom to work exclusively on their own project, whereas being disadvantaged by the absence of their habitual networks and support systems both at work and at home. Provisos aside, the withstanding question remains if the number of visiting academics has any impact in terms of knowledge production.

Critical Mass Theory would indicate that, as tokens, the contribution made by single visiting scholars might be more limited and subjective: effective integration and cross-fertilisation would depend to a high degree on accommodation from both sides. This element of chance is minimised if the visiting fellowship programme were intentionally structured to receive a *group* of scholars, as the numbers within this group would naturally lead to a certain type of interactions and socio-dynamics. The premise here, following the concept of social dynamics (Durlauf & Young 2001), is that the behaviour of the members of a group, both in terms of the interaction between individuals and as a group, results in specific learning patterns, feedback loops and, subsequently, to an increased rate of adoption of these behaviours by the group as a whole. Once a certain level of adoption is achieved, the reproduction of these behaviours becomes self-sustaining and systemic. In other words, the prolonged interaction of a certain number of agents in a given environment leads to behavioural "chain reactions", or to the emergence of complex adaptive systems. Whereas this is a concept more commonly applied to engineering, it would easily lend itself to the analysis of the epistemic and social dynamics effects in the context of scholars working together in knowledge production projects.

More to the point, the effectiveness of GEXcel's setup may be interpreted through this lens, as both critical mass – measured by the number of scholars operating together – and the idea that through it a complex

adaptive system (CAS) was created.[1] GEXcel's fellows were brought together in such numbers and within a well-structured level of interactions which led to a full set of social dynamics to emerge. This, in turn, has enabled for a richer epistemic project than would normally be achieved through standard visiting scholarship programmes. Another dimension, however, must be considered to account for the success of GEXcel from the perspective of knowledge-production. "Numbers" – read here in terms of critical mass – and the social dynamics among group members are required, but these are still insufficient conditions for a wider transformation of the epistemic landscape (Wirz 2014). Individual visiting fellows to an academic institution can and *do* make outstanding contributions to knowledge. Yet, even though gathering together a significant number of scholars offers the potential to a level of contribution which is greater than the sum of its parts, this is not necessarily an inevitable conclusion. Even when scholars work under the same "fellowship theme", they may never become more than an aggregate of individuals sharing the same space whereas still operating atomistically. For the jump to occur – from a group of individuals operating in parallel to, but nonetheless still independently of each other – onto an adaptive, cooperative and potentially transformative system (or team), more is required.

The crux of my argument links this "jump" to the feminist ethos that informed the formulation of GEXcel fellowship scheme: its planning, leadership style and, subsequently, its delivery. As a programme, it has presented a consistent and coherent thread between concept and execution, based on feminist values which were shared by organisers and visiting fellows alike. This feminist-led approach has been responsible for fostering collaborations and creating a complex, adaptive system with transformative potential. Carmichael and Hadžikadić (2019: 7) refer to organised complexity as "a system with a sizable number of agents which have correlated

1 Carmichael and Hadžikadić (2019: 1) describe the concept of a complex adaptive system (CAS) as "a system of agents that interact among themselves and/or their environment, such that even relatively simple agents with simple rules of behavior can produce complex, emergent behavior. The key to CAS is that the system-level properties generally cannot be understood, or often even defined, at the level of the individual agent description. Therefore, these systems must be studied holistically, as the sum of the agents and their interactions.

interactions. And since these interactions are correlated, they can produce emergent, global-level properties for the system as a whole". Future agendas for GEXcel International Collegium for Advanced Transdisciplinary Gender Studies should include the investigation of this premise at an empirical level, in order to definitively establish the impact and long-term legacy of its visiting fellowships. A thorough analysis of this model could then be shared with other universities and provide the basis for a new blueprint for visiting schemes. Following that, a GEXcel Alumni Programme should be considered, involving further activities and follow-up projects which tap into the potential that such high-level interactions offer. A post Covid-19 world would certainly benefit from the insights produced by this cohort.

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Hostile environments

Experiences of women academics with harassment in Dutch academia

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INTRODUCTION

Over the last decades, investments have been increased to create an inclusive and safe academic environment for all academics, for instance through the development of social safety policies, the installation of diversity officers, and the provision of funds for marginalised groups. In accordance with these developments, research has called attention to questionable practices such as academic misconduct (e.g. Gross 2016), discrimination (e.g. Clancy et al. 2017), bullying (e.g. Nielsen & Einarsen 2018) and sexual harassment (e.g. Thakur & Paul 2017), highlighting how such practices frustrate efforts to establish an environment in which all academics can thrive (Ahmed 2012).

The present study contributes to this strand of research, by exploring harassment in academia as an overarching term for all behaviour that obstructs scholars in their academic work and their career progress. Since research has shown that women academics face more barriers during their academic career and are still underrepresented in senior positions (van den Brink & Benschop 2014; Husu 2001), this study focused on the experiences of women. Starting from the experiences of women academics and their stories of harassment, we want to gain a better understanding of the different manifestations of scientific harassment, and examine the academic infrastructures and disciplinary cultures that facilitate this kind of harmful behaviour. This study was guided by the following research questions: What practices of harassment can be identified in the stories and narratives of academic women? Is it possible to discern multiple manifestations of harassment? What structural and cultural characteristics and developments in the academic system facilitate harassment?

HARASSMENT DEFINED

We follow Marín-Spiotta (2017) in analysing scientific misconduct in terms of how people, rather than data, are treated within the academy. We explore "harassment in academia" as an overarching term for patterns of intense behaviour that have the aim and/or effect of violating a person's dignity and/or that create a hostile working environment, thereby obstructing scholars in their academic work and their career progress. Many different terms have been used to analyse this phenomenon including for example abuse, aggression, bullying, mobbing, counterproductive workplace behaviour, harassment, hostile workplace behaviour, maltreatment, mistreatment, psychological terror, scapegoating, vexatious behaviour, workplace incivility, and workplace psychological violence.

Especially the terms harassment, mobbing and bullying are frequently interchangeably used in the literature (Einarsen 2010; Nielsen & Einarsen 2018). Mobbing and bullying are generally used for structural and long-term misbehaviours however; not for single episodes of harassment (Nielsen & Einarsen 2018). Moreover, studies about mobbing and bullying often leave out sexual harassment. For instance, in their "overview of reviews" about workplace bullying, Nielsen and Einarsen (2018) do not include any research about sexual harassment. Also, physical harassment receives only little attention in this overview: the focus is mostly on psychological types of bullying. In the present study, we wanted to include not only psychological, but also sexual and physical harassment, as well as "single episodes" of such behaviours. Therefore, we chose to use the concept of harassment rather than mobbing or bullying. Moreover, in order to specify that we discuss harassment in academic contexts rather than other workplace contexts, we employ the term "harassment in academia".

Behaviours that may count as harassment are diverse, and they may include both verbal and non-verbal behaviours (e.g. shouting or staring at someone), physical and non-physical behaviours (e.g. grabbing or making degrading "jokes"), sexual and non-sexual behaviours (e.g. making a sexual comment or ignoring someone), online and offline behaviours (e.g. sending threatening e-mails or interrupting someone during a meeting), direct and indirect behaviours (e.g. calling someone names or gossiping behind one's back) and task-related and person-related behaviours (e.g. excluding someone from work projects or excluding them from informal networks). It is important to note that whether certain behaviours count as harassment, is influenced by situational factors such as characteristics of the situation and characteristics of the assessor. For instance, identical behaviour may be evaluated as more negative when displayed by a supervisor in comparison to a subordinate or peer (Gutek 1995: 449f.). In the present research project, we follow Gutek's advice to take such situational factors into account.

This means that rather than deciding *a priori* which behaviours constitute harassment, we will explore which experiences are labelled as harassment by research participants in the light of different situational factors.

Several academics have pointed out that some groups are more likely to fall victim to harassment than others. These are marginalised groups such as women, ethnic minorities, and sexual minorities (McLaughlin et al. 2012; Atherton et al. 2016). This signals that harassment is related to discrimination, which may be defined as "acts, practices, or policies that impose a relative disadvantage on persons based on their membership in a salient social group" (Altman 2016). Discrimination denies the equal moral status of people and makes people vulnerable to domination and oppression (Altman 2016; Hellman 2008). In this study, discrimination is therefore considered as a form of harassment, because it violates a person's dignity and contributes to a hostile work environment.

RESEARCH METHODS

This qualitative research on harassment in Dutch academia consisted of two types of data collection: in-depth interviews and the collection of written testimonies. In order to recruit research participants, we shared a call via several academic (women's) networks as well as personal networks. In this call, we asked women academics to share their experiences of harassment with us, either in writing or through an interview. This resulted in 26 applications for an interview and 35 written testimonials. We selected 20 interviewees based on the criteria described in the next section, aiming for maximum diversity among participants in terms of experiences with harassment, academic institution and discipline, academic rank, age and other axes of social difference.

The interviews enabled us to capture in detail women academic's experiences with harassment and the context in which this took place and to identify which cultural and structural factors in the academic system facilitate harassment. We used a semi-structured topic list for conducting the interviews, which contained questions regarding the following topics: descriptions of what happened (context, behaviours, effects, labelling of experiences), ideas about the link between harassment and systemic factors (social inequalities, characteristics of the academy), talking about the harassment and finding help and consequences for career.

Some but not all of the 33 testimonials followed the outline that was provided in our call: description of position as an academic, (e.g. position, age, cultural background, scientific discipline), description of the other person or people involved, description of the situation (the year the incident took place, context, roles of the people involved, different interests), practices of harassment (what happened exactly, what was your response, did you discuss it with others, why or why not). Since not all written testimonials followed this structure, they are not equally detailed, and some information is missing from certain written statements, such as whether the participant talked about the harassment with others. The length of the testimonials varied between 219 and 5,130 words, with an average of 1,285 words.

Almost all participants were highly concerned about issues concerning anonymity and confidentiality. They worried that there might be severe consequences if other people learned about their participation in this study. For some women, this was a reason not to participate, or to share their story only "off the record". In order to protect research participants' privacy, we did not include complete individual cases in this chapter, and we changed details in individual stories in order to ensure anonymity. All participants who are quoted in this chapter received a concept version and were asked to provide feedback on their quotes, which resulted in additional minor changes to make quotes more precise or more anonymous.

Our analysis is based on the personal stories of 53 research participants. First of all, we aimed to collect stories about different manifestations of harassment, from women in different academic institutions and disciplines, with different academic ranks. To a large extent, this was accomplished: we were able to collect information about many different manifestations of harassment and many different behaviours. Moreover, participants who provided explicit information about where the harassment had happened, named a wide variety of disciplines within the humanities, social sciences, natural sciences and medical sciences. This happened while they were in various stages of their career, from (applying to become) PhD students to full professors.

MANIFESTATIONS OF HARASSMENT IN ACADEMIA

We found that harassment in academia seldom manifests itself as a single, isolated incident. Research participants hardly ever reported about one single remark, one single touch, or one single gesture. Rather, the harassment they experienced was usually structural and lasted for months, years or even decades. It often concerned a combination of different types of behaviours. Based on our data, we distinguish six different manifestations of harassment: scientific sabotage, sexual harassment, physical and verbal threats, denigration, exclusion, and the problematisation of "special needs". In the following sections, we will go deeper into the characteristics of these manifestations.

SCIENTIFIC SABOTAGE

The first manifestation of harassment in academia is a manifestation that we have labelled as "scientific sabotage". We define this as all behaviours that directly obstruct a person's work as a scientist. Within the category of scientific sabotage, we distinguish five sub-categories.

The first manifestation of scientific sabotage is that of making a person's work, ideas and expertise invisible. This is done in many different ways. It is done for instance by not encouraging, or even actively discouraging people from publishing articles or applying for a job or a promotion. It is also done by taking a person's name off publications or grant proposals, stealing their data or ideas, committing plagiarism, or making them second or third author while their role was that of single or first author. Furthermore, people are made invisible by removing, or forcing them to remove information about themselves from the Internet or by having them withdraw a grant proposal. Other ways in which research participants were made invisible was by not being given the opportunity to provide input in meetings or important documents, even if they were known for being an expert on the topic. In another case, the person performing the harassment denied that our research participant participated in a project, even though she did participate. Yet another way in which people are made invisible is by not mentioning their accomplishments in meetings, presentations, reports, or on institutional websites.

Closely related to this manifestation of scientific sabotage is the second one, namely the refusal of promotion while a candidate is suitable and a position available, or the denial of courses, tasks and functions that are needed for a promotion. Several participants recalled how their application for becoming a PhD student, assistant professor, associate professor, full professor, manager/director or board member was refused or actively frustrated, for instance through sudden changes in the promotion criteria or the terms of employment, or through disproportionally negative reviews of their application. In one case, an entire chair was cancelled when it became clear that our research participant was, for several reasons, the only suitable candidate. In other cases, participants were denied courses, tasks or functions which they needed in order to become eligible for promotion. These may be tasks or functions such as teaching, the coordination of a course or a Master's programme, supervision of PhD students, participation in/coordination of prestigious research projects, or chairing a conference. Some participants described how instead, they were assigned a disproportionate amount of work that is generally regarded as much less prestigious, such as administrative work, BA-level teaching, or grading. Through such types of scientific sabotage, our respondents feel like they are actively being made "unsuitable" for promotion.

A third manifestation of scientific sabotage is that of blocking a person's access to certain spaces, documents, objects or pieces of information which they need in order to do their job. For instance, respondents were forbidden to access spaces such as the university building, a laboratory or their own office. In one case, a research participant was warned that she would be removed by security guards if she didn't leave. Other respondents were blocked from accessing their research data, their mailbox or personal belongings which they had stored in their office. A rather specific form of this manifestation of scientific sabotage is that of blocking access to specific information related to a person's work (e.g. a draft version of important documents such as a new strategic plan, the dates of meetings, feedback, the announcement of a close colleague's visit) or

related to their career (e.g. information about education opportunities and courses, vacancies, grants).

A fourth manifestation of scientific sabotage concerns the labelling of people as incompetent vis-à-vis colleagues from within or outside that person's organisation. Sometimes, this was done in their direct presence. Research participants reported for instance about colleagues or supervisors being on the look-out for small mistakes and labelling these as "huge" or "crucial" errors or as "unacceptable missteps", thereby creating an "atmosphere of negativity" around them and/or building a formal dossier that is later used to fire them. In some cases, participants felt that critiques were based on unfeasible criteria, such as having to inform a superior about a journal's deadline, even though this deadline is still unknown, or that they were based on extremely small mistakes, such as not including a supervisor in a regular e-mail sent to the library or coffee being delivered at a meeting too late. Often, the critique was aimed at a person's work, and many participants had experience with receiving negative comments on their work which they (and sometimes also other colleagues) experienced as disproportionate. These negative comments were usually not substantiated with evidence or explanations. In some cases, colleagues or supervisors also pro-actively tried to collect negative evaluations about someone from their direct colleagues, in order to justify formal steps.

Labelling people as incompetent was not only done in the direct presence of that person however. It was also done behind their backs, in the form of gossip and (formal) complaints. One research participant for instance reported how a colleague personally called each member of a selection committee to convince them not to hire her, and another research participant testified about a colleague telling her new co-workers and several funding organisations about her being incompetent. In yet another case, an e-mail was sent to all potential employers of our research participant, telling them that she was a "bad scientist". In other cases, rumours were spread, and complaints were filed about research participants lacking scientific integrity, profiting financially from other people's work, and saying negative things about their colleagues. Practices such as these may cause damage to a person's reputation and may even result in that person being fired and/or not being able to obtain certain jobs or positions.

A fifth and final manifestation of scientific sabotage is the physical or financial destruction of a person's research project. Respondents testified about data being destroyed, projects being sabotaged and/or ended, money being confiscated, and contracts being ended. For some research participants, this also meant the end of their employment.

SEXUAL HARASSMENT

We define sexual harassment as any verbal, non-verbal or physical behaviour with sexual connotations that has the aim or effect of violating a person's dignity, especially when it contributes to the creation of an intimidating, hostile, offending, humiliating, or hurtful working environment.

Research participants described how their experiences with sexual harassment included remarks, "compliments" and "jokes" that were implicitly or explicitly sexual; non-verbal behaviours such as staring, gazing at someone's body (parts) and standing very close to someone; physical contact such as touching and grabbing; attempts to arrange meetings via media that are experienced as private, such as WhatsApp, and/or at locations and times that are considered private, for instance at home during the weekend; and sexual invitations.

Sometimes, these behaviours were so ambiguous, that participants doubted whether they could actually be classified as sexual harassment. For instance, a remark about a meeting being someone's "pleasure", a "joke" about feeling sorry that a colleague is married or an invitation for a meeting at a colleague's home may sound rather innocent in and on itself. These incidents hardly ever take place in isolation however: in many cases, they are part of a series of disturbing events including sexual insinuations. Moreover, several participants recalled having addressed the issue, telling the other person that they experienced their behaviour as unpleasant. In the cases we studied, this never resulted in the other person ending the behaviour. To the contrary: their practices often became more hostile and aggressive. In one case, the alleged perpetrator even responded by accusing our research participant of harassing him.

PHYSICAL AND VERBAL THREATS

A third manifestation of harassment is that of physical and verbal threats. These are all verbal and physical behaviours that have the aim and/or effect of intimidating people. The most common verbal behaviours we encountered were yelling, screaming and cursing and the threat to fire someone and/or to ruin their career. Sometimes, these threats were rather direct: "I'll make sure you will not finish your PhD" or "Don't resist. If you want to get something, you need to bow your head in front of him. He has long arms and the Netherlands is a small country. You would not have a scientific career here".

In other cases, it was more indirect: "If you don't like it here, then why don't you leave?". Whereas these threats are directly related to someone's employment, other threats were more personal: "I know where to find you", or "I'm not done with you yet". In one case, "mistakes" of employees were listed and discussed during department meetings, which created a "culture of fear".

Physical threats that were brought up by research participants include leaning over someone, aggressively pointing a finger at someone's face, slamming on tables, and barging into someone's office without knocking, refusing to leave. Like in the case of sexual violence, the practices described here are usually part of a pattern of threatening behaviours that makes people scared of their job and their well-being.

DENIGRATION

Fourthly, research participants experienced harassment that may be labelled as denigration. This refers to all behaviours that have the aim and/or effect of humiliating or belittling people, and that are overtly expressed in the direct presence of those people. Denigration can take place in a private meeting, or in a context where also other people are present. In case of the latter, where other people are present, we consider the behaviour to be not just denigration, but also defamation (and thus scientific sabotage), because it directly obstructs a person's work as a scientist. In the present section, we focus on denigration: the humiliation or belittling of people, with or without an "audience".

Denigration is mostly done through verbal comments such as "jokes" and condescending remarks about a person's personal characteristics or their professional qualities. Denigrating behaviours often allude to structural inequalities and stereotypes. For instance, several research participants reported about sexist and racist comments denigrating women and ethnic minorities in general or one person in particular. One participant reported about a colleague referring to the General Office as "the worker bees". Several participants remembered being confronted with the stereotype of the "emotional" or "hysterical" woman, through remarks such as "women are always so emotional" or "your response is so emotional", as well as to the stereotype of the "bitch". Other research participants recalled racist remarks such as: "Why are you getting involved with that blackie?", referring to a black colleague. In some cases, accents of ethnic and geographical minorities were mocked, and criticised and condescending remarks were made about people working outside of the 'Randstad', which is the Western, urban part of the Netherlands. One respondent was given the derogatory nickname "Peasant Professor" by colleagues working in the Randstad to emphasise that her work that was carried out in the 'periphery', did not matter. Also, research participants testified that denigrating remarks were made about their assumed religious background, their voice, their body and their age.

A specific set of denigrating behaviours are those referring to a person's professional qualities, their field of expertise and/or their methodological preferences. Several respondents report being called "stupid", "incompetent", "un-promising", "bad researchers" or "bad managers". One participant reports how her supervisor "burnt her down" for over half an hour: "Even when I started crying, she kept going, telling me how badly I performed for a PhD student".

Some research participants were told they just got a certain job or task "because they are a woman". Especially when women academics reach a certain position when measures are in place to increase the number of women in the academic top, women's achievements are easily dismissed as "presents" rather than their own achievements: "First you treat me worse than my male colleagues, and then, because I 'struggle' to meet the specified criteria you start 'facilitating' me, so that myself and every male colleague will think I became full professor by grace of my male dean

and supervisor". Remarks about women getting promoted "because of their gender" rather than their professional qualities were experienced as highly denigrating by our research participants.

EXCLUSION

A fifth manifestation of harassment is that of exclusion, which can be defined as all behaviours that have the intention and/or effect of making people feel like they do not belong to a particular group. Exclusion can take place on a social level or on a work-related level. The latter, which includes practices such as withholding work-related information, was discussed in the section about scientific sabotage, because it is related directly to a person's work as a scientist. Although exclusion on a social level may have the same effect of hindering a person's work as a scientist, it does not necessarily impact the person's work, and is thus discussed as a separate manifestation of harassment in academia.

Exclusion on a social level may include practices such as ignoring people: refusing to talk with them and/or avoiding eye contact, even if the other person is sitting or standing very close; not taking another person's input, critique or complaints seriously; not showing up at meetings organised by that person; or not responding to requests by that person to make an appointment. Participants also testified how they were socially excluded by being isolated from their close colleagues, either physically (e.g. by moving to another building) or emotionally (e.g. by saying negative things about those colleagues, by favouring one person over the other, or by prohibiting people from talking with each other); by not being invited for social events such as a Christmas party; or by people only speaking Dutch during an event while knowing that one colleague does not speak Dutch.

PROBLEMATISING "SPECIAL NEEDS"

Another manifestation of harassment is problematising needs that are interpreted as "special", such as the needs of those who are pregnant, young/single parents, ill, disabled, or grieving a loss. The experiences of research participants demonstrate that the norm in the academic world is still the able-bodied, healthy, happy, 24/7 available worker (Herschberg et al. 2018a; Lund 2015).

Research participants who do not match this ideal experienced harassment based on their ascribed deficiency from that norm. Examples mentioned by participants were demands to do work-related tasks during their pregnancy leave; they were bluntly refused (sufficient) time and/or space for expressing milk or received negative remarks about it; were singled out and denied to work on specific days and times or denied a rescheduling of a job interview because of childbirth. These respondents received negative comments about their conditions such as "this university suffers financial damage because of your delay" or "do you know how hard it is to find replacement?". They felt they were not taken seriously and received undermining questions, for instance whether it was really necessary to stay home after a miscarriage, or whether they were really ill when they called in sick. In some cases, the loyalty of these participants was questioned, for instance through questions about their priorities. In many cases, participants who are regarded as having "special needs" also experience obstruction of their scientific career. Because these obstructions are so directly aimed at a person's career, they have been discussed in the section about scientific sabotage.

FACILITATING FACTORS

Our data demonstrate that harassment in academia is facilitated by systemic factors, both structural and cultural, that encourage, excuse, trivialise and normalise harassment against women in academia. We will discuss four of these factors: hierarchies within and outside of academia; the current competitive and individualistic culture of the academic world; inadequate responses to incidents; and self-silencing among victims.

HIERARCHIES IN ACADEMIA

Organisational authority, dependency and fear

Even though in the Netherlands, the academy is often believed to be relatively equal and informal, research participants experienced large power inequalities, and some people may have significant power over other people's careers. For instance, one participant argued that the academic future of PhD and postdoc researchers depends heavily on their supervisor(s), which

causes them to "tolerate behaviour that you wouldn't tolerate otherwise". Especially people with temporary contracts and people with residence permits based on employment are in a very vulnerable position. With regard to the first group, not just their career but also their financial security depends on their superior, which makes their position highly precarious (see also Herschberg et al. 2018b). For the second group even more is at stake, namely their residence permit, which may be withdrawn if the holder loses their job. In addition, this group also often lacks a support network which could be consulted in case of harassment, which makes them even more precarious. In such a context, a supervisor becomes extremely powerful. Expressing critique or filing a complaint against someone who is in such a powerful position is hardly ever an option for people experiencing harassment, because they are afraid of their career being damaged. In several cases, research participants were threatened that they would be fired if they spoke up, and this was often accompanied by actual actions aimed at firing people or having people fired. According to many participants, this often had the intended effect that people were too afraid to speak up, which was also labelled as a "culture of fear".

Academic stardom and strategic alliances

Even if research participants did dare to speak up, hierarchical structures often worked to protect the person performing the harassment, especially if this person was considered a "star": "She had won a huge grant and the department was dying, so the faculty took her side". A participant who reported her experiences to the confidential advisor was discouraged from filing an official complaint, because "the university would never fire this professor, who brings in so much money and status". This participant followed the advice, and the professor was never held accountable, protected as she was by her "stardom". As one participant concludes: "It is as if the senior academics are above the law" (see also National Academies of Sciences 2018).

Moreover, research participants noticed how powerful individuals can easily expand their power by building strategic formal and informal alliances and by hiring "clones": "Hiring of lecturers has in the past prioritised 'trusted' (yes-saying) personalities, rather than advertising for academic excellence". Through such practices, powerful academics become even more powerful, as they are protected by their formal and informal network. Loyalty is encouraged through the academic emphasis on "excellence" and "stardom", which enables people to "bask in the reflected glory" (Cialdini et al. 1976) of the biggest "star", and encourages people to protect this person rather than challenge him/her. Moreover, loyalty is encouraged through advantages that are provided to people who are part of these alliances, such as authorships and positive evaluations. Formal and informal alliances make powerful individuals even more powerful, and protect them from allegations of harassment.

Definition power and the silencing of critical voices

An important element of organisational power inequalities is "definition power": the power to define the world around you, to decide which issues deserve priority, and to decide how those issues are to be understood and approached. This refers to the power of meaning described by Hardy (1996) and the three-dimensional view of power described by Lukes (2005). It includes the power to define what constitutes harassment, whether harassment is a problem, and whether and how it should be addressed. It also includes the power to reproduce the norm of the healthy, happy and always available worker, which privileges certain employees (e.g. academics without caring responsibilities, able-bodied academics) and disadvantages others, for instance pregnant women and people with disabilities, who become highly vulnerable for harassment. Furthermore, definition power includes the power to depict critical colleagues as "overly sensitive" or "hysterical", and to dismiss their feedback, ideas and practices as unimportant or nonsensical, as happened in several of the cases we studied.

The stories of research participants make clear how definition power is reinforced by the silencing of critical voices: "If you want to be successful, you have to [...] cooperate, be loyal, not ask any questions", says one research participant. Another participant provides a similar analysis:

> *A lot of the above [experiences with multiple manifestations of harassment] has happened because I'm very critical: I do not let other people tell me what to do. I speak up if I disagree. I stand out from the crowd, and I'm being cut down for that. Many of the professors I met are extremely authoritarian, and have difficulties dealing with criticism.*

Several research participants were sabotaged, fired or pushed into a "mobility trajectory" after they spoke up about injustices or mistreatments in their department. For example, a PhD student voiced critique about the hostile and intimidating atmosphere that was created by a senior staff member during PhD meetings, after which this staff member tried to arrange a negative evaluation of her which would result in the termination of her contract.

A COMPETITIVE AND INDIVIDUALISTIC CULTURE

A second key factor that emerged from our data is the competitive, individualistic culture that characterises current academic culture. As one respondent explains: "Universities are given a lot of responsibilities and very little support. Continuous budget cuts, [...] very little liberty, which creates an atmosphere of a rat race". Central to this "rat race" is the competition between researchers for "winning" the scarce positions and grants that are available. Selection and evaluation are increasingly based on a limited set of performance indicators that are allegedly (but not truly) "neutral" and "objective", such as productivity, peer review, citation indexes, internationally refereed publications, and membership of editorial boards (Bol et al. 2018; Herschberg et al. 2018a).

Several research participants pointed out an additional characteristic of this competitive and individualistic culture, namely a general lack of "care": of interest, attention, involvement, help and support. This concerns rather "basic" forms of care, such as asking people how they are doing and giving them compliments, especially during hard times, sending a colleague a postcard after she had a miscarriage. It also concerns "bigger" forms of care, including for example encouragement to take up certain tasks and jobs. One research participant explains: "In the academic world, at least the one that I'm in, it's all about success. Publications and success. And because of that, there is no room left for empathy". As this participant argues, even though a lack of care does not necessarily result in harassment, it does contribute to a "cold" and individualistic work environment that facilitates harassment and discourages bystanders from intervening in case of incidents. By turning employees into competitors that are all participating in the rat race to win the few prestigious positions that are available, the current academic culture encourages jealousy, envy and harassment, in particular the manifestation of harassment that we have labelled scientific sabotage.

INADEQUATE RESPONSES TO INCIDENTS

Another key factor that facilitates harassment in academia is the inadequate response to incidents, both on an individual and on an institutional level (see also National Academies of Sciences 2018). Even though a large majority of research participants tried to find help, only one of these efforts was actually successful. Many participants felt like the other person did not believe them: "It was like I had to prove that I'm not stupid, that I'm not hysterical. They [the people I turned to for help] were like: but, are you sure? Are you not imagining things?". Another participant received the following response from her director and colleagues: "According to them, it was utter nonsense. [They said:] 'That doesn't happen here'". This research participant felt like she was not taken seriously, based on the belief that harassment did not happen in that organisation. Our findings suggest that harassment can take place in every academic institution however, and within every discipline: participants who mentioned where their experiences had happened, named 13 different institutions and a wide variety of disciplines within the humanities, social sciences, natural sciences and medical sciences.

In other cases, the other person did believe our research participant, but was not willing or able to offer any help:

> *It was made into my individual problem. The dean said: 'If you want to change something, you'll have to talk to him.' I said that I didn't dare to do that, because I didn't feel safe, but the dean insisted: 'You'll have to, if you want to move on.' So that was where it ended for me. [...] It feels like you have to be raped here before they undertake any action. I feel that what happened to me doesn't really count.*

In this case, where a respondent experienced amongst others verbal threats, denigration, and scientific sabotage, the dean placed all responsibility for solving the problem with our research participant, thereby individualising and trivialising the issue, and not taking any responsibility for solving the problem.

"SELF-SILENCING" AMONG VICTIMS

Another factor that facilitates harassment is that of victim's "self-silencing"; a dynamic that is well known from literature about domestic and sexual violence. Feminist researchers have demonstrated that "self-silencing" is in fact the result of someone not "having the ability, the means, and the right to express oneself, one's mind, and one's will" (Reinharz 1994: 180), a definition that emphasises the socio-cultural and political nature of silence (Ahrens 2006: 263). Indeed, our data demonstrate that research participants decided to remain silent under the influence of the systemic factors described earlier in this chapter.

Many respondents recounted how they did not take their own experiences and emotions seriously, and/or did want to take action to end another person's harassing behaviour. For one respondent, the denigration, exclusion, threats and sabotage which she experienced during her PhD trajectory made her extremely insecure about herself:

> *For the longest period of time I really believed I was the crazy one. ... I was completely sure: I'm imagining it. Because she [seemed to be] such a nice person, it cannot be true. It must be me who is stupid and simply cannot cope with the stress, I'm the weak one.*

This participant, like others, doubted her own judgement of the situation, even though the harassment was rather severe and structural, and judged herself as "weak" and "not worthy" of becoming a scientist. Looking back, she relates this judgement to the current academic culture, which defines academic work as "a struggle" that will only be survived by "the fittest": "I thought it was okay, I thought: this is how PhDs work". Through such evaluations, victims of harassment become silenced and wait very long to report harassment, if they report at all.

Several respondents did take their own experiences seriously, but still decided not to talk to anybody or file an official complaint.

Sometimes, they made this choice out of fear for the consequences: “I was not scared of immediate reactions, but very afraid that this could hurt my future career. I still am, and that is why I hesitated to share my story”. Another participant reasons in a similar way:

> *If they find out that I’ve had this conversation with you, then it’s over for me. Not just here, but [also in other universities]. We have a diversity officer now, who wants to find out why it’s so hard for women to reach the top, but nobody dares to tell her anything. [...] I told her a few things, but not everything I shared with you.*

Others chose not to speak up out of loyalty with the person performing the harassment. One participant says:

> *I think a lot of it is also [...] gratitude. That was the most difficult thing for me to overcome: [...] the fact that she gave us jobs. How can we go and complain about the person who gave me a job when I really, really needed it?*

Several respondents reported they did not want to “stir trouble”, or that they did not report because that would be “aggravating” for the other person. During the interview, some respondents felt sorry about saying negative things about colleagues, managers, directors and supervisors who had harassed them. Again, what stands out is how such feelings are facilitated by systemic factors such as academic hierarchies, dependencies, competition and individualism, which can create feelings of being indebted to a particular person for “having been given a chance”. Moreover, the reluctance to speak up and “cause trouble” is interwoven with the discourse that defines people who speak up about it as “trouble makers”, which defines victims rather than harassers as the cause of the problems.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we presented the outcomes of the first Dutch national explorative study about the different manifestations of harassment experienced by women academics. Based on our analysis of the experiences of

53 women academics, we conclude (1) that women academics experience different manifestations of harassment, and (2) that this harassment is facilitated by cultural and structural factors.

MANIFESTATIONS OF HARASSMENT IN ACADEMIA

While previous studies often focused on certain manifestations of harassment such as (long-term, psychological) bullying (Nielsen & Einarsen 2018) or sexual harassment (National Academies of Sciences 2018), we used “harassment” as an overarching term that encompasses both single incidents and more structural behaviours, and that includes psychological, physical and sexual behaviours. This approach enabled us to distinguish six different manifestations of harassment in academia: scientific sabotage, sexual harassment, physical and verbal threats, denigration, exclusion, and problematising “special needs”.

While the latter manifestations (especially sexual intimidation) have also been described in relation to other sectors such as the corporate sector, the manifestation that we labelled as “scientific sabotage” includes behaviours that are more specific to the academic world. These are: making someone invisible (e.g. by denying authorship), refusing to promote someone (e.g. by cancelling a chair), blocking access to spaces, documents, objects or information (e.g. to the laboratory), labelling people as incompetent vis-à-vis colleagues (e.g. *vis-à-vis* selection committees), and physically or financially destroying a person’s research project (e.g. destroying research data).

It became clear that all these different manifestations of harassment are interconnected, and victims often experience multiple types of harassing behaviours at the same time. The harassment experienced by participants seldom concerned a single, isolated incident. In most cases, it was structural and lasted for months, years or sometimes even decades.

FACILITATING FACTORS

Our study points out that harassment in academia is facilitated by at least four structural and cultural factors. These are: hierarchies within and outside of academia, the competitive and individualistic culture of contemporary academia, inadequate responses to incidents and "self-silencing" among victims.

With regard to the first two factors, research participants' stories depict a grim image of an academic world whose inhabitants are competitors rather than colleagues, participating in a relentless rat-race to the academic top that reproduces the narrow ideal of the "happy, healthy, always available academic", and where "winners" become "academic stars" who enjoy a lot of leeway while "losers" are evaluated as "weak" and "incompetent". This hierarchical, competitive and individualistic culture facilitates harassment, in particular against less powerful groups, such as junior academics with little organisational authority and academics from socially marginalised groups such as women.

The third factor concerns the inadequate responses from bystanders, supervisors and academic leaders. Research participants' stories indicate that bystanders and leaders did not believe victims, trivialised their experiences, and/or denied them support and intervention. The majority of the participants reported they received no support and were made responsible for solving the issue. They were advised to keep silent or confront their harassers themselves, while management remained unable and/or unwilling to intervene. This lack of intervention on the part of managers protects harassers and silences victims.

The fourth factor of research participants remaining silent could often be related to cultural and structural factors such as the idea of academic work as a "struggle" and academics as "fighters"; the marginalisation of victims; and power inequalities. Both "self-silencing" among victims and inadequate responses to incidents reproduce current hierarchical, competitive and individualistic academic cultures and structures, and contribute to an environment where harassment is normalised.

Our study demonstrates how deeply harassment impacts victims' personal and professional lives, their careers, and on science in general. Research participants reported feeling unwelcome, excluded and unsafe at their workplace because of the harassment. Moreover, they reported physical and psychological consequences ranging from chronic pain to cardiac arrhythmia, and from anxiety to burnout and depression. Several research participants reported having to use medication in order

to be able to cope with (the consequences of) the harassment. In addition, they reported negative effects on their personal relations, and problems with productivity, creativity and motivation. In some cases, people were no longer able to continue working in academia.

Victims of all manifestations of harassment and their colleagues often spend a considerable amount of time and energy "surviving" and/or improving the situation; time and energy they would otherwise have spent on their academic work. This means that harassment in academia negatively influences individual, personal lives, but also organisations and science in general. Victims and their colleagues may not be able to deliver the work that they could have delivered under safer working conditions. Moreover, academia is losing talented academics because of harassment. Considering that especially marginalised groups such as women and other minorities are vulnerable to victimisation, harassment impedes efforts within academia to create a more diverse workforce and thus compromises academic quality. Harassment in academia therefore deserves to become top priority.

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Gender equality through assimilation or recognition of plurality?

Reflections on gender equality, equal opportunity and diversity policies at Swiss universities[1]

Anika Thym

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INTRODUCTION: PLEA FOR A PROBLEM-CENTRED APPROACH

In this contribution I would like to offer some reflections and insights that were gained from a small contract research on which I have been working since spring 2018 on the implementation of gender equality, equal opportunity and diversity policies in Swiss universities. The head of the commission for equal opportunity of the philosophical-historical faculty at the University of Basel, Brigitte Röder, asked for this research in order to decide on the newly founded commission's use of terminologies and policies.[2] My task was first to present the meanings of the terms used and to make a suggestion on which ones to use. Second, I was to investigate how gender equality, equal opportunity and diversity policies had been implemented at Swiss universities so far. Specific questions included: What solutions are presented for which problems? What policies would I recommend? In order to answer these questions, I analysed the action plans the gender equality and equal opportunity offices at the Universities of Basel, Bern, St. Gallen, Geneva, Lausanne, Lucerne, Neuchatel and the Università della Svizzera italiana in Lugano handed in for governmental funding they received in 2013 and 2017 for the project "Equal Opportunity for Women and Men at Universities".

This analysis and according suggestions are specifically situated in my perspective as a gender researcher. This investigation seeks to strengthen knowledge exchange between gender research and gender equality work by shaping the professionalisation of gender equality work with gender theoretical knowledge (as suggeseted by Riegraf & Vollmer 2014: 45; Hearn & Louvrier 2016). In order to grasp the complexity of diverse forms of discrimination, it would be necessary to also include research on racism, migration, age, capitalism/class and disability. This study hopefully serves as a tool to turn legal promises of gender equality, equal opportunity and diversity into reality in our academic everyday life (Baer 2018: 16).

In the following, I will *first* share some reflections on strategy. After presenting my research in different university commissions, I reconsidered how to best frame goals and how to confront doubts: equality and justice in the eyes of some seem to threaten academic quality, rationality

2 Since spring 2018 I have been representing doctoral and postdoctoral researchers in the commission.

and excellence. *Second,* I will present my results concerning the used and proposed terminology. *Third,* I will share some conclusions and resulting policy suggestions.

One of the main insights of this research is that the analysed policies are hardly ever framed in a problem-centred way. But how should we address a problem that we haven't even clearly defined in a sense that goes deeper than 'counting women', that is: checking if there are 50 percent women in every area? It is important to ask and clarify the long-standing feminist questions: "What is the problem of gender in/equality? What could be a solution to the problem? Should the goal be equality? Or difference? Or diversity?" (Verloo & Lombardo 2007: 22).

The question underlying the current attempts and debates on gender equality and diversity is one that has been raised in feminist debates on equality and difference for a long time: Should gender equality be achieved through assimilation to the male norm – e.g. of academic excellence – or by recognising gender difference and the plurality of modes of living? Andrea Maihofer (2013: 31) analyses how reasons for gender inequality are explained in feminist debates and differentiates between approaches focussing either on sameness or on difference. In the sameness position the social inequality of women is the cause of hierarchical gender difference. The solution is thus seen in achieving gender equality by assimilation to the male norm, or in other words, by "achieving equality as sameness" (Verloo & Lombardo 2007: 23)[3]. In the difference position social inequality and discrimination are seen as the result of the devaluation of women's otherness (Maihofer 2013: 31). Accordingly, this view results in the demand for social recognition of difference. Women and other 'others' will only really be equal if they are recognised in their difference and plurality. For this, it is necessary to overcome the mechanism of self-affirmation as superior and of

3 Translation of these terms from German to English is challenging due to different meanings and connotations. The German word "Gleichstellung", which I translate to gender equality, describes a process of setting something to become equal. "Angleichung an den männlichen Massstab", translated as assimilation to the male standard or norm, refers to the process of aiming for identity with the male norm, which serves as measurement stick. Also, equal and same both translate to "gleich" in German. For helpful discussions, concerning the challenge of translation, I am very grateful to David Allison.

'othering' others as inferior, which is constitutive to bourgeois male subjectivity and its self-stylisation as White, Western, heterosexual, able-bodied, etc. The goal is then to enable non-hierarchical recognition of difference and plurality. This requires both valuation of devalued people and knowledge and a self-critical transformation and a pluralisation of the norm.

Following the difference approach, this paper focusses both on justice and on knowledge practices and argues that in order to guarantee gender equality and freedom from discrimination, as granted in the Swiss and many other constitutions, *and* to secure high academic quality, recognition of the plurality of modes of living (with involved parenthood, political engagement, another employment, taking sufficient care of others and oneself etc.), of intersecting relations of domination (gender, 'race', class, sexuality, disability, age, gender identity, nationality, ethnicity and religion) and of academic practices (for example natural or social sciences) is crucial.

This chapter offers insights into the status quo and some discussions on these issues in the Swiss academic context. Due to internationally widespread developments for gender equality and diversity as well as the neoliberal transformation of academic institutions and specific 'excellence' requirements, these thoughts may be useful for other contexts as well. The focus on Swiss academia may also highlight local specificities.

STRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS: FOR GENDER EQUALITY, PLURALITY AND HIGH ACADEMIC QUALITY

The plea for gender equality, plurality and diversity is not always shared. Rather, it often triggers a number of doubts and rejections: it would make science less efficient, less excellent, produce less output, lower quality standards and wasn't compatible with the ideal of an academic who will commit 150 percent of his (!) time and energy to academia.

A member of the Swiss National Science Foundation, who was interviewed for the project "Excellence and/or Equal Opportunities for Men and Women" holds this position and states: "I would never say that research can be done in part-time, say 80%" (quoted in Nentwich et al. 2016). In this view it is "simply not realistic" (ibid.), if academics would like to be present parents, take care of others, be politically active, follow another employment or if they simply wanted to live a healthy and balanced life. The solution was to sacrifice these other aspects of life: "No pain, no gain" (ibid.). Legal obligations such as the constitution or Swiss university law concerning gender equality rights and freedom of discrimination are thereby rejected and the wish that members of academia voice concerning a recognition of the plurality of their modes of living is ignored. Rather, this interview partner further stresses that universities were no "social welfare office" (ibid.). The relevance of non-academic engagement, which is sometimes necessary for research, especially in the social sciences, is ignored.

In this logic, gender equality and diversity policies are seen as threat to excellence (Nentwich et al. 2016). Women and other marginalised groups – including some men, such as involved fathers – can only participate in academia if they are 'fixed', which means enabling them a traditionally male mode of living, as far as possible. In contrast, a different understanding of excellence has been developed, based on questioning the 'male' norm in order to enable scientific quality in a broader sense. As the European Commission states: "the supposition of attributing 'excellence' mainly and mostly to male scientists becomes problematic for all scientists" (European Commission 2004: 12).

Following these insights, I propose a different approach: to insist on the relevance of both rights and social justice *and* on the quality of science. Rather than seeing them as mutually exclusive, I argue that they have to go together. Gender equality and diversity are not negligible wishes, but rights guaranteed by the Swiss Constitution: "The law shall ensure their equality [of men and women], both in law and in practice, most particularly in the family, in education, and in the workplace" as well as protection against discrimination based on origin, 'race', gender, age, religion and disability (Federal Constitution of the Swiss Confederation 2020, article 8; adding sexual orientation has so far been refused). It is therefore very questionable if, as in the above quote, SNSF employees simply reject this legal claim and constitutional mandate and disregard the need of university members for the recognition of diversity – despite the fact that universities, as governmental institutions, are particularly obliged to implement the constitutional mandate of gender equality and anti-discrimination. The legal basis is also quite elaborate at the level of Swiss university law and in parts

of the SNSF. Equal opportunity and actual gender equality are defined as requirements for institutional accreditation in the Federal Act on Funding and Coordination of the Swiss Higher Education Sector (2015, article 30) and in the Ordinance of the Higher Education Council on Accreditation within the Higher Education Sector (2015, article 22). Some high-ranking individuals in German and Swiss academia now emphasise the necessity to treat the question of gender equality above all as a question of justice and not, as so often, as an attempt to increase efficiency, performance and prestige. At least not primarily. While the constitution and university law acknowledge this aspect, there is still work to be done for its implementation and the generalisation of the knowledge and insights arising.

I propose to combine this focus on rights with an orientation towards the quality of science, which – as I will argue – includes the promotion of diverse scientific practices. A further mandate in the Swiss constitution (article 20) guarantees academic freedom, which means that science must not be limited by usefulness and political expediency. As the professor of law and judge of the Federal Constitutional Court in Germany Susanne Baer states: It is important to "promote gender equality requirements that do not structurally endanger science", as is the case with narrow standards of excellence and the neoliberal restructuring of universities, "but to enable the scientific adventure" (Baer 2018: 17; transl. AT). If science is to do justice to the diversity and complexity of its research objects, it needs to promote diverse, creative and innovative approaches. Feminist and postcolonial studies have long shown how the scope of knowledge is narrowed when it is voiced from only one perspective, e.g. the bourgeois-male, White, heterosexual, Eurocentric perspective. Furthering the quality of science therefore also implies the promotion of diverse individuals, biographies and kinds of scientific knowledge.

Some people fear, the pluralisation of accepted academic standards would question rationality and the quality of research. On the one hand, I suggest we insist on the feminist critique of the male gaze in academic practice (cf. Haraway 1988). The bourgeois male concept of 'rationality' is a specific one that goes hand in hand with understanding the world by dominating and appropriating it. Questioning it does not imply questioning rational approaches to knowledge production more broadly. On the other hand, this questioning of academic knowledge practices is an opportunity to debate again and for the current context, what scientific knowledge is – in contrast to opinions, everyday knowledge, fake news, but also concerning the new positivism dispute. Especially against the background of the irrationality of some attempts to quantify the quality of knowledge (such as focusing on the number of articles published, rather than quality), this discussion can help to reformulate and sharpen scientific standards. The frequently expressed concern that the promotion and acceptance of diverse modes of living and scientific practices was necessarily associated with a deterioration in quality and performance is thus unjustified. It does however question a certain understanding of excellence, rationality and meritocracy. Namely that which is based solely on one mode of living and one dominant scientific practice. The concern is therefore conservative: it clings to habits and certain privileges without questioning them and without openness to think beyond them.

Some, like another SNSF employee, insist on committing 150 percent of their time and being to academia: "What is needed is a sacred fire burning and fully committed dedication. Research as calling, that is excellence" (quoted in Nentwich et al. 2016). As shown in many studies, working full time is not enough in academia and overtime the norm (cf. Bürgi et al. 2016; Liebig 2008). However, neurologists have shown that excessive work intensity and stress massively reduce performance and lead to an increased risk of mental and cardiovascular diseases (Breit & Redl 2018). Efforts by Amazon or Toyota to reduce the workday to six hours result in increased profits and more satisfied employees (ibid.). A reduction in working hours can also increase satisfaction in science, enable academics to shape their individual lives and provide a framework for high-quality research. As many stress, high-quality, creative and innovative research requires enough time and calm to do so (Slow Science Academy 2010). Academics often have a high intrinsic motivation and the assumption of the *homo economicus* that humans are fundamentally lazy and must therefore be encouraged to perform at their best – turns out to be not only wrong, but also counterproductive.

Some have an elitist understanding of excellence and propose according education policies. The idea of the "excellent scientist as lonely hero at the top" (Benschop & Brouns 2003: 194) is based on an elitist

understanding of education, which determines quality relationally. One is on top compared to the many who are below. Others however propose a democratic-egalitarian education and academic system and try to provide large sections of society with high education. They assume that democratic societies, especially information and knowledge societies require more and more knowledge and competences and therefore further an egalitarian education politics. Different countries choose different policies which imply either little spending for an elitist model, or larger governmental spending in democratic-egalitarian approaches (Maihofer 2009: 47f.). Switzerland follows a rather elitist education policy, despite the country's self-understanding as particularly democratic. Here, I suggest we insist more on a democratic education policy, which might enable turning the competitive culture into a more collaborative one.

The starting point of this research is thus the insight into the problem of the prevailing understanding of equality, which aims to achieve equality through assimilation. Recognition is only granted to what is equal (in the sense of sameness), while difference is devalued. This logic has long been a constitutive element of Swiss politics, for example as reason to deny women the right to vote until 1971 due to their (legally prescribed) different modes of living (Maihofer 2016: 282). Suffrage was only granted after women were present enough in the labour market, so that this argument could no longer hold. This understanding of equality and its inherent devaluation of difference is an often implicit, but important element in current gender equality and diversity policies. A difficulty is that this understanding of equality, which relies on accepting the male norm as standard, is often invisible and is not itself seen as a particular standard. A challenge is therefore, to make this problem visible.

TERMINOLOGY: FOR GENDER EQUALITY AND DIVERSITY/PLURALITY

The terms gender equality, equal opportunity and diversity are used quite differently in the field and there is no common understanding on what they mean (cf. Nentwich et al. 2016; Callerstig 2014: 115). Therefore, one important task for gender equality work seems to be, to maintain and promote the discussion on what they mean and what goals they aim at.

In the action plans written by the different equal opportunity and gender equality offices at Swiss universities for government funding for "Equal Opportunity for Women and Men at Universities" the terms gender equality and equal opportunity generally refer to the fact that the starting points and opportunities for an academic career are unequally distributed in our society with regard to gender, 'race', class, sexuality, disability, age, gender identity, nationality, ethnicity and religion. They aim on the one hand at enabling negative freedoms (freedom from) such as protection against discrimination, harassment and assault. On the other hand, they are concerned with enabling positive freedoms (freedom to), like offering conditions for the compatibility of family and work, making spaces accessible and providing trainings to acquire competencies necessary for an academic career. In a neoliberal context, where the emphasis lies on negative freedom, and the dominant rhetoric is: 'more freedom, less state', it is useful to stress the importance of positive freedom. Freedom is based on requirements that need to be provided – for example by the state. Therefore, to some degree, more state is necessary for more freedom, for example concerning paternal leave, which is currently still granted only for one day to fathers in Switzerland.

There also lies an important difference between the terms gender equality and equal opportunity: In contrast to the concept of equal opportunity, gender equality implies a critique of social inequality, not only of the unequal distribution of opportunities. Equal opportunity usually aims at performance fairness, while gender equality aims at social justice. For this reason, the term gender equality was deliberately avoided in the German Basic Constitutional Law, because they did not want to promise equality of outcome, only equal opportunities (Bericht zur Verfassungsreform 1993: 50). The concept of gender equality in the Swiss constitution is therefore more far-reaching concerning social justice. These terms and their goals have implications for the according elitist or democratic education policies. In order to consider the aspect of social justice and the task to realise the Swiss constitutional mandate, the term gender equality seems more adequate.

With both terms, equal opportunity and gender equality, there remains a risk that equality is merely being sought in orientation and assimilation to a narrow male, White, heterosexual etc. standard. In order to combine the aspect of social justice and equality with recognition of difference, it

is productive to combine the term gender equality with diversity and to insist on the recognition of a plurality of modes of existence and of living. Diversity management often ignores the aspects of social justice and class (Gotsis & Kortezi 2015: 71). While critical diversity management does include these aspects, using the term plurality instead and/or combining it with gender equality helps to counteract a merely profit oriented or meritocratic understanding of the term diversity. Furthermore, the term inclusion stresses the need for valuing individuals "for their unique attributes" and including them in a way so they belong to the group or organisation (Shore et al. 2010: 1271).

Challenging questions also are, what diversity means, which categories are relevant for the university context and what that implies for diversity policies. My current suggestion is to focus on gender, 'race', class, sexuality, disability, age, gender identity, nationality, ethnicity and religion. Thereby, it is crucial to take into account the different logics and dynamics of each relation of domination and how different the solutions to each problem are: some differences need to be valued; others need to be overcome. A person in a wheelchair will mostly need infrastructure to have access, queer people may focus on rights and recognition, poor people on financial support and so on. An additive naming of different categories often hides the different logics and their complex interrelations.

To draw a first conclusion on terminology: in order to implement the Swiss constitutional mandate and to ensure equality not through assimilation but through non-hierarchical recognition of diversity, I propose a combination of the terms *gender equality and diversity/ plurality*. They are, in my view, the best terms when working towards the goal of fully implementing the constitutional mandate. Using the term diversity alone would tend to hide the democratic aspects of gender equality.

When analysing the use of terms and strategies in the action plans for equal opportunity at Swiss universities within the framework of the federal programme for equal opportunities, there were some insightful tendencies: *First*: only a few institutions refer directly to the constitutional mandate, although it stresses the importance of these issues as constitutional rights and mandate to realise actual and not only legal gender equality. Some however make this link to the constitution very explicitly and consequently use the term gender equality rather than equal opportunity. *Second*: some action plans are oriented towards international, especially EU requirements and thus emphasise the importance of human rights, democracy and ethical responsibility for social development. Such larger institutional frameworks can be used to strengthen these aspects. *Third*: universities that focus more on equal opportunity and/or diversity are more likely to operate with a narrative of competition and an elitist understanding of excellence. The University of Zurich seems to follow a new approach, focuses on 'promoting – living – using diversity', which combines aspects of meritocracy and social justice and uses the terms diversity and plurality. *Fourth*: the role privileged people may play in a transformation to gender equality and diversity, which I consider to be crucial, is seldomly mentioned. *Fifth*: the focus lies on organisational development and rarely on research that promotes gender equality and diversity or teaching that is sensitive to diverse students. *Sixth*: concerns of university groups are taken into account differently. While increasing the number of female professors (group I) and supporting female PhD and postdoctoral researchers (group III) are included in programs, other groups are not often mentioned: especially private lecturers, assistant professors without tenure track and titular professors (group II), scientific, technical and administrative staff (group IV) and students (group V).

How the priorities are set in each case and whether and in what way the constitutional mandates are implemented is always a political decision for terms and strategies. A tension lies between concerns for social justice and performance fairness and the question what role education should play for society.

CONCLUSIONS FOR POLICY SUGGESTIONS: CONSIDERING THE BROAD PICTURE

The academic system and its disciplines as we know them today were established with the patriarchal bourgeois capitalist societies in the 18th century (Maihofer 2014). It is constitutively based on inclusions, exclusions and hierarchies that run counter to gender equality and the recognition of plurality. Gender research on the establishment of academia allows us to broaden the focus on what is considered when drafting gender equality and diversity policies and to take into account the academic system as a whole

and its historical genealogy. Such a perspective shows, how the academic system is gendered in a constitutively masculine way on multiple levels.

Concerning the goals of the Swiss government programs Equal Opportunities, these insights have consequences. The goals of the programs are: institutional anchoring of equal opportunity, increase in the proportion of female professors, supporting female doctoral and postdoctoral researchers in their careers so they will stay, family friendliness, the reduction of horizontal (fewer women enter certain subjects) and vertical segregation (e.g. few women in STEM subjects, that is Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics), and now also the promotion of diversity competence.

In order to achieve these goals, I would like to emphasise some aspects that are seldomly mentioned in the action plans: The implementation of the constitutional gender equality mandate requires a departure from the 'male' norm of excellence and science and an orientation towards equality through non-hierarchical recognition of diversity and plurality (not only equality through assimilation). A family-friendly university thus implies the acceptance of present, engaged parenthood of academics as an equal form of academic practice. Policies then should not only aim at supporting parents to realise a traditionally 'male' career path. Rather, it requires acceptance of multiple life trajectories, modes of living and therefore permanent and part-time employment options.

Overcoming horizontal and vertical gender segregation concerning the choice of studies (e.g. in STEM subjects) will only be successful, if the gendered and hierarchical distinction between the so called hard natural sciences with a masculine connotation and the so called soft social sciences and humanities with a female connotation is overcome (Maihofer 2014). Here, gender equality policies are required on the level of gendered disciplines. Hierarchies and segregations can be counteracted by promoting a critical self-reflection, situation of one's standpoint and the inclusion of ethical and societal aspects in the natural sciences. Social sciences and humanities could expand their openness to the different quality of research objects and methods in the natural sciences. Both could promote skills for inter- and transdisciplinary collaboration. This is challenging, as interdisciplinarity is in itself marginalised in the current system of 'masculine' disciplines that strive for hegemony and not recognition of difference.

Furthermore, gender equality and diversity work also concerns knowledge production itself and therefore includes the promotion of diverse knowledge and of knowledge production that explores and questions relationships of domination concerning gender, sexuality, 'race', ethnicity, class, migration and age, as well as possibilities of overcoming domination. Competences to teach diverse knowledge to diverse students is another important field of gender equality and diversity work. One more crucial field of gender equality policy is funding agencies themselves (Husu & Callerstig 2018; Husu & de Cheveigné 2010).

Finally, national and international education policy is also a question of gender equality policy, because it plays a role whether it advocates equal opportunities within the framework of elitist promotion of excellence or represents a democratic claim to gender equality and diversity in the field of education. How gender equality and diversity efforts will develop in the future, will be – at least to some extent – up to us.

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Literary landscapes in Finnish schools

Gender and national diversity

Liisa Tainio, Sanni Leksis and Lotta-Sofia Aaltonen

READING AND GETTING TO KNOW literature is one of the most important aims of the subject of Mother tongue and literature[1] in basic education[2] in Finland. The national curriculum states that "the aim of literature instruction is to engage students in reading for pleasure, to offer them reading experiences that they can share with others, to deepen their cultural knowledge, to support their ethical development and - - to bind the students to their own culture and broaden their knowledge of other cultures" (NC 2014: 104, authors' translation). This aim has not been fulfilled, as despite Finnish 15-year-old students' reading skills being rated as extremely high in the latest PISA evaluation, their engagement in reading is low (Leino et al. 2019: 20-21). As much as 63 percent of Finnish boys and 43 percent of girls responded that they read only if they have to, and only 35 percent of girls and 15 percent of boys claimed that reading was among their favorite leisure-time activities (Leino et al. 2019: 86-87).

An Estonian study found that young people's reading habits are influenced by the school's literature curriculum and teachers' decisions about what students should read (Puksand 2014). Until now, we have only had a vague idea of what kind of literature is actually read in Finnish schools. In 2017–2019 the Lukuklaani project (Reading Clan, see https://blogs.helsinki.fi/lukuklaani/) conducted a survey in Finnish comprehensive schools and received responses from 884 primary school teachers (Grades 1–6) and 407 subject teachers of Finnish/Swedish as the mother tongue[3] (Grades 7–9). An analysis of the teacher responses provided a picture of the literary landscape of Finnish schools (see also Tainio et al. 2019, forthcoming). By literary landscape we refer here to the variety of literature that students in Finnish schools read (see also Tainio et al. 2019: 218-219); this variety is explored by analysing teacher responses to Lukuklaani project's

1 The name of the subject, Mother tongue and literature, has been under critical discussion lately, because of the vague and biased meaning of the term mother tongue. The national curriculum has 12 different syllabi for certain languages, for example, Finnish language and literature, Swedish language and literature, Sami languages and literature. (NC 2014).

2 Basic education is conducted in Finnish comprehensive school, which consists of primary school (Grades 1–6, pupils aged 7–12) and lower secondary school (Grades 7–9, pupils aged 13–15).

3 Finland has two national languages, Finnish and Swedish, and thus also two parallel school systems that follow the same national curriculum (NC 2014).

survey question: “Name one book which, in your experience, inspires pupils. Name also the grade or grades in which the book is particularly popular.”

First, since the national curriculum encourages teachers to “bind the students to their own culture and to broaden their knowledge of other cultures” (NC 2014: 104), we are, interested in the national diversity of the literature that teachers offer their students. Since it was not possible to study every book that was mentioned we explored the native countries of the authors. Second, as the foundational objectives of basic education include promoting equality of the sexes as well as encouraging “both girls and boys in their studies in different subjects, and increasing knowledge and understanding of the variety of sexes and genders” (NC 2014: 18), we were interested in the sex/gender of the protagonists in the literature offered to students. This is important because young people prefer protagonists of their own gender when selecting a book to read and feel that being able to identify with the protagonist is important (e.g. Beyard-Tyler & Sullivan 1980; Summers 2013). Third, we were interested in whether men write books about male protagonists, women about female protagonists, and who writes about protagonists of other genders, if these kinds of books are on teachers’ lists. This is interesting because at least children’s literature has a tendency for men to write about male protagonists but women to write about both female and male protagonists (Brugeilles et al. 2002; Nikolajeva 2005: 12-13).

DATA AND CATEGORISATION

The Lukuklaani survey was sent to comprehensive schools all over Finland (see Aaltonen 2019). Most of the responses, 1186, came from Finnish-speaking schools; from Swedish-speaking schools we received 105 responses. Some teachers mentioned several inspiring books in their responses; some mentioned only the name of the writer; some mentioned book series; others mentioned no specific books. We categorised all the responses that referred to a specific book series under the same entity (e.g. different volumes of the Harry Potter series were categorised as ‘Harry Potter’). We excluded the responses that mentioned only the name of the writer from the categorisation (e.g. “books written by Mauri Kunnas”) as well as those that were unclear or not relevant for categorisation (e.g. “fairy tales”) when

categorising the gender of the protagonists, but included mentions of writers’ names when analysing national diversity. We counted how many times the books/book series were mentioned in the teachers’ lists; some of the books were mentioned dozens of times, but most of them only once or twice. At the top of the list was Sinikka and Tiina Nopola’s book series about *Risto Räppääjä,* with 122 mentions. This book series was then placed in the tables according to this number. After these analytical steps, we found 2027 mentions of the books/book series and 52 mentions of the writer without the name of the book/book series; these we classified, if possible, under three categories: 1) writer’s native country (which was often also the country of residence); 2) gender of the protagonist in the book/book series; and 3) sex/gender of the writer. However, these categories and criteria are in many ways ambivalent, so we will next expand on our decisions.

First, in order to categorise the native country of a writer we explored the writers’ websites, Wikipedia and other sources of information (e.g. publishers’ websites). We are fully aware that the representation of different cultures in literature is not revealed by categorising writers according to their native country: Writers can, of course, position their stories in cultures other than their own native culture. However, as it was not possible to read every book on the lists, we decided to use this criterion for categorisation. It also revealed interesting information about the original languages of translated books (for this decision, see also Tainio et al. 2019).

Second, we explored the gender of the protagonists in the lists using our own knowledge of the books as well as the information provided by Kirjasampo/Boksampo, a web-based information source of public libraries in Finland (see https://www.kirjasampo.fi/). We also used the writers’ and publishers’ websites and sometimes other sources (e.g. literature blogs) to gather this information. Our data formed four relevant protagonist categories: female(s), male(s), groups with both males and females, and other genders (also animals with no expressed gender). Nevertheless, this does not reveal all the information that could be taken into account in a more qualitative analysis. We are well aware that both male and female protagonists may either follow or break the norms of traditional gender roles, and thus this categorisation does not tell us everything about the character of the protagonists. However, as some research shows that particularly young people favour literature with protagonists of their own gender and that they consider it important to identify with these protagonists (e.g. Beyard-Tyler & Sullivan 1980; Summers 2013), we see this topic as important (see also Tainio et al. forthcoming).

Third, we also wanted to explore whether the assumption that men write about male protagonists and women about female as well as male protagonists (e.g. Brugeilles et al. 2002) also held for our data. Thus, we categorised the writers under three categories: woman, man and other gender. We explored the writers' website information, took as additional criteria both the first names of the writers and the ways in which they identified themselves into gender roles in photos of themselves that are available to the public. Even though we are aware that this identification might not reveal the true gender identity of all the writers, we nevertheless decided to use these criteria for the analysis. We found no writers whom we could, according to these criteria, place in categories other than 'woman' or 'man' (See also Tainio et al. forthcoming).

"BROADENING KNOWLEDGE ABOUT OTHER CULTURES"

Our first interest was to analyse the national diversity covered in the book lists provided by the teachers. To do this we determined the writers' native countries (see Table 1). This categorisation was relevant for 2071 of all the books/book series mentioned by the teachers. However, one book series had both a Finnish and a Norwegian writer (Timo Parvela & Bjørn Sortland: *Kepler62* series) and we placed the mentions of this series into "Finland" and "Other Nordic countries" categories. Thus, the total of all the writers in Table 1 is 2097.

Our first observation was that more than half of the books were written by Finnish authors. According to this list, the objective of binding "the students to their own culture" (NC 2014: 104) through literature was fulfilled, at least for those students whose native country was Finland and native language Finnish.

As Table 1 shows, the variety of other countries is fairly limited. However, literature from our neighbouring country Sweden is well represented. Particularly in the lower grades, the number of books originally

written in Sweden is high. In Swedish-speaking schools, most of the books that teachers considered inspiring were written by Swedish writers. In the lower grades (1–6) these books covered 68 percent of all mentions, while 18 percent were written by Finnish writers, all of whom were Finnish-Swedish authors (Tainio et al. 2019: 222-226). In the upper grades (7–9) 42 out of 58 mentions of books by Swedish writers came from Swedish-speaking schools.

Grade	**Finland**	**Sweden**	**Other Nordic countries**	**UK**	**Ireland**	**Other European countries**	**Russia**	**USA**	**Others**	
1–3	411	103	17	63	5	3	19	16	-	*637*
4–6	212	67	26	107	2	15	4	62	-	*495*
7–9	528	54	4	94	73	20	-	186	6	*965*
Total	1151 54.9%	224 11.0%	47 2.2%	264 13.0%	80 3.8%	38 1.8%	23 1.1%	264 13.0%	6 0.3%	*2097* *100%*

Table 1. Authors categorised according to their native country

In the upper grades, the number of books translated from English increased. Writers from the UK, USA and Ireland in particular were very often mentioned. For example, in the fifth and sixth grades, J.K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* was at the top of the lists, followed by Jeff Kinney's *Diary of a wimpy kid* (Tainio et al. 2019: 227-229). However, in the upper grades (7–9), even though the amount of literature originally written in English was very high, a Finnish classic, Minna Canth's tragedy *Anna Liisa* (published in 1895) was the most often mentioned book in the ninth grade (Tainio et al. forthcoming). The reason for this lies partly in the tradition of Finnish literature education in schools, since in the ninth grade all textbooks provide information on the literature history of Finland. Minna Canth is always mentioned, and *Anna Liisa* is often named as her most important literary work. However, another reason for its popularity most likely derives from its eternal themes of love, sexuality, gender (in)equality, morality, and responsibility in front of other people and God, and teachers seem to succeed in getting these themes to touch young people even if the text represents a rather old drama. (See also Grünthal et al. forthcoming).

Translations from languages other than English were quite seldom mentioned. The number of mentions of Russian literatures was due to one specific book, namely Eduard Uspenski's *Uncle Fedya, his dog and his cat* (Tainio et al. 2019: 228). The rest of Europe, not to mention all continents other than North America, was almost totally missing.

GENDER OF PROTAGONISTS

Literature studies have shown that particularly children and young people need to identify with the protagonist of the novel or short story (Appleyard 1990; Jose & Brewer 1984). Both children and young people, as well as adults, have been shown to prefer books that have a protagonist of their own gender (Beyard-Tyler & Sullivan 1980; Jose 1989; Summers 2013). The overall view is that men prefer books with a male protagonist and never with a female protagonist. Most women prefer male protagonists, but quite many also see a female protagonist as an important appeal factor. In terms of literature education in Finnish comprehensive schools, it is interesting to see the gender variety in the lists of inspiring books provided by the teacher responses (in some books this categorisation was irrelevant, for example, in various non-fiction books). Table 2 presents our results.

One of the fundamental objectives of the national curriculum is to equally encourage both girls and boys and help them find their own ways of studying and living, without binding them to stereotypical gender roles (NC 2014: 18). It seems that this objective has not been fulfilled, as the results show a bias in favour of male protagonists. The majority of the books had a male protagonist (64.3%), and many books had both a male and female as their protagonist (Group, 12.4%). A female protagonist was present only in 22.5 percent of the books. Other genders were almost invisible (Other, 0.8%), even though the national curriculum guides teachers to "increase knowledge and understanding about the variety of sexes and genders" (NC 2014: 18). Most of the books with protagonists of other genders were written so that the gender was unidentifiable. In one book the protagonist was a young transgender person (Siri Kolu's *Kesän jälkeen kaikki on toisin* "After the summer everything is different").

GENDER OF THE PROTAGONIST

Grade	Woman	Man	Group	Other	Total
1.	44	109	24	6	183
2.	72	111	29	4	216
3.	58	130	32	0	220
4.	49	121	42	0	212
5.	24	93	15	0	132
6.	11	85	14	0	110
7.	35	275	19	2	331
8.	59	208	44	0	311
9.	98	156	29	3	286
	450 (22.5%)	1288 (64.3%)	248 (12.4%)	15 (0.8%)	2001

Table 2. **Gender of protagonists in books that Finnish teachers see as inspiring for students**

WRITING ABOUT THE PROTAGONIST OF YOUR OWN GENDER

Many studies show that not only the gender of the protagonist but also the gender of the writer is a factor that influences the reading habits of both men and women. The overall view is that men prefer books written by men; women prefer books written by both men and women. According to a Finnish study conducted by Statistics Finland, half of the male respondents preferred books written by men, and a quarter of the women preferred books written by women; another quarter of women preferred books written by men, but only one percent of men preferred books written by women; others did not see the gender of the writer as an important appeal factor (SVT 2017). Other studies support these tendencies (e.g. Summers 2013). But does the gender of the writer affect their selection of the protagonist?

To determine whether these factors – the gender of the writer and the gender of the protagonist – are interrelated, we first explored the gender balance between the writers of the books in the teacher responses. We found that 53.6 percent of the writers in the books that were mentioned were men. In 44.1 percent of the books, the writers were women; the rest of the books had two or more writers, both women and men (2.2%) (Tainio et al. forthcoming). We then combined our results regarding the gender of the writer and the gender of the protagonist. Figure 1 presents our findings (see also Tainio et al. forthcoming).

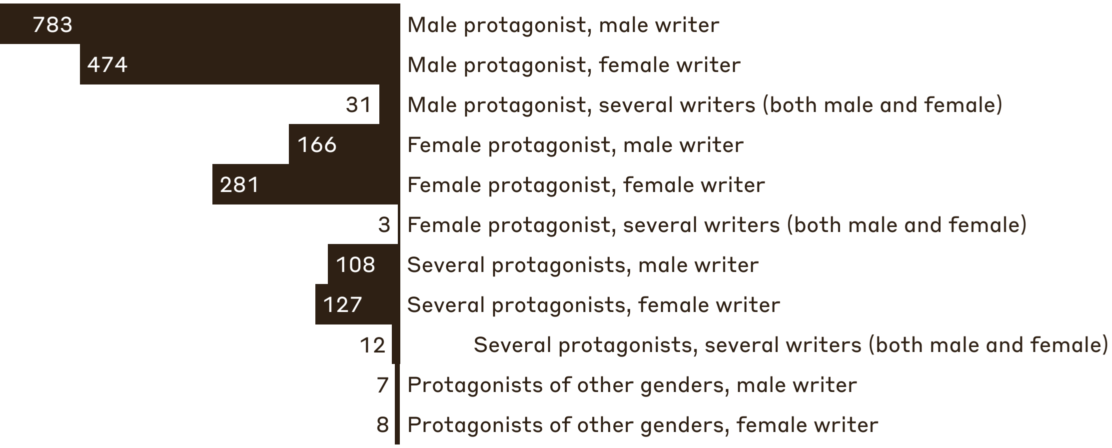

Figure 1. Combinations of writer's gender and protagonist's gender in Finnish teachers' responses

The figure shows that according to the teachers' lists of inspiring books, male writers choose a male protagonist far more often (N = 783) than a female protagonist (N = 166). Moreover, women more often write about male protagonists (N = 474) but still choose a female as their protagonist more often than men (N = 281). The few books that had a protagonist of other genders or that did not reveal the gender of the protagonist were written by both men and women. However, the figures in Figure 1 cover all mentions from the teacher responses, meaning that if a book was mentioned several times, it was also counted as many times in the numbers presented in the figure. If we take a look at the book and the writer list without multiplications, the numbers are even more biased: Male protagonists cover 72 percent of the books written by men, and 10 percent of male writers' books have female protagonists; female protagonists cover 43 percent of books written by women, and 38 percent of female writers' books have male protagonists. So, the hypothesis that men write about men and women about both women and men seems to hold, as a tendency, also in our data.

DISCUSSION

In Finland, there has been a long-lasting discussion about schools favouring girls over boys (e.g. Lahelma 2014). In literature education, in the light of our results, boys seem to be at least indulged, if not favoured: They have more opportunities to read literature that is written by a writer of their own gender and far many more opportunities to read literature with a protagonist of their own gender. Meanwhile, girls (and students of other genders) cannot as easily access reading that has as a wide representation of protagonists of their own gender(s). Thus, they learn how to identify with any protagonist, despite the gender. Boys, it seems, are not expected to learn the same lesson. Do teachers think that boys can or are willing to only read about boys? If so, this is a false belief – when guided to read literature with female protagonists, boys have also been inspired by them (Dutro 2001).

Many studies have presented the assumption that boys and girls prefer different genres and topics. Boys have been said to prefer non-fiction books and fiction about sports and technology, thrillers and adventure and girls to prefer fiction and particularly human relationships and romance (e.g. Millard 1997). However, these assumptions have been criticised in other studies that see cultural beliefs as more powerful than actual individual preferences (e.g. Dutro 2001; Tarulli & Brendler 2010). For example, when children were asked to choose a book for themselves and a book for a boy or a girl, they chose a book that reflected the stereotypical assumptions of gendered preferences for an unknown girl or boy, but the books that they chose for themselves did not follow these assumptions (Chapman et al. 2007). Gendered social expectations are powerful and far from simple. For example, Dutro (2001) found that in classrooms, it was easier for the most athletic and masculine boys to choose a book written by a woman with a female protagonist than for the more feminine boys.

According to our results, the literary landscape in Finnish schools is biased in favor of male writers and male protagonists. It is also heavily based on the assumption of two genders. The Lukuklaani survey revealed that over 50 percent of the latest books that students had read were chosen by teachers, which means that teachers affect students' reading habits in school to a considerable extent. In addition, teachers are influential opinion-formers and examples of literature experts to all students, also for those who are not eager to read literature. Teachers must balance between motivating students to read anything they are willing to read, whoever the protagonist or the writer of the book, and offering students a variety of genres, writers and books with different characters, milieus and styles. Our study does not reveal the whole truth about the variety of books that are offered to students to read at Finnish schools as the analysis focused on the books that the teachers considered inspiring for students. Nevertheless, it is probable that these books are the ones that are read more often than other kinds of literature. There are ways for teachers to expand the selection of the books that they offer for students to read. They could start by considering female writers more often, and by finding students books that see gender more openly than from the perspective of two permanent sexes with stereotypical gender roles.

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Faces of gender inequality in the Polish academy

Renata Siemieńska

THE STUDIES CONDUCTED in many countries show that the phenomenon of gender inequality is common in the academy, as far as women's and men's presence and positions are concerned. Various authors have attempted to find out the reasons for the situation, trying to identify the factors responsible for it. Some researchers have pointed out the importance of what is happening before young people decide to study and what to study. In other words, patterns and conditions of socialisation before entering universities play important roles. These researchers emphasise the role of family, school, peers, media, and so on in establishing social norms concerning gender roles in particular societies, according to which men play roles connected with power and decision-making, while women play roles as subordinates. Analysis of school textbooks from different countries shows that personality patterns propagated there mainly offer traditional roles for women and men (Siemieńska 2019a)

Several authors stress the role of social and cultural context outside of the higher education institutions which influences what is happening there starting from the moment of choice of area of study through the next stages of careers of women and men. For example, Kim A. Weeden, Sarah Thébaud and Dafna Gelbgiser (2017) summarising results of their study wrote: "Women earn nearly half of doctoral degrees in research fields, yet doctoral education in the United States remains deeply segregated by gender", in terms of field of study, and also across programmes that differ in prestige:

> *Using data on all doctorates awarded in the United States from 2003 to 2014, field-specific program rankings, and field-level measures of math and verbal skills, the authors show that: (1) "net" field segregation is very high and strongly associated with field-level math skills; (2) "net" prestige segregation is weaker than field segregation but still a nontrivial form of segregation in doctoral education; (3) women are underrepresented among graduates of the highest-and to a lesser extent, the lowest-prestige programs; and (4) the strength and pattern of prestige segregation varies substantially across fields, but little of this variation is associated with field skills.* (Weeden et al. 2017: 123)

Self-selection based on perceived ability plays a significant role in choosing field of undergraduate study and even more in case of doctoral studies to assess by applicants:

> *their likelihood of success, it follows that the level of math skills associated with a given field will be positively associated with male overrepresentation in that field. The level of verbal skills will have much weaker association with female over-representation, given the less extreme gender gaps in the right tail of observed indicators of verbal ability.* (Weeden et al. 2017: 123)

Some authors, for example, Nicky Le Feuvre (2009) interpreting differences in numbers of women occupying high positions in universities in Germany and France, considers that the lower number of women in such positions in Germany resulted from more traditional conceptions of men's and women's roles in German society than in French society.

Analyses show that there is no relationship between The Global Gender Gap (based on 14 different measures of women's positions in particular societies) and presence of women among professors (category A) in universities and research institutions (European Commission 2009: table 1). In some countries where the level of equality was relatively high, the number of female professors among the professoriate was lower (e.g. Germany, Denmark, France) than in some countries with a low level of gender equality (e.g. Poland, Hungary, Slovakia).

Several authors are looking for the answer on how to decrease gender inequality in the functional mechanisms of higher education institutions. Many of the institutions have implemented gender equality action plans (GEPs). However, as Sara Clavero and Yvonne Galligan (2020: 24) have concluded their overview of studies focused on the issue:

> *While GEPs in universities are becoming rather widespread and there is evidence of some progress towards gender equality in this type of settings, their efforts are not always translated into desired outcomes. In understanding the factors hindering implementation, this review paper turned to the concept of*

> *'resistances' to institutional change. The concept of resistance has been unpacked through understanding institutions, as well as individuals, as sites of resistance.*

Several studies show the role that is played by informal institutional rules hindering attempts to increase gender equality in higher education institutions (e.g. Fogelberg et al. 1999; Bornmann et al. 2018). This chapter focuses on developments in the area of higher education, access to study for men and women in universities and their opportunities for promotion and achieving the highest positions of decision-makers in academic institutions in Poland. I will show the role of some factors hindering and facilitating their accomplishments, and to what extent gender-differentiated opportunities depend on the same factors in countries with different histories. Analysis of the Polish case allows one to assume that women's presence and positions achieved in the academic hierarchy depend to a high degree on the position of the R&D sector in comparison with other sectors in the country.

The last decades of the twentieth century brought changes of social structure in the societies of Central and Eastern Europe, including Poland. These societies have become more highly educated, and this applies particularly to women. Women with tertiary education are a growing part of the labour force in the region. Women constitute a higher percentage among students than before. Since 1980 women constitute over half of all students. In the 1990s the percentage of women among students of extramural, external and evening studies increased, being especially high in non-state institutions of higher education. In 1997/98, women already constituted 52 percent of students of day studies, 55 percent of students of evening studies, 61 percent of students of weekend studies and 72 percent of extramural studies (Statistical Yearbook 1998, 1998). In 2009/10, women constituted 58 percent of the total students, with the same percentage in the 2018/19 academic year (https://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/edukacja/edukacja/szkolnictwo-wyzsze-w-roku-akademickim-20182019-wyniki-wstepne,8,6.html). The figures show that women continue to gain higher education in the new conditions regulated by free market mechanisms, but they tend to select shorter (non-state educational institutions often offer only three-year studies) and in many cases cheaper forms of education that are available in smaller towns.

EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL BRAIN DRAIN FROM ACADEMIA IN THE 1990S

The transformation of an economic system from command to a free market in Poland led to the marginalisation of science. After the end of Communism in 1990, Poland's adoption of a market economy prompted the emergence of many private universities, amid lax requirements for the quality of their infrastructure and academic staff. But, at the same time, the amount of money available for research and academic salaries at public universities fell. This prolonged the emigration of many of Poland's best scientists (which had previously been fueled by the Communist government's repression of political opposition) and meant that the sudden high demand for academic staff met with only limited supply (Siemieńska 2016).

The situation was exacerbated by the fact that many scientists – particularly younger ones – were lured into higher paying jobs in the private sector. Those academics who remained have adapted to the deteriorating situation, working as experts for various public and private institutions or accepting additional jobs at the new universities (Siemieńska 2016; Siemieńska & Walczak 2012). These institutions, which accounted for 321 of Poland's 453 higher education institutions in 2012/13, usually limit their activities to teaching and, with some exceptions, occupy low positions in the national rankings. The situation did not change during the next few years; in 2019/20, there were 133 public higher education institutions and 240 non-public.

Summarising, science became a silent loser in comparison with other sectors of the national economy at the beginning of economic and political transformation. The percentage of the national income distributed on science has declined for several years to 0.47 percent in 1998, 0.94 percent in 2014, 1.21 percent in 2018 (https://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do), while in the late 1980s it was over one per cent. The salary of the university professor in 1994 was worth half his/her salary in 1989 (Jalowiecki et al. 1994). As time went by, the central authorities undertook steps to redress this situation. Salaries were slightly higher, and a cap was imposed on the number of additional jobs academics could take. Research funding was also slightly increased. But the funds do not offer sufficient stimulation for change, and the problems have not been solved. Universities

are still unable to compete with the private sector on salary, and there is little competition for university positions. Domestic success rates of 10-15 percent make applying for grants a less attractive option than working on additional jobs for academics struggling with their household budgets. And many universities that treat scientific activity as marginal to their missions fail to provide financial or organisational support to prepare applications for grants.

Women are poorly represented among reviewers of grant applications. A study on experts evaluating grant applications submitted to the National Science Center (NCN - the most important state agency) distributing funds for research shows that in 2015 among 1017 reviewers used women constituted 31.56 percent. Almost half of the experts (47.69%) have been full professors (prof. dr hab.), the next groups (37.86%t) constituted associate professors (dr hab.), assistant professors (Ph.D. graduates) (13.37%), and 1 percent professors working abroad. Women have been mostly present among assistant professors. Women constituted also a minority among reviewers of the very prestigious agency Foundation of Polish Science (FNP). Their number depended on type of competition. In 2011-2015, women reviewers constituted between 12.5 percent and 25.3 percent.

Women and men in research show different patterns in their research & innovation outputs. Men in the EU tend to have greater success in funding applications in national programmes, outstripping women by 4.4 percentage points in 2013 (success rate for men = 31.8%; rate for women = 27.4%) (European Commission 2015). At the same time in Poland, success rate in receiving grants of the National Science Center (NCN) in 2012, 2013 and 2014 shows that women were less successful: they have constituted respectively 4, 46 and 47 percent among applicants, and 42, 41, 45 percent among grant recipients. The proportions have varied depending on the type of competition. Women dominated among young applicants (age cohorts: below 25 and 26-30) in the analysed period. Young women's activity in applying for grants is in opposition to prevailing stereotype that young women are first of all focused on their potential role as mothers. On the other hand, some young women postpone motherhood to concentrate on their careers. In the period 2012-2014, the success rate has been lower for women, 19.2 percent, 20.2 percent, 14.8 percent respectively, and 21.7 percent, 25.4 percent, 16.5 percent for men, when the total numbers of men and women have been considered among applicants and recipients for all type of grants. The success rate in receiving grants/stipends of the Foundation of Polish Science (FNP) has also depended on the type of competition. It has been between 7-14 percent usually, a few percent lower among women (Siemienska et al. 2019b, 2019c).

There is a widespread emphasis in Polish society on the importance of upgrading the level of education of society, and especially women, over the last 30 years. But this did not significantly facilitate the increase of women's presence among professors (grade A) and decision-makers in the academy. The number of women employed at universities and research institutions has grown, but they did not overcome gender prejudices in the "scientific market". In the EU-28, the proportion of women among heads of institutions in the higher education sector increased from 20 percent in 2014 to 22 percent in 2017. Furthermore, in 2017, women made up 27 percent of the members of boards of research organisations, while when focusing on board leaders alone, the proportion of women decreased to 20 percent (European Commission 2019: 4). Striking gender inequalities persist when it comes to career advancement and participation in academic decision-making (European Commission 2015, 2019). According to *She figures 2018* (European Commission 2019) women constitute 23.7 percent, while in 2013, women made up 21 percent of the top-level researchers (grade A), showing very limited progress compared to 2010 (20 percent). In Poland (24.1 percent in 2016 and 22.6 percent in 2013), the proportion is higher than is the case in the whole European Union. But comparing with many countries in the 2000s, Poland occupied a low position in the ranking (European Commission 2015, 2019). Despite significant progress in their level of education in comparison with men over the last few decades, women are increasingly under-represented as they move up the stages of an academic career. The situation in Poland shows that women's position in the academic world is relatively worsening. Data concerning their access to decision-making positions are even more striking. Women are almost absent from the top administration positions in the best higher education institutions. The number of female presidents almost did not change in years 2012–2020.

Higher education institutions	**Presidents N × 10**	**Vice-presidents N × 42**	**Deans N × 117**	**Vice-deans N × 365**
1-10 positions in the national ranking (% of women)	0.0	9.5	15.4	26.6
Higher education institutions	Presidents N × 10	Vice-presidents N × 21	Deans N × 37	Vice-deans N × 60
80-90 positions in the national ranking (% of women)	0.0	38.1	18.9	40.0

(author's calculations)

Table: Women as decision-makers in higher education institutions in Poland (% of total in each group of the institutions by national ranking) in 2012

In 2017, the proportion of women among heads of higher education institutions in the EU-28 rose to 21.7 percent from 20 percent in 2014, and 15.5 percent in the EU-27 in 2010. Taking into consideration universities or other institutions delivering PhDs in Poland, in 2017 women constituted only 18.2 percent of their heads (European Commission 2015, 2019). However, the figures don't show the quality of the positions. More detailed analysis shows that women tend to become heads of less prestigious institutions of higher education. The comparison of higher education institutions in Poland according to their place in national rankings shows (table 1) that in 2012 women were almost absent in the institutions placed on positions 1st-10th in the rankings, and more frequently present among presidents, vice-presidents, deans and deputy deans in the institutions located in positions 80th-90th. Only five women are presidents in the period 2016-2020 (*Study in Poland* 2017), mainly in artistic schools. Countries with similar low proportion of women as heads and members of boards are mainly East European ones (European Commission 2015, 2019). The head of the Polish Commission of Evaluation of quality of teaching in higher education institutions has always been a man since its establishment in 2002. However, according to its adopted rule, the proportion of its women members should be 35 percent, and this is now close to being achieved.

CONCLUSIONS

The history of recent decades shows that the increasing proportion of women among students since 1990 does not lead to the same increase in proportion of women employed in academia (European Commission 2015, 2019). The number of women working in the sector is higher than before but not as it would be possible to expect. The relative decrease in the number of men and relative increase of the number of women is caused by different factors. One of them which plays an important role in Poland is worse economic situation of science in comparison with many other sectors. The decrease of funds for education, research, and wages of scientists result in a slowdown of academic careers, measured by the time intervals between earning subsequent university degrees and scientific productivity. In this situation, women present in academia become "winners among losers" (Siemieńska 2000, 2001, 2008, 2016, 2019), while a number of men move from academia to other developing sectors of the national economy. Male graduates more often were looking for jobs elsewhere considering academia not as an attractive sector. External (migration abroad) and internal (within the domestic labour market) brain drain in higher education sector has meant the loss of a significant group of scientists, especially young scientists, who have moved to Western Europe and North America. Therefore, in analysing the situation of higher education institutions and women there, it is necessary to pay attention to economic context in which the HEI institutions work and quality (place in ranking) of institutions in which women are promoted.

The worsening situation of the sector, as described above, results in a change of social structure for the employees, with the increase of the percentage of women among the students and the slowly growing number of women working as university lecturers. We observe the following phenomena: according to a well-known social mechanisms shaping social stratification, when a material situation of a given professional group worsens in comparison with other groups, men withdraw from engaging in this type of work, and those, who are already the part of this group, shift to another type of jobs or try to work out an adaptation strategy, which will allow them to counteract the lowering of the standard of living quite effectively. The situation facilitates a limited tendency towards an equalisation

of opportunities for men and women in a profession, traditionally perceived as designed for men with clear exclusion of women in terms of access to top decision-making positions. Therefore, an increase in the number of women in scientific institutions cannot serve as a simple proof of the diminishing level of women's discrimination. "Glass ceiling" and "glass cliff" persist in the case of women climbing up to decision-making bodies in science.

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Paradoxes of gender equality in South African decolonial, gender justice efforts in higher education

Thinking with current times

Tamara Shefer,
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How are academia, science and scientific organisations changing and being changed in Sweden, Europe and globally, and how are these changes related to gender?
(Husu 2013: 17)

LIISA HUSU ASKS a simple but poignant question that continues to resonate in global and local contexts. We take our inspiration in this short piece from this question from an international scholar who has for many years been engaging with this question in Swedish, Finnish, European and global contexts (see, e.g. Husu 2004, 2005, 2007; Husu et al. 2010; Husu & Koskinen 2010) and indeed is one of those scholars who has gone beyond theoretical engagement to make a material difference in the spaces in which she has worked.

Our contribution *thinks with* Liisa Husu's work (St Pierre 2011; Mazzei 2020), focusing on the three paradoxes she outlines in engaging this question, specifically that of change, excellence and intervention. Our contribution is located in the global Southern location of South Africa and Africa more broadly. To consider gender within and from South Africa is to think of gender in relation to both legislated and normative racism, to appreciate the interaction of gender with other forms of social injustice. The peculiarity of gender under apartheid – and of gender in context of the long durée of colonialism – but also the developments over the subsequent quarter of a century of being 'post-apartheid' casts interesting light on the questions of change and gender in academia. Decolonial, feminist and queer activism led mainly by university students (but including other actors within universities and beyond) regarding free and decolonised education, commonly known as the #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall, has also shifted the landscape of higher education in South Africa since 2015. A memorable slogan that speaks to gender and sexuality from the #Fallists, "Dear History, This Revolution has Women, Gays, Queers and Trans. Remember That!", remains in the collective imaginary of current higher education and the project of intersectional gender equality.

The world is finding itself in the midst of a once in a lifetime event, the global Covid-19 pandemic. Most countries have had to impose restrictions, including lockdowns, to slow down or stop the spread of the coronavirus. The particular moment of working with and under lock-down related to the pandemic has exposed some of the starkest failures and gaps in our efforts at transformation in higher education. In poor and highly unequal countries where income and wealth are concentrated among a relatively small minority, and the majority of people struggle with basic services, lockdown has pushed even more people into poverty, but also showed the conditions under which many university students learn. Lack of basic resources such as a personal computer and simple services such as access to data and wifi have meant that poor students have been further disadvantaged.

The Covid-19 pandemic has also brought 'home' not only additional child and family care burdens for women but also the burden of 'work from home' as a result of lockdown orders imposed by many governments across the globe. Husu (2013) has argued that despite rapid global changes in the higher education and scientific landscape shaped by globalisation, increased internationalisation and rapid technological advancements, amongst other things, gendered patterns have been resistant and slow to change. It is in this context that we see a stark reminder of how the virus has amplified these pre-existing gendered, racialised and economic inequities through, as one example, analyses of how women are publishing less than men during the pandemic (Viglione 2020). Unequal gendered division of labour in the home and relative freedom from the constraints of being physically present at universities and other institutions has offered male scientists and academics opportunities to not only publish more but also to develop and source funding for new projects. It has left women over-burdened with child and family care (which includes home-schooling and caring for sick family), other domestic labour, increased demands of working from home, further exacerbated by state notions of 'the household' as a unitary nuclear family (Dieng 2020; Grewal et al. 2020). Demands for women scholars might also include the additional carework that women frequently undertake in dealing with students who might be struggling with the new environment isolation and online contexts, further challenging in resource disadvantaged universities. In contexts like South Africa, riddled with gendered and racialised high unemployment, poverty and inequality, and where many families and communities are struggling with increased food insecurity and heightened rates of gender-based violence brought about by or associated with the pandemic, carework is even more complex (Mazibuko 2020; Ramushu 2020; Tjemolane 2020).

PARADOX OF CHANGE

The transformation project in South African higher education has been one spanning many decades now, yet huge inequalities between universities and within universities continue to be starkly evident (e.g. Badat 2009, 2010; Badat & Sayed 2014; Bozalek & Boughey 2012; DHET 2008; Pattman & Carolissen 2018; Soudien 2008, 2010; Tabensky & Matthews 2015). Moreover, there is much evidence that gendered, raced, classed and other inequalities and injustices and continued exclusions and marginalisation of diverse groups of South Africans, continue to characterise the university landscape (Firfirey & Carolissen 2010; Kessi & Cornell 2016; Msibi 2013; Soudien 2008). The decolonial activism of students from 2015 within the Fallist movement, which also promoted an intersectional feminist and queer narrative, was a shifting moment and powerful disruption of normative practice in the university (Boonzaier & Kessi 2015; Gouws 2017; Xaba 2017). The country and higher education were reminded that while some things have changed - such as more access to universities for some of those historically disadvantaged and an increase of students and staff of colour and gender - colonial and patriarchal logics of scholarship still underpin the institutional practices, curricula, pedagogies and normative research practices.

Covid-19 has once again exposed more starkly the deepest inequalities in higher education as many students have not been able to continue studying due to a lack of resources and access to devices and data. Again, this has affected those most disadvantaged already and those at more disadvantaged universities with the privileged few at privileged and well resources universities advantaged, and ironically further advantaged then in relation to others, who have not been able to benefit from online and technological resources made available by universities. Covid-19 is revealing that change in academia, science and science organisation is complexly tied with changes or lack of changes in other spheres of society. For instance, there have been noteworthy collaborations but also tensions between science and government. Economic inequalities have become stark and have an impact of education as whole. Thus, students from better off schools and privileged homes have been able to continue with their education seamlessly, while the majority of students are most probably being left behind. This increasing gap may have further implications for the goals of transformation in higher education and the country more broadly.

PARADOX OF EXCELLENCE

Whilst South African higher education has been involved in attempts to reconstruct and repair the past and create universities that are equal and safe spaces for all, as well as contribute to social justice in the larger social realm, the university has also been powerfully shaped by global neoliberalisation of higher education. The imperative to compete individually, institutionally and nationally through accelerated, targeted research output, internationalisation and marketisation, has arguably further undermined the capacity of the university to challenges and inequalities and indeed reproduced certain privileging and subjugations in a context of global and local geopolitical differences. Thus the emphasis on unitary global standards of 'excellence', resulting in a 'cookie factory' of student and research outputs (Sabelis 2019), both undermines the university role as public critical intellectual space as well as reinforces the gaps between historically advantaged institutions and people and those still disadvantaged by histories and continuities of apartheid, colonisation and gender inequality.

Yet again, Covid-19 and our university responses expose the cold brutality of the kinds of forms of 'excellence' that our universities aspire to. The current imperative of 'student consumer' has resulted in the push toward online or emergency remote learning without due consideration for what this moment might mean for questions of curriculum and decolonisation and real social transformation (see e.g. Ivancheva & Swartz 2020). Given how the pandemic is amplifying inequalities including those that exist amongst the student population, the push of many higher education institutions for online 'content delivery' stands in stark opposition to the call by many activists to think about this moment as an opportunity to reflect on a socially just pedagogy.

PARADOX OF INTERVENTIONS

Interventions in higher education have primarily addressed quantitative measures of change with emphasis on demographic measures related to apartheid segregation and exclusionary practices which advantaged the

minority of white scholars. In many universities, 'transformation desks' or 'equity' programmes within the university or the HR departments have been set up to monitor such interventions with many of them also focusing on 'diversity' and 'rainbow nation' notions of difference and neoliberal notions of respect and tolerance (Pattman & Carolissen 2019; Tabensky & Matthews 2015). While some of these endeavours have undoubtedly been important given the crude racism present in some universities, evident in the Reitz case in 2008 which still haunts the South African higher education landscape (Mogotsi 2017), there has been a lack of serious engagement with power and everyday racisms (Essed 2009) and violences in the university. Efforts to seriously dismantle the colonial and patriarchal logics of the hegemonic curricula remain marginal. Evidence of the recalcitrance of colonial and racist underpinnings in higher education are frequently illuminated by continued racist scholarship where colonial tropes and racist and sexist stereotyping are reinstated and reproduced by researchers. Two recent examples, one from Stellenbosch University in 2018 (see Dano 2019), and another from the University of Cape Town in 2019 (see Adesini 2020; Benson et al. 2020; Mzilikazi et al. 2020), the former asking racist questions about the cognitive capacities of black women, and the latter making racist interpretations about the lack of transformation in environmental sciences, provide sad illustration of the failure of universities to tackle systemic racism and sexism that are institutionalised in research agendas, ethics committees and institutional cultures more broadly. Symbolic and representational forms of gendered racism, in large part, remain unacknowledged but deeply embedded.

Covid-19 intervention strategies at universities to ensure 'no student is left behind', the popular call from universities (Asma 2020), similarly speak to the ways in which a serious engagement with the majority of students' lived realities have been glossed over. While the rhetoric sounds inclusive, the interventions are already showing up the way in which such strategies privilege the advantaged, widening the gaps across a range of lines of difference and inequality. Emergency remote learning is an intervention that will end up leaving the most marginal of students behind not only on their specific courses but on completion of their degrees as a whole (Fuh 2020; Ivancheva & Swartz 2020). As an intervention, the delivery of laptops and data to students does not address the other challenges faced by poor students. These include inadequate housing where there is a lack of space to study, poor electricity infrastructure and reliability, food insecurity, and the burden of care for family members. This burden of care may be especially borne by women students.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

> *COVID-19 is a virus: it's also a relationship. Whether people live or die when they get sick depends on webs of social relations, the history of oppression carried in their bodies, what care is made available for them to receive, and so much that we don't yet understand. One way for us to understand the pandemic is to look at what activities, what practices, it sparks. How might we think about this novel coronavirus as relationship? If we do this, we can make ethical, political, and ecological evaluations of the relationships we proliferate in response to "the virus".* (Shotwell 2020)

In this brief thought piece, we have taken up Liisa Husu's provocative questions in relation to gender equality in academic organisations to think about gender and higher education in current South Africa. Husu flags questions about change, excellence and intervention with respect to gender equality and justice goals in institutions to reveal the paradoxes in particular contexts, the ways in which gains and losses are always contested and fraught. So too we illustrate how efforts at change, excellence and intervention have been undermined by historical inequalities and problematic shaping of such notions through contemporary global neoliberal capitalist universities in current South African contexts of higher education. We have also thought with the "the virus" and the way it has amplified inequalities in relation to gender and its entanglements with poverty, racism, and other forms of both discursive and material inequalities. We have flagged the hope we have gained from student and young people's activism over the last few years that brings a decolonial, feminist, queer lens to bear on the project of transformation in higher education. We also foreground the critical and novel thinking around pedagogical, research and professional practice that this movement has bolstered and accelerated (e.g. Boonzaier & van Niekerk

2019; Shefer et al. 2018). The last few years in South Africa have seen a proliferation of knowledge around intersectional gender (in)equality and emerging disrupting pedagogies and research practices which challenge the Cartesian logic of scholarship and melt divides between university-based knowledge and that in communities, that in artistic and activist productions. Following on from students' call for the acknowledgement of bodies and affect, both in current universities and through hauntings of the past, engagements are foregrounding embodiment and affect, as well as an ethics of care and relational ontology (see, e.g. Bozalek et al. 2020b, in press).

Transnational collaboration in the context of global neoliberal university politics has shaped an 'internationalisation' policy and practice that has little to do with working together for global equalities, and more to do with competitive imperatives. On the other hand, such emphases have further opened up space for collaborations that *do* add value. Over the past few years, many of us in South African transnational collaborative projects have deployed these spaces to think together and explore global and local politics of knowledge production to challenge continued exploitative practices of research, particularly as they are shaped by geopolitical inequalities through recalcitrant global logics of scholarship and the larger social world they reflect and serve to reiterate (see, e.g. Hearn et al. 2015). Our work with the GEXcel International Collegium (https://www.gexcel.org/) and with Liisa Husu as one of the lead scholars is one such example. While these transnational relations have served intellectual and political projects they have also modelled an ethics of care and relational ontology which many argue is so key to reconceptualising higher education (Bozalek et al. 2019; Bozalek et al. 2020a) and global societies in general (Mbembe 2019). Such academic friendships remind us of the importance of embodiment and affect, the value of being nurtured and nurturing, materially and symbolically, that is so key to decolonial and feminist scholarship, yet often set aside for the 'more important business' of making knowledge. In this increasingly cut-throat competitive academic battlefield that both mirrors and serves to re-entrench widening global inequalities, scholars who value friendship, embodiment, care, not to mention a good glass of wine, become ever more significant in supporting the growing call for relational, ethical and socially just ways of going forward in the university and beyond.

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Organisational change in research organisations — an attempt to put a concept into practice

Helene Schiffbänker

IN THIS SHORT CONTRIBUTION I am reflecting on how I met Liisa and how my fellowship at Örebro University impacted my personal research agenda, focussing on the concept of organisational change in research organisations. Liisa, as one of the lead persons of the GEXcel Centre of Gender Excellence, inspired and encouraged me to step deeper into the world of gender and organisation.

Before I came to Örebro in 29 September 2011, I went through some tough weeks in my life. It was only four weeks after my son had started primary school, and at the same time my 16-month-old daughter started full-time daycare. I had recently submitted the final draft of my PhD thesis, almost in time with my scheduled goal to finish my PhD before my son started school. And I had my project-based research job at JOANNEUM RESEARCH, which meant little time for theoretical and methodological reflections, but very applied research with the target to improve gender equality in research organisations and research systems.

It was a big change after this challenging time, finding myself in an environment with a number of brilliant gender scholars, discussing research questions that were similar to mine, and providing solid theoretical gender knowledge. I had longed for such an intensive 'gender research atmosphere' for a long time, having felt a bit marginalised when working on gender in an innovation policy institute.

Another thing I remember about my stay in Örebro was the little daylight – it was mostly dark when I took the bus from my apartment to the university, both in the morning and when coming home in the evening. I shared my apartment with two other doctoral students, which was a wonderful experience too as we had long discussions, offered mutual support and shared our experiences in the various aspects of everyday life (which supermarket is closest, which bus is less crowded.). I appreciated the abundance of candles in the windows and having lunch with Liisa and the other scholars – this was a social event on many days with discussions about gender and life in Sweden.

Being in Örebro as a GEXcel scholar provided me the opportunity to dedicate full days to methodological and theoretical reflections on gender in organisations, something I was not used to after having worked in applied research for more than 15 years. There was time for writing our own papers, and time for inspiring lectures and discussions on current theoretical approaches to explain the gender paradoxes in changing academic and scientific organisations.

STRUCTURAL CHANGE

It was here that I learned more about structural issues of gender in science and the approach of organisational change in research organisations. In many meetings we discussed how to improve empirical evidence on exclusion factors, such as new insights into how gender matters in recruitment procedures. I learned to understand existing gender differences as outcomes of institutional processes and practices, and how gender matters in organisations – something I had not worked on in detail before. This approach would impact my further research agenda significantly.

I had worked on the design of national funding programmes for women in science for several years before I started my dissertation on female researchers' careers in industrial research. I was particularly interested in the career perspectives of female researchers who have chosen to work in industrial research (and not in academia), and why they would later leave this field or opt out. Of course, structural issues are relevant here. In Austria, 70 percent of all personnel in R&D are employed in the industrial sector, yet only about 15 percent of them are women. With this, at this time, Austria was far behind the European average concerning the percentage of women, also in professorships. But there was a strong political will to change the situation by implementing different funding schemes fostering gender in research and innovation.

Back in Vienna from Örebro, I started to drive the integration of a structural change approach into our research activities forward, and with the support of some colleagues we were successful in pushing the organisational change idea further, focussing on the question on how to enable possible (gender) change there. When working with policy-makers, research funders or representatives of human resources and management in research organisations, we started to raise awareness about the organisational aspects of gender inequality in science.

It required great efforts to put the concept of organisational change into practice in research organisations, and it soon became obvious

that translating this approach into practice was not an easy task. Explaining the gendered character of an organisation is difficult to communicate when there is a lack of awareness concerning the construction of gender as social category as well as with regard to how inequalities are reproduced in daily interactions and practices (Martin 2003).

EU POLICY

On the political level, the European Commission (EC) has promoted gender equality in science and launched specific calls starting with the 6th Research Framework Programme (FP6), which were intensified in the frameworks of FP7 and Horizon 2020. With this, projects were and are funded to overcome existing imbalances in research and to foster gender equality there. Research organisations and their efforts to encourage equality get funding: The implementation of Gender Equality Plans (GEPs) as an instrument for systematic change in research performing organisations (RPOs), as well as in research funding organisations (RFOs), are funded to "*support systemic institutional changes, in particular through the implementation of Gender Equality Plans (GEPs). GEPs shall conduct impact assessment, implement concrete measures and set targets and monitor progress via indicators at organisation level*" (EC Work programme 2014/15).

EVALUATION OF ORGANISATIONAL CHANGE

To learn about the challenges and improve the implementation of GEPs, each consortium applying for EC funding has to foresee an impartial evaluation of the implementation process. At the same time systematic (gender) monitoring needs to be established. The evaluators are supposed to "*impartially monitor[ing] and assess[ing] the progress made throughout the duration of the project*" (EC Work programme 2014/15).

My research team at JOANNEUM RESEARCH has a strong focus on the evaluation of innovation policies, and we build on these methodological competences and merge them with our experiences in the field of gender in science to develop our specific approach to evaluate the implementation of GEPs. For this accompanying evaluation we use the concept of 'Critical Friend' (Balthasar 2011) to quickly provide feedback and adopt interventions as well as offer support along the current needs of the implementing partners. Being an evaluator and at the same time a Critical Friend to the colleagues who are responsible for the implementation of GEPs brings up questions about how the accompanying evaluation can become useful and how the partner institutions can best benefit of our findings. We have therefore explored which evaluations contribute to the successful implementation processes of gender equality plans and to organisational changes. Another crucial question is what challenges and opportunities are thus raised for the evaluators and what it means for the practice of evaluation and the production of knowledge. And what are the benefits for the evaluated organisations? The overall question therefore is: how can evaluations contribute to successful implementation processes in a timely manner and facilitate a learning process between different implementing organisations? In this context, the function of the Critical Friend is key when the evaluation aims to produce relevant knowledge for ensuring a successful and effective implementation process. Here the evaluation needs to be understood as a process of co-creating critical knowledge among the evaluators, the implementers and the organisational stakeholders to inform the implementation practices.

A crucial aspect is to measure the progress on structural change as requested by the EC (see quote above) and thus using appropriate indicators. This comprises quantitative data focusing on outcomes and impacts, as well as qualitative process driven data, for example, about the workplace culture which inform about the implementation process and adoptions needed. It is recommended to provide a framework for evaluating the change that was made towards gender equality through the implemented GEP, specifying how and against which performance indicators progress is monitored. This way it can be discussed how the concept translates into effective and practical work and how any new learnings and unforeseen consequences are detected and integrated. The most relevant aspect for us was and still is: How can mutual learning and awareness raising be organised in the best possible way?

We usually work very closely with different stakeholder groups, doing interviews in the initial phase of the project (ex-ante) to learn about their needs but also to include their experiences and expertise in the research project. Doing interviews as a Critical Friend in the ex-ante phase

of an evaluation also provides the possibility to raise the understanding of gender as a factor for structural discrimination and exclusion and for a more structural understanding of gender inequalities due to stereotypes and biases in ROs. Further topics to be discussed here are that knowledge production is gendered and that the inclusion of a gender perspective in research and innovation needs to be fostered. In our evaluation, we are further collecting experiences during the design and implementation phase (interim) and towards the end of the project (ex-post). This provides us with the opportunity to get extensive empirical insights into gender change processes in research organisations in structural change projects and to identify lessons learned.

Raise awareness about the structural aspects of gender imbalances in research organisations

In the H2020 project GENERA: Gender Equality Network in the European Research Area (https://genera-project.com/) we had the chance to evaluate the implementation of a structural change approach at field level. The GENERA project involved research organisations in astrophysics and the wider physics field, which are both strongly male-dominated areas. Accordingly, most of the eleven implementing partner organisations were less advanced in the implementation of gender equality measures. When analysing the status quo of gender equality policies (Schiffbänker et al. 2017), we found that some had a tradition in activities increasing the share of female researchers and/or empowering women, while in other organisations a GEP was already in place. Still the awareness that organisations create gender inequality by their core procedures was only rarely established.

In the course of accompanying the process of implementing a GEP as a project of organisational change in research organisations in physics (e.g. Max-Planck-Society, CRNS, INFN, DESY, KIT, we identified that awareness about the structural relation between current (gendered) employment data and organisational processes is still poorly developed and needs to be intensified. This became obvious when investigating how – as a first step for the implementation of a GEP – research organisations collect data to analyse the status quo on gender equality which serves as a baseline for developing gender equality targets and then designing a GEP.

Here, gender-equality data offer the opportunity to gain insight into biased procedures and structures and to implement measures to improve the situation. To translate organisational data into gender equality targets and decide on measures to reach these targets, however, is a complex issue that requires an understanding about how gender differences are constructed and why a specific measure leads to an intended outcome. GEPs can only work when an organisation or the management (as representatives of the organisational standards) are aware that inequalities between women and men exist and that they are (partly) caused by processes and practices within the research organisation. We found that this structural perspective was often lacking and, for example, childcare issues or unavailability in the evenings were discussed as personal matters of women, ignoring the organisation's responsibility.

A further dimension of gender awareness became visible in interviews with female physicists working in research organisations which foster gender balance by scouting for women actively, setting up quotas in selection committees or even applying positive discrimination or positive actions: When asked to join committees or to apply for open vacancies, women often decline such offers. Additional workload that is not mirrored in the track record might be one reason for that, another explanation is that women feel discriminated when asked to join, just because "we need a woman". This was argued by biological sex, not by competence or women's different perspectives. As a result, we concluded that managers or research funders asking for more women to apply or join committees should be encouraged to provide reasons WHY women are wanted.

Develop interventions built on field-specific norms

In the interviews during the ex-ante assessment we also learned about a field-specific understanding of how to 'solve the gender issue'. A top manager in a large physics lab asked: "Can you tell me which button I need to press to have a specific outcome?" And he elaborated that finding solutions – as soon as a problem is identified – is the daily business of physicists. So the problem was not the implementation of measures, but identifying and understanding the gender issue in the field. Accordingly, two physics-specific tools were developed in the GENERA project that refer to this

'functional' linear understanding of gender imbalances in physics: In a first step, GENERA provided an overview by constructing a large table that structures all potential measures in various fields of action. In a second step – for the monitoring activities of partners – the PAM (Planning – Action – Monitoring) (https://www.genera-network.eu/pam:pam) tool was developed that provides field-specific indicators to set up targets and control mechanisms. These indicators are linked to specific measures and interventions which all can be integrated in a physics GEP. This way, referring to specific cultural elements or norms of an institution or field when implementing measures for organisational change was identified as helpful lesson learned.

At JOANNEUM RESEARCH, we are currently extending our insights and learnings concerning organisational change to Communities of Practices (CoPs) within H2020 structural change projects, in ACT (https://www.act-on-gender.eu) and in SPEAR (https://www.spear2020.eu).

Furthermore, RFOs are supposed to reflect on their gendered structures and processes, since by allocating research funding to female and male applicants they contribute to build research careers. A gender-fair allocation of grants is therefore a crucial bottleneck for a more gender-balanced research system.

When the EC launched a call on gender bias in research funding in late 2017, this was my chance to collaborate with Liisa in a research project for the first time: I was excited to bring our different experiences together, Liisa having worked on the concept of excellence and on gender bias in the Riksbanken project (Husu & Callerstig 2018), myself having previously done research on gender bias in ERC grant selection (project gendERC) together with some colleagues.

GRANteD – *Grant allocation disparities from a gender perspective* (https://www.granted-project.eu) is a H2020 research project investigating whether and where gender bias occurs in the allocation of research grants, and if grants have different impacts on the careers of male and female grantees. A further aim of GRANteD is to provide tailored recommendations for a gender-fair research funding system by involving RFOs in a knowledge co-creation process. The research design strongly builds on experiences from the gendERC project. The qualitative part of this study consists of a policy analysis and analysing practices in review panels – this was planned to be done in close collaboration between the teams from Örebro University and JOANNEUM RESEARCH. At the time when this article was written, the empirical work had not started, thus it was obvious that for various reasons, things might be realised differently than planned.

Gendered mechanisms emerge unexpectedly

The GRANteD collaboration turned out to face expected challenges, having to align very different levels of gender awareness within the consortium. Having done research on gendered discrimination factors, like non-support and exclusion mechanisms in male networks, I was aware of the gendered mechanism that can emerge in this context. After personally experiencing them on various occasions in real life, I gained a new understanding of what gender (discrimination) can mean. During our work in GRANteD, Liisa and I were experiencing gendered practices first-hand. In my time as a coordinator of the GRANteD project, Liisa was a crucial supporter, both in terms of gender knowledge and methodological expertise as well as on a personal level. Besides that, I feel honoured to have got to know Liisa better as a person and to benefit from her experiences in pushing forward the research agenda on gender in science.

General learnings when putting organisational change into practice

Across different projects as an evaluator, Critical Friend and gender expert, some general factors that facilitate and support the implementation of GEPs in RPOs and RFOs in practice could be identified:

a. Research organisations need to understand the structural character of gender imbalances. This enables them to accept that a (gender) problem exists and to take over responsibility to solve this issue – by setting up quantitative objectives and implementing measures which make the GEP sustainable. This is a complex issue without quick and simple solutions, but one that needs constant attention to avoid the emergence of new inequalities.

b. This process to foster organisational change requires sound gender knowledge and gender expertise (Wetterer 2008). This can be provided when formal structures for implementing gender equality exist, such as a gender equality office or employees who are strongly committed to gender equality and who promote change processes within organisations. It can also be provided by an external gender expert, who probably gets accepted sooner and can thus enable change.

c. Representatives of this group are required to present the idea of structural change to top management; therefore, they really need to understand what the benefits for the organisation are, what has to be changed and which objectives can be achieved. In any case sufficient internal support for change projects in organisations is crucial: Management frequently gives support to kick-off a gender change project without being fully aware of the consequences, like the resources needed, the data to be collected or how power relations might change. In different projects we found that it is key for an implementation success to really identify internal stakeholders who strongly support the implementation by providing arguments and gender knowledge on why processes need to be changed and what benefits can be expected from that. Being familiar with recent findings from gender research allows developing and elaborating arguments why specific measures should be implemented, to gain support as well as to overcome resistance. The implementation might be facilitated by a combination of top-down approach and bottom up initiative in form of pressure and support from employees and stakeholders.

d. This process of co-creating knowledge on gendered elements in organisations is at the same time a first step of awareness raising at the institutional and individual level.

e. When working with organisations which are less advanced in implementing GE policies and show a lower level of gender awareness, translating the concept of organisational change into practice means to increase awareness about structural aspects of gender and how processes cause gender inequalities. This requires a specific form of gender competence to explain to non-gender experts how gender is inscribed in general processes and in everyday communication. Providing mutual exchange of experiences on a European level, while taking into account the very different start and framework conditions could therefore be a wise step.

Liisa, it was great that we met: thinking now back to the time shared in Örebro was an exciting time; reflecting on our common present experiences in GRANteD is a beneficial exercise; and looking forward to further research collaborations and personal meetings is pure pleasure.

Dear Liisa, thank you for all that I could learn, for all what we have shared, and all the best for the future!! Enjoy your increasing leisure time!

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Gender equality projects at European level

Exploring factors for success

Minna Salminen-Karlsson
and Helen Peterson

INTRODUCTION

Gender equality in higher education has attracted much attention on European policy level during the last decades. The Amsterdam Treaty in 1997 can be seen as a starting point for these policy efforts towards the promotion of gender equality in research in the European Union (EIGE 2016). Policies and recommendations have, however, had varying impact in different European countries. To facilitate a speedier development towards gender equality in higher education and science on the European research arena, several different financing schemes focusing on gender issues in higher education have been put in place by the European Commission. The last decades the European Commission has invested millions of Euros into action research programs aiming at increasing gender equality in Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) in the countries in the European Union (and beyond). These multimillion investments started in the Commission's Framework programs 6 and 7 and have continued within the Horizon 2020 programmes.

In this chapter we will share some reflections based on our own experiences from participating in several different programmes such as these, and what, according to us, can characterise successful gender equality projects that are based on international collaboration within, and sometimes beyond, the European research arena. By drawing on our own experiences, in a manner inspired by autoethnographic research (Taber 2010), we will distil some aspects of "best practices" for such collaborative gender equality projects. To support our own reflections, we also draw on previous research and on reports from our European projects.

BUILDING A WELL-FUNCTIONING CONSORTIUM

To start with, the composition of the project consortium is vital and choosing the right partners and project investigators is important. In an ideal situation a well-functioning consortium consists of a group of partners who enjoy collaboration and diligently produce gender equality in their own institutions as well as deliverables, tools, dissemination activities etcetera. In reality, the set-ups of consortia vary.

The composition of consortia in gender equality programs on European level is often based on considerations regarding several different dimensions. One such dimension regards which countries to include, where the EU calls often explicitly recommend inclusion of countries from all the corners of Europe. Although these inclusive approaches are commendable, these multi-national EU funded gender equality projects run easily into problems because of the participants' diverse perspectives and contexts. University cultures and structures vary, the general societal climate regarding gender issues varies, sometimes even the definition and understanding of gender and gender equality differs significantly, and the culturally conditioned expectations for interaction, teamwork and leadership can cause misunderstandings (Dahmen & Peterson 2018). The more partners there are, the more these problems may disturb the common work. Hence, it is advantageous to keep the consortium reasonably small.

A project consortium is supposed to work together during a number of years. It is an advantage if there already are some collaboration patterns in place, i.e. that some of the partners have worked together in some way. That can greatly facilitate and improve communication, teamwork and cooperation. Of course, this requires that they are willing to let new partners play a full part in the consortium, too. Generally, when building up a consortium, not too many partners should be totally unknown. That is why the 'dating sessions', where presumptive partners may find each other, and databases of potential partners, have a limited use.

In one sense, becoming a part of an EU gender equality project is a time limited employment contract, and the partners and in particular the future coordinator, when putting together a consortium, should regard it as such: Are there references – has somebody I know worked with them before? Will the presumptive partner deliver? Have they any international experience? A meeting, at least virtually, is advisable. Also, working together with a proposal, even if only virtually, reveals quite a lot about the presumptive partners, their commitment and ability and willingness to contribute and keep deadlines.

So, who should be invited as a partner? A fundamental requirement for a partner in an EU gender equality project is that they want to be part of a consortium because they want to forward gender equality, rather than just be part of an EU project, for financial or prestige reasons. Local and national contexts define what kind of people have the possibility to contribute to gender equality in their institutions, i.e. who can become a change agent

for gender equality (cf. Husu 2012). A precarious situation can restrict the powers and authority of the change agents and threaten the legitimacy of the project and potentially endanger the whole project. Permanent, fully funded positions for change agents can ensure the legitimacy and influence needed to impact organisations (Dahmen & Peterson 2018). An EU-project, because it normally has high legitimacy, can accord that legitimacy and fund enough of working time for a change agent during the duration of the project. However, it cannot guarantee a permanent gender equality related position – perpetuating the work by creating such positions is an important aim in many projects.

In particular, in universities where gender equality work is almost non-existent, the project investigator in an EU-project on gender equality often is a woman who belongs to academic staff. This can be a good solution, but it also often means trying to change an institution from the margins, parallel to one's own research and teaching. Another alternative is to include in the project a person belonging to the administration; however, this person may not have enough legitimacy to affect change (cf. Jordansson & Peterson 2019). Whatever the position of the change agent, the crucial thing is whether she has the ear of powerful stakeholders in the organisation. Importantly, for those project investigators who find themselves in more precarious positions in their organisations, the project consortium should function as a supporting and empowering community.

WORKING IN A CONSORTIUM

The role of the coordinator

These multi-national consortia are (ideally) held together by a coordinator who is the main contact person of the project consortium and often also is responsible for the internal scientific management. There are no perfect coordinators. There is a certain group of people who have coordinated several gender equality projects, and there are the total newcomers. Being a total newcomer, not having participated in a project like this, is very difficult. Even for an experienced coordinator, institutional support structures, when it comes to finances, legal issues and such, are essential.

A coordinator stands in between the consortium and the EU commission, represented by the project officer of the project. She (most often it is a she in gender equality projects) has obligations towards the partners: She is not really a leader, with a leader's authority, but it is her job to prepare arenas for collaboration, mediate in conflicts, encourage partners who may meet with resistance, hence, in general, create a community where people will learn from each other and preferably enjoy being together.

That task in itself can be difficult enough considering that the partners may prefer very different leadership and collaboration styles, not only because of personal preferences, but also because they come from different organisational cultures. However, the task of the coordinator is not only to encourage and be positive, but also to make sure that the project produces what it has agreed to produce and preferably in a timely fashion. While a good team spirit is very helpful in this, when it is not enough, there is trouble. The coordinator is responsible for the work of the project and has to stand up for it in relation to the project officer, but she actually has very few instruments of power she can use. Hence, diplomatic and strategic competencies are very much needed. For example, the project funding is usually paid out only after the expected and agreed regular periodic reporting has been approved by a project officer, and if it is not up to mark because of one partner not delivering what they should, all partners suffer. Theoretically, the solution would be to move both the financing and the task concerned to some other partner, but this is not always so easy in practice, and in any case, it would delay the reporting. So, negotiations with the project officer or glossing over for the shortcomings in the report are more realistic solutions that require strategic and diplomatic skills.

In addition to those skills, the ideal coordinator also needs to be a good project administrator, and have files, finances, and timelines in order. These 'sheep with five legs' are hard to find, and most projects are led by good-enough coordinators, who do good-enough work.

Developing collaborative and supportive practices

The great advantage of working in an EU project as a gender equality change agent is that you have the support of peers, other people who experience or have experienced similar things as you. This gives new ideas, new information and psychological support. For a Swedish gender equality worker this may not be crucial. The Swedish partner is probably the one having the most information, and there are also colleagues and national networks to

give support and new ideas. However, even a Swedish partner may benefit from ideas outside the accustomed Swedish setting, and, above all, from the inspiration often exhibited by partners for whom gender equality work is less of routines and processes and more of creative activism.

EU funded research projects can be organised in many different ways, and the degree of collaboration varies. It is possible to conduct an EU funded gender equality project in which all partners work quite independently with their own institutions and the degree of collaboration restricts itself to a couple of meetings. However, most projects also align to the implicit aim to achieve more overarching effects, such as toolkits, reports, or other European-wide dissemination. For that kind of efforts collaboration needs to be more intense. Collaboration can also be a way to directly promote women's careers: networking with other people from different countries may be the first international networking experience for some team members, beneficial for their future careers.

It is not good for a project partner to work for months on their own. Quite frequent supportive interaction, at least virtually, with other partners and the coordinator helps to keep the spirits up and ensures the coordinator that work is going on. Face-to-face meetings between as many members as possible – not only team leaders – a few times during the duration of the project increase the understanding of each other's contexts and perspectives, and even more if they take place at the different partners' institutions – even if that may increase the travel costs. Learning to know each other is an important issue on agendas of face-to-face meetings, never exhausted. It can be done in many different ways – also in ways that make the participants laugh together. Having laughed together is likely to mitigate conflicts when they arise. For conflicts do arise, that is the socio psychological rule in all groups that work together for some time. Thus, if there are no conflicts, maybe there is no real collaboration, either.

Systematic monitoring to improve collaboration and deliverance of results

The systematic monitoring of the progress towards the goals is a necessary part of these projects due to the administrative frameworks set up by the EU Commission. The EU Commission, represented by the project officer, monitors the project's compliance to the financial and activity agreements made in the beginning of the project. This external monitoring is mainly done through the periodic 'scientific reports'.

In addition to this, it is wise to set up a structure for careful and systematic internal monitoring of the quality of work done inside the consortium. While the reporting to the project officer is often seen as an administrative task, the internal monitoring activities can be designed as to improve collaboration within the consortium, make sure everyone feels involved and support the role of the coordinator. Information about the progress, gathered through tailor-made monitoring tools, can be used to discuss proposals for corrective actions in order to enhance efficiency and impact. Internal monitoring can also creatively be used to allow for the consortium to share, reflect and discuss experiences concerning challenges, hindering factors and structural barriers while creating arenas for knowledge exchange, peer consultation and mutual support. Internal monitoring can thus be used to strengthen the impact and the sustainable results from these projects (Dahmen & Peterson 2018; Dahmen-Adkins & Peterson 2019).

Achieving and reporting results

The gender equality projects on European level are not only expected to produce sustainable results within the participating institutions, but also to have an impact reaching outside of the consortium and the work done in single institutions. There are demands of dissemination that seem to be ever increasing. As the members of these consortia often are researchers, dissemination efforts usually include research publications. Reports, toolkits, handbooks etc. have also been produced to a great extent (see, e.g. Dahmen & Peterson 2018; Salminen-Karlsson 2016). This means that the work in a project normally is in three parts: the work you do in your own institution, dissemination activities outside the institution, and the work you do for the benefit of others: stakeholders and practitioners in the field of gender equality. If the responsibility for these different parts are placed in separate work packages, the communication between the project investigators responsible for these work packages need to be frequent to facilitate collaborative efforts and synergy effects between them.

INDIVIDUAL INSTITUTIONS <> EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE

While the social aspects of being part of an EU project are experienced as beneficial, the requirements that often come with it, to engage in general dissemination activities and production of deliverables, both internal and public, may seem to take too much time from the heart of the work, i.e. gender equality actions in one's own institution. Generally, being strategically restrictive in promising different kinds of deliverables already in the proposal stage can facilitate a focus on the main objective: gender equality work in the participating institution. However, being strategic also means taking into account an estimation of how many deliverables the EU Commission wishes to see. Working on a common deliverable can also increase cohesion between partners – unless it uncovers large differences in different partners' understanding of gender equality and of what the project aims actually are. Considering the diversity of European countries when it comes to national and academic understandings of gender equality, there are few one-size-fits-all solutions. Instead, an EU project with partners from Eastern and partly also from Southern Europe might concentrate on supporting institutions there with more locally adapted toolkits.

SUSTAINABLE EFFECTS AND RESULTS

Through the years the expected results of gender equality projects have varied. In FP6 the focus was on women and facilitating their careers. During FP7 the focus gradually moved to structural change in academia, and in Horizon2020 the movement continued further into recommending Gender Equality Plans (GEPs) as the solution. Whatever the recommended means, documenting changes, and in particular sustainable changes caused by a gender equality project of a few years' duration, is a tricky task. Gender equality work is a long-time commitment, with often a long take-off distance. What should be counted as effects in the first place depends on the starting position of each institution. Swedish institutions have done gender equality work for years and years, and their teams can articulate a number of still remaining problems. Their gain from the project will have to be measured differently from those institutions where gender equality has never been on the agenda – and which quite often start by telling that there are very few and small gender equality problems, if any. For such institutions just realising that there are problems and having a plan for redressing some of them may take the whole duration of a project. However, it is somewhat difficult to report this convincingly as major progress – and it may be no progress, if the organisation, after the EU financing ends, neglects the issue. However, it may be major progress, if the institution realises the gravity of the situation and continues working to improve it after the project. It is possible that there seems to be no success at all and that there is not very much to report in the project's final reporting, but that the effects of the project show later when some people have started to think and act in a different way.

The results of a gender equality project in an institution also depend on many more things than the work and strategies of the project team. The success depends also on having lucky or unlucky coincidences, for example having the right or the wrong people in crucial positions. While a project can work for increased gender awareness among the leadership, it cannot convert all people, and sometimes both more work and patience are required until the conditions become more favourable. In contrast, easily made achievements under, for example, a favourable leadership, may deteriorate when conditions change.

If gender equality work regularly goes two steps forward and one step back, what can be reported as the effects depends on in which phase of that process the project team finds themselves at the time of the final reporting. Most likely the effects are not exactly those that were foreseen in the project proposal – sometimes they seem to be less, and in some lucky instances they exceed the initial promise. However, unless some very unlucky developments occur, working ardently, as most gender equality project teams do, for a number of years, is bound to have effects on gender equality in an institution, in one way or another.

FINAL REFLECTIONS: A GATEKEEPER FOR SUPPORT AND SURVIVAL

We both met Liisa for the first time in an EU gender equality project – PROMETEA – back in 2006. At that time, she already was a name in the gender equality strivings of the European academic sector. We, who were new to that particular area, were struck by her commitment, knowledge and expertise,

legitimacy, energy, networking skills and helpfulness. After that each of us have been engaged in institutional gender equality projects, while Liisa has also continued in the more central European arena. For us, working in projects that engage partners in different higher education institutions, in more and more supporting roles, Liisa's work has been fundamental. Her contribution as a significant gatekeeper has been pivotal. And here we use the concept of 'gatekeeper' with the most positive denotation, to describe a person who "persistently challenges, ameliorates and changes" gender hierarchies and divisions, who "facilitates and provides opportunities and resources" and contributes to the "development of the field and the agenda" (Husu 2004: 69-70). She is one of those clever and energetic people who have legitimacy and knows how to play the "EU game" to promote gender equality in the academe, for the benefit of all the grassroot partners, who rely on both the EU fundings and EU findings in their work for promoting gender equality at their institutions.

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Transnational feminist knowledge production

Zara Saeidzadeh

PROFESSOR LIISA HUSU let me into 'the world of academia' when she recruited me as a doctoral student in Gender Studies at Örebro University in 2015. In a time that my research did not seem interesting to many professors in various other universities, Liisa valued my work and made it possible for me, my ideas and my words to be heard and read globally.

Professor Liisa Husu opened the way for me to materialise my research and become a part of the process of knowledge production within the 'Western academia' about the 'rest of the world'. My research contributes to a type of knowledge that is produced very rarely and dearly: trans and sex change in Iran. A knowledge that is often lacked and lost in publications in the era of political battles. A knowledge that is about unheard voices of people who are more than often disregarded as 'oppressively problematic' in the 'Western world'. A knowledge that raises the pain and suffering of those who are damned by their own country and the world outside. A knowledge that draws on injustice to humanity and human integrity at intersection of race, nationality, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexuality and geography.

The fact that I completed my PhD (Saeidzadeh 2020) on the topic of trans and sex change in Iran on Professor Liisa Husu's watch is an actual testament to her strong belief in transnational feminist knowledge production in academia. As her doctoral student, not only I developed my scholarly skills with Liisa, but also I matured my female existence in academia under her resilient and compassionate presence. For as long as I was her student, I witnessed Liisa's persistent fight against gender inequalities in academia. I wish for her to retire feeling satisfied about her achievements.

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Research assessment as gendered and gendering practices

Julie Rowlands
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INTRODUCTION

Research assessment schemes are widespread and provide a means of evaluating and ranking the research performance of universities and academics. However, they remain controversial, with debate about what is measured, how and with what effect. Despite burgeoning literature on research assessment in all its various forms, comparatively little directly addresses the relationship between research assessment and gender. In this chapter we seek to contribute to understandings of the ways in which research assessment processes and practices are both gendered and gendering. To do so we consider the overarching policy frames in higher education which inform the institutional practices in response, research practices of individuals and teams of academics, and how both have gendered assumptions. We draw on data from fieldwork conducted separately in Australia and in Denmark during the past 10 years to consider how shifts towards countable research outputs lead some academics to change their research practices to fit 'what counts', exacerbating gender inequality in knowledge production in ways that often go unrecognised.

In writing this chapter, we acknowledge Husu's research on gender inequalities in academia more broadly and in knowledge production specifically. These inequalities remain as persistent as ever despite multiple changes within the research landscape and the existence for more than 30 years of policies aimed at equity and equal opportunity in many higher education contexts. In this chapter we examine how shifts towards countable research outputs, in the context of a narrow focus on what constitutes 'excellence', have produced and then entrenched processes and practices that are profoundly gendered. As Husu points out: 'excellence, at least as it is currently operationalised, is creating new gendered stratifications in our research landscapes' (2014: 1). It is these stratifications that are our focus here.

Research assessment schemes are widespread and provide a means of evaluating and ranking the research performance of universities and academics (Wright 2014). Although specific assessment mechanisms vary, they generally proclaim to increase productivity, accountability and return on investment in higher education (Rowlands & Wright 2019).

However, despite its pervasive nature, research assessment remains controversial, with debate about what is measured, how and with what effect (Oancea 2019).

There is a considerable body of scholarly literature around research assessment, particularly with regard to its effects on academic work, academic identity and publishing practices (e.g. Wright et al. 2014). However, relatively little of this literature directly addresses the relationship between research assessment and gender, at least in any detail (for exceptions, see Blackmore 2009b; Husu 2014; Jappelli et al. 2017; Morley 2003; amongst others). This is surprising because there is a burgeoning literature around the gendered nature of other forms of assessment within and that affect universities such as student evaluations (e.g. Blackmore 2009a; Fan et al. 2019).

Further, that literature which does exist around gender and research assessment, and related areas such as research performance and funding outcomes, tends to focus on whether, and if so how, females are disadvantaged. After Husu (2001), we note that some women are disadvantaged in part because some men are advantaged, and that it is not possible to address one without the other.[1] Further, while all men benefit from the 'male bonus' (Ely & Meyerson 2000), they don't all benefit to the same degree, with race, class, sexuality and other factors having significant impacts (on both women and men). Similarly, we note that in gendered organisations such as universities and in fields of higher education more broadly, some women are empowered and are therefore advantaged relative to other women and some men.

We consider the overarching policy frames in higher education which inform the institutional practices in response to those frames, research practices of individuals and teams of academics, and how both have gendered assumptions. We understand gender as a constantly evolving and complex 'set of social relations' that are enacted within a broad range of historically, socially and culturally mediated 'social practices' (Ely & Meyerson 2000, p. 113; Morley 2015). That is, gender is socially constructed and constitutive of social structures (Lewis et al. 2017).

1 During his 2019 International Women's Day address, Australia's Prime Minister asserted that he was fully in favour of equal opportunities for women, providing they did not reduce the opportunities for men.

Drawing on Acker (1990) and Connell (1987), it is now well established that universities and fields of higher education are gendered (S. Acker & Dillabough 2007; Blackmore & Sachs 2007; Brooks & Mackinnon 2001), operating within, generating and reproducing regimes in which gender, class and race intersect to produce and reproduce social hierarchies of advantage and disadvantage (J. Acker 2006; Connell 2005, 2006). In this chapter, we assert that the little attention hitherto given to the gender implications of research assessment in the broader literature is reflective of the gendered nature of universities, and of higher education fields more broadly, where processes and practices that appear neutral but have particular gendered effects, either go unnoticed or unaddressed and are therefore taken for granted as normal and natural. We do not limit our consideration of research assessment to formal national research assessment schemes but also consider other mechanisms through which research is evaluated and counted, such as research funding allocations, promotion processes, academic workload models, citation assessment mechanisms and the like.

Research assessment is therefore understood as involving a range of practices in different institutional contexts that do not only involve and affect academics but that are also the focus of managers and administrators. Further, whilst the act of *doing* research assessment is a practice in and of itself, research assessment is also generated by and generative of other practices. For the purposes of this chapter, practice comprises purposeful and meaningful action aimed at achieving a particular goal or outcome (Bourdieu 1990). However, it is not only research assessment that is practiced but also gender (Martin 2003). We draw, in particular on Martin's notion of the 'practising of gender' (Martin 2006: 255) to consider how research assessment is both gendered and gendering. After Martin (1992: 208, emphasis in original) we understand gendering to include the 'ideologies, norms, and practices that produce and reproduce *gendered activities and social relations*'. That is, how research assessment not only reflects but also contributes to the creation and recreation of gender as a constitutive element of universities and fields of higher education and, therefore, of inequality.

Within this chapter we consider the gendered nature of research assessment at systemic institutional, and individual levels. We draw on examples from our prior research in Australia and Denmark to outline some of the material consequences and affects. The chapter proceeds as follows. First, we outline background to the rise of research assessment as a practice and discuss how it is understood within the context of this chapter. Next, we explain how both fields of higher education and universities are gendered organisations, drawing on Acker's foundation work (1990), and introduce Martin's notion of gendered and gendering practices (2003). Thus, the conceptual framing for the chapter is built around the idea that whilst research comprises various practices, so too does research assessment and these take place within universities as gendered organisations. In turn, research assessment comprises both gendering practices and practising gender (Martin 2003: 353). A discussion section then follows, highlighting how gender inequalities are amongst those produced through the practices of research assessment at systemic, institutional or organisational, and individual levels. The chapter concludes by drawing attention to research assessment as a form of gendered symbolic violence that creates and facilitates epistemic injustices.

RESEARCH ASSESSMENT

Through discourses of the knowledge economy and innovation, research has become closely tied to competing national economies and therefore to government agendas with regard to research priorities and funding (Hazelkorn & Gibson 2019). It is research that determines the boundaries of global higher fields and that positions universities differentially within these fields, evidenced through international rankings schemes that focus principally on research performance and outputs (Blackmore 2010).

National research assessment commenced in the UK in the 1980s (Morley 2003; Shore & Wright 2000) and spread quickly to many other nations, with the notable exception of the US. These schemes reflect new public management discourses where private sector mechanisms such as audit and accountability are implemented in public sector organisations with a view to increasing competition, transparency and efficiency, enabling government to steer from a distance (Kickert 1995; Marceau 1993). Research

quality, 'the measure of distinction within education markets' (Blackmore 2014b: 11) is governed by research assessment (Oancea 2019), a trend exacerbated as new players from Asia and South America enter the field.

Supranational agencies, such as the OECD, argue that research assessment can increase and enhance university research, seen as central to innovation and economic growth through knowledge-based economies (WEF 2018). National research assessment schemes generally do this at a system level by incentivising research performance through the competitive distribution of research funding whilst at the same time constraining costs (Wright 2014). In turn, they can facilitate changes in research management, performance and outputs within universities, although effects are somewhat variable (e.g. Pinheiro et al. 2019).

The detailed mechanisms through which national research assessment schemes operate vary within and between nation states. Despite these differences they have become embedded in university culture (Blackmore 2007a) and profoundly affect mechanisms through which academic workloads are allocated and academic performance is considered, including promotion (Woelert & McKenzie 2018). For these and other reasons research assessment schemes are very heavily criticised within the academic literature.

Schemes that use metrics as a proxy for research quality are subject to the most strident criticism (Wilsdon et al. 2015). Further, there is now a very considerable critical literature on the effects of national research assessment on academic work and academic working conditions (Leišytė 2016), academic identity and wellbeing (Waitere et al. 2011), and publication patterns in the humanities and social sciences (McNay 2016). In these feminised disciplines, metrics-based research assessment requires significant changes in research practice with a shift towards refereed journal publications rather than monographs, book chapters or papers to inform the field of professional practice (Blackmore 2007b; Wright 2014). Studies of research assessment in New Zealand indicated that Indigenous knowledge practices were impacted most, as well as education, both feminised fields (Waitere et al. 2011). Accordingly, Wright et al. (2014) note those most favoured by research assessment are white men in the natural sciences who have English as their first language.

GENDERED AND GENDERING PRACTICES WITHIN HIGHER EDUCATION

Joan Acker's foundation theory (1990) identified that organisations or institutions are not neutral but deeply gendered. This generates and reproduces unequal social relations of gender (Brooks and Mackinnon 2001). The gendering of universities, in turn, at least partly reflects the highly gendered nature of global and regional fields of higher education and fields of knowledge production more broadly (Connell 2014).

Acker (1990) described five specific ways in which organisations are gendered, the first being the gendered division of labour within which men occupy more of the most powerful and well-paid positions. Examples include greater numbers of male vice-chancellors than female, and males holding more of the most powerful senior executive positions such as deputy vice-chancellor (research) or equivalent (Blackmore & Sawers 2015). Second is symbols and images around the gendered division of labour (J. Acker 1990) such as distribution of space and how it is used, and narratives that seek to explain the professorial gender pay gap as arising from women's unwillingness or inability to ask for higher salaries. This is despite substantial evidence from other sectors showing that women do ask for increased salaries but are much less likely to receive them (Artz et al. 2016). Third are patterns of interaction enacting dominance and submission (J. Acker 1990) such as women carrying greater recognised and unrecognised service, mentoring and caring roles within universities (Morley 2005), particularly with regard to quality assurance which is the domestic labour of the academy (Morley 2015) or female research team members being unrecognised or under recognised (Husu 2001). Fourth is gendered organisational identities, where being male in certain roles, such as research leader in the hard sciences, is seen as normal or natural (Blackmore & Sawers 2015; McManus 2018). Fifth, and overall, organisations produce and reproduce an organisational logic that is gendered in its assumptions and practices (J. Acker 1990) such as within universities as inherently gendered (S. Acker 2012; Mihăilă 2018) or through very significant gendered differences in research funding outcomes even in the face of specific initiatives designed to promote and enable gender equality (ARC 2019; Husu 2014).

Acker also identified that practices undertaken within and by organisations contributed to their being gendered (J. Acker 1990). In this context research assessment arises from and generates practice, including research practice. For example, Rowlands and Wright (2019) recently found that whilst academics in a Danish university assumed they could comply with research assessment requirements on the side whilst carrying on their research unaffected, in fact the form and nature of academics' research practice was profoundly affected by research assessment, especially those in the predominantly female fields of humanities and social sciences (Rowlands & Wright 2019). In their Australian study Blackmore and Sachs (2007) found that research assessment in the broadest context of performance reviews and workloads was one of the many performative activities of the academy focusing on measurable outcomes required of academics. These performative activities distracted and detracted, and were distant from, what academics referred to as their 'real work' of teaching and research. The performative practices over time changed academics' everyday research practice increasing the focus on publications in high status international academic journals rather than on practitioner or policy-oriented publications. The effects were greatest for women researchers and those in feminised disciplines (Blackmore & Sachs 2007).

Martin's work on how gender is practiced is especially useful for considering the gendered and gendering nature of research assessment. Martin (2003) writes:

> *To view gender as practice means, among other things, to view it as a "system of action" that is institutionalized and widely recognized but also is dynamic, emergent, local, variable, and shifting.*
> (Martin 2003: 351)

In particular, Martin considers the differences between culturally available practices to do gender and 'the literal practising of gender that is constituted through interaction' (Martin 2006: 254). That is, '[g]ender is at once a set of (potential) actions and a system that is in action' (Martin 2006: 257). On the one hand:

> *Gendering practices, the less active side of the dynamic, are the repertoire of actions or behaviour — speech,*

> *bodily, and interpretive — that society makes available to its members for doing gender. They are the 'what to do/ can be done/is done' relative to a particular gender status and identity.* (Martin 2006: 257)

On the other, '[p]ractising gender refers to the 'literal saying or doing of gender' in real time and space' (Martin 2006: 258). As Butler (2004) argues:

> *If gender is a kind of doing, an incessant activity performed, in part without one's knowing and without one's willing, it is not for that reason automatic or mechanical. On the contrary, it is a practice of improvisation within a scene of constraint. Moreover, one does not 'do' gender alone. One is always 'doing; with or for another, even if the other is only imaginary.* (Butler 2004: 1)

Thus, it is possible to practice gender without necessarily intending to do so. Further, gender can be reflexively practiced by groups or collectives through their institutional processes. Relevant examples might include the making of policy 'through the roles it enables and constrains' as well as evaluating performance or outcomes, assigning tasks or roles and devising plans which assume skills, availability and resources (Martin 2006: 260). Practising gender therefore encompasses those acts that have gendered effects.

In this chapter, we conceive of higher education systems and universities as gendered institutions or organisations within which research is practiced and assessed with particular gendered and gendering effects. In the following sections we relate examples that draw from the wider literature and our own fieldwork from two different projects in universities in Australia and Denmark to show how research assessment is gendered and gendering at systemic, institutional and individual levels. The Australian data draw from a three-year Australian project on *Leadership in the entrepreneurial university* which involved 150 interviews in three case study universities representative of the 39 Australian public universities which range from research elite to teaching intensive. This inquiry focused on the challenges confronting universities in the 21st Century and how university leaders responded. University rankings, the escalating demands for quality research and the intensification of academic work emerged as key issues

which had differential gender effects. The second project was undertaken in Denmark in 2018 and involved a case study of the effects of research assessment on research practice in one research intensive Danish university through a study of two contrasting departments, one in the natural sciences and one in the humanities. Twenty academics and department administrators were interviewed for the research, together with document analysis and meeting observation.

Australia and Denmark are interesting comparator nations because whilst Australia has pursued the market-driven, neoliberal higher education reform agenda typical of English-speaking nations in the west, Denmark maintains a welfare state and has been more cautious about the marketisation of higher education. However, both nations have adopted bibliometric research assessment, although those mechanisms do also differ.

RESEARCH ASSESSMENT AS GENDERED AND GENDERING

The role of overarching policy frames in higher education within institutional practices

Policy as discourse and as text (Bacchi 2000) shapes practice and is informed by practice. National research assessment, such as Excellence in Research for Australia (ERA), the Research Excellence Framework (REF) in the UK and the Bibliometric Research Indicator (BFI) in Denmark, are policy interventions that create new modes of governance within universities, and they reconfigure the practices of research and teaching. Universities reproduce class, race and gender inequalities, including through recruitment and marketing practices that, in part, rely on numerical rankings produced through research assessment (Blackmore 2010). The authority that is given to these numerical rankings deflects attention away from the ethical and public mission of universities because the focus becomes how universities are positioned in the market rather an what they can and are doing for the public good (Enders & Naidoo 2019).

At the national policy level there has been an almost universal shift towards meeting science, technology, engineering and maths (STEM) goals, to which university research is expected to contribute, reflecting global science-based innovation discourses (WEF 2018). Given that university rankings are primarily based on research, and research is expected to bring additional funds to underfunded public universities, the trend has been to focus on new fund sources, which are largely in the STEM fields and health sciences (Tusting 2018). At the same time, a cultural bias exists against the humanities and social sciences (HASS) in wider society which is then mirrored within universities (McNay 2016). In Australia, conservative ministers of education have twice refused to approve Australian Research Council grants for projects in HASS assessed as excellent through an intensive international and national peer review process. No equivalent examples exist within STEM. This is where power-knowledge relations within the gender regimes of the academy and the gender order of the wider society are made explicit (Connell 2016; Connell & Messerschmidt 2005).

There is a relatively small amount of literature addressing the gender implications of research management such as the awarding of research grants (Ahlqvist et al. 2014) and gender differences in the quantity, perceived quality of research outputs and resultant citations (Jappelli et al. 2015), with the exception of a statistical analysis of gender bias in peer review of journal articles in economics (Hengel 2019). An audit of who receives and leads prestigious research grants from the two principal research funding councils in Australia indicates that there while success rates across all grant types are equivalent for all genders at around 20 percent, there are fewer female applicants. In linkage grants with industry, industry initiatives, research hubs, research training centres and special research initiatives there are significantly fewer women applying and with lower success rates in each category. In the case of the Australian Laureate Fellowship, awarded to the highest achieving researchers in their fields, success rates for women have improved, suggesting that when women do apply, they have already overachieved in their field, requiring an exceptional woman. For individual research fields, the only categories where there are more women applying are in education, studies of human society and Indigenous studies fields. In the natural sciences, the application numbers for males are often six times greater than for women (ARC 2019).

Research assessment has led to questions about the use-value of disciplines which are increasingly being measured according to their capacity to produce quantified, monetised outcomes. In both Australia and

Denmark there was a sense amongst HASS academics we interviewed that their research had been devalued relative to other disciplines:

> *I think ERA is … based heavily on science and that doesn't translate well into other disciplines, even in arts, and certainly not into professional areas. And I think that changes the way people do what they do, again not necessarily for any particular good reason other than getting runs on the board [in accordance with the research assessment framework].* (Dean, female, HASS, elite research university, Australia)

> *So our minister is on the record as saying that they're interested in funding research projects that make a difference in the real world, and they don't see the humanities and social sciences as making that difference, even though of course, we think that's terribly ill-informed and naive.* (Associate professor, male, HASS, research intensive university, Denmark)

Fields of knowledge are not equal, with the natural sciences traditionally being of higher status than the humanities and the social sciences (Snow 1959) where the disciplines serve as 'competing forms of analysis' (Becher 1989: 49). In Bourdieu's terms, the more highly regarded disciplines are seen to produce greater quantities of the most highly regarded legitimate scientific or intellectual capital (Bourdieu 1988). However, while competition between academics and disciplines is not new, the degree and the stakes of that competition are now higher, exacerbated by global university rankings and research assessment which are predicated upon and therefore benefit the natural sciences model of research at the expense of the humanities and social sciences (Rowlands & Wright 2019). The effects of this on public research funding within the HASS and the implications for changed research practices are illustrated perfectly in this quote from a Danish early career researcher:

> *… there's a whole changing system of how the funding body is structured around humanities, whereas before it was very state supported. Now, more and more grants*

have to be from the outside somehow, with companies or with some grants that are by a private institution. So you can't count on getting the same kind of funding as you were before where you ... could have a three year period and investigate something in depth, and then write a monograph or a book. (Research Fellow, HASS, research intensive university, Denmark)

In this instance, research assessment is an example of a gendering practice—a practice that produces particular gendered effects even though the research assessment framework is designed to work in the same way across all disciplines and all genders. It does this because it enables researchers in male dominated natural sciences disciplines to carry on their research largely unaffected whilst researchers in female dominated humanities and social sciences must profoundly change both the form and the nature of their research in order to comply—shifting publication practice from books to internationally peer-reviewed articles (Wright 2014).

The gender distributions across the disciplines are stark. In particular, women are concentrated in the professional fields of health sciences including nursing, education and welfare, which are regulated externally by professional bodies, and in the humanities and social sciences fields of the arts, history, sociology, amongst others (Winchester & Browning 2015). On the other hand, law, engineering, medicine, natural and physical sciences, and architecture are male dominated particularly at leadership level. The fields of education and nursing arrived late to universities and are highly feminised, and education in particular is not viewed as a discipline. An associate professor at an Australian elite research university commented: 'I'm sure there are people here who don't believe that education is a scholarly pursuit'. Education is therefore widely perceived to lack 'use value' other than for training teachers (Pivovarova et al. 2020). The widespread introduction of research assessment has contributed to perceptions that there are some underperforming disciplines. In both the UK and New Zealand this has been a factor in significant downsizing of particular fields within universities (Furlong & Lawn 2011).

In many nations, including Australia and Denmark, research assessment has also led to greater differentiation within the higher

education sector. The research universities have well developed medical, natural and physical science, engineering and technological faculties and therefore accrue the majority of available research funding whereas the lower ranked universities are left to cater for massification of the system through largely feminised fields of study (Thornton 2015). Resultant funding cuts and restructuring can also produce very gendered outcomes:

I mean when these cuts happen you know it's the women who go ... what I've discerned is that in times when you do have this really difficult period where you're getting cost cutting and people being forced to take packages and forced to leave earlier, and so on, men will fight [and] women will leave. Women will just say 'it's all too hard, I can't bear it'. (Head of school, HASS, elite research university, Australia)

This systemic shift toward university ranking and research assessment as proxies for research quality encourages university executives to anticipate policy and initiate institutional responses which in turn lead to decisions by administrators that shape academic practices and academic futures. Gender is central to how the *managed education market* functions and also to reputation, which works differentially in terms of what knowledge is valued. The global reputational criteria favour elite universities which are natural and physical science-intensive and male-dominated. Teaching intensive universities which service communities and the professions (commerce, teaching, nursing and welfare) tend to be in female-dominated fields of research.

Furthermore, research assessment regimes require significant administrative support within universities and most research administration is undertaken by women (Morley 2015). This contributes to gendered divisions of labour within universities with the underrepresentation of women in the professoriate and executive management, and in the dominance of women as administrative staff concentrated at lower levels and on short term or casual contracts. Even when women are appointed to executive leadership roles, they tend to be located in lower status portfolios relating to quality assurance, teaching and learning rather than in research or finance (Blackmore & Sawers 2015).

Research practices of individuals and teams of academics, and how both have gendered assumptions and effects

Bibliometric national research assessment frameworks that favour particular journals over others, as is the case in both Denmark and Australia, consolidate the positioning of dominant (generally white) males in particular fields of knowledge at the expense of newer and possibly female researchers (Connell 2019). In this way, research assessment serves as both a gendering and gendered practice. For example, a female early career researcher in the humanities at a research-intensive university in Denmark explained that getting published in certain high-ranking journals favoured by the national research assessment scheme is more likely if the research cites the dominant white males in the field. This leads to certain bodies of knowledge, and certain knowers, being regularly cited and others being rarely or never cited:

> *I work with feminist theory and I'm concerned about the politics of citation and what kind of bodies of knowledge you draw on and what ... you contribute to through your own research. I know that certain journals really insist on you quoting this or this author that maybe I don't want to quote because that particular author has been quoted so often that maybe I would prefer to quote a feminist author [instead] and try to build up a different body of knowledge [that way].* (Early career researcher, HASS, female, research intensive university, Denmark)

In turn, the publishing practices of these elite journals, often dominated by male editors (Hengel 2019), are rewarded by research assessment schemes and promotion processes that recognise and reward scholars who play the game sufficiently to publish in them, at the expense of those who don't.

Some very prestigious journals publish by invitation only, despite what might officially be published on their website. The implication here is that researchers are much less likely to receive invitations to write for these journals if they are junior or female or both:

> *So I'm careful with questioning the very notion of prestige and where it comes from. I know that certain journals I consider prestigious [are] also known for not having very transparent publication practices. For example [journal name] is a journal [that publishes] by invitation only. It's hopeless or just ... a waste of your time to actually propose an article to that journal because it won't even be read.* (Early career researcher, HASS, female, research intensive university, Denmark)

On the other side of this equation, a male professor in the humanities described how easy it was for him to play this game with prestigious journals:

> *If you have a journal that likes your work ... and they encourage you to write recurrently because they like your articles, then it's easy to get these points [under the research assessment system] because you have an almost established relationship with that journal. ... Especially in one case, they really love my work and they encourage me to write each year two articles for them and that's a highly ranked journal.* (Professor, male, HASS, research intensive university, Denmark)

These examples highlight how the practices of research assessment both produce and consolidate gendered effects resulting not only in dominant privileged players but also in silences and absences in the literature with voices that cannot be heard or are not recognised, a form of epistemic injustice (Fricker 2007). While these are all examples of gendering practices, that is practices that on the surface appear neutral but have particular gendered effects, research assessment can also produce gendered practices that are, at times, quite overt. Martin describes this as the literal practising of gender through the ways in which the gender order is constituted at work—the doings and sayings of gender (Martin 2003: 354). For example, one female associate professor in the natural sciences at a Danish university stated that for her annual career mentoring meetings: 'I can just go in there with a bunch of [published] papers and be [literally] told I'm a good girl'. Further, male researchers can and do harness gender equity programs to entrench their already advantaged careers. For example, one highly successful male Danish associate professor in the humanities reported that: 'Male researchers can play the game by getting women on their team for a research bid and this helps get the grant'. This deliberate practising of gender (Martin 2003) both reinforces women as subordinate in research teams at the same time as subverting what was intended to be a gender equity measure. In promotion committees which assess research outcomes, an unconscious bias can influence how merit is judged, what knowledges are valued and how, and what criteria are utilised. As a Danish associate professor seeking promotion in the natural sciences said: 'if you have 100 citations for a paper it shows it to be important within the field [yet women are much less likely to be cited]'.

The higher education labour market comprises a well-defined gendered division of labour in which female academics are concentrated in junior and casual or contract positions undertaking more teaching than their male counterparts (Murgia & Poggio 2018). With increasing student to staff ratios in teaching and the continual and multiple demands of new technologies (Locke 2014), women have less opportunity to do research, and when they do, it is often in their recreational or family time:

> *... what really is stressing me is, I'm getting less and less time ... at least if I want to see my family from time to time. Very often I work weekends and every evening. I leave early every day to pick up my daughter. But then I would, as soon as she's—my husband will take her to bed—I'll be working until 11:00 in the evening. Otherwise, I can't do it. It's impossible to have time for it. But it's not really recognised.* (Associate professor, natural sciences, female, research intensive university, Denmark)

Research assessment in all its various forms adds considerably to the pressure these women feel. It also contributes to a perception that expectations are being raised but at the same time remain undefined, resulting in a feeling that achievement thresholds are constantly just out of reach. This same associate professor, applying for promotion in the year she was interviewed, noted:

> *... it's not utterly clear to us what the expectations are when it comes to research production. It was about two publications per year, I think, a couple of years ago. [Now it's definitely more]*

Research assessment therefore feeds into the intensification of academic labour more broadly, but this impacts women most, who often balance work/life conflict (Blackmore 2014a). Unclear but increasing performance expectations arising out of research assessment also contribute to concerns about the feasibility of senior academic careers for women and this is exacerbated for STEM (Howe-Walsh & Turnbull 2016).

> *I do, I think it's always harder for women ... particularly if they're wanting to have children, that's clearly harder, especially with ERA [research assessment]*. (Deputy vice-chancellor, male, teaching and research university, Australia)

The Athena Swan program in the UK and the SAGE project in Australia seek to remedy what is considered to be the 'waste of talent' among women who do not continue their academic careers in science and who therefore do not become research professors in STEM. However, Feteris's Australian study (2012) found that a number of factors arising from efforts by universities to improve performance under research assessment directly contributed to this lack of senior women in science. These included the recruitment of large teams in priority areas predominantly led by male science professors resulting in women either leaving the field or not seeking promotion because only exceptional women were seen to be promoted, which acts as a deterrent for other women (Feteris 2012).

CONCLUSION

After Martin (1992: 208, emphasis in original) we understand gendering to include the 'ideologies, norms, and practices that produce and reproduce *gendered activities and social relations*'. In doing so we recognise that gender inequality is perpetrated in conjunction (and cannot be separated from) with inequalities relating to race and class. Further, gender justice has to be positioned within the changing context of research assessment in all its various forms and the academic practices that are required to be taken up in order to capitalise on opportunities under conditions of impossibility.

The Australian and Danish data considered in this paper suggest that bibliometric research assessment, in particular, has changed research practices, particularly in the HASS, so as to conform to the prescribed measures of research quality. In part, this has occurred through recognition of publications in high status journals at the expense of monographs and book chapters which have traditionally acknowledged excellence in HASS. These shifts produced gendered effects due to gender distributions within and across the disciplines. Some of the reasons for this are obvious enough – impact factors and citation counts are easier to measure for journals than books and book chapters. Citation measures historically developed in STEM and then moved with globalised publication companies into HASS fields and have become a proxy for research quality, re-defining 'quality' in research (Strathern 2000).

Research assessment models have also contributed to greater gender-based stratification of the academic workforce because, as noted earlier, those who perform best are English-speaking males in the natural sciences. Scholars who can't meet targets for research output are at risk of being classified teaching intensive, or similar, with potentially very negative implications for career prospects and academic promotion. Within academia, women are already concentrated in casual, contact and more junior roles where research assessment practices may exclude them from continuing positions (Murgia & Poggio 2018). Research assessment in Australia is leading to increased differentiation among academics with more research-only, teaching-only or casual positions rather than the more traditional teaching and research roles (NTEU 2018). Research assessment is potentially exacerbating these effects, increasing female precarity within the academic workforce.

The concentration of research grants, high journal impact factors and citation rates within academic disciplines more likely to be taken up by men, and the concentration of males at senior academic ranks, all indicate that systemic gender-based inequality within academia is worsening. This is happening at the same time as policies aimed at gender equity in areas such as competitive grants and promotion are widespread, focusing on women's research outputs relative to opportunity. Such policies do not recognise the breadth and complexity of gendered and gendering practices associated with research assessment that have been highlighted in this chapter and, perhaps not surprisingly, do not seem to be having an effect.

This creates a form of symbolic violence as it is assumed that women are provided with the same opportunities but have not taken them up. Thus, research assessment has changed academic practices but in ways that have worsened the opportunities for women.

Martin describes gender dynamics as being two sided: practices that have gendering effects and the literal practising of gender (2003: 353). Although in this chapter we have given examples to highlight how each takes place through various aspects and forms of research assessment, they are interrelated and mutually reinforcing. The notion of practice is very useful in relation to inequalities because it highlights how they take place as a result of things that are done and available to be done, asserted and performed. Research assessment is not a passive instrument of pre-existing inequalities. We need to recognise and name that through research assessment '[h]er excellence is dwarfed by his excellence' (Husu 2014). The practising of gender through research assessment not only reflects but also actively contributes to the creation and recreation of gender as a constitutive element of universities and fields of higher education and, therefore, of gender inequality. Thus gender injustice is perpetuated through the gendering and gendered practices of research assessment.

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Liisa naistutkimuksen alkuunsysääjänä ja tasa-arvo- ja tiedepolitiikan vaikuttajana

Eeva Raevaara
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ELÄMÄN RATKAISEVISSA VAIHEISSA löytyy usein ihmisiä, joilla on tärkeä merkitys valintojen tekemisessä ja oman suunnan löytämisessä. Erityisesti nuoruudessa esimerkin voima on suuri, kun etsii vastauksia kysymyksiin: mitä haluan elämältäni ja työltäni, mikä on oma roolini tässä kokonaisuudessa, miten voin olla muuttamassa maailmaa? Liisa vaikutti meidän molempien työelämän alkuvaiheisiin 1980-90 -luvulla keskeisellä tavalla. Samalla hän muovasi tapaamme olla tässä maailmassa.

Liisa työskenteli valtioneuvoston alaisessa tasa-arvotoimistossa vuodesta 1981 vuoteen 1996. Tasa-arvolaki tuli voimaan vuonna 1987, jolloin toimisto muuttui tasa-arvovaltuutetun toimistoksi. Liisa toimi Suomen ensimmäisenä naistutkimuskoordinaattorina tasa-arvoasiain neuvottelukunnassa (TANE). Naistutkimuskoordinaattorina Liisa vastasi naistutkimuksen valtakunnallisesta tiedonvälityksestä ennen naistutkimuksen institutionalisoitumista.

Hannele: *Tutustuin Liisaan 1980-luvun alussa Helsingin tutkijanaiset ry:ssä. Olen saanut kulkea Liisan jalanjälkiä. Liisa työskenteli vuodesta 1975 vuoteen 1981 Helsingin yliopistolla professori Erik Allardtin vetämässä Vertailevan sosiologian tutkimusryhmässä (VERSO) tutkimussihteerinä. Viisi vuotta myöhemmin aloitin työskentelyn VERSO:n tutkimussihteerinä. Toisen kerran siirryin tehtävään, jota Liisa oli aiemmin hoitanut, kun minut valittiin tasa-arvotoimistoon Liisan äitiys- ja vanhempainvapaan sijaiseksi tammikuussa 1986. Äitiys- ja vanhempainvapaat avasivat minulle tien työelämään, kuten niin monelle muulle. Äitiys- ja vanhempainvapaasijaisuuksien kautta pääsin tutustumaan ensin tasa-arvotyöhön ja myöhemmin pohjoismaiseen yhteistyöhön. Äitiys- ja vanhempainvapaat mahdollistavat sijaisuuksia, joista voi seurata uusia sijaisuuksia tai vakituisia työsuhteita.*

Eeva: *Naistutkimuksen viriäminen suomalaisissa yliopistoissa sai minut suuntaamaan opintojani uudella tavalla ja löytämään politiikasta, vallasta, tasa-arvosta ja tasa-arvopolitiikasta kiinnostuneita opiskelija- ja* *tutkijakollegoita. Tämän pohjalta uskaltauduin hakemaan vastaperustettuun tasa-arvovaltuutetun toimistoon korkeakouluharjoittelijaksi vuonna 1988. Siellä avautui uusi maailma, jossa opin paljon politiikan, tutkimuksen ja sukupuolten tasa-arvon edistämisen kiinteästä yhteydestä. Liisa oli tämän maailman löytämisessä innostava ja asiantunteva opas.*

On ihmisiä, jotka tunnistavat yhteiskunnallisen muutoksen tärkeyden ja ne konkreettiset välineet, joilla muutosta tehdään. Liisalla tämä näkemyksellisyys ja uuden aloittaminen kohdistuivat 1980–90 -luvuilla erityisesti naistutkimuksen edistämiseen, tasa-arvopolitiikan tutkimusperustan vahvistamiseen ja yliopistojen tasa-arvotyön tukemiseen.

NAISTUTKIMUKSEN EDISTÄMINEN JA JUURRUTTAMINEN

Liisan aikana edistettiin naistutkimusta, jolla ei vielä 1980-luvulla ollut rakenteita. Naistutkimuksen koordinaatiotyön tueksi perustettiin jo vuonna 1981 TANE:n tutkimusjaosto, josta tuli keskeinen toimija naistutkimuksen aseman vakiinnuttamisessa ja rakenteiden luomisessa. Tutkimusjaosto edisti naistutkimuksen asemaa ja juurtumista Suomeen. Se toimi linkkinä tasa-arvo- ja naistutkimustiedon tuottajien ja tiedon käyttäjien välillä. Tutkimusjaoston toiminta oli maailmanlaajuisestikin uraauurtavaa.

Liisan näkemyksellinen ja dynaaminen ote vahvisti päättäjien, virkamiesten ja tutkijoiden hedelmällistä vuorovaikutusta. Hyvä esimerkki vuorovaikutuksen tuloksista on eduskunnan vuonna 1991 myöntämä korvamerkitty määräraha naistutkimuksen opetukseen. Sitä ennen, 1980-luvun alkupuolella naistutkimusta opetettiin Suomessa varsin vähän, opetus oli hajanaista ja yksittäisten tutkijoiden kiinnostuksen ja aktiivisuuden varassa. 1990-luvun puolivälissä Suomeen perustettiin tutkijakouluja jatko-opiskelijoille. Liisalla ja TANE:n tutkimusjaostossa toimineilla tutkijoilla ja viranhaltijoilla oli keskeinen rooli siinä, että naistutkimuksen tohtorikoulutusohjelma toteutui. Ohjelman nimeksi tuli Sukupuolijärjestelmä-tohtorikoulutusohjelma.

Liisan näkemyksellisyys on aina yhdistynyt käytännönläheiseen ja muutosta tavoittelevaan toimintaan. Naistutkimusta edistettiin tutkimusjaoston lisäksi lukuisilla tieteiden välisillä seminaareilla, naistutkimuksen

julkaisemisella (Naistutkimusraportteja -sarja) ja laajemmalle yleisölle tarkoitetulla Naistutkimus-tiedotteella (1981–2002). 1980- ja 1990 -luvuilla tällä alueella kyse oli uuden luomisesta ja uusien julkaisujen ideoinnista.

Eeva: *Seminaarien järjestämisessä ja Naistutkimustiedotteen kokoamisessa ja laatimisessa sain avustaa Liisaa tutkimusjaoston sivutoimisena sihteerinä vuosina 1990–92. Yksi tärkeimmistä opeista, joita Liisalta sain, oli konkreettisten työkalujen löytäminen ja käyttäminen muutoksen tekemiseen. Vaikutuksen tekivät myös Liisan pelottomuus ja sitkeys.*

Toimiessaan tasa-arvotoimistossa ja tasa-arvovaltuutetun toimistossa Liisa oli aina askeleen edellä, hän osasi lukea heikkoja signaaleja. Tutkimusjaosto paikansi tärkeitä tutkimusalueita ja kokosi yhteen uusista tutkimusaiheista kiinnostuneita tutkijoita. Välittääkseen tietoa uusista naistutkimuksen alueista TANE järjesti seminaareja, julkaisi seminaariraportteja ja alan usein ensimmäisiä tutkimuksia.

TANE järjesti jo vuonna 1982 kansallisen nainen ja lääketiede -seminaarin, ja neljä vuotta myöhemmin Suomessa järjestettiin pohjoismainen seminaari lääketieteen naistutkimuksesta. Teknologiatutkimusta tarkasteltiin Suomessa naisnäkökulmasta jo 1980-luvun puolivälissä kun EU:ssa aihetta käsiteltiin vasta 2000-luvulla. TANE:n Naiset, tekniikka ja luonnontieteet -seminaaria suunniteltiin 50 hengelle. Ilmoittautuneita oli yli 500. Se keräsi myös laajaa mediahuomiota. Liisa, tutkimusjaosto ja TANE olivat jälleen edelläkävijöitä.

Tutkimusjaosto edisti tärkeinä pidettyjä, mutta valtavirrassa marginaalisiksi määriteltyjä alueita. Tutkimusjaosto on tehnyt työtä aiheiden parissa, jotka ovat tarvinneet vetoapua, ja joita mikään muu taho ei ole ollut edistämässä. Liisa ja tutkimusjaosto siirsivät uusien aihealueiden vetovastuun eteenpäin. Jos aiheelle ei löytynyt kotipesää, edistettiin sellaisen luomista.

TANE:n tutkimusjaosto tarttui miestutkimuksellisiin näkökulmiin jo 1980-luvun alkupuolella. Tutkimusjaoston esityksestä koottiin työryhmä pohtimaan miestutkimusta. Se esitti TANE:lle tasa-arvokysymyksiä miesnäkökulmista pohtivan jaoston perustamista. TANE perusti vuonna 1988 miesjaoston, joka on siitä lähtien toiminut yhtäjaksoisesti.

Myös lesbo- ja homotutkimus – joiden rinnalla nykyisin puhuttaisiin myös queer-tutkimuksesta – omaksuttiin tutkimusjaostossa naistutkimuksen osaksi varhain. TANE:n Naistutkimusraportteja -sarjassa julkaistiin useita alan uraauurtavia tutkimuksia.

NAISTUTKIMUKSEN JA TASA-ARVOPOLITIIKAN VUOROVAIKUTUS

Suomalaiselle naistutkimukselle on ollut ominaista läheinen yhteistyö valtiollisen tasa-arvotyön kanssa. TANE:n tutkimusjaosto oli valtakunnallinen foorumi, jossa naistutkijat eri puolilta Suomea kokoontuivat edistämään naistutkimusta yhdessä viranhaltijoiden ja poliitikkojen kanssa. Liisan vuorovaikutustaitojen ansiosta tutkimusjaostosta muodostui alusta alkaen tasa-arvopolitiikan ja -tutkimuksen yhdysside ja kohtauspaikka. Paljolti Liisan luoma pohjan ansiosta Suomi on edelläkävijä naistutkimuksen ja tasa-arvopolitiikan läheisessä yhteistyössä.

Naistutkimus toi kriittistä tutkimusta poliittiseen päätöksentekoon. Se on välttämätöntä tasa-arvopolitiikan kehittymiselle. Uutta naistutkimustietoa välitettiin poliittisille päättäjille ja päätöksenteon valmistelijoille mm. seminaarien ja julkaisujen avulla.

Liisa on nähnyt alusta lähtien sektorirajat ylittävän yhteistyön tärkeyden: tutkijoiden, opettajien, virkamiesten, poliitikkojen ja järjestötoimijoiden vuoropuhelu ja yhteinen toiminta ovat olennaisia sukupuolten tasa-arvon edistämiseksi. 2020-luvun näkökulmasta Liisa onkin ollut monin tavoin aikaansa edellä: nyt ajankohtaiset kysymykset päätöksenteon tutkimuspohjaisuudesta ja siilojen ylittämisestä olivat Liisan agendalla jo 1980-luvulla.

YLIOPISTOJEN TASA-ARVOTYÖ

Liisa oli myös keskeinen toimija, kun Suomessa aloitettiin jo varhaisessa vaiheessa yliopistojen tasa-arvotyön tukeminen. Liisa kiersi yhdessä ensimmäisen tasa-arvovaltuutetun Paavo Nikulan kanssa 14 yliopistossa keskustelemassa ja edistämässä yliopistojen tasa-arvotyötä, muun muassa tasa-arvolain edellyttämää tasa-arvosuunnittelua. Näillä maakuntamatkoilla luotiin vahva pohja tasa-arvolain edellyttämälle sukupuolten tasa-arvon edistämiselle.

Liisa oli luomassa yliopistojen tasa-arvotyön kansainvälisiä verkostoja. Siirryttyään vuonna 1997 Helsingin yliopistoon Liisa jatkoi yliopistojen tasa-arvotyön edistämistä. Tutkimusjaosto oli Helsingin yliopiston kanssa järjestämässä ensimmäistä eurooppalaista yliopistojen tasa-arvokonferenssia vuonna 1998. Helsingin konferenssin yhteydessä luotiin eurooppalainen yliopistojen tasa-arvoverkosto, joka on edelleen aktiivinen. Verkoston sähköpostilistaa on hallinnoinut alusta lähtien Helsingin yliopisto. Tänä vuonna on suunnitteilla järjestyksessä yhdestoista yliopistojen tasa-arvokonferenssi Madridissa.

KANSAINVÄLISEN VERKOSTOITUMISEN MESTARI

Liisan toiminta-areenat ovat olleet alusta lähtien kansainvälisiä. Paitsi Suomessa, Liisa verkostoitui jo varhain kansainvälisesti. Liisa tutustui 1980-luvulla naistutkimuksen kansainvälisiin yhteistyöverkostoihin muun muassa Euroopan neuvoston piirissä. Suomi liittyi Euroopan neuvostoon vuonna 1989 – ja Liisa oli jo silloin verkostoitunut järjestön toimijoiden kanssa. Liisa ja TANE:n silloinen pääsihteeri ”Lyyti” Eeva-Liisa Tuominen tutustuttivat meidät molemmat Euroopan neuvoston monipuoliseen toimintaan ihmisoikeuksien ja tasa-arvon edistämiseksi 1990-luvun vaihteessa. Liisa ja Lyyti olivat omalta osaltaan vahvistamassa ihmisoikeusperustaista näkökulmaa Suomessa.

1980-luvulla yhteistyö muiden Pohjoismaiden kanssa oli tiivistä. Yksi tämän yhteistyön hedelmiä on vuonna 1995 perustettu Pohjoismaiden ministerineuvoston Pohjoismainen tasa-arvotiedon keskus, NIKK. Sitä ennen muihin Pohjoismaihin oli perustettu naistutkimuksen tiedotuskeskuksia. Naistutkimuskoordinaattorina Liisa vastasi pitkään yksin työstä, jota muissa Pohjoismaissa tehtiin kokonaisten yksiköiden voimin. TANE toimi määrätietoisesti, jotta Suomeenkin saataisiin tasa-arvo- ja sukupuolentutkimuksen tiedotuskeskus. Tämä tapahtui kuitenkin paljon myöhemmin 2000-luvulla.

Liisa osallistui kaikkiin alkuaikojen naistutkimuksen maailmankonferensseihin. Liisalla oli jo tuolloin paljon kansainvälisiä yhteyksiä, ja hän loi niitä jatkuvasti osallistuessaan tilaisuuksiin.

Hannele: *Osallistuin Liisan kanssa vuoden 1990 New Yorkin, 1993 Costa Rican ja vuoden 1996 Australian Adeleiden naistutkimuksen maailmankonferensseihin. Vuonna 1995 järjestettiin YK:n 4. naisten maailmankonferenssi Pekingissä. Kirjoitimme sieltä lähes päivittäin raportteja Naistutkimuksen sähköpostilistalle. Tämä oli vielä uutta vuonna 1995. Liisan kanssa on mahtavaa matkustaa. Hän tuntee laajasti paikallisia kasveja ja eläimiä. Sivistyneenä ihmisenä Liisa osasi myös kertoa kokouspaikkakuntien ja maiden historiasta ja kulttuurista. Hänellä on laajat kiinnostuksen kohteet.*

LOPUKSI

Muutoksen tekijä, alullepanija, näkemyksellinen heikkojen signaalien tunnistaja, jonka toimintakenttä ei tunne kansallisia rajoja. Kriittinen ajattelija ja toimija, joka ei ole pelännyt ilmaista myös muista eriäviä näkemyksiään ja ajaa sitkeästi muutosta eteenpäin. Tätä kaikkea Liisa on ollut ja on edelleen – myös meille kollegana ja yhteistyökumppanina. Kiitos Liisa ja paljon paljon onnea!

LÄHTEET

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NAISTUTKIMUS -raportteja. Julkaisusarja vuosilta 1988–2002.

Rejecting business as usual

Intersectional claims for social justice and the academy

Ann Phoenix

LIISA HUSU'S RESEARCH has long been innovative in addressing gender equality in the academy and knowledge production, as well as intersectionality (Husu 2000, 2001). Her concern with the proportion of full professors who are women (Husu 2019) chimes with work in many countries that shows the contradiction between the apparent commitment to equality in universities and the (re)production of intersectional inequalities in universities. In the Nordic context, this contradiction is particularly surprising. Husu (2019) refers to 'the Nordic paradox of high overall gender equality in society, political will, and active policy regulation to advance gender equality in academia and science, on the one hand, and the unequal gendered structures in academic careers and inequalities in resource allocation, including research funding, on the other'. Outside the Nordic countries, the multifaceted, intersectional nature of these paradoxes are increasingly interrogated and opposed.

This short contribution fits with Husu's concerns by considering current intersectional inequalities in the academy. It considers, first, the intersectional inequalities that mark the academy, and, then, some indicative ways in which gendered/racialised inequalities are fuelling resistance and oppositional action in 21st century universities.

INTERSECTIONAL INEQUALITIES IN THE ACADEMY

Husu's work is invaluable in indicating how, even in countries lauded by outsiders for the best gender equality practices in the world, gender continues to divide practices and positioning in the academy. It also shows that an intersectional perspective is important in that, at the very least, gender is differentiated by country context and by academic discipline.

In the UK, these intersectional differences have become ever evident as interest, concern, and academic work begin to make statistics on intersectional gender differences available in the academy. In a nutshell, black students and those from various other minoritised ethnic groups continue to be less likely to be admitted to high-status universities and are less likely to get 'good' degrees. For some of those groups, women are more likely to do better than men and, indeed, in many subjects, there are now more women students than men students at university. Nonetheless, it continues to be the case that men are much more likely than women to be professors and senior administrators. Where they do become professors, women earn much less than their male peers. The revelation in the UK Higher Education Statistics Agency figures in 2013 that, of 18,500 professors in the UK, that only 85 were black and seventeen of these were black women (Berliner 2013) led to a small increase in these numbers so that, in 2020, there were 140 professors who identified as black, 0.7 percent of 21,000 professors, of whom 25 were black women of African and Caribbean descent (Rollock 2019) and 99 were of African, Asian and Caribbean descent. Men professors continue to outnumber women professors by three to one (15,700 to 5,700 in 2018-2019) (Adams 2020). As Husu (2019) shows, there is also a disproportion in the Nordic countries, although less marked. People with disabilities are highly under-represented in academia.

At the same time, critical perspectives in the academy, fuelled by feminism, anti-racism and anti-disablism as well as legal policies on equalities have led to a commitment to 'diversity' in universities. However, as Sara Ahmed (2009) found from her research in one UK university, 'diversity' is a 'sticky' word most often paired with 'management' rather than concerns with equality. The university focused on policy rather than practices, with the result that their commitment to diversity was 'non-performative', focused on devising a policy, rather than change.

In the UK, as in many countries, the academy has expanded in many countries over the late 20th and 21st centuries. Their expansion has been, however, because universities have come to be viewed as business enterprises to some extent. This shift has been viewed both as economically successful and as costly in many ways. There is currently much dissatisfaction about working in the academy. These dissatisfactions are multifaceted, but broadly are focused on the neoliberal framework through which universities are formally constituted. Work on the pains and privations produced by the structures and practices inherent in the neoliberal university requiring individualised high productivity subject to measurement through metrics that reduce academic worth to outputs and impact within compressed time frames and with a changed relationship with students who have become paying customers. For example, Rosalind Gill (2009, 2014) has consistently documented the injuries and pains that result because

academic labour has systematically been reduced to marketable values. The resulting precaritisation of labour within universities includes a broad range of workers; the often overlooked and outsourced support workers who clean, provide security and refreshments; students; administrators and academics. Clearly precarity is of a very different order for outsourced workers paid at minimum wage levels and for many academics. Yet, increasingly in the UK, seminar groups are taken by PhD students or postdoctoral researchers who are employed sessionally with no holiday or sickness pay. With the expected shortfalls in student income forecast following Covid-19, they have no hope of employment in the 2020-21 session. As Gill (2018) points out, it is crucial that academics recognise that others in the academy are in even more precarious positions than they are.

The point made repeatedly by academics, such as those cited above, is that universities are far from egalitarian, nurturing institutions, even as feminism and postcolonial intellectual currents gain ground. However, academic inequities can only be fully understood and addressed within an intersectional approach (cf. Husu 2019). At all levels in universities, there are gendered/racialised/classed/ableist intersections that differentiate entry, attainment, positioning and emotional inclusion and estrangement.

REFUSING TO BE BODIES OUT OF PLACE IN THE ACADEMY

Many feminist scholars have theorised and demonstrated the ways in which universities legitimate some identities as part of the norm and to render others non-normative so that some bodies are constructed as 'out of place', 'space invaders', while others are taken for granted as normative (Puwar 2004). Those bodies implicitly considered 'space invaders' are intersectionally located as women and those from discernible minoritised groups in terms of racialisation, ethnicisation, social class and disability. As Sara Ahmed (2007, p. 157) suggests, 'institutional spaces are shaped by the proximity of some bodies and not others…'

Equally, the work that minoritised academics do can be rendered non-normative and of questionable value. For example, Grada Kilomba (2009) a black scholar working in Germany explains, '… academia is not a neutral location. This is a *white space where Black* people have been denied the privilege to speak … and where *white* scholars have developed theoretical discourses which formally constructed us as the inferior 'Other'… As a scholar… I am commonly told that my work on everyday racism is very interesting, but not really scientific, a remark which illustrates this colonial hierarchy in which Black scholars reside.'

Everyday academic practices continue to produce historically located implicit 'micro aggressions' in academe (Rollock 2012) and a politics of (un)belonging (Yuval-Davis 2011) that reproduce social inequalities. That this continues to be the case was evocatively demonstrated by a day conference organised by Sue Scott in April 2019, for the Academy of Social Sciences, on 'Women in Social Science since the 1970s' (Scott 2019).

Mountz, Bonds, Mansfield, Loyd, Hyndman, Walton-Roberts, Basu, Whitson, Hawkins, Hamilton and Curran (2015) produced a large, Canadian and US collective feminist response to conditions in the neoliberal university to document "the isolating effects and embodied work conditions of such increasing demands … [and] develop a feminist ethics of care that challenges these working conditions" (p. 1236). They argue instead for 'slow scholarship' and collaborative resistance strategies. This theme is one also advocated by Berg and Seeber (2016) and much discussed by scholars in many countries. As Gill (2018) documents, these issues are stubbornly entrenched in the academy, making solutions far from simple and misleadingly treating workers in the academy, and the academic endeavour itself, as if it is solipsistic.

Yet, despite this stubborn entrenchment, the academy is being forced to change by collective action from students and others who demand concrete change in the direction of social justice. In South Africa and the USA, the 'Rhodes must fall' movement has led to the removal of statues of the coloniser Cecil Rhodes and demands to decolonise the curriculum have forced attention on to the Minority World bias of curricula and the knowledge produced, as well as demands that, in the UK are exemplified by campaigns around 'Why isn't my professor black?' and 'Why is my curriculum white?' and demands for reparations from the slave trade that have led Glasgow University to give £20 million to the University of the West Indies as token reparation and Oxford University to set up a scholarship and give a grant to a college in Barbados in recognition of the economic

gains it made from the slave trade (Carrell 2019) or of eugenic histories in universities such as UCL (Solanke 2020).

Equally, the resignation of Sara Ahmed from Goldsmiths' College in protest at its failure to address repeated sexual harassment of female students from various academics both led the College to address the issues and make public statements about it, as well as providing support for women students who themselves acted. As Ahmed said on her blog and in *Living a feminist life*:

> *Resignation can sound passive, even fatalistic: resigning oneself to one's fate. But resignation can be an act of feminist protest. By snapping you are saying: I will not work for an organisation that is not addressing the problem of sexual harassment. Not addressing the problem of sexual harassment is reproducing the problem of sexual harassment. By snapping you are saying: I will not reproduce a world I cannot bear, a world I do not think should be borne.*

While this sounds individualistic, it has empowered many feminists to think about the changes they want to make in the academy.

The recognition of the paucity of black women professors in the UK led to the setting up of the Black Female Professors Forum, which both aims to increase the number of black women professors and to campaign on issues of social justice from an intersectional perspective.

Pointing to a few points of collective action producing change in the academy is not meant either to suggest that universities are on a straightforward trajectory to social justice or to be naïve about social change. Ahmed (2014), for example, cautions that we need to watch out for 'critical sexism'. This draws on the idea that feminist critiques have transformed the academy and so the disciplines are no longer implicated in sexism while feminism itself is viewed as passé. At the same time, 'many courses are organised around or even as a white male European genealogy.' Despite these problematic and dangerous currents, the collaborative actions described above constitute 'articulations of meaningful hope' for real change, oriented to both the past and the future (Bradbury 2020). They offer resistance to being 'foreclosed from possibility' (Butler 2004:

31). It is here that Husu's careful documentation of lack of progress and continuing contradictions is important in fuelling action for change and in recognising that the slowness of 'development in tackling persistent inequalities in academic careers and structures demands continuous vigilance and commitment of all stakeholders: researchers, academic leaders and policy makers' (Husu 2019).

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Liisa Husu: A pioneer in gender equality in the academy

Pat O'Connor

I AM VERY PLEASED to be invited to contribute to Liisa Husu's *Festschrift*. Liisa has been a global pioneer in the area of gender equality in the academy. Her research has had a particular focus on gendered knowledge production, inequalities in scientific careers and science policy, but her contribution has been much greater than that.

My first contact with Liisa was through the European Network on Gender Equality in the late 1990s. I had begun to wake up to gender inequality in higher education and was delighted and relieved to find a European network concerned with this issue. The listserv eq-uni, which she established in 1998 and has moderated since, was a physical reminder that this was a global problem and that there were researchers, practitioners, administrators, academic leaders, policy makers and students across Europe and beyond, who were interested in and working to promote gender equality in higher education. To those of us who were frequently teaching and researching in hostile academic environments, trying to both understand those environments and to find ways of changing them, the recognition that we were not alone was enormously empowering. The existence of the network, and its persistence, reflects her commitment to bringing together academics and activists who are concerned with this issue. The impact of this work is unquantifiable.

In Ireland, we have frequently assumed that our difficulties with patriarchy, in its many manifestations, reflected the traditional dominance of the institutional Roman Catholic church and its impact on our institutional structures and culture. It was disconcerting and enlightening to find, through Liisa's work, that similar problems existed in the Finnish academia. In the late 1990s, she put together a Special Issue on *Academe and gender in higher education in Europe,* to which I was very pleased to be asked to contribute. Appropriately her own article was titled 'Gender discrimination in the Promised Land of Gender Equality' (Husu 2000).

I was delighted to receive a signed copy of her thesis on *Sexism, support and survival in academia: academic women and hidden discrimination in Finland* (2001), with a dedication recognising the 'many inspiring conversations' we had had 'on the very topic of this book'. Almost 20 years later, when I went to look at social support in academia, I returned to it and it was influential in helping me to differentiate between mentoring and sponsorship, and to argue that the latter was one source of men's hidden advantage in Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) in academia (O'Connor et al. 2019).

Liisa has frequently been ahead of the field in terms of identifying key topics. She early recognised the need to deconstruct excellence, and this was reflected in her publication on 'Gatekeeping, gender equality and scientific excellence' (2004); in an impressive conference paper (2006) on this topic, and in her subsequent article with de Cheveigné (2010). She was also ahead of the field in focusing on gendered gaps in research funding (2014). Her work has influenced my own research and that of colleagues in these and other areas (O'Connor 2014; O'Connor & O'Hagan 2016; O'Connor & Fauve-Chamoux 2016). Recognition of her international leadership role was reflected in the invitation (2013) to 'speak up for equality' in the very prestigious international journal, *Nature*.

Liisa has been involved in numerous EU research projects, including ADVANCE, PROMETEA, GenSET, GenPORT. Having had the experience of one EU project – FESTA – I can readily appreciate how much time and energy this has involved. It does however create and sustain nuclei of activists and researchers concerned with the creation of organisational change in higher educational institutions across Europe and beyond. It is easy to forget Liisa's linguistic competence, publishing in English as well as in Finnish (and being able to converse with Scandinavian and other colleagues with ease).

I was delighted when she became Professor of Gender Studies in Örebro. I had the opportunity to see her in action there during a brief visit on my sabbatical in 2011. We continued to meet intermittently in various conferences and other fora. Our paths crossed again at the 10th European Conference on Gender Equality in Higher Education in Trinity College Dublin in August 2018 and I recall with pleasure the easy energy of our renewed conversation. Liisa led on organising that conference (and the previous nine Conferences on Gender Equality in Higher Education ...) – an exhausting and largely thankless task. But this bringing together of academics, researchers and policy-makers has been a defining feature of her academic career.

Inevitably for those leading in the gender equality area, there are competing demands arising from the need to establish the discipline, to fight for research funding, to host international scholars, to lobby national and international policy makers, to be active in evaluation activities, to be available to the media as a public intellectual and to be an agenda setter in the gender area in various national and international fora. There are pressures too from students and staff whose futures are not always secure and whose needs for individual support and advocacy can be extensive. As Co-Director of GEXcel, a research platform involving three universities, as leader of the Centre for Feminist Social Studies at Örebro University, as National Co-ordinator of Women's Studies, as well as senior advisor to various gender equality structures in Finland and beyond, those responsibilities were multiplied.

Liisa now faces what, to me, is the considerable challenge of a post-official retirement academic life. I have the temerity to say that I hope that she will keep doing what she enjoys and what clearly needs doing: whether that is writing, evaluating, advocating or organising. The transformation of the academy is still a work-in-progress. We cannot afford to lose the voices of pioneers like Liisa. But a temporary break, and a recognition of her contribution is important before this next stage.

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Encounters of gender in academia

Effects of the Covid-19 pandemic

Charlotta Niemistö,
Leila Gharavi
and Ling E. Zhang

GATHERING TO WRITE this piece of text has not been possible face-to-face. Due to life situations and Covid-19, we are currently stuck in different cities: Helsinki, Norrköping and Kauniainen. Additionally, we remain concerned about friends and family in other parts of the world, for example, in China, Iran and Lebanon, to name the locations of immediate family; whereas for other relatives, friends and people in general, we worry even more globally.

The new situation invites us to take a closer look at women in academia, mostly through personal experiences, in the past and at present, and the kind of implications the "new normal" might have for us and others when this pandemic is over. First lesson learned: there will be other pandemics, or other restraining situations, in the times to come, so it is best to be mentally prepared. Some of us were not quite enough prepared this time. The pandemic sneaked behind the corner and changed our everyday lives in a very short time. Despite our at times demanding situations personally, we lived in a world of the privileged, as in we were free to live a comfortable life, travelling around both for work and privately. During different phases of lockdown, in the three countries where we are at the moment, as well as elsewhere, we have had to give up some degrees of freedom, stay put, and stay at home. Still we have, among many other privileges, the luxury of having a home. And having a home from where we feel safe and are able to remotely work and study, is yet another privilege that we possess.

Home has different meanings to us, as home can be in several locations at the same time. Two of us have recently relocated to another country, both having lived there earlier, but in a different life situation. Both are still having strong professional and personal connections to previous home countries, as well as to the homes there. Thus, we also personally recognise the strains of expatriation based on having loved ones we care for, and sometimes remotely care of, in different countries.

In the ongoing Covid-19 crises, we have started to think about a new "world order", and women's role in it – including our own roles in it. Further, we have given our own life choices some thought in this new situation. We have been very much inspired by a recent book chapter (Hearn & Husu 2019) describing the academic practices as, not only gendered and aged, but also "archaic, very hierarchical, patriarchal, neo-feudal and at times ritualistic" (p. 193).

We all could have several stories to tell about being women in academia. We have witnessed gendered processes, for example in recruitment, everyday practices dividing our tasks and how we are perceived, creating momentums of non-events (Husu 2001: 122). Further, our gender has definitely had a strong impact on our careers, career choices and possibilities, as well as on our choices and possibilities in our private lives (Husu 2005).

Questions of care are very much gendered. We also know that care can take different forms and be conducted in close relations or remotely. Ageing populations mean that, for many of us, care of children might, with time, change to care of aging parents, or these might happen simultaneously. In the new situation, caring for, and of, loved ones must happen partially remotely, as travelling to visit elderly parents across country borders, or even within the same city, is not possible. Also, adult children can live in other countries, which poses the same problem. So, the newly-onto-us-imposed digital form of caring is possibly more of the new normal than shuttling between countries. This might affect also more local caring relations as older adults have been encouraged to connect with family through video-calls of different kinds. Although, if this time imposes permanent changes one way or the other, we do not yet know.

The ongoing Covid-19 has indeed affected our lives this spring. None of us are in what is defined as "essential jobs", so the changes have meant work and studies moving online; at the same time, this has totally blurred the physical boundaries between work and private life. To some extent, the blurring has also included temporal and psychological/emotional boundaries. We want to offer a glimpse of how the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic has affected us, us as women and academics, our caring responsibilities and ways of caring, and finally, our boundaries between work and private/home/care.

…MEANWHILE IN KAUNIAINEN, Ling is mainly attending to her students who are now in different parts of the world. Care and emotional labour work are indeed very much gendered. When her students followed her tightly from Adobe Connect to Teams to Zoom, she thought herself as the mummy duck leading a pack of small ducklings! Amazing that no

one fell behind! The world is a stressful place for the young grown-ups, who experience quarantine after the long wait to get a flight home. There is always an extra session on emotional well-being after each class - have faith, stay calm, stay connected, and look forward to celebration time. She is also nursing her toddler son at home. There was definitely some sort of rivalry between her son and her students – mostly from her son's perspective. When Ling teaches, her son would make sure that he was heard by Ling's students. Funny enough her students would comment that perhaps Ling enjoys working from home because in this way she can see her son all the time. "Perhaps, or perhaps not. Is it really so? You need to be critical." Those words that she learnt from Liisa's class are now passed onwards to Ling's students. In moments of doubt and confusion, Ling likes to recall how firm and reassuring Liisa's voices tend to be. To her, Liisa always knows what to do, what to tolerate and what not to.

… MEANWHILE IN NORRKÖPING: the year is 2020. May to be exact. I, Leila, moved to Sweden in August 2019 to study Computational Social Science at Linköping University, Norrköping campus. When the outbreak happened towards the end of February, we were in the midst of delivering two courses' final projects and I did not want to disrupt my state of mind and environment and do anything hastily. So, I stayed put and now I am stranded in my student cell in Norrköping as our classes are offered fully online, while my lovely home is deserted back in Helsinki and my lovely family has been stuck at their homes in Tehran for even a much longer period. Saying one is stuck or stranded during these times, while in Sweden, is an irony of its own, especially in a little town like Norrköping. Perhaps the before-after differences are more noticeable in a city like Stockholm, but in Norrköping one would wonder: what exactly has changed!? Perhaps there were some initial reactions during the first 2-3 weeks in March but otherwise, people are out and about (more so with the longer and sunny days) shopping centres, cafés, restaurants and gyms have been open and running, students parties have been happening, and overall, life seems to be going on as usual! It has been intriguing to see officials trying rather hard to prove that no, life in Sweden is not normal at the moment. Foreigners have been confused, to say the least, though. On the one hand, they hear about all the sad and dark news elsewhere, and on the other, they step outside and see the flow of life around them. Well, I guess the jury is out and we will hear the final verdict in a few years' time.

The last time I met Liisa and Jeff, it was in December 2019. We met in Stockholm and had a lovely supper together at the train station. That kind of automatic, straightforward, and mundane doing now feels like an exciting adventure from a different era or on a different planet! We talked at length about the emerging areas of "analytical sociology" and "computational social science" and I remember vividly Liisa saying: "As if other areas of sociology are not analytical!" I loved it! On a note about Computational Social Science, it is seemingly situated at the cross-roads of sociology, computation/data, and mathematics/statistics, and it busies itself a great deal with finding mechanisms behind micro-to-macro relationships. When I was growing up and studying to become a telecommunication engineering some 20-25 years ago, all the computer-related and data-handling – if any, back then – methods and strategies that we are learning now so clearly belonged to computer, and mostly software, engineering. It is rather fascinating – and heart-warming, too – to witness how well-versed the next generation of social scientists can be in computer and data-handling skills.

AND MEANWHILE IN HELSINKI, Lotta is working remotely, as she mostly did already before the covid-19 crisis. Work ergonomics is working well thanks to an electronic table and an extra monitor for laptop, and the only visible difference to "normal" is a due-to-the -lockdown remotely working partner and high-school-aged daughter, the only one of the three children living at home, studying online from her room. Work and home are smoothly and effortlessly blurred, physically, temporally and emotionally.

In the middle of the Covid-19 crisis, worries for family close by (yet partly isolated), as well as far (mainly for a son in a peacekeeping operation) are continuously present. At the same time, a feeling of lacking in the academic competition has grown stronger. Starting the academic path in my mid-thirties, there now seem to be less and less good options left. Not being the young and hungry academic without care responsibilities gives a feeling of not being able to keep up. But the feeling of lack is also, at least partly, a manifestation of a tension of values. And a lack in

willingness to compromise. Concerns about the uncertainty and precarity of an academic career, as well as the decreased willingness to shuttle between cities or countries, increases the need to come up with a decent exit plan. At the same time, giving up research would be a very difficult decision. Having read Liisa's work gives me comfort and makes me feel less alone in the academic jungle. It's also gives the strength to carry on and fight the battle.

FINALLY, HERE WE ARE, in our complex and different situations, pushing ourselves through the crisis, caring of, and for, our loved ones, at least partly remotely. This is not new, but in some ways more present than earlier. Mother Earth is reminding us of the fragility of life, and life as we remember it in our privileged bubbles. At the same time, we feel so fortunate for having the possibility to live and breathe in the academic environment and be academics. Out of this crisis will also come good; we can already see that we have learned from it. Working and caring go on, and we want to make a difference in both.

We raise our glasses to Liisa, an important role model for all three of us.

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Becoming academic

Johanna Niemi

INTRODUCTION: THE DOCTORAL DEGREE AS A STEP ON THE ACADEMIC LADDER

Becoming a member of the academic community is a long process. The academic hierarchy consists of several layers, many of them formal (doctoral student, post doc, lecturer, professor), some of them informal and implicitly tied to the respect and appreciation by the peers. These two processes, the advancement on the hierarchical ladder and the appreciation by the academic community, do not always coincide but the advancement on both of them takes time, sometimes a lot of time.

During the era of new public management, the academic community is under pressure to hasten the processes of becoming an academic. However, an allegory by the Chinese philosopher Mengzi [Mencius] illustrates how detrimental these pressures can be. According to him, a farmer who was unhappy with the slow growth of his crop tried to hurry up the process by pulling on it, thinking it would help it grow faster. His son was the one who went to the field and saw that the crop had withered. Mengzi observes that, under the sun, those are few who do not force the crop to grow. The academic community should foster becoming, not hasten it.

Liisa Husu has played an important role in my becoming an academic. Liisa defended her thesis in 2001 as my junior in academic age, but as we met in 2002 in the newly established Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, she and the group of female researchers, including Päivi Pahta, Anneli Aemeleus, Tuula Gordon and later Liisa Tainio and Anu Korhonen, became my academic mothers. There had been female colleagues in the Faculty of Law where I had worked before, but we had been few and dispersed. Even as an associate researcher, I had felt responsibility for female doctoral candidates, as there were practically no female professors. The multi-disciplinary group at the Collegium, and especially Liisa, were the peers and the community that formed my identity as a female academic.

It takes patience and skill to nurture the process of becoming an academic. On the path of becoming academic, in both its hierarchical and informal meanings, the degree of Doctor is a crucial advancement. The degree is almost universal and it is universally recognised. The doctorate as a professional qualification (for example JD and MD in the USA) is not discussed in this article. Some describe it as a "driving license" to do independent research, while some emphasise the examination of the quality of already done research. Everyone agrees on its importance in academic life.

Against this background, it is surprising how much the actual procedures to attain this degree differ across the world. Indeed, considering how important they are, it is perhaps surprising how little seems to be written about the different procedures and practices of doctoral examination. Therefore, this small essay focuses on the final approval procedure of the doctoral thesis. As a closure of a project that has taken several years, it deserves close attention. The writing of a doctoral thesis is often a stressful process. The anticipation of the final defence act and the approval procedure may increase the stress, which does not contribute to the quality of the thesis. As a transition from an apprentice (doctoral *student*) to a researcher, the defence, or examination, should inform the academic community about the quality of the work. In many countries, still today, the *public* examination plays a role as a quality control. In addition, the defence is the conclusion of a project that has taken several years, has involved many people, not only in academia, but also family and friends. It is an appropriate time to acknowledge their contribution. Thus, there is reason to look at the procedure from their point as well.

In this essay, I first present a short comparative summary of the approval procedures that I am familiar with. Then I describe and discuss more in detail the Finnish tradition, which I know best. As a lawyer and a law professor myself, my insights come from faculties of law and social sciences. In Finland, some of the academic traditions have persisted, which give an opportunity to reflect on the nature of the procedure as a kind of initiation rite to the academic world.

DIFFERENT TRADITIONS

National academic traditions in doctoral examination seem to be rather stable. The Finnish procedure of examination of a doctoral thesis seems to resemble the French tradition with pre-reviewers. However, a more common form of procedure relies on an examination committee. Naturally, academic experts play the crucial role in any examination procedure. Next, I shall outline four models, loosely built around examination procedures in

the UK (committee model), Australia (expert report model), Sweden (opponent-committee model) and Norway (committee-trial lecture model), before describing the traditions followed in Finland.

The committee model, resembling the procedures followed in the UK and for example in the European University Institute in Florence, includes an oral examination in front of a small committee. When the doctoral thesis supervisor deems the thesis ready for defence, the supervisor or the candidate propose that the faculty board nominates a thesis committee. There are different rules on the size and the composition of the committee but, generally, they tend to be relatively small with 2-5 members, consisting of professors or doctors (docents where that grade is in use) of the same subject area. There is always at least one external examiner in the process, sometimes several and different rules govern the role of any internal expert to avoid vested interest in approval.

Often, the defence itself consists of the presentation by the doctoral candidate and an oral examination by the committee members. According to the directions and guidelines by the universities, one of the tasks of the committee is to examine that the candidate has done the research and the thesis themselves. In the UK, the examiners may give a conditional statement that gives the candidate a period of three to six months or even one year to improve the thesis. Such conditional report is not exceptional and is in fact very common indeed. After the candidate has made the corrections, the faculty may accept the thesis and award the degree. The examination as a ceremony is a low-key event. It may be closed, as usually in the UK, or open for the public, but in either case the audience tends to be very small, perhaps the closest colleagues. After the defence, the candidate goes home and starts to work with the corrections.

In the *expert report model,* the examiners do not convene, they just send in their written reports. This model seems to be common in Australia, perhaps due to long distances.

The *opponent-committee model* makes a distinction between the examination by an opponent and the approval by a committee. The Swedish law faculties monitor the progress of a doctoral candidate through three seminars, the planning seminar in the first year, the mid-seminar after two years, and the final seminar when the doctoral student is able to present a draft thesis. At these seminars, the doctoral student presents their work and an appointed 'close reader' gives an assessment of their progress. The seminars are informal in nature, but attended by their colleagues.

When the supervisor deems the thesis ready for defence, the faculty appoints the opponent and the committee called grade-committee (betygsnämnden). The term grade-committee is rather misleading since the only grades the committee has at its disposal are passed/failed (possibly passed by a vote). The committee usually consists of three professors or docents, at least two of whom are from other universities.

At the examination act itself, the opponent first presents the thesis. The opponent usually starts the examination by asking whether the presentation was fair and then asks questions about the content of the thesis. After about two hours, when the opponent is finished, the committee members present their few questions. They usually use this opportunity to indicate their opinions about the topic, its importance and, implicitly, the quality of the thesis.

Then comes the exiting part. The committee withdraws to a meeting room with the opponent and the supervisor to discuss the grade (passed/failed). With a nice Swedish sandwich cake, they then start to elaborate on the content and quality of the thesis. Usually they do not discuss the grade (passed/failed), since the faculty should not let the thesis proceed to defence unless it meets the standard. In the meanwhile, the candidate and their colleagues, family and friends sit in another room nervously waiting for the 'verdict'. Finally, when the committee comes out and announces its conclusion (pass), everyone breathes freely again. Now they may continue their preparations for the evening party. The Swedish defence parties are marvellous, with performances, songs and plays. There are a few speeches, short and fun. If you ever have a chance to attend, I recommend it.

The Norwegian *committee trial lecture model* includes a number of tests that the candidate has to pass. First, the faculty appoints a committee of five to evaluate the thesis. The committee must include one or two outside members, but the majority can be from the same institution. The committee evaluates both the readiness of the thesis for defence and the approval after the defence and submits both pre- and after defence reports to the faculty for the formal approval. However, before the candidate can

stand for the defence, the candidate has to give one or two trial lectures, also subject to approval by the committee. The lecturers are on the same day as the defence or some days before, but not on the topic of the thesis. In some cases, the committee decides the topic of one lecture and the candidate of another. At the defence, the two members of the committee play the role of the opponent.

Thinking about closure, the Swedish opponent-committee model, in which the final approval is granted the same day as the examination, really closes the procedure. The negative side of the model is that the examination is a very stressful event as the candidate's fate is decided right after it. At the other end are systems, in which a statement is sent home to the candidate a month after the defence. Such low-key procedures downplay the significance of the event. Especially if the statement is conditional, there is really no closure at all. Even if the examination is oral, a defence in a closed room with the examiners and the supervisor do not reflect the occasion as an academic rite giving access to the academic community. And, no less important, such low-key events do not give the reward to the family and friends who have suffered the thesis process.

A SUSTAINING TRADITION IN FINLAND

According to Paul Fogelberg (1999), Professor Emeritus, University of Helsinki, traditions around the defence transferred from Uppsala University to the new Academy in Turku in 1640, from where they have travelled to and sustained in all Finnish universities.

In Finland, finalising and defending a doctoral thesis have often been articulated as the "driver's license" of a research. In this vein, the defence and formalities connected to it are a rite of inclusion into the community of researchers. Still in the late 1980s when I started my doctoral studies, the guidelines for organising a dissertation party did not recognise that women might be present. Not only were the main characters, the defendant, the opponent, the supervisor, and so on described as male, also others in the company were expected to wear a tailcoat. A comment that the defendant's wife might be present at the party just underlined the idea that the new doctor was now included into the community of (male) academicians.

Today, half of graduating doctors are women, but the traditions sustain. The doctorate is a research degree, and a prerequisite for the enrolment to a doctoral programme is a Master's degree. Since Bologna in the mid-2000s, the standard time to take a Master's degree is five years, that is, including a Bachelor's degree of three years. The licentiate degree between Master and Doctor has virtually disappeared. Faculties have both salaried doctoral students and those who work on scholarships or finance their studies themselves. There is no time limit for the doctoral project, but salaried positions have a maximum of four to four and a half years. A doctoral thesis can be a monograph or a compilation of articles with an introduction. In each case, the thesis is usually printed before the defence. Thus, the ceremonial part starts with the 'nailing' of the thesis ten days before the defence. The 'nailed' thesis used to hang on a certain wall in the rector's office but with today with electronically published theses, the nailing tends to be more or less symbolic. Most universities still have a wall or a shelf where the fresh theses are available for anyone to examine. In Sweden, nailing (spikning) is still a ceremony with a physical nailing of the thesis on a post or similar.

The examination procedures are rather similar in all Finnish universities, though with slight differences among different faculties. The instructions are usually easily accessible on the homepage, explaining also the dress codes and other formalities. A good reference guide for a foreign opponent is, for example, the Hanken (n.d.) guide. In Finland, before public defence, the thesis has gone through a pre-examination process before becoming public in the 'nailing'. The faculty has appointed two pre-examiners, professors or docents from other universities, to assess whether the thesis is ready for defence. These appointments are highly valued; there have been no difficulties in recruiting colleagues as pre-examiners. In earlier days, the pre-examiners often gave conditional statements, requiring the candidate to improve their work before the defence. Today, conditional statements are much less common, and the statement should be clearly positive or negative. After the pre-examiners have given a positive statement, the faculty grants the candidate permission to defend and print the thesis.

The faculty also appoints an opponent. Here practices vary among universities and faculties. While some of them exclude the pre-examiners from the role of an opponent, some other faculties regularly

appoint one of the pre-examiners as an opponent. Having the same person as a pre-examiner and as an opponent clearly expedites the process. It also respects the legitimate interest of the candidate not to be humiliated at the defence. The defence act itself is rather formal. The dress code is a tailcoat with white tie (vest) or a black suit and a black afternoon dress for women. The opponent and the chair (called *custos*) come into the room carrying their doctoral silk hats. The phrases in the beginning and in the end of the ceremony are regulated and carefully memorised. In between, the scientific discussion takes place.

The act begins with a *lectio praecursoria* by the defendant, in which they present the main ideas of the thesis or give an overview of the problem area of the thesis. After this presentation of maximum 20 minutes, the opponent makes a short speech in which they usually put the thesis in the broader context of the scientific discipline. After that, the opponent starts the examination. According to regulations, it may take four hours, but the norm is today two hours. Then the audience may ask questions. To make a question at this point is welcomed in some faculties but may be considered politically incorrect in some others. Check the custom before you ask for the floor if you are in the audience.

The examinations are public, and they tend to attract some dozens of people. In earlier days, all the professors of the faculty used to attend but now defences are so frequent that attendance has declined. Close colleagues, friends and relatives also like to attend. A good opponent leads the discussion so that the audience can follow, without compromising the scientific level. The candidates are always nervous before the defence, but many opponents have been able to lead a scientific discussion at a high level, respecting the differing viewpoints and mentioning the limitations of the work.

The opponent's last words, summarising the merits and weaknesses of the work and indicating that they recommend the faculty to approve the thesis for the grade of a doctor, are as great a relief for the audience as for the defendant. There may be a thesis committee to give an evaluative statement, and the faculty board finally approves the thesis, but the opponent's last words are the real 'verdict'.

AFTERPARTY

The atmosphere at the coffee served after the defence act is one of relief, but it is nothing compared to the evening party. The name of the party "karonkka" is supposed to come via the Russian word meaning coronation. According to the protocol, the party is in the honour of the opponent, but there is no doubt who is the main character.

Once a formal dinner, the candidates today have freedom in planning their own party. However, the tradition of speeches sustains. After the main course, the defendant gives a speech in which they thank everyone involved in the process of writing and defending. First thanks go to the opponent, then the custos, the supervisors, the dean, the colleagues, friends, family and spouse. Then, everyone mentioned gives a speech, in that order, honouring the new doctor. It can be a long night, but well deserved after years of toil.

The problem with the party is that the costs fall on the defendant, who usually has worked on a low salary or scholarship for years, has a newly founded family and a mortgage. The Swedish system in which each participant buys a dinner card is fairer, and thus promotes inclusion since the defendant does not have to limit the participation for economic reasons. In recent years, a growing number of defending doctoral candidates in Finland have asked those who are able to afford it to contribute towards the costs of the event or pay into a chosen good cause, but unfortunately that is not yet a general pattern.

CONCLUSION

The approval of a doctoral thesis and the defence act itself are important milestones for both the doctoral candidate and the academic community. Thus, it is significant how they are organised. These processes serve several purposes, which are not necessarily conflicting. The process should encourage good research, serve as a quality control, signify a step on the academic ladder, and give a well-deserved closure to a process that has also involved the family and friends of the candidate. In the design of the process, it should be kept in mind that the doctoral programme, as well as the defence, are stressful in themselves and the design of the defence should rather downplay the stress than increase it. With all these considerations, I

think that the Finnish organisation of the approval process and the defence has been rather successful. The pre-examination downplays the stress, the public defence serves an open quality control, and the party gives the closure that the defendant, family and friends deserve.

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A conversation on sexism in gender policies in research

Ana Luisa Muñoz-García

INTRODUCTION

The dialogue on gender policies in higher education has its own path and history in each country. Chile has its own path and history, mainly in response to specific demands from the female academic community and the feminist movement since May 2018. While women academics and students in higher education have different challenges and demands, I would firmly say that they respond to the same problem: sexism. While in this chapter, I do not pretend to cover the entire discussion on sexism in Chilean higher education, I do focus on the complex entanglements of sexism embedded in knowledge policies and practices, unveiling normative discourses that are presented as standards of the scientific knowledge.

The main argument is that while the discipline of education is highly feminised, research continues being a deeply masculine arena which impacts the academic careers of women academics. Based on empirical research on knowledge construction in education and from a feminist standpoint, this chapter is an invitation to erode traditional understandings of ways of doing knowledge, but also to scrutinise the material implications of what it means to work on knowledge in the context of institutionalised sexism within universities. Looking into research policies and practices of faculty provides us with a unique lens for examining gendered institutional structures that construct sexism. Furthermore, understanding how women in all different levels of their academic paths are constructing knowledge in the area of education is critical to comprehend their ability to survive and thrive in higher education.

GENDER IN HIGHER EDUCATION: A TENSIONED CONVERSATION

Some years ago, a foreign academic came here, and a high authority of the university dared to ask her in the President meeting room, what would she do to improve the position of women in the academy? This scholar looked at the walls of the room, full of pictures of the historical presidents and told him: the first thing I would do, I would take down all these photos of all these male Presidents. It was a very uncomfortable

> *situation because the woman was saying; how dare you ask me how to improve the conditions of women in the academy and bring me to a place where there are just men on the walls* (Interview with Patricia Silva, Academic, Metropolitan University)

Women's participation in universities is relevant to knowledge production because of their processes and engagement in the research dynamics, production of goods, cultural values and training of people (Acuna 2016). In Chile, while the number of women in higher education has increased, there are still gender differences in terms of the positions that women hold within universities and research participation in the country. Previous studies in the country have shown that the participation of academic women in higher education has increased from 39 percent in 2008 to 43.5 percent in 2017 (SIES 2017a, 2017b). However, it is still considered a space that reproduces sexism (Savigny 2014; Munoz-Garcia & Lira 2019), where women are under-represented in key positions (such as rectors), and their participation in knowledge construction remains low (Schnabel 2014).

In Chile, there are 60 universities, and the quote about the conversation between the foreign academic and the authority could have happened in any of them. As an example, in 2017, a study was conducted on female participation in senior-level administrative positions at higher education institutions in Chile. They found that the representation of women in universities at the level of President is the lowest among the types of positions that women hold within Chilean higher education institutions. There were only two presidents, which represents 4 percent of the total. At the vice-president and dean level, the study found that the presence of women is significantly higher, and participation occurs at similar rates, at 25 percent and 23 percent, respectively (Aequalis 2017). This data shows that women remain significantly underrepresented among leadership positions within universities in Chile.

In the case of the educational field in Chile, while the enrolment of women in the educational programmes is over 74 percent (SIES 2017a, 2017b), participation as a professor in tertiary education decreases to 43 percent. In educational research in Chile, it is 34 percent (UNESCO 2018). The numbers are key for understanding the ways that women get

under-represented at senior levels in the educational field in higher education, specifically when this comes with a high relationship between research grants, publications, and an academic career path (Queupil & Muñoz-García 2018).

According to their numbers The National Commission of Science and Technology (CONICYT 2017a), the foremost national funding for research grants, have been primarily dominated by male researchers. Between 2007 and 2016, there were a total of 12,201 grants (FONDECYT, FONDECYT Initial, Postdoc projects, and International Cooperation) approved, of which only 3,330 were led by women, representing 27 percent of the total (CONICYT 2017a). While there is robust discourse from the National Commission of Science and Technology about the participation of women in the production of knowledge, it is crucial to analyse whether there is an effective integration of women in educational research, especially in developing countries such as Chile. This chapter explores the ways research is promoted in the educational arena but also to analyse further the entanglements in which knowledge construction take forms within the universities.

GENDER POLICIES AND SEXISM

Gender policies have advanced access, participation and, the progress of women in their academic careers; however, little attention has been paid to the positionality of women in the research process within universities (Paswan & Singh 2020). There is thoughtful critique on just counting the number of women researches as an indicator of equity (Morley 2011). What counts as knowledge and who does knowledge become key questions (Morley 2016), and previous studies on women in academia from feminist perspectives have shown that women's knowledge has traditionally been positioned as untrustworthy and their contribution has been marginalised (Harding 1991; Code 2014). Women are less cited than men (Ahmed 2017), get less funding for research (Read & Bradley 2018), and their participation as keynote speakers is lower than men in academic conferences (White 2004). These exclusionary practices are problematic because they impact the academic career of women within universities. As I mentioned before, they respond to a sexist structure in which our societies, and the universities we are in, are founded.

From an intersectional perspective, sexism does not determine the fate of women and men in society (hooks 1984). Sexism, as a system of institutionalised domination, means the absence of decision-making power on the part of the oppressed group. However, as black and decolonial feminists have said, many women can decide, and their life experiences are very far from exploitation and discrimination, especially if we think in terms of race or class (hooks 2000; Mendoza 2010). There is plenty of theoretical analysis and evidence today which shows the need to think about sexism beyond the binary division man/woman and beyond thinking that women are a homogenous category (Crenshaw 1991; Gill & Pires 2019). In this way, sexism is in constant use and operates as an old-fashioned radio that emits white noise but still works, and it works, first, because it is usually in a corner where its existence goes unnoticed, and, second, because there is a specific melancholic attachment to something that has been around for a long time (Muñoz-Garcia & Lira 2020). This is how sexism operates and is maintained, through its invisibility and repetition. We do not talk about it because it is always there; it is uncomfortable, because we do not have the words, and because of an attachment to something we know and know how it works.

Sarah Ahmed (2013a), describes academic sexism as the experience that women have every day in their work. It could be through citational practices that repeatedly privilege work by men, or the nomination of lecturers in conferences, or the constant demand to use theorisation produced by men as the basis of our work. It is important to emphasise that sexism is a problem that has a name, that we constantly live before even naming it. Criticising it is intellectual and political work that shows how the world has been built and how the stories of our daily lives are constructed (Ahmed 2013b). Thus, we need to understand sexism within the system of oppression in which it is sustained and think about the ways in which the academy builds and develops sexist practices.

In Chile, efforts have been made to professionalise academic work through the implementation of public policies for research and development and the formation of the so-called human capital (Berrios 2015). However, similar to Europe where, despite the increase in their participation in the academy, women represent less than 40 percent of the academic

workforce (Black et al. 2019), Chile has maintained those percentages, and the number of women decreases drastically as their academic career progresses. A study of the Council of Chancellors on Chile identified that in 2018 the proportion of assistant professors was 57 percent men and 43 percent women, while that of associate professors was 71 percent men and 29 percent women, and in the category of full professors only 22 percent were women (MINEDUC 2019). Furthermore, these measures set aside discussions on the historical and intersectional positionality that women, especially women who are Afro-descendants, indigenous people and LGBTQ people have had, in relation to knowledge.

I continue this chapter with material from a large qualitative analysis on knowledge construction in the field of education in Chile, using discourse analysis method from a post-structural perspective (Ball 2007; Allan 2003; Sondergaard 2002). This three-year research project was based on 61 semi-structured interviews with policymakers, research management, and professors in the field of education, including also politicians, vice-chancellors of research and different participants of Presidential Commissions of Science and Technology. It is also important to mention that during the first year of this research project (2018), the feminist movement was on the rise and it was impossible for interviewers not to mention what was going on in the universities. Also, I was a visible face as the feminist academic who previously completed a study on sexual harassment policies in higher education. Precisely, because it was the only study on sexual harassment protocols in higher education, I participated for months in several discussions on radios, television and newspapers, and in Congress pushed for a new law on sexual harassment that passed in August 2019. As the interviews piled up, I was shocked by the rich narratives on issues of sexism that came from the participants of this study. Finally, to respect the confidentiality and participants protection, pseudonymous were used to identify the respondents.

KNOWLEDGE IS A MASCULINE DOMAIN

The main argument of this chapter is that while the discipline of education is highly feminised, research continues being a highly masculine domain which impacts the academic career of women. Thus, the first discussion will be on the ways in which women academics who participated in this study see the construction of knowledge, and, then, I describe and analyse the impact they see in the progress of their academic path. Knowledge as a masculine domain is not something new. Historically, feminist epistemology has reflected on the ways men's and masculine understandings of what counts as knowledge have ruled academic spaces, including disciplines of education that have the highest number of women academics.

> *In the world that we work in, the world of education is obviously feminine, but those who investigate are men. That is to say, the area of education has few men, and those men have been the ones that have a visible voice (…) Think about it, even a profession that has been highly feminised, when it comes to showing what it does, the few that show it are men.* (Interview with Rafaela Gonzalez).
> *Well, here we are in a faculty of education that has many women, but in general, knowledge in Chile has been associated with being a masculine construction. I think, without going any further, in the faculty itself, we are essentially a women's faculty, there are three research centres, and all of them are led by men.* (Interview with Carmen Morales)

Rafaela and Carmen are both academics in two different metropolitan universities. Rafaela is a doctor in education and has been working in a regional university for 20 years. Her doctorate came as a late project in her academic life because she started doing research way before she studied abroad. Carmen is a doctor in linguistics and has been working in research in education for around fifteen years. She has a strong social consciousness that makes her decide to be in education instead of linguistics, because for her "education is a way to revert educational inequalities." Similarly to most of the women academics, they have a high consciousness that education is a feminised area. That consciousness is also tied in with the notion that men have the lead voice in education. The opinions of the participants were usually accompanied by the justification that they do not know the numbers in terms of who gets the research funding, but they see that usually the people who guide research centres in Chile are men, the people who are cited

are men, as well as who gets the majority of the funding, leads the projects with vast resources, and gets the attention as experts in the public opinion, are very much their male counterparts. More than being a complaint in the stories of the participants, it is a fact for them, and they usually gave plenty of examples on the ways in which knowledge has become a masculine domain. I talked to policy-makers, research vice-chancellors and directors of research about the advancement on gender policies, and all participants mentioned postnatal policies and the fact that women have two extra years on the clock that count towards their scores on their curriculum vitae when applying to grants. The idea from academics is that there are "good intentions" from policies in research but not enough.

Actually, the revision of several documents on gender policies coming from CONICYT, (CONICYT 2016, 2017a, 2017b, 2017c) show that this provision of extra years when considering the CV of academic women who were mothers is just one of several initiatives that the agency has started since 2013. Among them are the extra years to finish their projects if they were mothers during the time of implementation and recognition of pre and postnatal periods for women researchers that have a government scholarship. However, women consider that these initiatives have been insufficient to address gender issues in research policies. As Susana, a researcher who was working in the study group in CONICYT says: "*because we live an in a masculine academic world where men still get more grants, have more publications, and lead more journals, and there is no consideration of other variables such as ethnic background of academics.*" (Interview with Susana Monsalve, Year 1). For women academics in this study, the extra years in the CV comes with a sense of insufficiency, because within the universities there is still a "*housekeeper logic where key positions for women are in development or coordination with students that involve in the work of caring while men lead research centres, the one exception is in the case of centres for gender issues. Thus, there is a clear gender division.*" (Tanya Araya, Year 2). Tanya has a doctorate in sociology and works on issues of digital gaps in a regional university. She considers that her area of research is highly masculine because of the presence of engineers doing research in education, and she "*has felt the weight of the masculine academic world*"; she has hopes that gender tensions made visible by the feminist movement will change academic spaces. She adds:

> *The man thinks and decides, and the woman executes. At the university, we continue in the same logic of domestic work at home, and the investigative logic as well. It is frequent in research teams where a project manager is a man, but at the end of the day, women do the work, and it happens to a lot of us.* (Interview with Tanya Araya, Year 2)

For Tanya, it is difficult to take the position of being the housekeeper in the university, but it is also complicated to reject it because it depends on the current academic labour conditions that exist in Chile. Later in the interview, she explains that the precariousness impacts her possibilities to escape sexist practices within academic spaces. Other academic women mentioned similar situations and while they recognise them as events of discrimination, for those who are in precarious positions they become difficult to confront or resist. As one academic described, what usually happens is that "*They bite their tongues to not say anything*" (Interview with Maria Paz Rios, Year 1). Biting their tongues was presented as a way of surviving in the academic world, and it is the concrete example to say that the fact that the academic world is organised in a gendered way does not mean women academics don't see it and that they agree with the way that it is.

As a researcher, who thinks numbers are important but not enough to think about gender issues in higher education, I usually ask what it means to be a woman doing and making knowledge, thus looking for a conversation on practices of research and experiences that can give me a better comprehension of what happens when we look into the day to day of living an academic life and the direct impact of a gendered division in research practices.

IMPACT OF THE ACADEMIC CAREER

In different universities, mostly those considered as research-oriented, there are explicit norms for academic careers. While the academic community receives these types of institutional policies, as a practice of transparency regarding the ways academics are promoted based on clear and objective indicators, the process of promotion still affects women more than men.

Alicia Zapata is a researcher in a regional university and the director of a research centre. In terms of academic promotion, she explains:

> *When you are hired, the demand is that you meet the criteria of scientific productivity, and after that, you move to a new hierarchy. In this first category [Adjunct Professor], there is not so much difference between the number of men and women. But there are differences in the [higher] hierarchies, and this is related to a stage of academic productivity that coincides with the mothering stage for women, which perhaps explains it.* (Interview with Alicia Zapata, Year 2)

The impact on the process of promotion of women academic is related to the fact that research grants and publications are an important indicator for advancing in the academic career and also that for women the process of validation in the academic circle, becomes slower and more difficult. Jose Pablo Gonzalez, a full professor in a school of education, explained that for him the problem is not scientific, it is cultural. According to him, women are productive, but it does not get reflected in the academic hierarchy. Like most of the participants in this study, he thinks that there is an equal number of men and women researching in the field education, but he completely misses the fact that the number of women in educational disciplines is much higher than men. Constanza Muñoz is an academic who works in a metropolitan university. In the interview, she reflects genuinely on her trajectory as an academic in education and the long time it took for her to feel safe and secure to speak up and to have a voice. When recalling her trajectory as a researcher in education, like most of the women interviewed in this research, Constanza explains in detail the little steps she did to advance in her academic career.

> *I think I have had a slow trajectory of building myself up as a researcher and settling down with confidence. A prolonged process that surely a man would have made faster. I had to study a lot, maybe twice or triple that of a man, and I think that maybe as a woman I demanded of myself to the point of feeling full and safe, of feeling that I have a position as an academic, as a researcher.* (Interview with Constanza Muñoz, Year 2)

She went into details about the ways she feels cautious not just about speaking, but also applying for research grants. Constanza feels that the contemporary conditions for women in the construction of knowledge are disadvantaged for women because she explains that "*men get funding, with a lot of money, a lot of young researchers working for them, resources, networks which impact on getting to a higher position, with better possibilities of being cited and invited as keynote speakers.*" (Constanza Muñoz, Year 2). Rather than a fluid path, there are many bumps in the academic lane for women. The statements in the discourses of academic women were pretty common in the interviews: "*I had a huge black hole of publications of three years when I got pregnant*" (Antonia Garrido, Year 1); "*at the beginning, it was difficult to be get my male peers to listen to me, and they usually told me, that I was talking like a mother as a way to undervalue me*" (Barbara Santos, Year 2); "*I feel tired, super tired. I usually am the only woman in different commissions in the university, and authorities feel that is a prize, but no, it is more work to be in all those commissions full of men*" (Maura Carvallo, Year 2).

Maura, different from most of the women academic's participants of this study, is one of the few full professors I managed to interview, and she works in a regional university. She described the multiple complexities she had to deal with during the nineties when she started to work in the university, mentioning that for her it implied "*working three times more, and do the things three times better.*" However, she thinks that today, despite that women are present in the universities "*we still live in a patriarchal society,*" and the fact that productivity is based on publications women can counteract discrimination publishing as much as possible. "*I continue publishing for my university, but in exchange, I ask for things*" (Maura Carvallo, Year 2). Similar to what Constanza Muñoz said in her interview, for women the process of advancing in their academic career is slow; indeed, one wonders how gender discrimination and differences in the participation of women in research continue to being naturalised within academic spaces, in spite of the high consciousness on gender inequality that exists amongst women academics.

SEXISM AT THE BASIS IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE

At the beginning of the new millennium, Liisa Husu was wondering how women were responding to sexism in academic spaces and the ways it was reproducing inequalities in the scientific community in Finland (Husu 2000). Looking into academic women's experiences, she found that women encounter various forms of sexism and gender discrimination in the early stages of their academic careers but also after becoming established. Twenty years later, sexism is still a prevalent issue in academic spaces and society as a whole and it continues to be worth examining and questioning it. Talking with academics, men and women, it was not easy to listen to what I usually called the gender uncomfortable stories, and the ways scholars handle or deal with them. The answers are different, some creative, some depressing, some annoying, but they are based on the same structure that sustains higher education gender practices for doing and making knowledge: scholars in the past have pointed out, and it is politically necessary to name it (Ahmed 2013a; Savigny 2014; Whitley & Page 2015).

Similar to previous studies on gender in academic spaces, sexism because it is denied and silenced becomes a massive part of how it gets perpetuated (Ahmed 2013a). In this study, while it was not named as such, different ways of gender discrimination were very well known by women in their trajectories on doing research. Most importantly, they could see the material impact of it in their academic careers. The stories of sexism were shown in the walls of a room full of pictures of men presidents, in the pictures of the websites of mostly men leading research centres, in the announcements of the main funding agency with the list of names of research grants awarded, or as Sarah Ahmed says, who is invited to the table or not. And yes, similar to other studies too, women are likelier than men to identify gender discrimination when it is flagrant, but less likely when it subtle (Barreto & Ellemers 2005). I did have stories on where in "*a job interview I was asked how they will handle with their kids,*" /Antonia Garrido, Year 1), "*sexist jokes or comments in meetings*" (Barbara Santos; Tamara Labra, Year 2), or "*the omission of their opinions or voices in academic discussions*" (Gladys Sepulveda, Year 2). However, it was difficult for them to name institutional policies or the absence of them as sexist, unless they were thinking of the material outcomes.

The absence of women in leadership positions, the reduction in the percentage of women as associate or full professors, the high number of women as adjuncts and in charge of teaching, the numbers of research grants awarded by men and women, and the high presence of men as public voices – were all mentioned as a system dominated by men and that impacts the women's academic career. In other words, the outcomes of gender discrimination make visible the ways sexism operates in research policies and practices. However, there is a shadowed sexism that operates at the basis of the construction of knowledge that makes those outcomes possible. This type of result becomes highly relevant in thinking about the ways in which the academic community is taught to critically reflect on their conditions and positionalities, to interrupt dominant interpretations of their experiences (Harding 1991; Broido et al. 2015). Naming sexism is pertinent for this. As a woman academic and feminist scholar, naming sexism is a significant first step to progress in the consciousness of gender discrimination within universities. It is a big step because looking at the outcomes of sexism opens the conversation to see it as something structural and not an individual incident.

Regarding the conversation on research and knowledge, rather than the story on specific sexist events, I want to point to a reflection on sexism as a system. Women academics in this study do not think gender problems are solved because they are the majority in the area of education; they have noticed that tenure tracks are different for their male counterparts, and in some cases their salaries are different, and that participation in academia does not mean leading knowledge construction in universities. This type of consciousness leads us to take a step further to think about the institutionalisation of sexism.

Studies on the institutionalisation of sexism in universities constitute contemporary discussion mostly regarding sexual harassment issues (Ahmed 2013a; Franklin 2015; Whitley & Page 2015; Jackson & Muñoz-García 2019). Thinking about institutionalised sexism in the construction of knowledge allows us to reflect on what Donna Haraway calls "world-building" in the existing structures of the higher education. For Haraway (1997), bodies matter and are not separated from the practices of knowledge-making. Based on her analysis of "situated knowledge" the

invitation is to think about knowledge as always located somewhere, with a perspective that is necessarily partial (Haraway 1988). Thus, when we do have women academics that say that men are the ones who "think" and women "do," there is a responsibility to reflect on the partial perspective we have on educational knowledge that is being constructed in Chile. This partial perspective is building a world, a sexist one, that impacts the citational practices, the circulation of knowledge, conferences, voices, public policies on education that are informed by that knowledge (when policymakers get to listen to evidence), and so on.

While, in this study, there is a recognition that Chile has advanced in gender policies at the institutional level, as well as in the leading agency that fund research in the country, sexism is still a problem within universities. Similar to other studies (Morley 2011; Morley & Crossouard 2016), the narratives and examples of exclusion and discrimination and the ways women are being troubled in academia are countless. Reclaiming sexism as an explanation of those experiences is only a first step. As other scholars have pointed out, we confront epistemic injustices that are part of a more massive structure (Rooney 2011). In this first step, naming, analysing and challenging discrimination, sexism and misogyny become key to advance gender equality within universities (Bell et al. 2019).

CONCLUSION

The main task of this chapter has been to look into the material implications of institutionalised sexism in the process of doing and making knowledge. Beyond thinking of issues of how women experience sexism within the universities, the invitation has been to interrogate scientific policies and practices of research. From a feminist standpoint, looking at sexism as an institutionalised problem allows questions about the ways institutions such as universities and funding agencies are working to think and create policies to approach gender issues, beyond the idea of access and participation of women in the system.

The Chilean feminist movement since May 2018 has made visible the tensions in the system of higher education that has their most palpable face in issues of sexual harassment. However, the demands of students started with sexual harassment protocols, but also called for a non-sexist education and the end of patriarchy. While I do think that the latter would take several decades to reach, to create a path towards it implies thinking about how the patriarchy, as in an institutionalised system of sexism, interweaves in our everyday practices, our ways of doing and being. I mention this, not to blame us, individually but to interrupt and create consciousness, and that implies seeing how sexism lives in our bones, and we, men and women, are part of the problem. In this task, knowledge, as a masculine domain, in the academic system becomes a site of dispute, not to see who gets more research grants and publications, but to complicate what it means to have a knowledgeable voice and for what.

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A letter to my teenage children

Jörg Müller

DEAR IZAN, NELE AND MAEL,

This is a letter from me to you, which is, a doubly awkward thing to do. Why a letter? Nobody reads letters these days anymore which converts this from the outset into a pretty anachronistic and futile exercise. It's like sending a SMS or worse, like having a smartphone without charger: it's unattractive, outdated, and next to useless. Letters – on paper or a screen – are not the medium of the moment, and there is a real danger that this message never reaches its destination. It appears as yet another episode of talking past each other, a further incident of a widening generational gap. What works is the magic of @zachking or the moves of @charlidamelio, the pacing of surprise in ever shorter attention spans. But then, maybe that's precisely the point: this is not written in the spirit of relaying yet another message. It's not necessarily about being likeable, cool, fun, consumable, or shareable. The letter and all that surrounds it, being published and public, might have a tiny chance for being this: a little dent and interruption. A little embarrassing, awkward? Could be. But still, in the face of all the cherished channels, the real message is the bug, the message that has not (yet) reached its destination.

It's also awkward to write a letter because, in fact, we could simply talk! Why write a letter to someone who is close by? Especially now during lock-down of the Covid-19 pandemic, a letter seems to be utterly out of place, all the more since we are literally stuck together! Has there ever been a better chance to speak up and listen to each other? Of course, the letter is not just about physical distance, about spending more or less time together. A letter, or rather a written text, is a different form of looking into the world. It is about introducing a little split into the everlasting present of the infinite scroll. What I like about the letter is the writing, with its slowness, its going back and forth, probing thought. It is a space of reflection and thinking, of encircling things, of being doubtful, open and in touch. It is about reading and re-reading, writing and re-writing. Such calm spaces of mindfulness are hard to carve out during dinner talk and in the heat of existential counter-protestations! Rather, a letter is a different story, an alternative that does not aim to clarify and "set things straight", but rather the opposite: to complicate things a little further. And as such it says something about what I like, what I do, what I care for. It says something about my space and your space, and how little these overlap sometimes.

So, although it is a letter and although you sit just across from me, it's an attempt to use less trodden paths. Maybe even ignite a little curiosity? What's the point of +11K characters in a row? To start with, it's a good opportunity to explain (again) what I do during large parts of the day. I think, I've only been mildly successful in describing what social scientists engage in and those working on gender equality in particular. In other words, this is yet another attempt to get across these strange ideas about inequality, gender, structure, the metaphors that lead and mislead. This is not an easy thing to do, since these concepts are difficult on their own, let alone without the safety net of academic articles, facts and a shared vocabulary. However, as one of my favourite influencers (@michelserres) once wrote, communication works only to the degree it doesn't. It's never a simple transfer, but always half a riddle, an invitation for another round and another level. In the end, it is not only a question to myself, how to translate all these words "gender", "sociology", "choice" but also what will happen to them as they pass beyond the academic circles, from my generation to yours, from text to chat.

What is it that I do? That's a question which crops up here and there, on the walk home from school, with your friends. "Papá en qué trabajas?" is a question which makes me slightly nervous, because I'm short of easy answers. Sociologists do not belong to the standard repertoire of recognisable professions, like doctors, architects, or teachers. I'm an "investigador" which is not exactly a detective, I have to say, although I like to collect data. Memorable figures and celebrities won't work either, no Jobs, Gates, or Gaga to point the way. Marx maybe – yes, your piggy bank, that's right! I study people, yes, but not one at a time. It's always about a bunch of people at once, what they do together, even when they are alone. The funny thing is that sociologists study facts that are as durable and strong as cities, but which can't be seen. What makes this so difficult to explain is the fact that we ponder things that are invisible, or rather, hidden in plain sight. Society is just this thing that is always already there, present in what you think and do, and precisely because of that is so hard to perceive. In a way it's all about how we copy others in what we do. Think about the ants on the terrace and the narrow paths that emerge simply as one follows the other. One of the things that I like most about my job is this: you

get a sense for all this space available and the possibilities of other ways to branch out. This is also where "gender" comes in, which makes you think there are just two possibilities, the short and straight way for boys and the long and windy trail for girls, when in fact, there is much more. So, you see, I seek explanations for what people do and think by following the traces what other people did and said.

The question about my job makes me also nervous because there is very little "passion-overlap". In part, this is of course quite natural from one generation to the text – I just thought it would be easier for us, the cool and "we've seen it all" type of parents. However, it is sometimes frustrating to not really be able to convey in simple terms my excitement for research, science, society and everything that comes with it. Apart from the long hours at the screen, the opportunities to share the thrilling bits and pieces do not abound. I feel there is a gulf between my fondness for books, the written word, textual thought and your aversion, to put it mildly, to simply "read", and if it's only the manual of your Nintendo switch. This holds of course the other way round: your addiction for gaming, infinite scrolls and instant messages is met with incomprehension and fragile, counter-productive attempts of "damage" control from your parents side. Unfortunate, also, that writing papers and doing research are not the most promising path to YouTube celebrity. Neither does it help that other elements don't score: it's not just that society is hard to picture, but also that the rest of the job doesn't appear too exciting: the long hours, the stress, the mental overload which is a touch out of tune with the salary. Where and when does the value of all this materialise? Where and when would it be as simple as saying, "Look, I build this", "Look, I planted this" or "Look, that's the cure and care I give, which makes a difference"? And on top of everything, this letter!

Probably, it's all much less dramatic than I make it. Reading about the history of media I realise I follow an all too familiar pattern of a rather stale scepticism to these new forms of communication. After all, I survived television, didn't I?! Despite your grandmother's concern, let's say, there is no permanent damage. And although I can't stand amusement parks which you love, I realise that an aesthetic sensibility lives everywhere. It doesn't depend on the channel. In fact, there is an incredible sophistication at work, a creative attention to detail that is overwhelming in most of the things you do. This goes from your talents for music, drawing, listening instead of seeing what's happening, to the chess and spirit for traveling. Still, there is this feeling that borders on anxiety, more than ever, that not everything has a happy end. A feeling of real vulnerability, that I, privileged as we are, seldomly felt that way. And I guess it must be the same for you. What this pandemic has shown is certainly how fast things can change, how shockingly quick the clocks are turned back. So, there is a certain urgency to imagine a radical change to our way of life. I know you care and worry, but I also wonder how you will spell this out. Not everybody can be Greta, agreed, but how will you engage and construct societies that are more just, more free from suffering and different forms of violence? This is a sincere and simple question to which I don't have an answer.

It's not an easy task to foster this awareness that something is wrong even in the way we speak, pretending that everything has been thought and done by men. Tell me your favourite movie director? And a woman? How to sharpen this sense of absence and injustice when studying the history of "man"kind? To at least spark some questions regarding the missing girls in chess class and the missing boys in volleyball? Or nurture an estrangement when seeing manly beards and bald heads in the name of great inventions? No doubt, there has been some progress. It's easy to reference now all types of families in school. The same mum and dad are now the exception, rather than the rule. Sexualities are also changing, and it's great to see this freedom at play. However, still, this doesn't explain the "commercial" on the helpline for victims of sexual violence on TV. How to let it sink in that #gamergate and #metoo are far from over? What is the best way to show the limits of free choice? The boys dominating the gamer/jackass channels, while girls getting hooked on fashion, decoration, and cute animals? And then, see the threads that connect all of these things together and understand that all of this is literally "man" made and could be different.

Consider this the 360-no-scope, the perfect rhythm, move and playlist of social science: the insight that social life is constructed and could be different. This is the truly powerful idea, that there is no nature but that society, the way we live together, can be changed. That we can find other trails. Nothing needs to be taken for granted, given, accepted. Everything,

from laws and norms, the distant and most intimate, the strange and normal, to the familiar and exotic has a history and could be different. Common sense is neither shared by everybody, nor immutable. Rather, precisely when things appear as natural, innate, intimate, evident, given, unquestionable – that's a good indicator to start digging and imagine what could be different. That's extremely empowering, first and foremost also in relation to what you, as girls and boys, do or like, and the choices and paths you think you have. There is no limit.

And yet, that's only half the story since knowledge on these things is crumbling or so it seems. If life is constructed, to repeat this mantra of the social sciences, how come it is so immutable? Despite the libraries, the books, the research and data, things do not move in straight lines. Maybe you've seen that Twitter now indicates when you need to "Get the facts". However, will this really make a difference? That's the irony of all the data and connectedness. Nobody seems to care about the facts anymore. The success of science, its strength in being open for error, its possibility to correct and improve exasperates the impatient. The source of its success feeds its backlash. It's not the facts that count anymore, but the meme. The security of one's own bubble. The feeling of being in the right rather than finding the truth. What rules is The Loudest Voice (on Netflix), the simple message that polarises and simplifies. But how can you be heard, if you don't want to scream even louder? If you want to attune to the fact that things are more complicated than they appear?

So, there is no limit, but at the same time, achieving real change has become harder than ever. To be sure, there is a healthy sense of entitlement in you and liberty to speak your mind. A wonderful disrespect for baseless authority. However, the real challenge is not just to embrace this critical spirit and the possibilities of your future, but also a sense for the complexity of things. That's the real crux, the next level after you've mastered the Mannequin-, toilet paper-, bottle cap and flip challenges: to push for real change without falling prey to distrust, cynicism, disillusion. To foster a real appreciation for the marvellous, infinite complexity of things. To distrust a little the convenient, the gratis, the quick and free deliveries in favour of a passion to grapple with the unknown and undecided. To learn to search – patiently – and not despair when you can't find your things. Yes, please. To hold the trigger. To be ready and capable to make things more complicated rather than to streamline them away. To understand that “error” is necessary for true knowledge but also the currency of our social bond. This is the true challenge I think: to find a collective approach to deal with uncertainty.

Maybe, at some point you hit this other epic, legendary treasure – not in Fortnite, but, you never know, in books. It would be an immense satisfaction for me to watch you tap into this mind-opening potential. To pierce your own bubble is not always comfortable, neat and nice, for sure. It takes a little stamina, a little patience to stick to the messy, knotty state of things offline. But you have to imagine it as Minecraft on steroids. And among the main insights, from the many thinkers and certainly the many gender scholars just like Liisa Husu, I hope there will be this idea that it is more enriching to problematise and question than to simplify, close down, control. And although the spaces for losing time and even boredom basically have all but disappeared, I’m pretty confident that this will trigger a taste for the long excursions rather than the shortcuts. A sensibility that sometimes, the fastest way to get there is to go slow (youtu.be/xMat6dqM298).

Un beso y abrazo
Papá

A labour of love

Sexism, support and survival in academia

Albert J. Mills
and Jean Helms Mills

IN THIS CHAPTER we have chosen to honour the work of Professor Liisa Husu through analysis of the impact of her thesis - *Sexism, support and survival in academia*. We call our contribution 'A labour of love' because not only is Liisa Husu an important colleague in the field of gender studies but she is a dear friend. We also refer to 'a labour of love' to capture the work, insights and enthusiasm that she put into her thesis – a thesis that has garnered much attention over the years.

We first met Liisa at a doctoral consortium (or KATAJA), held at the Helsinki School of Economics in 1996, and we fast became friends. From the beginning we were drawn to: her warmth; her humour; her critically enquiring mind; her analytical ability; and her far-seeing approach to the study of gender and organisational analysis. Nowhere were these abilities more evident than in her 2001 doctoral thesis – *Sexism, support and survival in academia: Academic women in Finland* (hereafter SSSA).

To put this into a wider international context, doctoral theses in Finland, as with other Nordic countries, are published as books, and at least some are taken up in academic and even popular debate in a way that would be unusual in some parts of the world. However, most doctoral theses vanish into university libraries, never to be seen again, but not this one.

A WELL CITED PROJECT

If you explore Google Scholar, you can usually find the number of citations that a given publication has garnered over time. SSSA is no exception and at the time of writing it has been cited 216 times. As many scholars often do, we could leave the number at that. Namely, it is a well-cited thesis. Yet, unless you spend the time exploring those citations, you hardly get beyond a given number – in this case 216 citations. For example, you could say, `there is Liisa Husu's thesis. It has been cited 216 times'. But this hardly illuminates the kind of impact that a person has had on the field. So, we decided to undertake that exploration to illustrate how a given scholar's work, specifically Liisa Husu's, impacts her area of research.

To undertake a more detailed analysis of SSSA we undertook a selective look at a large percentage of those citing articles that were published in English – 115 to be exact. As we looked through the various publications that cited SSSA, we made notes on various themes that stood out, including national focus (e.g. Finland), the format or purpose of the paper (e.g. journal article, doctoral thesis), industry and/or professional area of study (e.g. the university sector; engineering); standing of authors and/or career level (e.g. doctoral student; senior academic); range of publications where SSSA was cited (e.g. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion; Gender, Work & Organization*); issues focussed on (e.g. sexual harassment; pay inequities), and the time frame over which citing publications appeared (e.g. 2000, 2020).

AHEAD OF HER TIME

As we shall reveal, over the years numerous feminist scholars have drawn on Liisa's thesis for inspiration and to further their own studies of gender at work. One might expect this citing process to begin, *if at all,* sometime after the completion and successful defence of a given thesis. Yet, prior to the completion of SSSA, the thesis was cited by feminist philosopher Kristina Rolin at the 9th Symposium of the International Association of Women Philosophers, meeting in Zurich, Switzerland, in October 2000. Rolin's (2009a) subsequent paper focused on gender and trust in science and was published in a special issue of *Hypatia*. Shortly after the publication of SSSA, Diane Bebbington (2002) included Liisa's research in a review of "women's difficulties in advancing their careers as academic scientists" (p. 360).

The following year saw three new citations that included Teemu Tallberg's (2003) working paper exploring `networks, organisations and men;' Daniel Bjerstedt's (2003) Lund Student Paper on `Women's catch 22: reaching the top in an academic career'; and Louise Morley's book on *Quality and power in higher education*. All three publications followed a similar theme linking then to Liisa's argument's on barriers to women's advancement in academia. Tallberg focused on "men's social networks and gendered power in and around organisations" that give them . . . social support through networks in which formal and informal relationships intermingle." Bjerstedt examined "why there is a continual struggle for women in Sweden to reach gender equality within academic professions;" and Morley, then of the Institute of Education of the University of London, examined the existence of "a highly gendered invitational system for promotion" that favours men over women (2003: 154). Morley returned to

Husu's research in a 2005 article that interrogated "the impact of quality assurance discourses and practices on women in higher education" (Morley 2005b: 411).

SEXUAL HARASSMENT

From 2003 (Heikkinen 2003) to 2020 (Bondestam & Lundqvist 2020) feminist scholars have turned their attention to Liisa's observations on sexual harassment, which she viewed as "a phenomenon made legitimate and normalized through several different processes of neutralization" (cited in Bondestam & Lundqvist 2010). While Heikkinen's (2003) study focussed on dynamics in Finnish universities, Bondestam (2004) expanded the focus to include a Swedish example.

RESEARCH THEORY AND METHOD

Starting from 2004 citing papers began to focus on research methods and theory. That year saw papers by Kristina Rolin (2004), who posed the question: 'Why Gender is a relevant factor in the social epistemology of scientific inquiry', and Fredrik Bondestam (2004) who drew on "semiological analyses" of sexual harassment. The following year, Ligia Amancio (2005) reflected on 'science as a gendered endeavour.' In 2009, Kristina Rolin, expanded on her earlier themes, this time focussed on 'standpoint theory as a methodology for the study of power.'

OTHER THEMES AND ISSUES

Over the years Liisa's work has been linked to a number of other issues, phenomena, and topics, including masculinities (Lahelma 2005), networking (Zdenka 2009), leadership (Jyrkinen & McKie 2012), socialisation (Hakala 2009), family-friendly polices (Mayer & Tikka 2008), careers (Sanders, Willemsen & Millar 2009), race equality (Mählck & Thaver 2010), self-reflexivity (Styhre & Tienari 2013), social justice (Essed 2013), change agents (Petersen 2014), precariousness (Lempiäinen 2015), legal studies (Votinius 2018), micro-politics (O'Connor et al. 2020) and many more.

GLOBAL REACH

In the five years following the publication of her thesis, citations had, not unexpectedly, come from Finland (Tallberg 2003) and Sweden (Bjerstedt 2003) but also the UK (Bebbington 2002). Over time the citations steadily came in from researchers across the globe. Spain (Vázquez-Cupeiro,et al. 2006; Catano et al. 2010), Nigeria (Odejide, et al. 2006), Germany (Müller 2007), Denmark (Hasse et al. 2008), Turkey (Ozkanli & White 2009), Australia (Ozkanli & White 2009), the Czech Republic (Šandl 2009), the Netherlands (van den Brink 2010; van den Brink & Benschop), South Africa (Mahlck & Thaver 2010), Ireland (O'Connor 2012; O'Connor et al. 2020), Scotland (Jyrkinen & McKie 2012), Ethiopia (Mengstie 2013), India (Agarwala 2017), Portugal (de Carvalho 2017), the USA (Ollilainen 2019), Poland (Sułkowski et al. 2019), Ghana (Wurah-Norgbey 2019) and several other countries including "commonwealth countries" (Morley 2005b). In the last cited, Morley examines gender inequities in the US, Canada, New Zealand and several "low-income Commonwealth countries".

CONCLUSION

The response to Liisa's thesis illustrates the depth and reach of her research. Knowing her curiosity, her thirst for knowledge, and her determination to bring about change, we can readily imagine a future where she continues to be called on by scholars across the globe to seek her council. In the process we readily anticipate Liisa's continuing contribution to Gender Studies – a field that has made an important impact on our understanding of discriminatory practices and their redress.

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"Unfortunately, no quick fix or magic bullet is available ..."

Reflections on AKKA — a leadership development programme at Lund University

Inger Lövkrona

DEAR LIISA,

I am honoured to have been asked to contribute to the *Festschrift* anthology. Your research on gender equality and gender issues is a great source of inspiration in my work. Like you, I have been actively involved in academic equality work for decades. On several occasions I have been asked to spread "lessons learned" from Lund in various EU contexts. That was probably how we met for the first time, perhaps in Brussels or Lund, where you have been and still are a diligent lecturer. You have also participated in three AKKA programmes. The AKKA programme was designed and led by me, Kajsa Widén and Cecilia Agrell, both from the University Human Resources Unit from 2004 to 2014.

The quotation in the headline is from an interview with you as a new member of Chalmers' Genie Advisory Board (Chalmers 2019) and well illustrates the theme of my article. I was first introduced to your research in 2001 with 'On metaphors on the position of women in academia and science' (Husu 2001a). The metaphors of glass ceiling, leaky pipeline, black box, the Matthew and Matilda effects, to name a few, gave me tools to describe and problematise the discrimination against women at Lund University. That article led me to your doctoral dissertation, *Sexism, support and survival in academia: academic women and hidden discrimination in Finland,* published the same year (Husu 2001b). The subtle, invisible and visible discriminatory acts and behaviours – "non-events" – that you identified in the Finnish academic context, helped me to see the parallels in Swedish higher education. Your apt terms such as sex role spill-over, intellectual intimidation, condescending chivalry, considerate dominance with others, were used in the AKKA programme as a basis for role-playing, together with Berit Ås's master suppression techniques, counter-strategies and confirmation techniques. They were a great success and were embraced by senior academics with unexpected feeling and understanding.

Another important awareness I gained through your research is the need to problematise the structures, cultures and practices of the academy. With these insights and my own leadership experience, I accepted the challenge of developing a leadership programme for women at Lund University in the spring of 2004. AKKA started in October of that year.

The programme has been continuously evolving, not least using the analytical concepts you introduced - paradoxes, gatekeeping, agents of change, gender bias, gender triggers, etcetera.

In the interview with Chalmers, you further emphasise that successful work in the long term with gender equality involves strong commitment from management and also prioritised resources. These same prerequisites applied with the AKKA programme. This *Festschrift* has given me reason to go back to the reports published after each programme during the first two decades of the 21st century and compare them with current research on gender, gender equality and leadership. Has the programme contributed to sustainable gender equality at the leadership level at Lund University? Unless otherwise stated, this text is based on five AKKA reports (Lövkrona 2016a). I have also done a mini-survey using the university's website to see where the AKKA participants were in March 2020, regarding leadership assignments and scientific careers. The survey revealed interesting, but perhaps not entirely unexpected, results: almost all AKKA participants remain at Lund University. Academic mobility is very low in Sweden, but that is another issue.

A CRITICAL GENDER PERSPECTIVE

AKKA was initiated in 2004 by Lund University's Rector and Pro-rector as a special gender equality initiative. The management wanted to create the conditions for women to be nominated for the assignment of dean. The purpose in the short term was to increase the proportion of female deans HERE and NOW – we would "fix the numbers". The situation in 2004 was that of eight (8) deans, only one (1) was a woman (in the Faculty of Engineering). In the longer term, the purpose was to give women the opportunity to develop their leadership skills in order to in the future want to run for office as dean, vice-dean, prefect, chairperson or member of a decision-making body. The assignment thus also included "fixing the women" – educating women as leaders.

We were given free hands to design the programme – and a generous budget. Existing programmes, so-called Women-Only Development Programme (WO programmes), which turned to women were criticised early on as having a limited effect as they aim to increase women's

inclusion into the existing social order without unsettling the underlying male culture (Peterson 2011; de Vries & van den Brink 2016). Our ambition was from the beginning that AKKA would be a different programme focusing on structures and cultures – and how these can be changed. Equality issues were thus raised to a structural level and the programme adopted a "post equity" approach: an approach that shifts its focus from women to structural and organisational aspects that reproduce gender inequity. In this approach, gender is no longer seen as the property of individuals, but organisations are viewed as maintaining a gendered social order (e.g. Peterson 2019).

The programme was designed in close connections and dialogue with critical gender research. Gender discrimination is the explanation that women do not have senior management positions, not that women for different reasons "do not want" or "cannot" ... It is not the women that are wrong, but rather the organisation and its norms, values, regulations and practices. The academy's specific gender regime was problematised. We addressed both the structural discrimination in terms of gender bias (or implicit bias) in recruitment processes and the distribution of research funding, as well as the individual – behaviors and actions that were interwoven in everyday workplace culture and practises (Husu 2001b; Lövkrona 2016b). The programme's objective was to identify and raise awareness of the power order(s) that generate different conditions for women and men in the academy and to provide participants with tools for change their work. The aim was to train AKKA participants as agents of change and contribute to long-term and sustainable equality. The theoretical starting point is similar to what is now called "the bifocal approach", with focus on the development of the individual as well as structural change. This is a model of interplay and relationship between (individual) agency and organisational structure, between theory and practice. The bifocal approach today represents a transformative feminist intervention strategy and an alternative means of encountering gender inequalities in organisations (de Vries 2011, 2013; de Vries & van den Brink 2016).

After two programmes for women only we took the programme one step further and opened AKKA to male participants. The stance was that equality and gender issues are not just women's responsibility but a shared responsibility. Women and men will lead together in the future because gender-aware men are also needed to attain our goals. These arguments were put forward by the women who participated in the first two programmes with women alone, and in accordence with the current political discourse (e.g. Peterson 2011). The gender-mixed programmes did not cause any fundamental changes in content and layout. The gender problem was broadened and deepened with a masculinity theme men and leadership with Jeff Hearn as an invited lecturer.

LEADERSHIP POSITIONS

Five programmes were implemented between 2004 and 2014. Each programme included about 30 people with a total of 145 (108 women and 37 men) people, representing all the university's faculties who completed the programme. After the first programme ended in 2005 and which had the stated goal of increasing the number of female deans in 2006, the result was zero female deans. A clear glass ceiling had crystallised. One factor that may have contributed to this figure was that few of the participants were full professors, which is an informal requirement for a dean's assignment. However, the result was not completely disappointing. Five participants were subsequently approached regarding doing an assignment, two were appointed as pro-deans, two were not elected and one refused. More than 70 percent of the participants had been asked during and after completing the programme whether they would like to take a leadership role at lower levels. An overwhelming majority agreed. The evaluations show that the interest in leadership had increased among women. Some of the reasons stated were that it "seemed interesting and personally developing", "wants to be involved and influence", "wants to gain insight into decision-making processes" and "good for the career". No one stated that they did not want to or that they felt insecure, rather they were prepared for a leadership assignment.

In the spring of 2012 after the fourth programme we saw progress. One AKKA participant was elected Pro-rector, three became deans and two pro- or vice-deans. In 2014, five women had a dean assignment (out of 8), three of whom had completed an AKKA programme. At the end of 2015, the number of female deans still five and in addition, a former

AKKA participant had been appointed Vice-rector (a vice-rector or vice-dean is responsible for specific areas such as internationalisation, educational development, and so on). The woman pro-rector was re-elected for a new period but was then recruited in 2017 as Rector for the University of Gothenburg. By 2012, Lund University was above the Swedish national average for women in dean posts, which in 2010 was 31 percent. A similar, but not as positive, development was found throughout the country, explained by researchers (Peterson 2011) as due to increased gender equality efforts, especially with the gender mix policy (40-60 percent), and also with efforts on family policies. AKKA contributed to Lund University's special position and also created synergies. Women who did not join the programme ran for dean positions and were elected, thus, being a woman and dean became "natural" (e.g. Husu & de Cheveigné 2010).

In 2016, the picture changes and the women disappeared one by one from the dean positions. In March 2020, seven of eight faculties have a man dean, one of whom has been "graduated" from AKKA (Faculty of Engineering) and only the Faculty of Law has a woman dean. Of 23 pro- or vice-deans, however, 11 are women and eight of these have completed AKKA education. One male pro-dean is also a AKKA participant. Furthermore, the current Pro-rector at Lund University is a woman, as is one of the three vice-rectors. The woman vice-rector is a former AKKA participant.

Since the AKKA programme was discontinued in 2014, the number of female deans has been reduced to one. Lund University is back to the same level as 2004 when the programme was initiated. Nevertheless, it is gratifying that several women have accepted the challenge of serving as pro- or vice-deans, as did some male AKKA participants. In total, the number of pro- and vice-deans has increased substantially in recent years, which has benefited women and gender equality at the faculty management level. Women and AKKA participants clearly dominated this level by 2020. However, this development is difficult to interpret. The fact that the women have disappeared from the dean posts and increased as pro- and vice- deans is basically not a positive development. Peterson (2011) notes that women appear to be clustered in certain positions, subordinate to men, while men seem to continue to be first-hand choices to vice-chancellor and dean positions. This is what has happened at Lund University.

At least hypothetically, there is an opportunity for a pro- or vice-dean to move on to a dean position. However, it is less likely that a pro- or vice-dean, after completing a faculty assignment, will run for a dean position – on the contrary, she will invest in a scientific career. My web survey shows that almost half of the female AKKA participants were full professors in 2020. The likelihood of a pro- or vice-dean being selected for a rector's assignment is also small as the pro- or vice-dean lacks experience of overall responsibility. At Lund University, a new rector and pro-rector will be elected in 2020. Eight candidates have been nominated, of whom three women and five men, are all deans or former deans - none are AKKA participants. The university's woman pro-rector is nominated, but according to a well-known pattern, woman pro-rectors "must" move university in order to advance as rector. A qualified guess is that Lund University will have a man rector, again. The first and only woman on the rector's post, Boel Flodgren, resigned in 2003.

"THE REVOLVING DOOR"

Apparently, the AKKA programme has not had a long-term effect on the gender (im)balance regarding top senior management positions. It looks like men are quickly taking back their positions of power and women disappear through "the revolving door". This tendency that can also be observed with regard to the position as rector in the Nordic countries.

In 2014, 50 percent of the heads at Swedish and Norwegian universities had a woman rector, while in the other Nordic countries the proportion of women varied between 30 and 40 percent. The European average was 15 percent (Husu 2019). According to EU statistics from 2018, the figures for the Nordic countries have fallen sharply, while the EU average has seen a slight increase. In Sweden, women's share of university heads has fallen from 50 to 31 percent, in Finland from 40 to 13 percent, in Norway from 50 to 38 percent, while Denmark remains unchanged at 27 percent. Iceland has gone from three rectors to zero (EU 2019, Table 6.4, Annex 6.5).

The gender inequality regarding university heads is believed to be due to the fact that only a quarter of the women in the academy are full professors. In terms of the proportion of women among full professors in

the Nordic countries, between 26.6 (Finland) and 23.8 percent (Sweden), women in 2014 were "over-represented" in relation to their share of the rector´s positions. In 2016, the proportion of women in the professorships has increased in all Nordic countries, but their share of heads of universities has decreased (EU 2019, Table 6.3). How should this development be interpreted?

The increase in the proportion of female principals in Sweden can be partly explained by a leadership network for women called IDAS (Identity, Development, Advancement, Support) between 2004-2007. It was very successful and in 2015, 59 percent of the largest education institutions in Sweden had a woman in a rector position (Peterson 2019). Thus, it seems likely, by analogy with the closure of AKKA, that the closure of IDAS provides an explanation for why the proportion of woman rectors has decreased in Sweden. When the discussion about women and leadership is no longer kept alive and on the university's agendas, the women "disappear". We can call it a backlash, caused by the "perception" that women are "becoming too many and [are] taking over" – what´s called the feminisation of higher education (e.g. Husu & de Cheveigné 2010).

GATEKEEPERS AND CHANGE

University heads and deans are gatekeepers. A gatekeeper is defined as a person who controls access to something or someone. Gatekeeping processes can control or influence the entry or access to an arena, allocation of resources and information flows, setting standards, development of a field, and so on. In such a position, the individual has the opportunity to exclude and control but also to facilitate and provide opportunities (Husu & de Cheveigné 2010). Neither the female deans at Lund University nor the heads of the Nordic universities appear to have used their gatekeeper role to open the doors to more women. Can women in leadership positions ignore gender issues, or...?

An Austrian study (Wroblewski 2019) provides some possible answers to this question. Like the Nordic countries, Austria had a large number of women rectors and pro-rectors during the first half of the 2010s due to quota regulations. Since 2017, the proportion of women in these positions has decreased. Wroblewski has interviewed the woman rectors on, among other things, what responsibility they feel for the advancement of women and gender mainstreaming. The answers varied from clear reservations towards, for example, quota regulations to "these questions" were not a priority in their rectorates. Explicit gender equality priorities were rarely formulated in the interviews. Also, gender expertise or competence in gender equality appeared to have played a limited role in their entry to the rectorate. The rectors did not explicitly raise the topic of gender equity in connection with their desire to bring about change.

However, women who saw themselves as feminists and realised their responsiveness and the need to change structures were not given opportunities within existing structures. Wroblewski (2019) found that the high proportion of women as heads of university had a limited effect because they were not full professors and they were younger than their male colleagues. Thus, they could not act with the authority of a professorship behind them and presumably encountered less acceptance and more resistance within the university. Wroblewski (2019) states that in order to bring about structural and cultural change, the number of women as top leaders is not crucial. It depends on whether these women have prior gender or gender equality expertise or at least recognise and are open to gender equality issues. Thus, the potential for change is with female leaders with expertise in gender issues and with a feminist background, but such development requires specific framework conditions for the will to change and action. The question if increasing the representation of women as full professors is sufficient to change the culture in academia is answered with a NO. Such moves can meet the need for institutional legitimacy but may not challenge the dominant paradigm. What matters is not the number of women professors but the number of feminist women (and men) in leadership (White & Burkinshaw 2019).

Researchers (e.g. White & Burkinshaw 2019) have pointed out that the development of universities in the neo-liberal spirit has reinforced gender bias and led to the re-masculinisation of the academy. Additionally, men and women in science often continue to be committed to a traditional model of scientific practice. Hence the masculine model perpetuates inequality and maintains the under-representation of women in leadership. A rector, a dean or a person in a senior management position has difficulty acting as an agent of change in gender issues and understands the concept of change

in a broader academic context, as in "science" will change the world (LERU 2019 Part I). Few, for various reasons, want to profile themselves as feminists or as someone who wants to pursue gender and gender issues, as shown by Wroblewski's study (2019). The current rector election in Lund is an example of this approach. One of the requirements for a new rector is about equality and equal treatment. None of the six nominated candidates mentioned that this issue was important and that it was something they should work towards. Their answers followed the formulations that are inscribed in the rector's profile and in the assignment as such: "strengthen the university's important role in social development"; "work against all areas and colleagues of all ages"; and "improve and develop the business", etc.

Wroblewski's study (2019) may explain why women in the role of gatekeepers have no long-term and lasting effect on gender equality in an organisation. However, she points out that it can still be assumed that "... women in the rectorate - especially those with gender and equal opportunities expertise or a feminist background - open up great potential for cultural and structural change in universities". The indirect positive impact is that more women in important positions can have has also been noted by you, Liisa. Gender balance among gatekeepers demonstrates that women are full members of the system and increase gender awareness within the organisation, among other things. It also provides opportunities to become integrated in important networks (Husu & de Cheveigné 2010). Here, it is appropriate to call for more research.

The reduction in the proportion of female heads of universities (and deans in Lund) can be interpreted as an expression of what you have called the paradox of interventions. In the Nordic countries there is a strong gender equality framework, but the long-term gender equality development in academic careers continues to show gendered patterns are still in men's favour (Husu 2019).

CHANGE AGENTS AND A "NOMADIC LEADERSHIP"

A leader is one who conveys the academic culture but is also the one who can change it. AKKA participants were trained to become senior managers, gatekeepers and agents of change. A change agent, writes de Vries (2005), must be able to read, understand, explain and change a male-dominated workplace and organisational culture and this requires cultural literacy. Cultural literacy is a tool for reading the play and reading the players. It also means being able to see how the individual her/himself contributes to maintaining and supporting unwelcome aspects of the culture and how they make them visible. The bifocal approach of the AKKA programme opens up to develop personal leadership in terms of competencies, skills, but also for a norm-critical approach – to make oneself aware of one's own ideas and values (e.g. Lövkrona & Rejmer 2016).

Being a change agent requires not only knowledge and insight but courage and support from a network of gender-aware colleagues. The gender critical approach of the AKKA programme can lead to both individual and institutional resistance (Eriksson-Zetterquist & Renmark 2016; de Vries & van den Brink 2016). There is also a risk that the gender agenda 'fades away' in day-to-day organising. It´s less challenging to convey a gender issue as a "gender neutral problem" than to be confronted with resistance and criticism. Wroblewski (2019) notes that only measures that are legal obligations are implemented by the academy. This is also my experience. There is no visible resistance to increasing the proportion of women as full professors or in senior leadership management, i.e. fixing the numbers through recruitment measures. Legal measures are imposed on universities by the government and are decided in the line management (top-bottom). Projects aimed at fixing the culture – like fixing the subject that is gender perspectives in research – are not stated political goals. Such projects generate no applause and are reluctantly accepted, if at all. ”Active passivity” is a good concept to describe the reactions expressed by senior staff members and is due not only to ignorance but also to a critical attitude to gender issues and gender studies as a scientific field. Gender Studies are considered political and non-scientific. Fix-the-culture/subject projects in Sweden are generally assessed and decided by faculty boards and are perceived as unnecessary (”we” have no such problems), incomprehensible (what is gender?) and as a threat to academic values and ideals such as objectivity (research should be unpolitical) and meritocracy (quality is the only thing to count). There is a large gap in knowledge between those working with gender and gender issues and the majority in the organisation (e.g. de Vries & van den Brink 2016).

The academic institutions are historically governed by collegial leadership which is supported by both women and men. Is it possible to enforce structural change within the framework of collegial leadership? The collegial leadership (Peterson 2010) is described as unclear and weak, and rarely as the impetus for change. It rests on the democratic ideal that the leader should not be authoritarian. Rather everyone is expected to have the same rights to influence the joint work (Peterson 2010). In truth, the collegial leadership embeds informal networks and male homosociality that discourages change processes, especially those related to gender equality and gender issues (Peterson 2018). The collegial leadership, thus, reproduces discrimination and counteracts change.

Recurring questions in the programme are: How do you in practice change structures and cultures in an organisation? How to make an agent of change? How do you survive as a leader when you try to make (un)desired changes. We dared to become a bit visionary and launch a New Leadership, a so-called "nomadic" leadership, focusing on changing both the individual and the organisation (the bifocal approach!). The philosopher Rosi Braidotti was the earliest to use the term nomadism in gender research – in the sense of movement or traveling – to designate the cross-border feminist subject (Braidotti 1994). The concept of nomadism has inspired leadership researchers to create a nomadic leadership, meaning that an individual learns to manage their leadership while at the same time changing it and effecting change. A nomad here stands for a person who has the ability to cross "occupied territories", such as a university, occupied by discriminatory structures such as anti-feminism and racism. Being a nomad means living in constant transition, constant movement, but it does not mean being unable or unwilling to create the necessary bases and alliances. A nomad crosses and makes the connections she or he needs to survive. This means mobility and refusal to become fixed in male or female constructed roles or identities (Braidotti 1994; Ritt 2004).

The nomadic leadership is relational and procedural and takes advantage of employees' skills and experiences. It is inclusive, listening, self-reflective, just such a leadership style that LERU (2019 Part I) promotes. The nomadic leadership style is not dependent on gender and can be exercised by both women and men. This can be likened to feminist practice where solidarity is an individual as well as a collective approach (Mohanty 2003). Feminist practice operates on three levels – the everyday, the collective, and the theoretical. Translated into leadership, feminist practice is about, for example, how in everyday life in the workplace we behave towards each other, how we shape our role as manager or leader, what responsibility we take for change. At the collective level, it is about collective action in groups, networks and in joint actions for change. The theoretical plane concerns feminist knowledge production, research and mediation.

Solidarity, in Mohanty's understanding, can be partnership, commitment, common goals, alliances of differences, reciprocity, cross-border, inclusion and support of diversity and difference. In leadership, solidarity can be practiced through empowerment, in-powerment and power-sharing, as examples of concrete strategies to achieve change. Empowerment is about creating environments that develop and strengthen women's self-confidence; sharing knowledge and experience; working against male homosociality; providing support and encouragement to each other, i.e. reciprocity; encouraging each other to become involved in important assignments and, as a leader, facilitating the workload of those who engage in academic matters. It is also about seeing opportunities and solutions, accepting differences and not falling into negative gender thinking such as undermining someone's competence and repeating stereotypical gender beliefs. In-powerment is about ensuring that women who have broken glass ceilings are allowed to remain in their positions. I have already introduced the phenomenon of revolving door. It is easier to be pushed out than to reach positions of power. Power-sharing finally, is to share power and influence such as not gaining power with one or only a few people. It can also be to create arenas for collaboration on important issues, inside as well as outside the academy. Power-sharing involves several individuals in the process, provides a broader knowledge base, adds more perspectives, which in turn contributes to the legitimacy and strength of change.

CONCLUSIONS

Quantitative results are easier to measure than qualitative ones. In the short term, the AKKA programme increased the number of women in senior management positions at Lund University; in the long run, it looks

bleak today. Perhaps it is too early to draw conclusions. What I can say is that for Lund University, it has not been enough to fix the numbers, not even to fix the numbers of gender competent women (and men). The quantitative effects of the AKKA programme followed the same negative tendency as university heads. Women quickly disappear from their leadership positions and clusters in positions subordinate to men.

Regarding the qualitative effects of a gender equality intervention, the problem is that structural changes takes time, is difficult to measure and difficult to prove (de Vries & van den Brink 2016; LERU 2019 Part I). This is not only generally true, but also true for the AKKA programme. We have not had the opportunity to follow up on the participants' efforts as leaders and how they have been able to use their knowledge. We can only refer to the evaluations made in connection with the programmes. We asked how the gender perspective has been received and influenced their views on leadership and gender equality issues. It emerged that after an initial questioning, the resistance was gradually transformed into acceptance and awareness. Many say they want to exercise gender-conscious leadership and some have already begun that journey. Some of the project work carried out under the programmes has been implemented at the faculties, especially the projects that identified discrimination in the distribution of research funding. To use LERU's (2019 Part I) metaphor, I would argue that we have put down "stepping stones towards change".

I, along with de Vries and van den Brink (2016), have the modest hope of having increased the gender insight of the participants, a capacity to see relational and systematic gendering and the capacity to act. We can also see that the bifocal approach, the theoretical model we used, is currently recommended for leadership development programmes and also for mentoring programmes (de Vries 2011; de Vries & van den Brink 2016; de Vries & Binns 2018; Wroblewski 2019; LERU 2019 Part IV; Lövkrona et al. 2019).

The AKKA programme has inspired leadership development programmes far beyond Sweden's borders and still does. Liisa, this is not least of your merits. I hope we have found the magic bullet!

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Subjects producing knowledge

Re-entering the conversation around power struggles in knowledge production

Mia Liinason

INTRODUCTION

I write this chapter at a time deeply affected by the measures taken by state authorities in relation to the ongoing pandemic. Six weeks have passed since the Swedish government started to recommend working from home and my university shifted to online teaching. The measures taken locate us in an extraordinary moment at a global scale. A whole world is waiting for a vaccine to be developed. In this context, it is very easy to recognise the huge importance of science and the capacity of science to impact societies and life itself. The responses – and the questions – to the pandemic essentially illuminate the transformative nature of science, as researchers are motivated not only by an urge to develop deeper understandings or new discoveries but also to change existing conditions to build a "more sustainable, just world", as it is phrased in the mission statement of the global community March for science (https://marchforscience.org/our-mission/).

The situation we are located in, in the midst of a pandemic, brings to light important questions for knowledge production. In a reflection around how the current situation pushes all researchers to rethink the doing of research, Yasmin Gunaratnam (2020) proposes that the pandemic "surfaces longstanding feminist concerns and disillusionment with the constraints of heteromasculinist and ableist approaches to bodies and subjectivity, as well as the enduring colonial and racial legacies of method and knowledge economies" (2020: 2). The pandemic urges researchers to recognise the interdependence between researchers and the world, its histories and presents, and the intimate exchanges between researchers and research participants. As "the world always exceeds our attempts to master and extract", Gunaratnam continues, these recognitions would necessary also involve "a certain undoing, especially as we now must take account of the impact of microbial agency in our day-to-day lives." (2020: 2)

Although I find it difficult to imagine a time where the pandemic is not the dominant, overarching theme of all concerns, I realise that we are located in a temporary situation and that the conversations which engaged us before the pandemic eventually will be taken up again, but from another location, carrying the experiences of the pandemic, the losses, the new insights, challenges, vulnerabilities and inequalities. Simultaneously, also within the pandemic, life goes on. And, of relevance for the topic of this chapter, neo-conservative anti-gender sentiments continue to circulate in social media, as such actors attempt to de-legitimise feminist, queer and antiracist knowledges and activist struggles against inequalities and injustice. Today, gender researchers most often counter such attempts by stating that: 'gender studies is no different than any other subject area in the university'.

In this chapter, I propose that the current moment provides us with a possibility to re-enter this conversation from another starting point. This is so, because the pandemic shines a light on the essentially transformative nature of research and foregrounds the interdependence between researchers and the world, which are dimensions that have been part of the discussion in gender studies for a long time already. Thus, in what follows, informed by the ongoing discussions on research methodologies in response to the pandemic, I argue that we need to develop new modes to navigate in contemporary landscapes of knowledge production and new visions of transformation in response to the challenges that emerge from an academic context influenced by neo-liberal as well as neo-conservative agendas. Below, I begin by illuminating the contradictory and ambiguous experience of being a gender researcher in current political and academic landscapes, where gender researchers find themselves positioned between neo-conservative, anti-gender campaigns and competitive and capitalist ambitions of the university. I then continue by tracing linkages to earlier times and highlighting previous tactics developed by gender researchers in the 1970s and onwards to navigate in an academic landscape which oftentimes were far from supportive to the subject area and its scholarly ambitions. After that, I propose the need to develop new approaches to engage with the ongoing power struggles around knowledge production. By way of conclusion, I suggest refusal as one of many modes through which gender researchers can navigate the tensions and contradictions that characterise contemporary knowledge production. My use of the denominations gender studies and gender research includes a variety of approaches and research from diverse disciplinary backgrounds in all scientific fields (the humanities, social sciences, natural sciences, medicine and technology) with a focus on issues of gender, sexuality and racialisation, or on broader issues of embodiment and subjectivity, from a critical point of view, which

means asking questions around conditions for knowledge production and knowledge claims. I situate these discussions in an overarching ambition to strengthen the pluralistic, equal, and democratic participation in the university as a knowledge producing site (Mohanty 2003). While I am not suggesting that science and scholarship should be a democratic activity, I do suggest that the university should be a democratic space and that the ways in which science and scholarship are represented, in terms of what is seen as valid knowledge claims or who is seen as a proper scientist, should recognise and seek to counteract problems with bias and prejudice, to enhance possibilities for equal participation and plurality.

SITES OF CONTRADICTION: GENDER STUDIES BETWEEN NEO-CONSERVATISM AND NEO-LIBERALISM

As of today, gender researchers are well aware of the various particularities of anti-gender campaigns in diverse national contexts, targeting diverse issues in specific contexts, such as rights to abortion, same-sex marriage, reproductive rights, LGBTI parents' rights, sex education, gender equality, intimate partner violence, anti-discrimination policies and gender studies knowledge et cetera (Carrêa et al. 2018). The challenge posed to gender research and struggles for women's and LGBTI rights is far from limited to the Swedish context but part of wider and transnational networks of exchange (Grzebalska & Pieto 2018; Kuhar & Paternotte 2017; Korolczuk & Graff 2018). The Swedish case offers an interesting context for an understanding of these dynamics, since gender equality and LGBTI rights have been institutionalised in all levels of the society and are characterised by a broad-based support across diverse groups of the population. This means that anti-gender actors need to acknowledge that they support gender equality and LGBTI rights, while simultaneously drawing lines of demarcation around feminism, trans, queer or antiracist movements that have gone 'too far' and threaten the 'shared values' in the (national) community. The discourses around these dynamics are ambiguous, as gender equality, antiracism and gay-friendliness are constructed both as a taken-for-granted part of Swedish national values and seen as a threat to them. Kath Browne and Catherine Nash's (2017) conceptualisation of heteroactivism highlight such enactments as attempts to place heteronormativity as superior to other sexual/gendered identities and foundational to a "healthy and sustainable society" (Browne and Nash 2017: 646). In such movements, Browne and Nash describe, new types of rhetoric are created which enable activists to oppose gender and sexual rights and refute homophobia while using claims about freedom of speech and freedom of religion as a protection against critics. In relation to women's and LGBTI rights, heteroactivist mobilisations thus take dual positionings and can simultaneously express femo- and homonationalism in support of women's and gay rights positioned against (among others) "Muslim others", and emphasise the significance of the heterosexual, nuclear family to create good societies and as the best for children (Browne & Nash 2017: 650; Farris 2016; Duggan 2003).

These debates also target gender studies and feminist knowledge production, as knowledge about gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality is questioned by debaters producing anti-gender sentiments of various kinds by criticising the subject area either for being too academic (i.e. incomprehensible and driven by a theoretical agenda) or not academic enough (i.e. political and driven by ideological concerns). These debates not only relate to gender research but pose challenges to all forms of knowledge production that examines conditions for knowledge production or engages in hot topics such as climate change, education, social justice and so on, and especially for hermeneutical, interpretative approaches. Across all these fields, researchers experience an increased pressure today to justify the relevance and validity of their research area. However, in these debates, research on gender, ethnicity and race is often especially targeted. Gender researchers receive hateful comments in social media and personal threats, and far-right politicians have placed propositions to dismantle gender studies as a subject area.

Simultaneously, in parallel with this development, global positioning strategies of contemporary universities fetishise gender, diversity and equality as commodities on the market. Globally, universities draw on discourses of gender equality and diversity management as strategies to compete about 'the best' students, teachers and researchers and locally, universities draw on these discourses to govern their daily work in more or less detail. These strategies result in deep ambivalences for students, teachers,

researchers and administrators who experience discrimination due to, for example, performative forms of whiteness, sexism and elitism in the academy. In today's entrepreneurial, or neo-liberal, university, gender equality and diversity are used to reach high ranks in a global competition, to recruit and keep what is described as the best researchers and students (Liinason & Grenz 2016). In this context, attempts to achieve diversity, gender equality and equal treatment are located within ambiguous conditions, as such attempts are frequently promoted to strengthen the trademark of universities and attract excellent researchers, rather than attempting to create enabling conditions for knowledge production.

This wider context of overlapping neo-liberal and neo-conservative attempts illuminate the contradictory experience of being a gender researcher today. Yet, in order to continue to strengthen academia as an equal, democratic and pluralistic space for feminist, trans, queer and anti-racist subjects producing knowledge, I propose that we need to begin to reflect on possible new and other tactics to navigate this contradictory landscape, grounded in an aspiration to shape more open-ended visions. In such ambitions, fruitful insights can be gained by tracing linkages to tactics of previous times. In what follows, I will therefore connect to the genealogies of the subject area in a Swedish context and bring to light some key tactics developed by gender researchers from the 1970s and onwards.

THE INSTITUTIONALISATION OF GENDER RESEARCH IN A SWEDISH CONTEXT: SOME BRIEF WORDS ON TACTICS

In Sweden in the 1970s, feminist researchers discussed the pros and cons of institutionalising the subject area gender studies. There were four reasons as to why feminist scholars finally decided to go ahead with institutionalising the subject area in the way that was later carried out – both in autonomous, interdisciplinary units and integrated in established disciplines. With the institutionalisation of the subject area, these scholars wanted to establish an oppositional space in the academy and a stable platform for this space. An institutional platform, they held, would secure, sustain and further develop the knowledge that was produced (Davies 1980; Göransson 1989; Lykke 2004). It would enable long-term projects (Dahlberg et al. 1992). Furthermore, it was pointed out, the relevance of institutional anchorage in the hierarchical academic system was crucial, since such units will need key positions, such as professors and others, to consolidate and expand their activities (Holm 2001; Thurén 2003). To make a long and quite intense story short in the limited space: during these early days of institutionalisation, feminist scholars developed a tactic of pragmatism and non-interference, as the vision for the subject area among scholars differed from the hopes of politicians. This division is most clearly expressed in the editorial to the first number of *Kvinnovetenskaplig tidskrift* (1980: 1, Swedish *Journal of Women's Studies*), where the editors emphasised the socialist and emancipatory approach that characterised women's studies, at the time carrying the vision to transform all spheres of knowledge production to strengthen the position of women in the university (Davies 1980; Göransson 1987; Holm 2001). The politicians, in turn, supported the subject area in developing new knowledge about gender equality – knowledge that could form the basis for political propositions and decisions to strengthen gender equality in the society (Jordansson 2003; Alnebratt 2009).

As gender studies became more strongly anchored in the academy, a slight shift in approach from scholars can be discerned. Towards the late 1980s, gender studies units began more strongly than before adjust to the university's expectations on research and teaching in terms of institutional organisation and scientific productivity. Such a strategy of adjustment is visible among other things in the decision to discontinue with supporting the conditions of women and other marginalised groups in the academy, which until the late 1980s had been one of core mission of these units, in addition to the ambition to support the emergence of women's studies as a subject area (Holm 2001). Such a strategy of adjustment, or assimilation, is also recognisable in later strategic decisions during the first decade of the 2000s to focus even more narrowly on units'/departments' own scholarly activity, at the cost of activities developed in collaboration with researchers from different subject areas across the university (Liinason 2011). These decisions were taken against the backdrop of a lack of permanent positions and high demands on productivity – in other words, in response to the emergent neo-liberalisation of academia. They could be recognised as rational decisions, since the resource distribution

follows these structures and values. Nonetheless, today, within a broader context of neo-liberalisation, precarisation of labour, corporatisation and commodification of education, gender studies scholars and scholarship has been criticised for taking part in shaping the changes that led to the emergence of the so-called entrepreneurial university whose task, in the words of Sabine Hark (2016), no longer is to produce knowledge and good citizens, but to produce applicable knowledge to secure global competitiveness. As a result of these developments, Hark (2016) emphasises, feminism, trans, queer and antiracist ambitions has become entities that function to govern us through gender equality and diversity management strategies in the neo-liberal academy.

MOVING FROM THE PROBABLE TO THE POSSIBLE: REFUSAL

I introduced this chapter by referring to the ongoing pandemic, arguing that this situation illuminates the essentially transformative nature of science and brings to light key questions for researchers about conditions for knowledge production, about research methodologies and of the interdependent relationship between subjects and objects of knowledge. I linked this discussion to a wider contemporary context where gender studies scholarship is ambiguously positioned between on the one hand neo-conservative, anti-gender movements, who appropriate gender studies concepts and knowledges to further their own neo-conservative or neo-liberal agendas. By a short retrospective look at previous struggles around academic knowledge production and the place of gender research in the academy, I traced some key responses from gender researchers in ambitions to institutionalise the subject area. I illuminated that these responses brought forth first a tactic of pragmatism, or non-interference, in the early days of institutionalisation, and then a more accommodating or assimilating approach during the years of consolidation as a tactic of adjustment was developed in relation to the demands of the academic institution. When gender studies scholars today emphasise that gender studies is no different from any other discipline in the university, linkages are drawn to these previous attempts used by gender studies scholars to establish and anchor the subject area in the academy, characterised by an emphasis on pragmatism to gain support and resources to establish the field in the 1970s and later by integration through adjustment and assimilation. Yet, in response to the challenges that emerge from the current academic landscape influenced by neo-liberal as well as neo-conservative agendas, I propose that gender researchers need to develop more open-ended visions for feminist, trans, queer and antiracist knowledge production within and outside of the academy and new ways to act in this situation. I believe that the discussions on research methodologies in response to the current pandemic offer a suitable context for these conversations, since the transformative nature of knowledge production and the interdependence between researchers and the world is highlighted in this debate.

While the institutionalisation of gender studies indeed has been successful in Sweden, it has simultaneously shaped the risk for a tokenistic presence in the periphery (Liinason 2011) and a "dismissive recognition" of feminist knowledge production (Pereira 2012: 296). This means that a space has been created for the analysis of feminist topics, but the possibility of exercising a distinct feminist approach has simultaneously become more limited. A threshold has emerged, as a line of demarcation is drawn between those dimensions of gender studies scholarship that are acknowledged, and those which are dismissed. When reflecting over the tactics that have been used in the subject area until today (briefly described here as moving from pragmatism and non-interference to attitudes of adjustment and assimilation), such presence in the periphery and dismissive recognition suggests that gender studies scholars cannot simply continue to focus on protecting the space they have managed to carve out in the academic institution, but also need to make space for more transformative projects to take place and engage in developing new visions for feminist, trans, queer and antiracist subjects producing knowledge in and outside of the academy.

Therefore, I propose that we need to engage in a broad-based and collective conversation about modes to navigate in contemporary landscapes of knowledge production and develop new visions of transformation and tactics of navigation. In a plenary panel at the 10th European Feminist Research Conference in Göttingen 2018, Andrea Petö was asked the

question what gender studies scholars could do in the current situation of anti-gender mobilisation, upon which she responded "On all fronts."[1] With this, Petö meant (in my interpretation) that gender studies scholars should act on all fronts in the university system to strengthen and support the subject area. Indeed, one mode of engagement does not have to rule out the other. Rather, and based on inspiration from Chela Sandoval's (2000) idea of oppositional consciousness, new modes of navigation for gender studies could be built on an awareness of the transformative nature of power and of the need of a variety of positions and modes of intervention, and a self-consciously mobilised form of agency. To this end, and in response to the tensions and contradictions that encircle present-day gender studies research, I propose refusal as one of many ways in which gender researchers could act within this contradictory situation. Refusal is not just a 'no' but turns the gaze back on power and is generative of something new (Tuck & Yang 2014). In this respect, it could refuse the attempts to interpellate gender researchers as subjects of particular political projects. It could express a challenge in relation to various attempts to constitute feminist, trans, queer and antiracist scholars as ideal neo-liberal subjects and illuminate the problems of such expectation (Gill & Donaghue 2016). Refusal enables a move away from the probable into the possible (Stengers in Zournazi 2002), and can allow us to envision open-ended futures and open up new possibilities for transformation. To the extent that expressions of refusal are substantiated by accounts of distinct histories of struggle, refusal can also be theoretically and methodologically generative (Simpson 2007; Tuck & Yang 2014) and highlight the dangers of knowledge production from perspectives of colonisation, governance, power and rule. As a result, refusal has a capacity to critically engage with the ongoing power struggles in knowledge production and in the process shape more open-ended visions for knowledge production yet to come. Still, in response to the current contradictory situation for gender research, there is a need for more and other modes of engagement to act 'on all fronts' in present-day academia. Therefore, I would like to end this contribution by encouraging gender researchers to engage in discussion about, reflect upon and share, possible future visions and potential modes of navigation in contemporary landscapes of knowledge production.

1 Quote freely transcribed from memory.

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En pyrrhusseger?

Om socialdemokratiska kvinnors strid för ökad u-hjälp på 1960- och 1970-talen

Gunnel Karlsson

INOM DET SVENSKA socialdemokratiska arbetarepartiet, SAP, var kvinnor på höga politiska poster länge försvinnande få. När Ulla Lindström 1954 blev konsultativt statsråd, det vill säga statsråd utan eget departement, var hon den tredje kvinnan som tog plats i en svensk regering.[1] Lindström hade ansvar för familje- och konsumentpolitik, u-landsbistånd och medborgarskapsfrågor. Till en början dominerade familjepolitiken, då Ulla Lindström i samarbete med det socialdemokratiska kvinnoförbundets (SSKF) ordförande Inga Thorsson inför 1956 års val uppmanade landets 930 (s)-kvinnoklubbar att skapa opinion för höjt barnbidrag. Aktionen lyckades, men uppskattades inte av statsminister Tage Erlander, som i sin dagbok skrev om Lindström att han aldrig tidigare varit med om att ”en regeringsmedlem söker skapa sej en ställning genom att utanför regeringen propagera för sin egen förträfflighet och mot en del av kollegornas uppfattning”.[2] En liknande negativ reaktion mötte även Inga Thorsson när hon 1958 talade om att SSKF skulle säga nej till svenskt atomvapen, trots att partiet inte tagit ställning i frågan. I partistyrelsen kritiserades Inga Thorsson hårt för sitt ställningstagande och kvinnorna uppmanades lojalt ”följa karlarna”.

Vad det handlade om var att kvinnorna beskylldes för att vara osolidariska eller illojala, när de ville påverka partiets politik i så olika frågor som barnbidrag, atomvapen och (senare) u-hjälp och pappaledighet. När kvinnorna agerade sågs det som en handling riktad mot partiledningen, och inte som uttryck för en opinion som man borde lyssna på. Kön var inget som problematiserades och kvinnorna uppmanades könsblint att lojalt följa partilinjen.

En bakgrund till att partiledningen föreföll så handfallen när kvinnorna ville vara med och bestämma var den mångåriga, kompakta manliga dominansen i partiets beslutande organ. Partiets kvinnor var organiserade i kvinnoförbundet, SSKF, en av partiets tre sidoorganisationer. De

1 Ulla Lindström var statsråd i drygt 12 år, medan hennes kvinnliga företrädare var statsråd betydligt kortare tid. Karin Kock blev konsultativt statsråd 1947 och folkhushållningsminister 1948-49. Hildur Nygren, som 1951 blev ecklesiastikminister (utbildningsminister), tvingades avgå efter endast 6 månader som statsråd i samband med att socialdemokraterna bildade koalitionsregering tillsammans med bondeförbundet (senare centerpartiet).

2 Erlander 2006, s 27. Det var finansminister Gunnar Sträng som hade en annan uppfattning, han ville i stället sänka skatten.

övriga var ungdomsförbundet, SSU, och broderskapsförbundet, SKSF, som företrädde partiets kristna. Formellt deltog sidoorganisationernas ordförande i partiledningens möten (partistyrelsen och verkställande utskottet), där de hade yttranderätt men inte rösträtt. Yttranderätten utnyttjades; något som gav visst inflytande, men knappast del i makten.

Majoriteten av de politiskt aktiva s-kvinnorna var medlemmar i kvinnoförbundet, vilket innebar att de hade en annan bakgrund än partiets män, som mestadels hade skolats inom rörelsen, i ungdomsförbundet, i fackföreningar och i arbetarkommuner, där kvinnorna var få. Kvinnornas särorganisering från 1920-talet bottnade i en tidig ovilja att släppa in kvinnorna i arbetarkommunerna. Kvinnofrågor sågs länge som ett särintresse och förbundets huvudsakliga uppgift ansågs vara att rekrytera kvinnor till rörelsen. När Inga Thorsson och Ulla Lindström på 1950-talet deltog i partiledningens möten och krävde att kvinnornas synpunkter skulle beaktas när politiken utformades, var det något nytt. Tidigare hade det varit männen i partiets ledning som bestämt ”om, när och hur kvinnokraven skulle uppfyllas” (Karlsson 1996).

ENPROCENTMÅLET

Ulla Lindström var som sagt bland mycket annat ansvarig för det svenska biståndet till ”utvecklingsländerna”, som de tidigare kolonierna i Afrika och Asien ofta benämndes under 1950- och 1960-talen, och hon arbetade hårt för att skapa en svensk opinion för ökat svenskt bistånd. Hon var sedan 1947 svensk FN-delegat och 1960 tog hon i ett tal i FN:s generalförsamling upp den känsliga frågan om barnbegränsning. Hon underströk att den ekonomiska utveckling FN hade som mål att främja hotades av den kraftiga befolkningsökningen. Hon framhöll särskilt kvinnornas svåra situation i barnrika, fattiga u-länder, och krävde att FN ekonomiskt skulle stödja barnbegränsning.[3] Det motstånd hon mötte i FN kom både från katolska länder och från länder med socialistiska/kommunistiska regimer, som (om än av olika orsaker) helt fördömde bruk av preventivmedel. Ulla Lindströms tal väckte stort uppseende och efteråt sade Dag Hammarskjöld, FN:s svenska generalsekreterare, att ”hela FN rodnar, Ulla” (Lindström 1970).

3 I en sen intervju sade Ulla Lindström att födelsekontroll inte ansågs som ett ”anständigt område för FN-hjälp. Medicinskt stöd kunde finnas på allt utom inom gynekologin”, Karlsson, forthcoming.

På hemmaplan drev Ulla Lindström under många år krav på ökade anslag till u-hjälpen, på 1960-talet med stöd av en snabbt växande opinion främst bland ungdomar, kvinnor och kristna organisationer. I riksdagen var det LO som drev krav på ökat bistånd genom Arne Geijer, ordförande för LO och också ordförande i Fria fackföreningsinternationalen, FFI. För FFI var bistånd ett sätt att sprida facklig kunskap till u-länder, samtidigt som kommunistiskt inflytande bekämpades. Regeringen kritiserades för passivitet i fråga om u-hjälpen och en särskild beredningsgrupp tillsattes. Gruppen lade snart fram Proposition 1962:100, en proposition som brukar ses som en viktig milstolpe och som signalerade en ny inriktning av det svenska biståndet. I praktiken var det en arbetsgrupp bestående av unga män som under Olof Palmes ledning utformade den nya biståndspolitiken. Det var inte alltid de informerade det ansvariga statsrådet Ulla Lindström, och det förekom flera dragkamper mellan henne och den Palmeledda gruppen (Lindström 1970; Östberg 2010; Karlsson 2020).

Opinionen för ökad svensk u-hjälp var snabbt växande, och redan 1962 fastställdes det så kallade enprocentsmålet, som innebar att det svenska biståndet på sikt skulle uppgå till en procent av BNP. Samtidigt höjdes u-hjälpsanslaget rejält, från 50 miljoner till 130 miljoner. Mellan åren 1963-66 höll sig ökningen omkring 25% per år, men när Ulla Lindström krävde ytterligare höjningar vägrade finansminister Gunnar Sträng. Frågan ställdes på sin spets i slutet av 1966, då Lindström krävde rejält ökat anslag, dels till det nya biståndsorganet Sida (som startat sin verksamhet 1966), och dels för att det av partikongressen fastställda enprocentmålet skulle kunna uppnås. Efter flera misslyckade förhandlingar med Gunnar Sträng bestämde sig Ulla Lindström kring nyår 1966 för att avgå i protest. Efteråt sade hon sig vara övertygad om att hennes avgång bidrog till att enighet nåddes om u-hjälpen på 1967 års partikongress. Då beslöts att enprocentmålet skulle uppnås budgetåret 1974/75,[4] ett beslut som också antogs av riksdagen 1968. Det var partiets sidoorganisationer som hårdast drev kravet på enprocentmålet.

KVINNOFÖRBUNDET TAR STRID

”En av de lyckligaste dagarna i mitt liv!” skrev Lisa Mattson när hon i efterhand såg tillbaka på partikongressen 1972, där hon ”gick emot

4 Budgetåret löpte på den här tiden från juli tom juni, kalenderår (januari-december) infördes senare.

partistyrelsen". Lisa Mattson hade 1964 efterträtt Inga Thorsson som kvinnoförbundets ordförande, och hon fortsatte driva kravet på ökad svensk u-hjälp. I kongresshandlingarna hade man om enprocentmålet försiktigt skrivit att partistyrelsen skulle få "i uppdrag att pröva möjligheten att uppfylla denna målsättning" budgetåret 1974/75 (SAP kongressprotokoll, 1972). Lisa Mattson hade yttrande- och förslagsrätt på kongressen och hon krävde att målet i enlighet med tidigare kongressbeslut skulle uppnås 1974/75 (Mattson 1991). Hon fick stöd av flera talare och av en majoritet av kongressens ledamöter. Därmed gick kongressen emot partistyrelsen, som i talarstolen företräddes av dåvarande utrikesminister Krister Wickman. Han begärde omröstning med handuppräckning, och trots att det enligt Inga Thorsson var "solklart" att majoriteten stödde Mattsons förslag, begärde en arg finansminister (Gunnar Sträng) sluten votering, ett krav som inte biföllს. Efteråt hade även Olof Palme varit arg och anklagande sagt till Inga Thorsson att hon "uppträtt osolidariskt, som inte underrättat ledningen tidigare". Thorsson upplyste Palme om att hon underrättat Krister Wickman (Lindskog 1990). Tydligen hade varken Palme eller Sträng blivit informerade av Wickman. Dagens Nyheter skrev om kongressen att Lisa Mattson "fick som hon ville" medan Wickman förgäves kämpat för "den mer kautschukartade skrivningen av partistyrelsen" (DN 1972 7/10).

Ett par veckor senare skrev Lisa Mattson ett brev till Inga Thorsson, där hon berättade att hon vid ett möte med Olof Palme frågat honom hur hon skulle svara, när hon av pressen ombads uttala sig om beslutet på partikongressen. Skulle hon svara pressen eller "ta det i partisammanhang"? Han bad henne hålla "tidningarna på avstånd", men undvek till hennes besvikelse att säga *när* frågan skulle diskuteras i partiet. Hon berättade vidare att Gunnar Sträng "gentemot mig visat stora charmen", han hade "skakat hand och gratulerat till min framgång". Hon fortsatte i brevet "[d]etta gör mig ytterst misstänksam, mot vad bara anar jag". Men hon var beredd att "ta öppen strid om inte beslutet följs". Hon berättade att hon vid en middag talat med en avdelningsdirektör på Sida, som sagt att de kanske inte hade planeringsresurser för ökat bistånd och att de kanske måste fondera medlen. "Vad gör vi då?", frågade hon retoriskt i brevet, "den modellen kan ju lätt skjutas i sank av dem som hävdar att kongressen inte kan fatta budgetbindande beslut" (Brev från Lisa Mattson till Inga Thorsson den 23/10 1972).

EFTERSPEL

Det socialdemokratiska partiets konflikt kring enprocentsmålets uppnående fick ett märkligt efterspel 1973, då oljekrisen[5] skakade den svenska ekonomin. När det var dags att realisera enprocentmålet tog Olof Palme upp frågan på ett partistyrelsemöte i november 1973. Han berättade att biståndet ökat med 25% per år från 1967, och tanken var att målet en procent skulle nås 1974/75. Men av olika skäl räckte det inte längre med 25% ökning, kostnaderna skulle bli betydligt större. Nu fanns tre förslag, (1) antingen att fortsätta med 25% ökning och "i bästa fall" nå målet 1976/77, eller (2) att säga att man klarar målet först 1975/76 med ökning i två etapper. Det tredje alternativet var att på ett år öka anslaget med 63% (1080 miljoner kronor) och nå målet 1974/75. De två sista alternativen var Palme tveksam till. Han underströk att alternativ (3) skulle "te sig väldigt egendomligt" i en tid när vi måste säga att det inte blir "varmvatten, ingen bensin till bilarna och annat, alltså en hård åtstramning på grund av oljekrisen".

Det blev en lång diskussion i partistyrelsen, där sidoorganisationerna argumenterade hårt för att partikongressens tidigare beslut skulle gälla (förslag 3), medan LO:s Arne Geijer ansåg att beslutet om en bestämd tidpunkt för enprocentmålet "var ett beslut som inte behövt fattas om partiledningen hade skött frågan rätt. Jag riktar mig direkt till Krister Wickman som var alltför välvillig i sin föredragning" (det var Wickmans hantering av frågan på kongressen 1972 som avsågs). Geijer framhöll också att stämningen i sidoorganisationerna skilde sig från stämningen i fackföreningsrörelsen. Om frågan debatterades fackligt handlade det om "kritik mot alltför snabba ökningar", vilket var ett synsätt som var helt motsatt det han argumenterat för tio år tidigare. När Olof Palme skulle sammanfatta diskussionen inledde han med att säga:

För det första vill jag klä mig i säck och aska vad gäller det som hände på partikongressen. Vi hade då alla dessa besvärliga debatter om erkännande av en massa olika länder. Detta klarades hem och då

5 Oljekrisen (efter oktoberkriget 1972 mellan Egypten och Syrien å ena sidan och Israel å den andra) ledde 1973 till stor ekonomisk oro pga att de oljeproducerande OPEC-länderna vägrade sälja olja till länder som stött Israel i kriget och också chockhöjde priset på råolja. I Sverige infördes bland annat ransonering av bensin och varmvatten.

gick vi ut och drack kaffe och då hände det här. Det har jag haft dåligt samvete för ända sen dess (SAP Partistyrelsens protokoll den 29/11 1973 § 64 U-landsbiståndet, s 17).

Det som hänt var med andra ord att Olof Palme (antagligen med flera av partiledningens män) varit frånvarande när Lisa Mattsons förslag röstades igenom på 1972 års partikongress, med påföljd att partiledningens förslag föll. Debatten i partistyrelsen kom nu, drygt ett år senare, till stor del att handla om att det visserligen var önskvärt att följa kongressbeslutet, men att det samtidigt var svårt att göra det i en politiskt och ekonomiskt mycket förändrad situation. Det var, som Lisa Mattson skrivit i sitt brev till Inga Thorsson, ett skäl till att partiledningen ville undvika ”budgetbindande beslut”. Nu visade det sig att det i praktiken inte var någon större skillnad mellan alternativ 2 och 3, eftersom Sida sannolikt behövde mer tid för att hinna planera nya insatser. Oljekrisen skakade ekonomin och enligt Gunnar Sträng var sanningen ”att vi orkar inte betala ut någon miljard utan endast hälften!”. Sidoorganisationerna vidhöll att partiet riskerade splittring om kongressbeslutet inte uppfylldes, och ungdomsförbundets ordförande Lars Enquist underströk att frågan för dem var en ”förtroendefråga”. Han tillade att man ”för en gångs skulle vunnit en majoritet mot partistyrelsen, och då får partistyrelsen inte nonchalera beslutet”.

Avslutningsvis berättade Olof Palme att han hade läst äldre kongressprotokoll och kommit fram till att det var orimligt att partikongressen skulle bestämma om anslag i statens budget (både storlek på anslaget och tidpunkt). Det var regeringen eller riksdagen som skulle fatta de besluten. ”Det är den korrekta linjen. Av något skäl övergav partikongressen denna kloka linje 1967 och tog beslut om enprocentsmålet. Det var inte särskilt klokt att göra, rent principiellt. Nu sitter vi där vi sitter”. Mötet avslutades med att partistyrelsen bestämde att ”regeringen, vägledd av dagens debatt, skulle besluta i frågan” (Partistyrelsens protokoll 29/11 1973). Det innebar i praktiken att det blev alternativ 2 som genomfördes, enprocentmålet uppnåddes först 1975–76.

Debatten var öppen och präglad av en beredskap att lyssna på alla synpunkter. Det fanns en gemensam vilja att hitta en lösning, i en situation där konsekvenserna var svåra att överblicka på grund av oljekrisen. Olof Palme är känd för orden ”politik är att vilja” (tal av Olof Palme

på SSU:s kongress 1964), men oplanerade fikapauser och alerta kongressledamöter bidrog till att partiledaren på kongressen inte fick som han ville. Den här återgivna episoden är givetvis en bagatell, och frågan om Lisa Mattsons lycka på kongressen ska betraktas som en Pyrrhusseger eller ej lämnar jag öppen. Det var partiledarens uppgift att hålla samman partiet och ta politiskt och ekonomiskt ansvar. När u-hjälpsanslaget åter diskuterades på ett extra möte med riksdagsgruppen i slutet av 1974 var Olof Palme enligt Thage G. Peterson ”mycket arg” när han sade att den som i riksdagen tänkte motionera om höjt anslag till u-hjälpen gjorde det i strid mot riksdagsgruppens tidigare beslut. Palme fortsatte: ”Om ni framhärdar i era samvetsmotiverade och provocerande yrkanden, som frestar på våra interna beslut, så kommer vi inte att glömma det” (cit efter Peterson, 2002). Palme gjorde klart att frågan inte var förhandlingsbar. Endast tre av riksdagsgruppens ledamöter reserverade sig mot beslutet. Det var inte smärtfritt att utmana makten, vilket inte hindrade att Lisa Mattsons, sidoorganisationernas och många andra partimedlemmars engagemang för ökad u-hjälp gjorde skillnad.

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Gatekeepers' gender construction

A contribution to stability and/or change in the gendered university

Heike Kahlert

GATEKEEPERS AND GATEKEEPING AS A KEY TO STABILITY AND/OR CHANGE IN CAREERS AND ORGANISATIONS

Gender equality is considered part of the modernity of societies, their social structures and their institutions. This is also the case for scientific organisations as one of the late modern societal key institutions that produce and deliver knowledge. Thus, scientific organisations have to be examined as both (re)producing and blocking gender equality, which often and paradoxically occur simultaneously. According to Joan Acker (1990) scientific organisations can be considered as gendered organisations, although she did not use her analytical frame for the investigation of the gendering of scientific organisations. Her theory of organisations as being gendered covers the gendering of dynamics and processes, hence gendered divisions, gendered symbols, gendered interaction, and individuals' internal mental processing of these. Acker also concluded, that a career as part of the organisational logic is linked with the place of the job in the organisational hierarchy, and that both, the job and the hierarchy, are deeply gendered and embodied. This is also true for scientific organisations.

A lot of empirical research has been done in order to prove the unequal participation in top positions like professorships but also in postdoctoral career stages which open up the academic career path to becoming a professor. All this research makes clear that the recruitment procedures and career promotions in academia obviously favour men and disadvantage women. Especially in the transition from the doctorate to the postdoctoral phase and within the postdoctoral phase, science loses proportionally more women than men. Research on this phenomenon shows that this loss of women is due to a mixture of self-selection and discrimination grounded in a combination of individual, institutional, and structural factors (e.g. Long 2001; Siemienska & Zimmer 2007). Of course, institutions like family, school, and labour market influence the career plans of women and men. However, with regard to scientific careers, universities play an outstanding role in the career promotion of the next generation of scientists.

The careers and the promotion of the next generation of scientists depend on co-optation processes where established scientists play a crucial role in this career system: they choose junior scientists who seem to meet the requirements of certain career steps and positions. Therefore, according to Harriet Zuckerman and Robert K. Merton (1973: 522), established scientists assume the role of gatekeepers. Gatekeepers take over the evaluation of scientists at every stage of their careers and thereby open or close career opportunities for them. With respect to the scientific personnel, these gatekeepers are asked to value the prospects and limits of candidates for new positions. Thus, they influence the individual mobility of scientists and in sum the distribution and composition of the personnel within the whole system of science.

In an inspiring paper on gatekeeping, gender equality, and scientific excellence, Liisa Husu (2004: 69) argues that gatekeepers "are undoubtedly in a key position to influence the definition, evaluation and development of scientific excellence" and, more generally, that gatekeeping processes "can aim to control or influence the entry or access to a particular arena, allocation of resources and information flows, the setting of standards, development of the field and the agenda, or the external image of that arena". Therefore, the "dual nature" (Husu 2004: 70) of gatekeeping has to be emphasised: gatekeeping can, according to Husu, on the one hand, function as exclusion and control, but, on the other hand, also facilitate and provide opportunities and resources. Gatekeeping thus "is both oppressive and productive" (Husu 2004: 73).

Husu (2004: 70) argues for "a gender sensitive approach" focusing on academic gatekeepers and gatekeeping:

> *Gate-keeping can be analysed as 'practical', day-to-day mundane ways in which social hierarchies, social divisions, and persistent distinctions are produced, reproduced, and sometimes challenged, ameliorated and changed. Gate-keeping processes apply across a very wide range of social arenas (from micro to macro) and in a wide range of forms of social hierarchies and social divisions, such as gender divisions. Women's historical exclusion from various professions, from education and training, and from several formal and informal organisations and social arenas can be understood as a result of a range of gendered gate-keeping processes. This historical exclusion has mainly occurred in contexts where the gate-keepers have been exclusively or predominantly men.* (Husu 2004: 73-74)

So, gatekeeping is deeply gendered and part of the gendering of scientific organisations. In analysing gatekeeping processes, it is important to investigate, who is or are the gatekeeper(s), who or what is the "object" of gatekeeping, which rules shape but also underpin the gatekeeping process, and which criteria are used. From a gender sensitive analytical perspective one can suppose that the gatekeepers' hidden or even unreflective mental gender models also play an important role. Therefore, in this chapter, I will analyse gender constructions of professors, which are for example underlying their recruitment and promotion practices of the next generation of scientists. These professors are considered as gatekeepers. Their gender constructions form part of the gendering of and the gendered university. The gender constructions in scientific career promotion, which will be discussed in the following sections, originate from interviews with professors from German academia. Before I introduce the methodology and data of the empirical study, I will provide some information about the scientific career system in Germany to contextualise my findings. In the main sections, I explore five strands of professors' explanations of why science loses proportionally more women than men on the way to top positions. Finally, I discuss whether these gender constructions not only function as contributing to exclusion and control, and thereby stabilise the traditional gender order in scientific organisations, but also as opening options for organisational change with respect to (more) gender equality.

ACADEMIC CAREERS OF THE NEXT GENERATION IN THE GERMAN CHAIR SYSTEM

The German scientific career system is an example of a chair system (Enders 2001) which in some respects still adapts the Humboldtian ideals of academia, above all, the freedom of research and teaching. Connected with these ideas is a career model where the top positions are filled with full professors as civil servants. All academics who want to become and work permanently as scientists in the university are forced to vertical and spatial mobility.[1] They need to change the organisation at least once in their career paths, and it is frequently the case that a scientist has many working contracts and scholarships, until he or she attains a full professorship. To be able to apply to a professorship at a university, an academic is supposed to be formally qualified with a dissertation and a postdoctoral lecturing qualification (*Habilitation*). Although there is no legal need for this kind of second dissertation, mainly the humanities and social sciences but also a lot of natural sciences still expect it for appointing full professors. Approximately one out of three academics who succeeds in completing the postdoctoral lecturing qualification receives a professorship at a university. Most of those who are not called have to leave academia because generally there are no permanent scientific jobs in German academia besides professorships, meaning that all other scientific staff members have limited employment contracts and very often work part-time. Thus, scientific careers in Germany are characterised by a high amount of personal risk.

This career system (re)produces a specific distribution of career chances between men and women. Official statistics show that more men than women succeed in reaching the top positions in scientific organisations in Germany. In 2018, more women than men graduated from university (51.3 percent), but the higher up on the academic career ladder, less and less women can be found. 45.2 percent of the doctorates were finished by women, but only 31.6 percent of the postdoctoral lecturing qualifications, and on the level of professorships (including non-permanent so-called junior professorships) there were only 24.7 percent women whereas there were 42.7 percent women working as research associates or in similar jobs (all figures: Federal Statistical Office Germany 2020b). Especially with its figures of female professors, the German system of science and higher education is situated at one of the last places in international rankings according to gender proportions in academia all over Europe (European Commission 2019: 119-120, data for 2016).

The data make clear that up to the doctorate, the gender proportions are converging. However, there are still huge differences between the disciplines. As the data also show, a crucial point for leaving the

1 In Germany there are also universities of applied sciences that hire professors. The career path for becoming a professor at a university of applied science is different from that of a professor at a university. However, this point will not be detailed here.

scientific career path for women seems to be the transition from the dissertation to the postdoc-phase (e.g. Allmendinger et al. 1999; Beaufaÿs 2003; Vogel & Hinz 2004). This observation needs to consider the geopolitical context more sensitively. In international comparison, the German system of science and higher education has a special status concerning the doctorate insofar as on the German labour market, the dissertation is also appreciated as professional qualification for a lot of jobs outside of academia. Therefore, the number of doctoral students is considerably high, for example in 2018 27.838 doctorates were completed at German universities, there from 12.577 by women (Federal Statistical Office Germany 2020a). Completing the doctorate opens two alternative career paths with respect to academia: leaving or continuing. And for the new entry, career promotion is of high importance which also means a serious step of selection.

The completion of a doctoral thesis often takes place in a period of life in which the individual not only has to figure out the next step(s) of his or her professional career – either starting a scientific career or leaving academia – but also with respect to starting a family. One could suppose that the question of family formation is one aspect that influences the decision for or against a scientific career after the dissertation, at least in a career system as in Germany that demands high-risk affinity and mobility, and one could also suppose that this question has different implications and is answered differently by female and male academics because of the ongoing gendered responsibility for children.

This is especially true within a conservative welfare state regime like Germany, where women still are mostly seen as those who are mainly responsible for bringing up the children and where childcare facilities still are lacking. However, first of all on the political level, the gender image of women is changing slowly because of political pressure coming from the European Union to establish the adult worker model where both partners contribute to labour work and the bringing up of children should more be left over to extended childcare facilities. And in Germany there is also a lot of political pressure on the universities to put gender equality in scientific organisations into action.

METHODOLOGY AND DATA

As argued in the introductory section, gatekeeping processes and gatekeepers in general contribute to (re)producing gender inequality in academia, but they can also contribute to putting gender equality into action. This is also true for the career promotion of the next generation of scientists, which is the focus of my study. The qualitative study analyses the loss of female scientists within the transition from the dissertation to the postdoctoral phase[2] and aims at describing the professional practices of professors in supporting the development of career orientations and plans and of the professional identities of doctoral students and postdoctoral candidates. Which aspects influence the professors' promotion and recruitment of the next generation? (How) does gender matter in these practices? Of interest are also the gatekeepers' ideas to support and improve gender equality in academia and their involvement in these activities.

The empirical material of the study consists of face-to-face interviews with 17[3] male and female gatekeepers with a background in political science or chemistry. The two disciplines were chosen to represent a discipline from the STEM (Science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) spectrum and one from the humanities and the social sciences. The comparison of disciplines enables the identification of mechanisms that go beyond the specificity of a single discipline and are maybe typical for (German) academia. The sample including women and men serves for exploring eventually gender typical phenomena, which can only be identified in contrast to the other sex. However, the empirical results presented in this chapter are not systematically analysed with respect to the disciplinary background or the sex of the interviewees.

By using the strategy of theoretical sampling, the group of interviewees was not only differentiated by disciplinary background and

2 The research project "The Doctorate as Status Passage: Supervision and Promotion in the Example of the Disciplines, Political Science and Chemistry" under my leadership was situated at the University of Hildesheim. In 2011-2012 it was funded by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research, and the European Social Fund.

3 Originally 16 interviews with four male and four female professors from both disciplines were planned. During the fieldwork it was possible to interview a fifth male professor from political science. This interview is also included in the analysis.

by sex, but also according to additional criteria of diversity. In total, the sample consists of four female and five male political scientists and of four female and four male chemists. All of them represent different areas of their disciplines. They all work at different German universities and have experiences in doctoral training. Some are additionally involved in special gender equality activities. The interviewees are of different (academic) ages, some of them in the beginning of their professorial career, some in the middle and shortly after the interview, some were going to retire. Their private lifestyles differ (married, single, living apart together, with or without children). According to Leslie McCall (2005), the sample can be characterised as intra-categorical.

All interviews were conducted by me, digitally recorded, and transcribed. All names and information that might identify the participants were anonymised. The quotations from the interviews presented in the following sections were both translated and transferred from spoken language to literary language by me. The categories for the structured content analysis were constructed by a literature review and by results from former interviews with 60 doctoral and postdoctoral candidates from political science and chemistry, both women and men.[4]

The results presented here are based on interviews with the gatekeepers. They originate from the interviewees' answers to the question why science loses proportionally more women than men in the postdoctoral phase. Even though some reactions of the interviewees with respect to this question could be interpreted as lack of interest or maybe resistance, all interviewees tried to find an answer. As will be shown in the sections below the answers are not always consistent, sometimes even contradictory.

The gatekeepers' explanations for the loss of women in scientific careers are presented in five strands, which were identified in the analysis and are mutually connected: family formation and the division of labour at home, asymmetric gender relations in private relationships, gendered career planning and necessary investments in academic careers, working conditions and the academic work ethic, and finally psychosocial factors and professional competence. The order of the strands derives from reasons of presentation.

4 The empirical analysis of the interviews with the professors was supported by the research assistants Nadine Frei, Danny Otto, and Sabrina Rutter.

STRAND 1 OF EXPLANATIONS: FAMILY FORMATION AND THE DIVISION OF LABOUR AT HOME

A first set of the gatekeepers' explanations for the loss of women on the career path to top positions in science focuses on questions of family formation and the division of labour at home. Without suggestions, nearly all interviewees mention these closely connected themes in their reflections and point to the "biological clock" which "is simply ticking" inmidst the postdoctoral phase, as the political scientist Ms. Fröhlich says. And a female chemist hints at the social environment that expects women after the doctorate to form a family and to reconcile all the different tasks combined with this. She also criticises that this social expectation is not addressed to men after the doctorate. By these different gender expectations women have in her opinion formed completely divergent careers than men.

As expected, the interviewees mentioned the problem of reconciling a scientific career and family formation or care work. Noticeable but also not astonishing is that the reconciliation problem is mostly presented as a woman's problem. Only two male interviewees express the traditional gender idea connected to this perspective. One of them, the chemist Mr. Rux, relates to his own family situation when stating that care work is a woman's work and that the mother belongs to the child(ren):

> *Both working full time is not good for the children's education. Thus, we afforded the luxury, one could say, that only one of us had to go to work. My wife did, let's say, voluntary work, but I do believe that it is good for childcare, the upbringing of children. In some aspects, not in all aspects.*

However, not all interviewees relate to the traditional pattern of the heterosexual family, consisting of the male breadwinner and the female care worker, without questioning this model. Some gatekeepers also see changes in the gendered division of labour at home. The political scientist Mr. Baacke describes the case of a male doctoral student who does not manage to complete his dissertation because he has the main responsibility for the upbringing of three young children while his wife is working full time, earning the family income. Also, some female gatekeepers notice change

on the side of young men or fathers. For example, the chemist Ms. Urban states that there are already "modern men, who want to be involved a bit more in family life than in former times".

Also interesting is how the gatekeepers position themselves to the possibility or impossibility to reconcile academic qualification and family formation. Nearly all male chemists and nearly all female political scientists are sure that this problem cannot be solved and believe that the explanation relates to the working conditions in academia, which will be analysed later. The career norms presented by them are clear. For example, they see interruptions of the qualification phase for a year as harmful to careers, because in this time valuable academic contacts and important networks are at risk of being lost. The chemist Mr. Sydow describes the "dilemma" of women, who are working in experimental chemistry and become pregnant:

> *During the pregnancy, during the time of breastfeeding one is not able to be in the laboratory, because of security reasons. That is simply not possible. And then the work has a break. Of course, one can try offering support, provide support staff and so on, but experience shows that, when you start a career of your own, as a postdoctoral researcher completing a postdoctoral lecturing qualification, own experiences that one has are indispensable in the laboratory. Normally this cannot be replaced with research assistants. You simple have to have it. That means, there are certain difficulties, which are also specific for chemistry. Simply because of dangerous substances, the work with dangerous substances.*

In contrast, all male political scientists and even two female chemists find it possible to reconcile scientific qualification and family formation. The chemist Ms. Voth says: "You can interrupt your career as long as you want. A good researcher always is able to come back." And Ms. Urban, the other chemist, emphasises the high autonomy/flexibility in time management in scientific work but also hints to the fact that "one still has to change images in many heads" if a woman works full time in science and brings up children.

To sum up: Nearly all interviewees mention the question of having children as being a problem in scientific careers for women, sometimes also for men, first of all in the qualification phase which means in the German system during the whole career span of being a doctoral and postdoctoral researcher. However, there are differences concerning the evaluation of the problem: Those gatekeepers, who speak about family formation and care work, construct gender differences as mainly caused socially and located in the traditional division of labour in families. The gender images mostly consist of women as being responsible for care work whereas men, who are rarely mentioned, are still seen as breadwinners even though some interviewees reflect on changes in the social practice and express alternative gender constructions. Also, the constructions of life plans of the next generation of academics are more or less traditional: The heteronormative family still seems to be the most common way of living. Only Ms. Voth, a chemist, mentions the possibility of deliberately planning a life without children. All the other interviewees implicitly express that childlessness of scientists can only be the result of reconciliation problems.

STRAND 2 OF EXPLANATIONS: ASYMMETRIC GENDER RELATIONS IN PRIVATE RELATIONSHIPS

The results presented in the last section already show that many interviewees do not only look at the question of having children when they are searching for explanations for the loss of women in academic top positions but also consider relationships. They all are aware of the growing phenomenon of dual career couples, consisting of two highly qualified partners with academic backgrounds. Gatekeepers of both disciplines and sexes present the relationships of the next generation of scientists as asymmetric gender relations where women are subordinated and (have to) put their career ambitions in second place. The political scientist Ms. Glöde states:

> *But nevertheless, I believe that it is still the case that after the doctorate, in the relationship, then the question is who the priority has, that this are eventually more often the men. […] And the rule is that one changes the place of residence all the time. And either*

> *one has a husband or a female partner, who follows and then puts his or her professional development in second place, or oneself is following the partner. I suppose, that this still are more often the women where it just is enough to complete a doctorate.*

Another female gatekeeper, the chemist Ms. Voth, emphasises that young men prefer women who follow traditional career paths since this is more beneficial to the men's own careers. She reflects on the factors that influence the couple to follow traditional gender roles:

> *And all in all one can also really say, the young men, they of course do not know everything. But actually, they are not very chauvinist or sometimes even not at all. When they start their career path, then this changes, because they simply adapt to the rules which bring them forward. And probably they then also make experiences, right, that they eventually marry a woman who says: 'Do you know, I like to stay at home!' And then they go again and say: 'Yes, of course, my wife likes to stay at home. I don't force her!' And then one sentence follows another and they develop a personality, involuntarily, which they have not had at the age of 25. But I hope that the younger men maybe also change something. However, the younger men's self-awareness is weaker than the one of women. And I believe that this is the socialisation starting in childhood. I believe this is not caused by the genes.*

Ms. Voth does not doubt that men's behaviour concerning relationships is caused by social influences and not by birth or nature. In her opinion, the socialisation causing this behaviour starts in childhood and is carried on when men enter work life and the career path. Responsible for this socialisation process are therefore the family, school, maybe peers, and first of all employers, the workplace, and the labour market. However, in this explanation, the university's influence on the reproduction or the change of men's gender constructions with respect to relationships is lacking. Ms. Haupt, a political scientist, points to difficulties in relationships or to problems for and with men that could occur when a woman is more successful in her professional life than her partner:

> *I believe, for example, that in most of the relationships it is not so easy, when the woman is more successful than the man. I also do not believe that it is so easy for men, when the woman earns more than the man.*

Even though she sees change in gender relations and relates to potential alternative gender constructions she is aware of the continuing dominant gender construction which consists of an asymmetric relationship where women have to stay behind men with respect to professional success and income. However, two male political scientists have doubts about ascribing an important role to the relationship when searching for reasons for the loss of women in academia. Their experiences with the next generation contradict this idea, as the example of Mr. Dietze shows:

> *In the area that I can overlook, I can say that the partners were actually supportive. Yes. And they still are in academia, yes. In another case it was a woman who was the partner, also still in academia, but without children.*

Only two interviewees from political science explicitly mention the possibility of having same sex relationships. In the case of Mr. Dietz, quoted above, this partnership model is also taken as an example for an egalitarian partnership whereas heterosexual partnerships are introduced as gender asymmetric.

STRAND 3 OF EXPLANATIONS: GENDERED CAREER PLANNING AND NECESSARY INVESTMENTS IN ACADEMIC CAREERS

Introduced by nearly half of the interviewees, a third strand of explanations deals with gendered career planning and necessary personal investments in the professional career. With these aspects, the gatekeepers problematise the professional side of the conflict in career planning which was already discussed before with respect to questions of family formation and reconciliation of different life spheres. In this third strand, the professionals'

possibilities of career planning and the attractiveness of a scientific career or a career in the chemical industry as a big and interesting employer for chemists are focused. All the female gatekeepers from political science and chemistry who speak about career planning emphasise the impossibility to plan a scientific career. Some ask whether women are willing to live during the long qualification phase in and with insecurity and make clear that one needs luck and a high willingness to take chances for a scientific career. According to the female chemist Ms. Zörner, women are too intelligent "to play the game if one stays at the university". They are supposed to have less stressful jobs in industry and more security in their life planning than if they try to attain a professorship. Ms. Zörner constructs an image of women as being more orientated to professional and financial security and less willing to take risks. These aspects are also mentioned by other interviewees and will be discussed later in the context of psychosocial factors.

According to the interviewees, the attractiveness of the different professional options also influences the career planning of women. Compared to Ms. Zörner, the political scientist Ms. Illing reflects differently on the argument that women are more intelligent in their career planning than men. She compares the investments which have to be made for a scientific career with the expected outcome:

> *Well women are in their decisions more rational than men. And not so much driven by emotions. [...] I find women are reflecting: 'What do I have to pay for entering the market of the academic realm and what do my alternatives look like?' And the costs to enter the market of the academic realm are high and what one gets out of it is getting worse and worse. And the academic realm is for very good women with very good education not lucrative.*

Indicators for that are in her view "[c]ontrol, recognition, and income." Also, other gatekeepers mention the financial aspect, namely the decreasing income of professors and the loss of status in German academia as explanations for the shrinking attractiveness of a scientific career for women. Important in this respect is that this loss of attractiveness obviously only seems to affect women. According to these gatekeepers, only women disregard science as a boring workplace. As opposed to this, the chemist Ms. Urban talks about a continuous high status that accompanies professorship which she does not consider threatened. This gatekeeper notices that women find it "cocky" to imagine a scientific career "because the profession of a professor is still highly appreciated". Additionally, in her opinion the image of the chemist profession addresses women only partly:

> *And the chemist profession is well known for being somehow connected to hard work, with many hours and a very conventional image of the profession, and also well paid. Well, it is very clearly a man's job. Not only because women are less interested in science, but it is because of the image.*

According to some interviewees, women have "more options" in their career planning than men and the decision for a professional career does not have the highest priority. The chemist Mr. Quester makes clear that there are gender differences in career priorities and exemplifies his own career situation:

> *I, personally, say: 'The professional situation is still more or less important to me than the children question of having offspring.' I do not know whether that has something to do with my sex, but that is just a personal evaluation. And therefore I am willing to go for the risk in my professional situation and I think, many women are not willing to do so. And that is, I believe, the point.*

In summary, the interviewees have diverse and contradictory ideas about the career planning of doctoral students and draw a highly inconsistent image: Partly this image still consists of the male breadwinner model where women do not aim at attractive, highly qualified and secure jobs. In this version, the life planning of women is characterised as influenced by multiple options without prioritising a professional career. Partly the female doctoral students are introduced as being too intelligent to start the risky scientific career path under conditions where the academic profession seems to lose prestige and status and is connected to shrinking income. In this image women are constructed as giving such a high priority to their professional career that they find a professorship not attractive enough. Therefore the

gatekeepers see women pursuing more attractive career options: Female chemists seem to prefer jobs in the chemical industry whereas the alternative career plans of the female political scientists are left in the dark. And in a third image women do not plan a scientific career because they do not have, as often as men, the idea to aim for a top position as professor or they do not dare to develop this idea.

STRAND 4 OF EXPLANATIONS: WORKING CONDITIONS AND THE ACADEMIC WORK ETHIC

A fourth strand is shaped by different explanations concerning the working conditions and the work ethic in science. Nearly all interviewees mention aspects which can be added to this strand. This is where we find aspects like the high amount of time and workload of scientific labour, the one-way organised career path in academia without alternatives, the loss of attractiveness of the academic profession, as well as critiques of the working conditions and career policies in academia.

In some interviews, universities are described as unattractive employers and workplaces. The gatekeepers see the next generation of scientists suffer from a long and insecure qualification phase connected with a very high workload and with being project-related, since the employment contracts are limited to a very short time. Additionally, even though contracts are often part time, managing a full workload is expected. Some lecturers or teachers are only paid for single courses, and to take parental leave seems to be very difficult because of limited project funding. This does not really allow researchers to interrupt the academic work for reasons connected to their private lives, as the political scientist Ms. Glöde makes clear:

> *[W]ell I do not know, whether there are differences between women and men, but it could be, that maybe especially young women who also plan to have a child thus are not really willing to engage in this kind of precarity on the one side and working, working, working on the other side.*

Some female political scientists and some male chemists also speak about the expectation of permanent presence at the academic workplace which only leaves very little time for other areas of life: “Of course, science is in a way, that there are no limits.” There is not enough space for personal regeneration or for the relationships and friendships left. The chemist Mr. Sydow says:

> *As I told you we are an experimental science. That means, one has to say, a commitment for the whole day, and, to be realistic, during the postdoctoral phase also the weekend and very often also the evenings and the nights. It is as it is. Everybody did it that way. And you see, when you work on a current research project, you are in competition with China and somewhere else, and there people work, I exaggerate a bit, but 7/24. And three days of vacation are a lot, yes? And they are not worse and not even differently equipped than we are. That means, if you do not want to run the risk that your exciting project is published earlier and therefore becomes worthless, you have to show an extensive commitment. And this leads of course to conflicts, even for me, who has a family, in the area of life, work-life-balance.*

Additionally, the high amount of time and workload in science is, as the political scientist Ms. Illing states, conditioned by “this very strong requirement to be mobile” which she accuses to be “a killer argument for [...] an autonomous life planning”. All interviewees who speak about the aspects mentioned before consider the working conditions in academia as challenging for both sexes. It is astonishing that at the same time these conditions only seem to be a reason for women to turn away from a scientific career while men adjust to these conditions. However, this assumed contradiction can be interpreted in the light of statements made by some gatekeepers who describe the masculinity of science as a reason why there are proportionally fewer women than men in academic top positions. The chemist Mr. Sydow characterises the masculinity of science as follows: “[T]he whole structure is male-shaped. The whole working environment is shaped by men. That is of course evident. Also, the working styles are shaped by men.” The chemist Ms. Voth adds: “This is bound to the whole system. That is a man’s

system. [...] And in the moment when suddenly half of the people sitting there are women everything changes.” Mr. Baacke, a political scientist, however, is doubtful about the idea that an increasing number of women in science alone will lead to changes in scientific organisations. In his view “the hegemony, the rhetoric dominance” of men stands against changes caused by solely changes in numerous gender proportions.

The masculinity of science and the efforts of men to keep the power have direct influences on women’s academic careers, as the chemist Ms. Urban puts it. In her experience the career paths of women are more insecure and riskier than that of men because males are more promoted by (male) professors and therefore have a better starting position for getting a call as professor:

> *And for men there are established careers. [...] if you analyse which man makes a traditional postdoctoral lecturing qualification bond to his boss of whom he can be sure that he will afterwards put a good word for him, so that he gets a call, who, which junior researcher, this will be rather a man.*

Also, the political scientist Ms. Glöde is sure that women have disadvantages in being promoted in their scientific careers: “And these men do not promote women, well, even the left-wing men.” In her opinion this means that women are set back during the postdoctoral phase: “Well, as long as the majority of professors is male, it will be more difficult for women than for men to get into academia after having completed the doctorate.” According to Ms. Illing, “men’s networks in this respect are still relatively closed”.

It is evident that the interviewees describe scientific careers not only as individual products, which male and female individuals can construct by personal efforts. They also make clear that scientific careers additionally depend on promotion and networks. In this respect all the gatekeepers agree that women have disadvantages with respect to the necessary promotion and networks and thus indeed (have to) take a higher risk in following scientific careers than men.

STRAND 5 OF EXPLANATIONS: PSYCHOSOCIAL FACTORS AND PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE

The last strand of explanations worked out from the interviews with the gatekeepers collects psychosocial factors and statements about the professional competence. In the main, male political scientists and female chemists mention aspects which fit to this strand. The political scientist Mr. Abend generally states that the "psychosocial element" plays a "strong role". According to Ms. Haupt, another political scientist, "one has to bring with along a somehow disturbed psychic constitution to cope with that [a scientific career; the author]". While it is obvious from the context of Mr. Abend's statement that it relates to women, in the case of Ms. Haupt it is open whether she speaks about a certain sex or about all (prospective) scientists. The other interviewees are more concrete in their statements.

The political scientist Mr. Baacke observes that women are more reluctant than men when they have to make career decisions after the doctorate. In his opinion, they are also socialised to hesitate in cases of competition, as required in the scientific career path. The chemist Ms. Wysk describes women as less confident, more modest and less ambitious:

> *That with the self-confidence, to be self-confident, maybe also plays a role. And this being pleased with less. Well, one is simply in a certain manner more modest and finds it already great and okay if one has somewhere an interesting job and a livelihood, and is able to reconcile everything. Maybe also the ambition lacks to say: 'Now it is maybe possible to go a bit higher or a step further.' A mixture of this.*

Mr. Turek, a chemist, sees women hindering themselves because of their self-reflexivity concerning the scientific work and their career:

> *I find self-reflexivity very very important and very very good but it cannot get out of control so that you do not trust yourself any more. Well, they [women; the author] must simply have this self-confidence and jump into a thing. And then it is fine. And that takes sometimes, that sometimes costs time, so to say, to overcome this.*

> *That is the same with men, well insofar, but, I believe, with women that is such a typical factor, maybe a typical factor which can hinder. And this has to be eliminated early enough.*

According to the political scientist Mr. Chrest, men do not reflect that much on their professional career and alternatives because of being too lazy to do so:

> *And the men, they simply do what they have been doing all the time. [...] Men simply go on [after the doctorate; the author], because they are doing this already. Would be too exhausting otherwise.*

At the same time, this interviewee sees women as having a stronger need for security with respect to their professional careers. This could prevent them from starting a scientific career:

> *Well, after the doctorate exists the last chance to jump off, right? And if they have systematic differences in preferences for security, well if men somehow are more willing to take risks that would be a possible explanation. But I do not know whether this is the case. That is just an idea. [...] That is why I suppose that it has something to do with the risk affinity. Right? That women simply rather are orientated towards security, and men rather chose the insecure career path of science. [...] And then of course it is possible that we find out: 'Well, women have more orientation to security.' So, well, then we would have somehow a gender-determined difference in risk affinity.*

Also, the chemist Ms. Zörner believes that women have "a bit more the wish to be assured" which hinders them to take the risk of a scientific career. At the same time, she knows by experience that women do not have the idea to become a professor. The chemist Ms. Wysk observes as well that some female doctoral students in chemistry are "also maybe not the type who does research" and not interested in "honour and title".

Finally, Mr. Turek, a chemist who is specialised in theoretical questions, supposes that women lack professional competence in connection with their low self-confidence concerning their own capabilities: "Theory is of course a very difficult field. [...] Only those go there who are really brave because the demand is extremely high." In search of explanations for the assumed lack of women's professional competence with respect to theoretical chemistry, this gatekeeper criticises the school education in mathematics and physics where girls already are discouraged. He is also sure that women do not have a smaller mathematical and physical competence than men because of their sex: "Well, I mean, there is no difference. [...] I believe, something is misdirected in early years, that the emphasis is already assigned differently."

With respect to the psychosocial factors discussed in this section, the gatekeepers (re)produce hegemonic constructions about gender. Their image of women includes a high self-reflexivity, lack of self-confidence, hesitation, self-sufficiency, modesty, lack of ambition, lack of the will to take risks, strong orientation to security, and finally lack of professional competence for theoretical questions in chemistry. The gatekeepers' image of men has less defined contours and is constructed reversely when concrete aspects are mentioned. All these gender constructions follow the traditional gender polarisation. Thereby differences are only partially appreciated, for example concerning the higher self-reflexivity of women. However, differences are mostly presented as deficits – in relation to professional competence, gripping and daring behaviour, and in case of men, above all, deficits concerning their conversational behaviour for women, and in relation to communication, convenience, and lack in self-reflexivity for men. Hence, all interviews show strong efforts to trace observed gender differences in behaviour and competencies back to primary and secondary socialisation, and concerning lacking mathematical and physical knowledge, to deficits in the education system, instead of naturalising them.

STABILITY AND CHANGE IN GENDER CONSTRUCTIONS OF GATEKEEPERS IN SCIENTIFIC ORGANISATIONS

Liisa Husu (2004: 75) argues: "Increasing understanding of academic gate-keeping processes from a gender perspective is crucial for the successful implementation of mainstreaming policies in academic organisations."

So what does the analysis of the gender constructions of gatekeepers in German universitites tell us about stability and/or change with respect to the gender order and future options for gender equality policies in scientific organisations? The summary of the presented explanations of gatekeepers for the loss of women on the way to scientific top positions offers a variety of gender constructions concerning the life courses and life planning of the next generation. Mostly these gender constructions reflect the traditional asymmetric gender order which is based on heterosexual relationship and a traditional family model with a male breadwinner and a female homemaker who works either part or voluntarily. Additionally, the gatekeepers relate to traditional gender polarised properties. Thereby, gender differences are only partly appreciated and mostly presented as female deficits. Perhaps as a result of the respective interview questions focusing on women's situation, the image of men presented is less concrete, even the obverse of women. The gender hierarchy which is (re)produced by these gender constructions is not challenged.

All interviewees ascribe the assumed gender differences in character traits and professional competences to effects of primary and secondary socialisation and reject any relation with the genes. The gatekeepers are also sure that women should study and finish their doctorates but afterwards women seem to be bound by their biology, which means by fertility and by the ticking clock hinting at the coming end of the fertile phase. The ticking biological clock or restricted possibilities to work in the laboratory in case of being pregnant or breastfeeding are not presented as social or organisational problems which could and should be solved by society and its organisations. In the gatekeepers' gender constructions women's historically, culturally, and socially traditionalised responsibility for children and women's physical ability to give birth are still implicitly naturalised: Social differences concerning the gendered division of especially care work at home are interpreted as physical differences with problematic consequences for women's lives as a whole. According to most of the gatekeepers, motherhood and a scientific career still do not seem to fit whereas the reconciliation of fatherhood and a scientific career is not problematised. Of course, these ideas of a traditional gender order are widely spread especially in a conservative welfare regime such as the German one.

All in all, the interviewees' statements concerning women's career planning are contradictory and insecure. The gatekeepers can imagine that women become professors and plan their career toward this aim, but at the same time they reject the idea that women are able to follow this plan successfully either because they place more importance on other life realms, for example, family or relationships, or they do not find the job of a professor fitting to their professional and life plans. This plurality of images concerning women's preferences in career planning patterns does not only correspond to social practice but also shows that the gatekeepers are aware of an ongoing change in gender relations.

Therefore, it is not surprising that some interviewees do not place much importance on the question of having children for the career planning of women, relating thereby to their own experiences or observations of their doctoral students and postdoctoral researchers. Their gender constructions include the possibility of diverse lifestyles and (more) symmetric social relations. Influenced by these ideas, some interviewees in my study reflect on social changes in gender relations toward more egalitarian gender constructions and relationships. On the one hand, they observe a slowly growing willingness of younger men to participate in care work, and on the other hand, they perceive some career ambitions of women with respect to scientific top positions. One female gatekeeper also reflects on the option of a life-planning model without children. However, very few gatekeepers mention the possibility of same sex relationships.

All these explanations for the loss of women on the way to top positions focus on conditions and influences which are situated outside of scientific organisations, namely primary and secondary socialisation, gender asymmetric private relationships, the gendered division of labour at home, and gendered stereotypes. Liisa Husu (2004: 73) writes: "If the majority of gate-keepers explain and understand gender inequalities in academia as outcomes of factors and conditions outside scientific organisations – such as women lacking motivation, having lower ambition, family obligations... it is obviously difficult to find support and argue for changes within academia." Following Joan Acker (1990: 149–150), this construction of gendered influences as being situated outside of scientific organisations can be dismantled as part of the engendering of the organisational logic

which presents itself and of course also the job of a professor as gender neutral and disembodied. Therefore, it is not surprising that even when the gatekeepers in their explanations for the loss of women mention aspects which are internal to science or scientific organisations, these aspects seem to go beyond scientific organisations and science itself: Legal rules for limiting the working contracts of the next generation, workplace laws to protect pregnant or breastfeeding women, and the payment structure in academia are defined by the legislator, and the high workload and expectations of permanent presence in scientific organisations rather seems to be caused by the global competition and the scientific dynamic of knowledge production than by science itself.

There also seems to be a change within the professors' perceptions of the organisational logic: Some male and female gatekeepers explicitly hint at the masculinity of scientific organisations and of science itself. They characterise universities as gendered organisations (Acker 1990) shaped by hegemonic masculinity, of course without theorising and analysing all the consequences connected with this insight in their statements. Taking Acker's ideas into account, the job of a scientist can be analysed as a gendered and embodied concept, even though the organisational logic of science presents it as gender neutral and disembodied. This perspective also makes clear why the gatekeepers mark the organisational requirements for the next generation of limited working contracts, high workload, and a permanent presence as more problematic for women than for men: Women are explicitly seen as embodied scientists who are, due to their bodies and because of the social duties ascribed to them, additionally bond to external care work and therefore not as available for the job as men are. Thus, the interviewees also present the chances of women to be promoted and to succeed in science as worse than men's chances.

However, the gatekeepers do not only reproduce traditional gender constructions connected with the idea of a gender neutral and disembodied job. Some of them, female and male, are also aware of changing gender relations and constructions. They position themselves as ready for reinscribing these alternative gender constructions into scientific procedures such as job evaluations as well as recruitment and promotion practices of not only the next generation of female scientists, but also male scientists. In this respect they are indeed agents of organisational change. Moreover, they denote change in the organisational logic in science such as the opening for (more) gender equality.

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Dear Liisa

Richard Howson

DEAR LIISA,

It is an absolute honour and a privilege to be invited to make a contribution to this *Festschrift* that celebrates and remembers your contribution to academia and most importantly, the contributions you have made to so many academic careers of which mine is one. I hope you will forgive that I will not write about your academic research and the quality of this research work, as I am sure there are people making contributions here that are far more knowledgeable about your field and the specificity of your work. However, the excellence of your knowledge in the field of gender and equality as it applies to the complex institutions of science research, academia and policy development, as well as the importance of this same research work to the field as a whole has not escaped me over the years. Instead, I hope you will get some enjoyment from this brief personal reflection on the contribution you have made and the enjoyment you have brought to my academic career for more than a decade now.

Making this contribution is of course such a wonderful opportunity to reflect back on when we first met and some of the more enjoyable moments over the past decade and more. It certainly has been more than a decade since we first met and in fact, we have to go all the way back to 2007 as I recall, when I was able to organise for you and Jeff to come to the University of Wollongong, all the way over here in Australia from where I am writing this reflective contribution, so as to be part of a small workshop I was organising and also to give a presentation on your work at the time. I remember the passion and excitement you brought to your work in that presentation, and in no small way it has inspired me since to bring something similar to my work.

But on a less academic note, I wonder if you remember that first trip to Australia and the University of Wollongong? It still brings a big smile to my face when I recall the story of you and Jeff sleeping in (now I am not sure of the reason, I forget exactly, but I seem to remember the alarm was set incorrectly?) and waking up an hour or so before the flight was due to depart. I can only imagine what went on that morning as you both had a fraction of the time you would normally have had to prepare for a series of flights that would take you to the other end of the world and have you in planes and airports for more than 24 hours. Australia is a long way away. Notwithstanding that, when it is all said and done, it is a testament to your communicativeness, organisation, speed and determination (and perhaps also a testament to the speed of the taxi driver!) that the plane waited for you both and in the end, you made the flight with not too much of a delay. I am so glad that you both made that flight because it began a wonderful collaborative relationship that has lasted over all this time.

In 2008, I was lucky enough to be able to travel to both Sweden and Finland for my sabbatical where I stayed for a little over six weeks and was able to spend some time working in both Linköping and Helsinki. This was my very first trip to this part of the world and I will always remember the wonderful friendship that was shown to me at that time. In particular, in Helsinki where I was shown the sites with you and Jeff, and in particular that restaurant you suggested and where I tried moose for the first (and subsequently) only time. On that same visit to Helsinki, I also remember attending your son's matriculation party with you and which was a lovely insight into some Finnish culture.

Now while these moments do not represent strict academic collaboration as such, what they do show is the level of your generosity and friendship even in those early trips that overtime has enabled the collaborations we have created. Since then I have been so lucky to make many trips back to Sweden (I'm afraid I don't have a record of exactly how many) but especially the most recent trips particularly to Örebro are important because it was your contributions and organisation that made these trips and the work I achieved there, including writing one of the last chapters of a monograph, possible.

Since 2007 we have been able to stay in touch mostly in Sweden but also again in Australia when you and Jeff came back again in 2012 for the conference on *Engaging Men in Building Gender Equality* that the Centre for Research on Men and Masculinity here at the University of Wollongong, I was co-organising. I also remember the International Sociological Association conference in Gothenburg where you introduced me to Grüner Vertliner, but also Prague, Lund and Uppsala bring back memories – and these are just to name a few. Over the past decade and more there are many memories that have been created of our work and discussions together on all sorts of topics and issues. I am sure these will not be the last of them.

It is a rare form of 'luck' that any academic can have, particularly in academia where it is possible to strike up a wonderful collaborative friendship firstly, so quickly and secondly, that lasts and grows over time. Your presence in my academic life has been nothing short of special and rewarding. You have always given me time, support, patience, guidance and friendship over so many years and while I will miss these contributions in my academic life, I am sure the decision you have taken will bring you new challenges and new forms of enjoyment.

Finally, I want to wish you all the best into the future. You deserve all the accolades this *Festschrift* brings you.

Richard

An abundance of metaphors

Amund Rake Hoffart

LIISA HUSU'S (2001) ARTICLE "On metaphors on the position of women in academia and science" is a critical survey of the many metaphors circulating in research and policy on gender in academia. By analysing these metaphors in terms of "their focus and approach to power, resistance, agency and change" (2001: 172), Husu finds that they often fall short of conveying the complexity of women's position in academia, instead portraying this position as overly static and lacking in agency. Husu's analysis serves as a reminder that although metaphors can be inspiring, creative and illuminating, they can also be distortive and should, therefore, be continuously critically reflected. Within my PhD thesis[1], analysing feminist debates on and around intersectionality, I map the vast landscape of alternative metaphors for intersectionality and take it as a starting point for reflecting on what drives the attempts to improve on the imagery of intersectionality. In the spirit of Husu's mapping of metaphors on the position of women in academia and science, I offer here a glimpse into the abundance of alternative intersectionality metaphors.

Language, both in its everyday and academic form, is *loaded* with metaphor. If you first start looking for metaphors in a text, they are likely to *spring up like mushrooms*. But certain metaphors are easier to recognise as metaphors than others. Metaphors like *broken hearts, moral compasses, bad apples, late bloomers* and *double-edged swords* make use of well-known objects from mundane settings and places them into new, sometimes surprising ones. In that sense, metaphors function re-figuratively: the familiar meaning of a concept is re-figured by our understanding of it in terms of something else. With regard to intersectionality, however, recognising its metaphoric quality might not be as easy. Intersectionality is an abstract, technical term, a term that cannot by itself evoke and play on the same range of intuitions and associations as words more naturally belonging to the sphere of the everyday. What is peculiar for intersectionality as a metaphoric concept, then, is the degree to which it is dependent on elaboration in terms of other metaphors (Garry 2011: 831). The most prominent

1 In the PhD thesis, with the working title Conceptualising Intersectionality, I explore the construction of intersectionality as a paradigm by analysing metatheoretical stories told about intersectionality's past (tracing its genealogies), present (defining a field of intersectionality studies) and future (searching for improved metaphors).

example would be Crenshaw's *traffic intersection*, which has been taken up as intersectionality's central image; another is the *basement*, a metaphor presented in the same text, but which has often been overlooked (Crenshaw 1989). One strategy for improving on intersectionality's visual imagery has been to try to complexify the traffic intersection metaphor by adding more elements to it, for instance by visualising it as *liquids running from mountains into an intersection with a roundabout in the centre and where many streets and many cars meet* (Garry 2011). Interestingly, several of the alternative metaphors on my list seem to be no less abstract than the imagery of intersections they are intended to supplement or replace, for instance *axes, vectors, topographies, configurations, interferences, assemblages, symbioses* and *disorderly spaces of emergence*. For those looking for alternative metaphors in more tangible arenas, the sphere of cooking and baking is evidently an inspiring one, as intersectionality has been likened to *sugar, cookies, sponge cake, swirls in a marble cake, the blending of baking ingredients* and *stew*. The body is not forgotten; it is represented through the metaphor of *hair*. Furthermore, I have clustered together *coloured gels on a theatre light, dynamic reflections of a kaleidoscope, carbonic paper* and a *Rubik's cube*, although I cannot pinpoint exactly how these are related. Maybe through *family resemblances*? And finally, as this is a *Festschrift*, my list will have to end with *stars* and *rainbows*.

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Collaborating with Liisa Husu

Suzanne de Cheveigné

IT'S A STRANGE EXERCISE to write about – and, in a sense, write for – someone. Perhaps it's like extending a mirror, but with a sculpted frame. So the picture may not be totally faithful, some of it is reinterpreted or perhaps even invented. But I hope it will provide some insights – for me, it is a very inspiring and pleasant exercise.[1]

Liisa and I could have met earlier than we did. We were interested in similar issues around gender and science, Liisa certainly more active than me – I was also working on other science and/in/with/for society topics. We were introduced by Viviane Willis-Mazzichi who, in 2007, handed us the task of leading an expert group on gender issues in research funding. And it worked! Pure luck or Viviane's intuition, we'll never know, but the members of the expert group were convinced we were old friends. Mutual respect, a compatible sense of humour, a common ambition to try to do some game-changing work, these ingredients – and maybe others – must have been the right ones. We were convinced our topic was important and, with a remarkable team of equally engaged experts, we went far beyond just collecting the state of the art. Indeed, we managed to pry new figures out of somewhat reticent national Research funding organisations (RFOs) – perhaps they have become more cooperative since then .... We were also very well supported by our project officer, Florence Bouvet – this is of course an essential element of success. An exceptional conjunction of planets that just made the enterprise productive, satisfying and worthwhile – it was no doubt one of my better work experiences, very much thanks to Liisa.

Our report, entitled *The gender challenge in research funding* (European Commission 2009), "sold out" in printed form very quickly. It was never reprinted, which annoyed us no end, since it had original data and, we felt, a strong analysis for that period. As a previous report, *Mapping the maze - Getting more women to the top in research* (European Commission 2008), produced by an expert group led by Maya Widmer, had previously pointed out, funding is essential to success in anyone's research career – so that is a good place to start looking for the causes of the "glass ceiling". But, in spite of the importance of the financial dimension of success in research, it took over ten years for the Commission to put out a new call on the topic. I analyse this as yet another example of great European initiatives

1 Liisa has given many interviews, providing valuable personal points of view on her research. See, for instance: Husu & Šmídová 2014; Husu 2017.

that for various reasons aren't transformed into local and national practice (my other pet grievance is the European Platform for Women Scientists that in practice crashed in mid-air for lack of sufficiently sustained funding). But all this is another story, let's get back to Liisa.

When the Gender Challenge task was over, Liisa and I of course met off and on in conferences and meetings. Then, fortunately, Liisa provided me with another occasion to collaborate through the GEXcel Centre of Gender Excellence in Örebro and Linköping, funded by the Swedish Research Council (VR), along with additional local university funds).[2] Gender scholars have gone to great lengths to question the notion of "excellence" in science – see, for instance, the report *Gender and excellence in the making* (European Commission 2004), to which Liisa in fact contributed with a paper entitled 'Gatekeeping, gender equality and scientific excellence' (Husu 2004). The report came out of a workshop that took place in Florence in 2003 and that had a more explicit title: 'Minimising gender bias in the definition and measurement of scientific excellence'. All that effort didn't stop a wave of centres of excellence sweeping over the scientific world in the first decade of this century – in France, for instance, they were called Labex's, "laboratoires d'excellence". So when Liisa joined Örebro, she joined another centre of excellence, the GEXcel Centre, then used the resources in the most generous way, supporting young scholars, most of whom have become important figures in the scientific landscape. And bringing in definitely older scholars – like me – for stimulating exchanges.

I stayed there twice as a visiting scholar, in 2011 and 2012, if I remember rightly. It was a very stimulating intellectual experience, with inventive researchers and enthusiastic post-docs. Beyond rich individual exchanges, GEXcel also provided an exceptional laboratory experience: Liisa had facilitated a space and a group of people who were all generously supporting each other with the common aim of collectively producing new knowledge. It was an excellent demonstration that competition and all that that entails – suspiciousness, jealousy, secrecy, … – are not essential to good research. Other aspects no doubt contributed to the warm atmosphere, such as a floor layout where people met each other easily, lots of light and the Swedish tradition of providing lots of apples and cakes.

2 It ran from 2007 to 2013, and thereafter widened to become the GEXcel International Collegium for Advanced Interdisciplinary Gender Studies.

I think what impressed me most was the way in which Liisa spoke of her collaborators and of the post-docs in particular. She was always attentive to their needs, aware of future career issues. I am always rather wary of essentialising such an approach as being "feminine management" or "care" as a feminine specialty. I believe it is simply due to an acute understanding that research has human as well as technical dimensions, and that good work can be done only if proper attention is paid to both. And that is exactly what Liisa does, keeping a rigorous eye on theory and methodology and a considerate one on the people applying them.

Liisa's career has been brilliant, but not exactly linear. She moved to research after about 15 years working for the Finnish the Council for Gender Equality, focussing on higher education issues. Perhaps unsatisfied by the challenge this position provided (beware, this is definitely me freely interpreting here …) and certainly wanting a solid basis for her work, she set out to really understand what was going on and wrote a thesis on "invisible" gender discrimination in academia. Again, Liisa set very high standards, refusing to continue working without the proper intellectual tools.

It is brave to change careers, to start over again at the beginning as a student. It is also ambitious to work in two countries, as Liisa has, between in Finland and Sweden. That doesn't just mean having two offices and always discovering that you have forgot what you needed in the other one. It means working with different administrative systems, different work cultures, both adapting to them and learning from the differences. (And I am sure that Liisa uses her extensive experience at the European level in the same way.)

Again, I still do not want to essentialise, but it does seem that many women in academia insist on doing what they feel important, even when it is not the best thing for their career. They change research fields, they go into interdisciplinary areas, indeed they invent them. There is a fascinating paper of which I have lost trace. It was published at least 20 years ago (perhaps by people from Wisconsin – my memory fails me, and I do hope someone will recognise it and send me the reference!). It examined publications of women and men scientists' and more specifically their Dewey Decimal Classification numbers. Those numbers in fact identify the position of the work within a disciplinary field. Then the authors simply calculated the dispersion (in the statistical sense) of the numbers for each person: low dispersion means they always publish on the same or very similar subjects; high dispersion means that they publish on a number of different subjects. I thought it was a particularly elegant way of demonstrating what you may already have guessed, that the average dispersion of men's work was much lower than that of women. Men tend more to stick more to one subject, which is a much more efficient strategy in our academic system: you become a super-expert, it is easier to find resources and to publish a lot. Whereas when you change subjects, you "waste" time getting up to a good level of competence, you are seen as an "outsider" and you are less frequently invited to conferences, etc. The system rarely takes into account the advantages of bringing fresh views to a subject, applying new methodologies and making unexpected analogies.

And that is exactly what Lisa has been doing – and helping many other people to do. Exploring new paths, with uncompromising scientific rigour and constant generosity, she has been – and still is, of course – an example for us all. Thanks, Liisa!

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Feminist theory in theory and in practice

Some reflections on teaching on gender equality in higher music education

Sam de Boise

IN 2017 I PARTICIPATED in a course on how to supervise doctoral students, in which Professor Husu gave a presentation on gender equality in academia. Professor Husu's work has, over her academic career, centred on the gendering of knowledge production and particularly issues of gender equality within higher education institutions (institutions in which an openness to critique and evidence are supposedly prerequisites to employment) so she was more than qualified to give us the benefits of her wisdom.

In the course, it was incredible to watch a room of lecturers from predominantly natural and medical science backgrounds presume themselves experts when confronted by empirical evidence on the structurally gendered barriers to early career researchers. The same people had sat listening attentively with interest about more anecdotal presentations half an hour prior to Professor Husu's talk. Questions, or perhaps rather assertions, came predominantly from men on variations on the theme of: "women choose not to have careers because they have babies". My partner, incidentally who works in the medical sciences, commented on the same dynamic in the same course that she had taken a year earlier so I know this was not a one-off.

Professor Husu greeted their assertions with the patient understanding and careful tolerance of someone who is not only extremely knowledgeable, but who also has the utmost commitment to educating others about gender equality. Her response betrayed no sense of irritation nor acknowledgement that these statements had been directed toward her hundreds of times before. Her work has grappled academically with many of the same questions that lecturers working with a gender equality perspective deal with on a daily basis; namely, what is gender equality in higher education and how do we not only think critically about it, but actively try to implement strategies to achieve it? During my employment at Örebro she has always generously given time to me and others, and I have been privileged to be part of the Centre for Feminist Social Studies (CFS) at Örebro University, of which she became leader in 2009. Here, I want to offer some of my own short personal reflections on the challenges of teaching in higher music education (HME), the subject where I am currently working.

GENDER EQUALITY IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES

As a much younger doctoral student (and then a slightly younger lecturer), I previously taught on gender studies courses in sociology departments in England. Teaching these often felt like preaching to the converted. These courses were electives and there always seemed to be a far greater proportion of young women taking the courses who were already engaged in discussions around gender equality. There was often a shared acknowledgement that something was fundamentally rotten at the core of contemporary gender relations in the UK.

I moved to Sweden in 2014 to become a postdoctoral researcher in the School of Music, Theatre and Art, at Örebro University. After moving here I quickly realised two things: 1) what "works" with sociology students engaged in issues of gender equality, does not work with music performance students especially; and 2) my preconceptions of Sweden as some kind of liberal, feminist-socialist utopia, is a view that is largely imposed on the country from outside rather than one that Swedish feminists necessarily share. In this respect, CFS, taught me a lot about critical perspectives on equality within the Nordic countries and the Anglo-centrism of gender scholarship in the UK as well as forcing me to reckon with some preconceived stereotypes about both the UK and Sweden.

Sweden is, of course, often touted as a fairly-gender equal country in terms of key metrics and there have been important, concrete policy decisions affecting cis-gendered men and women. It does better on women's employment, parental leave, wage gaps and women in education than many countries across the world (including the global North and South). However economic inequalities, intersecting with gender inequalities in policy, leaves unchallenged fundamental structural contradictions between Sweden's social democratic history, avowedly anti- discriminatory policies and the experiences of those marginalised on the basis of gender. Trans* people's relationship to the Swedish state has a sinister history and Swedish feminists have never been under the illusion that progressive policy measures necessarily translate to equality in practice or that quantitative measures indicate the quality of equality (Martinsson et al. 2016). The perception between how things look from the outside and

how they are experienced "within" the countries is a more general trend in the Nordic countries and within Nordic higher education more broadly (Husu 2000).

Problem 1: Engaging men in gender equality

On the right, Sweden has recently emerged as a kind of international bogeyperson (because gender-neutral language drives anti-feminists wild) for its gender mainstreaming policies. The argument has been made that, despite more equal socio-political conditions, that there is still gender segregation in terms of employment, therefore gender equality policy does not ensure equality (Peterson 2018: 193). Given what I thought I knew about Sweden, I also thought that the vast majority of young men in universities would be supportive about the issue of gender equality. Yet I have been surprised at how often I've been approached, after lectures or in the corridors, by Swedish-speaking students and the occasional colleague who has asked in hushed tones: "but isn't it the case that Sweden has gone too far"?

There are obvious rebuttals to Peterson's argument: that equality of opportunity does not equal equality of outcome; that there are the same kinds of structural barriers in Sweden as elsewhere; that jobs where women are overrepresented tend to be lower paid, less often rewarded with social prestige or political power; and that gender equality does not mean "everybody choosing the same things in equal numbers". However, his book, and others like it, have found a resurgent reception in Sweden amongst young men particularly. Furthermore, whilst he wilfully mischaracterises both the Swedish context and the gender equality debate, it begs the question of how to engage young men in these discussions when many have already been exposed to the myth that Sweden has gone "too far". If *even* Sweden has "failed", why bother?

Critical studies on men and masculinities (CSMM) perspectives, where I have felt most theoretically at home, thinks primarily in terms of power. Indeed, where CSMM differs from more "postfeminist" approaches to masculinity studies (see O'Neill 2014) is the emphasis on power in its use of the term *critical* as directly indebted to critical theory (Hearn 2012). A central tenet of CSMM has always been that there can be no gender equality without understanding of and engagement from men, both practically and theoretically. As bell hooks (2004: xvi) argues: "men are in our lives whether we want them to be or not … we need men to challenge the patriarchy, we need men to change".

Yet what engaging with men on issues of feminism and equality means in practice is tricky to negotiate. Much like some of my fellow participants on the supervising-PhD-students course, some men can be deeply irritating or even personally unpleasant in their determined rejection of research with no basis other than a caricatured understanding of feminism. Nevertheless, these perspectives must be taken seriously even if they are being challenged. Some people, probably like myself as a student, are just interested in being contrarian and students are often under-informed rather than declared anti-feminists.

In contrast to my experiences of gender studies courses in UK sociology departments, there are situations where HME seminars are almost (outwardly at least) made up of entirely young men. Performing programs in jazz and rock, especially, are made up largely of instrumentalists who tend to be men, something which is supported by the available data in both the UK and Sweden (de Boise 2018). As practitioners, how we challenge and communicate perspectives on gender equality are therefore of the utmost importance. An antagonistic approach to gender equality in music classes full of young men, which sets up equality in hierarchical or numerical terms as the relation of a dominant over a dominated group, does not resonate in the same way as it does in gender studies courses. By starting from the argument that all men have structural privilege, this is open to instant dismissal and easy counter-examples, especially in courses where the majority do not necessarily have a sociologically-rooted understanding of choice or identity as patterned and structured. Young men frequently point to Beyoncé, Rhianna, Adele, Zara Larsson or Madonna as counter examples to the argument that women are structurally discriminated against within the music industries and empirical evidence to the contrary is often unable to sway them.

Engaging young men in these discussions often means walking a tightrope between trying not to "alienate" the majority of the room and not indulging arguments that are ethically, politically or empirically

unsound. This in itself is difficult given that it falls into the traditional routine of treating young men as if they are in need of extra attention, which is already a problem in music education. For instance, in mixed choirs where men tend to be underrepresented, tenors are given special treatment (O'Toole 1998). Indeed, the tendency of young men to dominate discussions on issues of gender equality in these situations whilst trying to discuss this as a problem is a delicate balance that requires constant patience.

Problem 2:
Working with and against traditions

Reflecting on the questions which Professor Husu received, and the way she responded, I started keeping a list of all the usual arguments that crop up every year after teaching on gender equality so that I might be able to better deal with these critiques quickly and effectively. These include:

1. Women were excluded "then" (the same justification is used irrespective of whether the tradition in question is 500 or 50 years old) but we have equality today
2. (Relatedly) You can't "rewrite" music history. We should start playing contemporary women composers/musicians today but still look to the big names in musical histories to shape practice (Beethoven, Bach, Mozart, Tchaikovsky, Davis, Parker, Dylan etc.)
3. Biological differences account for differences in choice
4. We like what we like because we like it, not because of gender
5. Women need to be tougher or better in order to compete with men
6. Musical quality and aesthetic judgment are objective and women wrote worse music (explained often in terms of structural inequalities and access to music education)
7. That I am denigrating or devaluing the works of artists, composers or musicians that are important to the students
8. That I am biased

There is a strong affective component to these arguments particularly around traditions and tastes. Histories are affectively durable even if you can point to evidence to the contrary (Ahmed 2017). When pointing to

Beethoven's connections to Viennese aristocracy as one reason for his canonical status (DeNora 1997), this is received as rank revisionism rather than well-sourced evidence. In ways that mirror other areas of political life, feminist musicologists and music historians for years having been proving that women have been far more influential in the development of music than malestream histories acknowledge (Citron 1993) despite their almost total exclusion from educational institutions. They have concisely shown that aesthetic judgment is gendered (Macarthur 2002; McClary 1991) and that women's representation in orchestras increases with the introduction of blind auditions (Goldin and Rouse 2000).

Yet these perspectives are consistently met with fierce resistance, partly, I would suggest, because some students experience these discussions as a threat to the dedication that they have invested in their subject. The notion of privilege, to a certain extent, appears to undermine the idea that students are accepted into a highly competitive program to which they have dedicated thousands of hours of practice to, through merit alone. The second is a basic impulse to defend our music preferences because we feel that they say something about us as individuals. In addition, many music students have also been exposed to notions of "absolute music" in one form or another. Talking about how music is shaped by or represents gender threatens the notion that music can never only be "the music itself" on which a certain level of academic prestige has been based. Indeed, Professor Susan McClary, one of the most well-known feminist musicologists across the world, even received death threats in the 1980s and 1990s for her suggestion that gender could and should be read in music!

It has been important for me personally to adapt theory to mirror student's experiences and to use language and ideas that they relate to and starting from where they are rather than where I would like them to be. This is basic pedagogical theory but there are ways into the conversation around gendered structures here. One argument that was put forward by a chamber music student, several years ago was that competitions require students to play pieces written by dead white guys, so it is essential to learn their repertoires and traditions. For chamber music students, certain pieces may take months of singularly- focused practice to perform

competently and even longer to perform with no mistakes live. This was an excellent chance to discuss gender equality not as a personal failing of the students as individuals but as a structural problem which is repeated and re-repeated *ad infinitum*; repertoires come from outside, so they structure the students' knowledge, understanding and practice. Then there is also the debate around the aesthetic merits of complexity and how this may not only be gendered but also how restrictive access to education prior to the 20th century impacts on musical practice.

Problem 3: What works in theory and in practice

Since coming to Örebro, of which CFS has been an important part in influencing my thinking, I have tended toward fusing an understanding of discourse with a materialist focus; something perhaps best articulated as a material-discursive approach (Hearn 2014). Today, whilst retaining a sincere commitment to the empirically demonstrable fact that there is no *a priori* gender I have learnt (through trial and error) to be cautious in making absolute claims around issues of categorisation and representation. I am undoubtedly more careful in adopting uncritically naïve constructionist approaches which treat sex/gender as if either can be willed away through linguistic shifts alone.

Teaching in HME, especially, raises problems for thinking empirically through theories of gender equality, particularly those related to discussing the social construction of the body. For instance, the notion that gender is largely socially constructed takes on a different life when talking to a room full of choir teachers-to-be than talking to sociology students about political representation. Choirs are often divided by binary sex and, indeed, certain lines are written with particular men's or women's voices in mind.

Of course, the nature/culture division is an artificial and entirely constructed one. It is possible to show how "naturally sexed" singing voices are constructed through the interplay of biology and culture (Tiainen 2007). Yet trying to explain the difference between sex and gender, explaining that according to some theorists sex is gender and then launching into discussions of the problems on the ontological nature and the epistemological ways of understanding sex, in the 2 hours you have been allocated within an already packed schedule, is infeasible. At a push some students are receptive to notions that the development of terms for vocal range are gendered; that mezzo-sopranos, contraltos and counter-tenors only exist because their voices subvert notions of which voices fit "normal" biological sexes. Though it is difficult to deny the effect that hormones have on vocal development even if this is not *determined* by sex assigned at birth. Students too can understand the idea that instruments are designed with certain bodies in mind and that these bodies tend to be gendered in various ways but suggesting everything is *only* cultural (as I used to) is bound not only to meet resistance but to lack the same kind of explanatory force.

BUILDING THEORY FROM PRACTICE

Feminism has always stressed the importance of developing theory from practice (Ahmed 2017; Haraway 1988). In this way, how and who we as gender scholars teach, who we meet and how we experience our own sense of failure, shame, disappointment, hope and (even!) joy in relation to teaching, impacts on the way we think about gender equality in higher education. For me, the crux of CSMM was always personal; understanding the way I was marked out as different or passed through certain spaces with ease, and how I felt about these things, formed the basis of my interest in trying to understand men and masculinities as interrelations of multiple sites of power and difference through a critical framework.

Despite being a young(ish), white cis-het man, I have often become the "go-to" person for teaching on anything related to gender inequalities. The irony of "feminist men" as accruing greater status and respect for ideas which stem from the experiences of and theorising by marginalised groups is not lost on CSMM scholars (Messner et al. 2015). Reflexivity requires a continual critique of power in its various forms and is important not only in terms of thinking what expectations the students come with but who we are as teachers and what our expectations or preconceptions.

Engaging students in these discussions starting from their own personal music histories is important. Instrument selection, especially, is notoriously divided along binary lines across countries and time

periods (Wych 2012). Whilst gendered preferences for some instruments have undoubtedly shifted in line with changing gender norms (for example the cello and flute), popular music instruments (bass, guitar, drums, vocals) remain highly gendered in terms of the numbers who choose these specialisations at universities. Personally, and *very consciously*, I started playing electric guitar because I was never any good at football and because I thought it would bring some kind of peer status and respect (it did, in *extremely* limited quantities). As argued elsewhere (de Boise 2018), the fact that instrument selections have been made often by the ages of 6 or 7, and that music academies and conservatories recruit musicians who have been an intimate knowledge of instrumental performance, means that by their very nature these institutions have an in-built quantitative bias. The question then becomes not whether there are quantitative differences in course selection but the extent to which these are problems.

Defining gender equality in terms of HME, concretely means thinking about the extent to which we couch our argument in terms of quantity (how many people of different genders are represented), quality (how we construct representational categories and judge individuals and aesthetic standards differently based on what we know about the individuals performing or composing) and ethics (how should people behave towards each other and why?). In practice, all three are important. In focusing solely on quantity, we miss issues of quality. It is easy, for instance, to fall into the common framing of activities or practices where women are well-represented as of implicitly less value.

What Professor Husu's work and approach suggests is that there is no one definition of gender equality; some academics focus on emphasising sameness, others on difference, some aim for a radical overhaul of systematic inequalities whilst others want reform within pre-existing structures (Hearn and Husu 2016). This means that there are no easy answers for either us as practitioners or for our students. As "go-to" people on matters of gender equality in our respective subjects, the best we can do to encourage criticality and to take the time to respond to our students with the same kind of patient understanding as Professor Husu's did in talking to those lecturers.

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A sentimental journey

Friendship with Liisa Husu

Jan Currie

MY FRIENDSHIP WITH Liisa Husu began serendipitously. We met in Adelaide where we were attending the Sixth International Interdisciplinary Congress on Women in 1996. South Australia is known for its wineries and the Congress organisers provided abundant samples. At the evening reception, Liisa suggested that we rent a car and tour the wineries the next day. We had picked out the wines we liked best and decided we would start with those wineries. We were joined by Liisa's friend from Finland, Maaret Wager, a social psychologist. It was a very relaxing drive through the South Australian hills as we exchanged our research ideas and personal histories.

This was the beginning of a 25-year friendship that brought us together at numerous conferences because of our shared interest in feminist research. The next time we met was in 1999 at the same interdisciplinary conference held in Tromsö, Norway, where participants experienced the Summer Solstice. The theme of the Tromsö conference was Think Global, Act Local. Liisa is the epitome of this idea since she forms global networks that work on local issues ensuring that women become change agents, especially in their universities. At this conference, Liisa and Louise Morley launched an international network, 'Women in Higher Education' of 100 researchers from 20 countries across five continents interested in exploring gender and power in academe. They also published the proceedings of this conference, 'Academe and gender: what has and has not changed' (Husu & Morley 2000).

Liisa has been an excellent researcher, networker, and grant getter; she has also been a change advocator. She identified a number of strategies needed in the academy and brought together researchers from many countries to examine what could work to alter the patriarchal order in their universities. Even before completing her PhD, her co-edited book, *Hard work in the academy: research and interventions on gender inequalities in higher education* (Fogelberg et al. 1999), was a collection of articles arising from the first, of now ten, European conferences on gender equality in higher education held in Helsinki in 1998. Her doctoral and subsequent research has been at the forefront of analyses on the position of women in universities and identified ways to improve their employment opportunities and their roles within the academy.

In the 1990s, drawing on the research that Liisa and others had done, I began a research agenda examining how globalisation was affecting universities and in particular the impact it was having on women in the academy. Bev Thiele, Patricia Harris and I (2002) analysed the emergence of the new managerialism in two Australian universities. We found universities to be more aggressive and patriarchal as they moved to adopt a free market ideology and became more globalised. The result of these changes was to have a profound effect on the nature of universities as this neo-liberal idea supplanted universities public interest and they increasingly became privatised. The resultant move towards more accountability and a performativity agenda increased stress and mistrust among staff. Many of the Australian Vice Chancellors developed a 'CEO hubris' that allowed them to take charge and make decisions quickly that were not always in the university's long-term interests. They came close to Surowiecki's description of the new American CEOs as the Green Berets of corporate management', the 'swaggering outsider who rides into town to clean up the mess' that a previous CEO left behind' (2001). The restructuring of universities became the game that academics began to recognise as each new vice-chancellor exerted a unique branding and streamlined the university's organisational chart causing significant upheaval each time.

Liisa was an excellent networker. Her ability to connect with people from a variety of countries was the genesis for the creation of the GEXcel Research Centre at two Swedish universities: Örebro and Linköping. GEXcel was one of the three Gender Centres of Excellence funded by the Swedish Research Council on a temporary basis from 2007 to 2013. It has now expanded to three universities in Sweden: Karlstad, Linköping, and Örebro. As one of the Co-Directors, Liisa brought together researchers from many different European countries and across the globe. The centre was to focus on transnational, intersectional and transformative gender research. I was fortunate to receive a Senior Scholar Fellowship at the centre enabling me to do research on pay equity strategies in two Swedish universities (Currie 2012). I presented findings from this research at the Swedish International GEXcel Conference, Gender Paradoxes in Academic and Scientific Organisations (2011) (see Strid & Husu 2013). Professor Teresa Rees, one of the participants at the conference, summed

up the conference's research findings: the need for persistence and resilience in the fight for gender equality: "Patriarchy is like play dough, it keeps changing its shape." Thus, researchers and activists have to create new strategies continually to combat patriarchy in our universities and in societies generally.

Liisa and I connected as two feminists researching women in higher education and as two women going through emotional changes at the same time. Liisa and I were forming new relationships and making important decisions that would change the course of our academic careers and our personal lives. By chance I had met her current partner, Jeff Hearn, as a keynote speaker at an International Colloquium held at The Australian National University in July of 1992. He was one of two males who had been invited to talk about the dialectics of work/care. He presented his ideas about the gender of oppression and masculinities. As one of the convenors with Carol Bacchi, Joan Eveline and Bev Thiele, we published a small report from the proceedings (1992) in which we identified the need to move society from a 'rationality of the market' to one characterised by a 'rationality of care'. The colloquium felt there was a need to 'shift the ground' from the concentration on women as the problem to changing men's behaviour.

In 2005, Liisa invited my husband, Paul Snider, and me to Helsinki for a symposium. By chance we were able to participate in an evening of celebration after one of her PhD students presented her oral defence. Liisa decorated her house with lighted candles in every window, on every table, creating a magical feeling of being transported into another realm. It was another side of Liisa's personality that was revealed to me, her ability to create a mystical scene and enhance the enjoyment of her academic community. Another talent of hers that I discovered while at Örebro was her ability to name every flower she saw by its Latin taxonomy.

Over the years, Liisa and I were to meet many times at other conferences, such as the International Sociology Congress in the Research Committee 32 on Women, Gender and Society. She has kept her membership in that section. Feeling a need to give more of a gender perspective to another committee, she recently joined the Board of RC23, Sociology of Science and Technology. It is evident from my many years of getting to know Liisa that she does not shy away from leadership opportunities but takes the rein and expands networks so wherever her mark is felt the lives of women are improved and feminist research about women takes centre stage.

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The meeting between feminist studies and art

Ann-Dorte Christensen

I MET LIISA back in the 1980s when each of us held a position as a national coordinator of Women's Studies, Liisa in Finland and I in Denmark. Together with coordinators from the other Nordic countries, we had the very interesting task of initiating and coordinating national activities as well as Nordic and international cooperation within Women's Studies (later Gender Studies or Feminist Studies). The national teams as well as the Nordic coordination had public funding, and these resources had a significant influence on building up Feminist Research in the Nordic countries. Liisa's position, which lasted from 1981-1996, was defined as Senior Adviser in the Finnish gender equality machinery (Council for Equality between Women and Men and Equality Ombudsman's Office), based at either the Prime Minister's Office or the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health; and she had a stronger position and more power as 'a state feminist' than the coordinators in the other Nordic countries, as we typically were placed in uncertain and marginalised university positions. Liisa also became the first Chair of the Board of the newly created Nordic Institute for Women's Studies and Gender Research established by the Nordic Council of Ministers in 1995.

As introduced in the Preface to this book, Liisa has also had an impressive scientific career – at different university institutions in Finland, as a full professor at Örebro University, and in a lot of international cooperation and committees. Her contribution to gender in science, academia and knowledge production in the Nordic countries and internationally is unique. To me, she is one of the feminist researchers who has continued most persistently and competently to keep the academic and political focus on the underrepresentation of women in academia.

Liisa and I got to know each other in 1988. We had met before at various Nordic coordinator meetings. However, in 1988 we had a very special meeting in Oslo and our professional relationship was expanded to include also a personal relationship. The occasion was the major women's conference Nordic Forum where we had the responsibility for at special programme on Nordic Women's Studies – presenting keynotes, research projects, and introducing organisations. There was a lot of work to be done and plenty of people everywhere. When we had finished our main tasks, we needed some leisure time before getting back into the huge conference programme. So Liisa suggested that we should go for a walk and as it turned out this walk, including visiting several places in Oslo, lasted for most of the rest of the day. There was a very strong connection, and suddenly we were not only state feminists and feminist researchers at work – we were also two women learning about the life of each other.

This meeting more than 30 years ago illustrates how I have known Liisa as a person who is able to combine a very strong professional identity and position both as a state feminist and a committed feminist researcher with the creative and expressive sides of her life. This is very visible in the ways in which she relates to other people, but it is also very evident when she talks about her many and very different 'doings in life'.

The aim of this chapter is to elaborate on this combination between research and creativity through a meeting between art and feminist research. The background is that back in 2013 I became involved, via my research, in artistic processes that opened my eyes to the ways in which the two fields can benefit each other, and thus how art can be a creative partner in feminist research.

FEMINIST RESEARCHER ON BOARD THE LIFE-BOATS

Back in 2013, I had the pleasure of getting onboard the art project, Life-boats, created by visual artist, Marit Benthe Norheim. The Life-boat project consists of three sailing sculpture ships called "My ship is loaded with Longing"; "My ship is loaded with Life"; and "My ship is loaded with Memories".

The three ships symbolise different stages in women's lives: Yearning: the young women ready to embark on life; Life: midway in life and pregnancy; Memories: the ageing woman. The third ship carries 18 sculptural figureheads based on interviews with women over 70 years of age who come from different cultures and have lived or worked in several countries.

The figureheads on the third ship and their life stories constitute the core of my collaboration with Norheim. I was introduced to the ideas behind the Life-boats on several occasions, and when we realised that Norheim's ideas with figureheads based on women's generations and migration narratives were close to my sociological and feminist research we started our partnership. Eventually, I defined a research project related to the memories and the life stories of the 18 figureheads. The narratives

thus make up the foundation for the sculptural figureheads, as well as for the sociological analysis of the women's memories and everyday life across borders. Together the art project and the research project have mobilised gendered memories from a group of women who are rarely given a voice in public.[1]

Photo: Claus Ørntoft

DISREGARDED VOICES, HOME MAKING, AND MEMORIES ABOUT WAR

With elderly women as its focal point, the project introduces disregarded voices that are rarely heard in the media, in culture, and in history. However, these voices provide insights into how women have approached fundamental life conditions across borders and cultural divides in a creative way (Gullestad 1985). We also learn how they have handled opportunities and challenges of their everyday lives in relation to family, work, children and love. At the same time, the voices possess important knowledge about society's local and global development over the past eight decades, just as they put focus on movements across national borders, both voluntary movements, and movements forced by war and conflicts.

1 The overall results from the project are published in the book *A Shipload of Women's Memories. Narratives across Borders.* Christensen and Norheim (2017). For more information about the art project Life-boats, see http://life-boats.wixsite.com/life-boats-english. The research project "Life stories and transnational experiences: An encounter between narrative, text and art" received financial support from The Spar Nord Foundation.

Focusing on narratives across borders underlines that the correlation between gender and societal development is in no way constrained by nation-states or specific regions. Ulrich Beck has pointed to the relationship between the local and the global, and emphasised that globalisation is not only about economy and market, but also about social relations and lived lives anchored in specific local contexts. When Beck stated that globalisation has voices, faces, eyes and tears, he stressed that globalisation is a fact and a process that affects everyday lives and the intersectional social and gendered relations (Beck 1992, 60). This applies whether we live in a gigantic city like Shanghai, in an African village or in the outskirts of Northern Jutland (Lu & Wang 2015; Faber & Pristed 2016; Reading 2016).

The project of giving these elderly women voices and making their experiences visible includes women with a Western background, as well as women with a post-colonial background (Gullestad 1985; Gilligan 1982; Mohanty 2003, 2014). The gender perspective is unfolded as an intersectional approach where the categories of gender and age are combined and interact with other categories, such as class and ethnicity. Rather than reducing the significance of gender, the intersectional approach emphasises that gender is socially differentiated and that categories such as age, class and ethnicity co-construct gender and age (Davis 2008; Phoenix 2011; Christensen & Jensen 2012).

The concepts of *home and home making* are contested within feminist research due to the fact that women's existence throughout history has to a large degree been dominated by patriarchy where serving and supporting men in home and family has been a significant part of the suppression of women (de Beauvoir 1961). However, I will argue that it is possible to maintain a feminist approach and at the same time accept that it is important – at least in relation to some groups of women – to focus also on dwelling and home as a creative practice in women's everyday life. To follow this argument, I have been inspired by especially two feminist researchers.

The first one is *Marianne Gullestad* who identifies 'Home' as the melting pot of everyday life and as a tool to study ordinary people's ordinary lives. She argues that home is a 'grey zone' surrounded by family, social networks and kinships. Furthermore, Gullestad argues that everyday analyses will often have a substantial focus on home because this is from

where we move around every day and where we always return. This means that a focus on family and intimate relations does not imply that we lose sight of the 'big perspectives'. On the contrary, Gullestad argues that it is precisely in the home and in everyday lives that people connect and unite the different roles and I in which they participate. (Gullestad 1989, 1992).

My second source of inspiration is *Iris Marion Young.* Young acknowledges the deeply problematic patriarchal values often attached to the concept of home. However, she also argues that the idea of home is a complex ideal and the practices of 'home making' also support personal and collective identities. Young argues that 'home making' is a broader concept than housework, and she emphasises that not all 'home making' is routinised housework. Home making is also about social relations and identities. She states:

> *the idea of home and the practice of home-making support personal and collective identity in a more fluid and material sense, and that recognizing this value entails also recognizing the creative value to the often unnoticed work of many women.* (Young 1997: 164)

Thus, Young suggests a more positive recognition of home and its normative values and she highlights especially two dimensions, which are relevant for the elderly women onboard the Life-boats. The first one is that home is related to safety – everybody needs a place where they can be safe. In principle, home is a safe place, which also means that is it connected with suffering and pain if you don't have a safe home, due for instance to domestic violence, persecution or expulsion because of war. The second dimension highlighted by Young is that home is related to a process of materialisation and identity – home is the space where people keep their belongings of their lives. This means that material things, spaces and bodily habits and routines become layered with meanings, symbols, and narratives. The home has a story of a person, a family, and across generations (Young 1997).

Due to the fact that many of the life stories on board the Life-boats included experiences of war and persecution, the perspective of disregarded voices is put into perspective in relation a feminist account of war and persecution. Many of the 18 life stories contain narratives about wars and conflicts with great impact on the women lives, more specifically the following seven great wars: The Vietnam War, World War II, the Balkan Wars, the conflict in Palestine, two Somalian wars and the current war in Syria. Some of the wars we encountered more than once; for example, we hear about World War II in Denmark, Germany, Norway, Poland, France, India and Japan. An important inspiration for this analytical perspective on the women's voices has been the Belarussian author and documentarist Svetlana Alexievich's book *War's unwomanly face* (1984), which has brought out women's voices from the war. Even though Alexievich focuses on the women who went to the front in the former Soviet Union during the Second World War, her approach to "the unnoticed eyewitnesses and participants" and the significance of war as an emotional event have fertilised and inspired my analyses. Furthermore, Alexievich is an excellent example of how profound insights can be brought out through the ignored voices from "common women's genuine lives" (p. 11). According to Alexievich, women have a different perspective on the war than men; it is less about heroes and heroism, and more about human doings.

RESEARCH DESIGN, METHODS AND DATA

The sociological analysis of the women's life stories has been conducted in close collaboration with Norheim and her creation of the Life-boats art project. Thus, the project is a unique example on a concrete meeting between art and science, because the dynamic interplay between the analytical, the creative and the aesthetical elements has been the basis for the artistic creation of the figureheads as well as the sociological analysis of the life histories.

The interviewees were selected strategically in order to ensure maximum variation in the material, especially in terms of country of origin, social background, ethnicity and religion. The primary selection criteria have been that the women should be over 70 years of age and have lived or worked in several countries. Thus, voices from five continents and 27 countries are included (Asia, Europe, the Middle East, Africa and the USA).[2] In terms of social background, the narrators represent a great diversity from the cultural elite to working class women as well as refugees who have lost

everything. This diversity also includes race, ethnicity and religion. The interviews were conducted in the period 2012-2016 in Denmark, and all narrators except two have resided her.[3]

The analyses of the women's voices are based on *a biographic narrative approach* (Riesmann 2008; Phoenix 2013) emphasising two elements with special importance for this analysis: One is *turning points*, i.e. fateful moments and unforeseen events in a life that cause major changes or revisions in a life. Examples are war, illness, love or death; in other words, situations or events that have a decisive influence on the future life course and narrative (Strauss 1959; Giddens 1991). The other element is the relationship between *the big and the small stories.* Even though life stories are anchored in individual lives and a certain, societal context, biographic research interprets them as extremely important sources of knowledge about "the big narrative" and thus about major historical and societal changes, for example the Balkan Wars, 9/11 in New York, or the fall of the Berlin Wall.

This means that although focus is on individual people's life stories and turning points, the stories are also a source of knowledge about collective memories and major societal changes. Some scholars might even say that major societal changes, which are never "without subjects" and without human action, are best understood if they are related to a biographic-narrative perspective (Kupferberg 2012; Phoenix 2013; Christensen & Thomsen 2016; Stoltz 2020).

This inextricable link between the big and the small stories is expressed excellently by Alexievich:

2 The women have their roots in Vietnam, Greenland, Somalia, France, Bosnia, Japan, Germany, Poland, Norway, USA, New Zealand, the Congo, Tanzania, Syria, China/Taiwan, South Africa, Australia, England, Palestine, Greece, India, Israel, Turkey, Iran, Botswana, Zambia and Denmark.

3 Most of the women were interviewed in Danish, a few in English. Four interviews were conducted via interpreters who were either professionals or relatives of the women. The interviews were taped and some of them transcribed. All portraits have been approved by the interviewees. The analyses are based primarily on these interviews, but supplemented with other sources like paintings, poems, songs, relevant books and other written material. I have conducted 10 interviews, 7 was conducted by journalist Marianne Knudsen and 1 interview was conducted by Marit Benthe Norheim.

> *I meet brilliant storytellers. Pages of their life stories are comparable to the best pages in the literary classics. It is when they see themselves quite clearly, both from the heaven above; and the earth below. They see all the way; from the highest to the lowest, from the angel to the animal. Their memories are not a passionate or dispassionate recalling of a reality that has disappeared. First of all they are a process of creation. Telling is creating and 'writing' your life.* (Alexievich 2015: 11, author's translation)

Below I will present two of the women's narratives based on my analysis and illustrated with Marit Benthe Norheim's sculptures and sketches. The photos in the text are courtesy of Norheim.[4] I have chosen two narratives about war and displacement where the perspectives on home making and motherhood are very visible. Subsequently I will discuss the crosscutting perspectives in the two women's narratives and not least how the analysis has been deepend and qualified by the meeting with the art project.

Sculpture and sketches: Marit Benthe Norheim
Photo: Claus Ørntoft

4 For extended versions of the women's narratives, see Christensen and Norheim 2017.

CAMILA ISANOVIC

Camila Isanovic is from Bosnia-Herzegovina. She grew up near Mostar where her parents had a small farm. The family were Bosnian Muslims. Camilla was born during World War II where times were rough in the rural areas, and after the war it was hard to get clothes and food. Camila left school early to work at the farm. She tended to the animals and during summers she worked in the field. Camila lived on the farm until she was 26 and married Hassan. They moved to Foca near Tucla. Camila really liked living in Foca. She and Hassan had two sons and a daughter. Hassan was a very skilled carpenter and he was hired by a state-owned company. Camila took care of home and children, and she tended to a large orchard, animals and land. There was a strong sense of community, and neighbours helped each other harvest or other work in the fields. It was a social neighbourhood with singing, parties and dancing, and the family prospered. The home was restored: When Camila moved in, she had to walk far to fetch water, but they installed running water and electricity; they renovated the house and built a new stable. Their children also did well and all of them started an education. Then the war came and ruined everything.

The war in Bosnia, which lasted from 1992 to 1995, was a fight between the country's three ethnic groups: Serbs, Croats and Bosnians. Camila and her family were Bosnian Muslims, which was the largest group, but also the group that was hardest hit by the war and the ethnic cleansing.[5] In 1992, ethnic cleansing hit Foca where Camila lived. People in the town had heard how villages close by were burned down. The village and the homes were no longer a safe place. Soon after, soldiers from Montenegro arrived and told them to leave their homes immediately unless they wanted to be killed. They were not allowed to take anything with them and had to leave the place they had spent 25 years building. "We had fought so hard and worked so much, and suddenly it was all gone!", says Camilla.

With great commotion, fear and insecurity, the family was evacuated to Macedonia, but worst of all the family was split up during the evacuation. The oldest son was separated from the rest of the family and

5 The Serbian forces' massacre in Srebrenica in 1995 where they killed 8,000 Muslim men and boys is the most infamous. A UN court has ruled that this massacre is genocide, and Bosnian-Serb leader Radovan Karadzic was convicted of this crime at a war crimes tribunal in The Hague in March 2016.

sent to war where he was killed one year later. This has been the most painful loss in Camila's life. It has haunted her ever since along with the other experiences from the war, and the violent memories appear in thoughts and dreams. In Camila's own words, she has had a brutal fate.

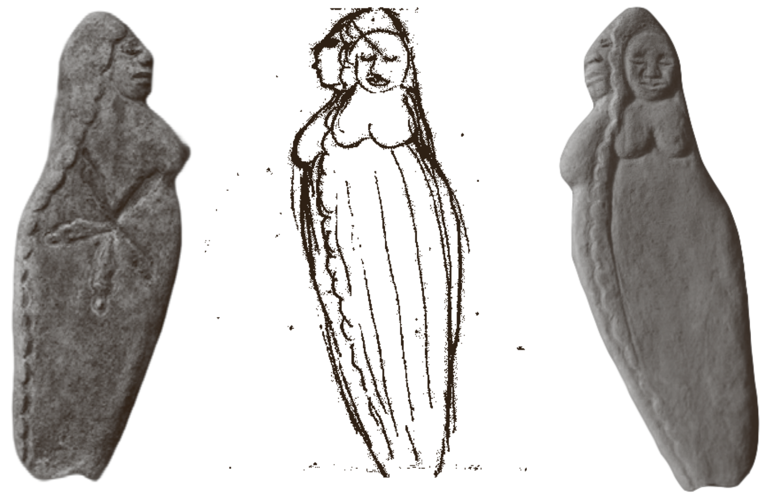
After the escape from Bosnia, Camila, Hassan and two of their children arrived at a refugee camp in Macedonia. They were safe, but it was hard to accept that one of their sons was not with them, and the uncertainty about his fate overshadowed everything. Their mental resources were low, which did not make it easier to live four people in one double bed and 12 people in one room. Later Camila and her family came to Denmark where she and her children are still living after her husband passed away a few years ago.

HALIME SOFE FARAH

Halime Sofe Farah was born in Somalia and has lived in Denmark for 22 years. Halime has 14 half siblings and was born in a rural area where her father herded animals. Halime was only 6 months old when her mother died; shortly after, her father died as well, and when Halime was 3 years old, both her grandparents, who had taken care of her, died. An aunt who lived in the capital Mogadishu offered to take Halime, who therefore moved from the countryside to the city. Halime became fond of her aunt, who treated her well and understood her, especially Halime's early gift for poetry and storytelling. Her talent manifested itself when she was 7, and at age 10 she was already widely recognised.

Halime's poems reflect her political engagement and her love of Somalia. In her early youth, she actively joined movements for Somali independence and against the occupying colonial powers. In the late 1940s and 1950s, Halime became actively involved in the Somali Youth Leage's (SYL), which played a crucial role in obtaining Somali independence in 1960. Halime's poems about freedom and co-determination were her major contribution to the struggle for independence. During that same period, Halime married her first husband and had two sons. Sadly, one of the sons and the husband died, while the children were small. Halime later remarried, and she had three daughters, and one of them died as a child. Halime's second husband died in a car crash.

The many deaths have caused a lot of sorrows and ruptures in Halime's life. However, 1991 became an especially painful turning point when civil war broke out in Somalia, and 20 rival clans began their brutal struggle against each other. During this war, Halime's only remaining son was shot in Mogadishu. The civil war and the murder of her son also drove Halime to flee; first to a refugee camp near the Kenyan border and later to Nairobi. Right after the war broke out, Halime's youngest daughter had fled to Denmark. Her oldest daughter suffered from the effects of the war, which left her mildly brain damaged and blind. Halime and her oldest daughter obtained family reunification in Denmark. They have lived for 22 years in the same flat in Gellerup, a suburb of Aarhus, and Halime has cared for her disabled daughter.



Sculpture and sketches: Marit Benthe Norheim
Photo: Claus Ørntoft

In her poems, Halime has described her encounter with Denmark, which she basically sees as positive. In particular, she emphasises freedom and safety and the very good conditions for caring for her daughter. Halime sees Denmark as her second country and Somalia as her first. Halime's feelings of belonging with Somalia is primarily related to the struggle for freedom, but she also associates the country with specific sensory experiences like camel's milk and sunshine. Halime's primary form of expression is her stories and poems, which she has produced all her life. The poems were never written down, but Halime remembers them.

Poems and stories are Halime's preferred outlets for feelings, life values and experiences. In her flat in Aarhus, Halime found peace, freedom and protection against war and assaults. She has been able to create a safe place for herself and the daughter, who needs her help and care. The flat is decorated with a lot of memories and symbols from Somalia for instance the Somalian flag. Staying in touch with Somalia and the Somali community allows Halime to continue her struggle for freedom in Somalia, which started all way back in the colonial times.

VOICES ABOUT FAMILIES, HOME MAKING, AND WAR

When people are confronted with war, it always becomes a major turning point in their life stories because war fundamentally changes everyday conditions and social relations. In the two selected narratives, the war experiences have been a part of the two women's lives since their childhood and a fateful moment in their narratives with particularly consequences for their future lives (Giddens 1991). This is related not only to the flight but also to the painful loss of sons and husbands. In the Somalia wars and conflicts, the women have been staying in the communities while the men have left the families forced to join the army. Halime lost several sons and husbands. When the war came to Croatia men and sons were sent to war and Camila and Hassan lost their son during their displacement.

In both Camila's and Halime's narratives, the gendered experiences are closely related to civil society, family and motherhood. Women have been an active part in building strong communities and they have handled the main responsibility for the family. In Camila's narrative home making and home as a safe place is a crosscutting plot in her life story – she emphasises the prosperity and the community of the home – it is a basic, meaningful and substantial part of the everyday life, the social relations, and the married life and upbringing of her children. The loss of the home as a part of the ethnic cleansing was not only a loss of the material things and belongings – it also symbolises the fatal loss of relations. Halime's narrative is characterised by a variety of home making in the Somalian context whereas she strongly underlines the importance of the flat

in Denmark as a safe place for her and her disabled daughter and a place where she can collect the memories of her homeland for which she is still struggling for freedom and recognition.

When I visited the homes of Camila and Halime it was very obvious to me that both of them had organised their homes as a safe space which combined their memories of the past and their places of origin with the new routines developed in in relation to their new conditions for their everyday life in Denmark.

THE MEETING WITH THE ART PROJECT…

In her book, *Composing a life,* American cultural anthropologist Mary Bateson discusses the creative potential contained in complex life stories and in encounters between different disciplines. In her view, creative thinking is a common result of encounters and intersections between different disciplines.

> *At the center of any tradition, it is easy to become blind to alternatives. At the edges, where lines are blurred, it is easier to imagine that the world might be different. Visions sometimes arise from confusion*
> (Bateson 1989: 73)

The point about venturing to the edge of one's profession is a good description of the process I experienced with the women's narratives and the Life-boat project. I have found it a very enriching process that the voices and the texts I have been working with should also be materialised in a sculptural expression. This has been a 'new layer' and an extra dimension added to the analytical work. Let me illustrate this in relation to Camila's and Halime's narratives. In both the narratives (as well as in many of the other narratives in the Life-boat project) I experienced the limitations of the written words in terms of expressing the fateful moments, pain and suffering. Should I and could I for instance write a "tale of suffering" like Svetlana Alexievich does when she as a documentarist wants to provide proof of the evil and the scope of war? Especially in working with the experience of war, I realised that Norheim and the art project was capable of using other grips than the text to express the feelings and the spoken and unspoken pain and longing.

If you look at the pictures and sketches of the sculptural expression of Camila you can see that Norheim for instance include her children and her tears. In the case of Halime she also includes the blind daughter who takes up most of the body on the one side of the sculpture. On the other part of the sculpture, all five children of Halime are integrated as a star like in the Somali flag. In this way Norheim actively includes symbols in her artistic presentation. In Camila's case, this symbol is a curtain. In her motivation for Camila's sculpture Norheim writes: "For the figurehead of Camila Isanovic I have chosen to use that which I saw as a lavish "curtain scenography" in her apartment, with pleats, flounces and folds, as a kind of stage curtain for the heart region where, on one side, it opens onto a face and, on the other side, there is an absence of it" (Christensen and Norheim 2017, 44). It is noteworthy that the curtain in Camila's sculptural expression as well as the Somali flag in Halime's case underlines that home making and home as a location has a story as a space where belongings, material things, decoration become layered with symbols and meanings of a person and a family across generations (Gullestad 1989; Young 1997; Blunt & Dowling 2006). Altogether, my point is that the cooperation with Norheim and the Life-boat art project has extended my analytical grip and made it possible to deepen the analysis and include more creative perspectives related to feelings, intuition, and symbols.

But what did the cooperation mean for the artist? Norheim has expressed it in this way:

> *As artist, I am normally introvert and intuitive during idea development, and the visual expression is usually in place before the words. However, the intensive dialogue with the researcher and her analytical processes has expanded my horizon. It has challenged my articulation, also visually […] We were both looking for the same thing: reach a core in each woman's story and personality that would illuminate or reinforce and emphasize the artistic idea of the project as well as the academic insight.* (Marit Benthe Norheim in: Christensen & Norheim 2017: 7)

Despite fundamental differences, art share with the social and human sciences great similarities, and there is a great potential to develop their mutual interaction. For example, researchers may include art in their understanding of society. A well-known example is Donna Haraway, who in her understanding of cyborgs and other non-human animals has worked closely with artists and activists (see e.g. Haraway 2016). Another example is Bruno Latour, who in his confrontation with modernity in practice has shown how art can break down the distinctions between nature/culture/religion by promoting dynamic and not fixed understandings (see e.g. Latour 1998). A third example is the South African project "Life of bone – art meets sciences". Its point of departure is skulls and earthly remains from different historical situations, and its intention is to foster dialogue and collaboration between artists and a cross-disciplinary research team. One of the many elements in the project is Kopano Ratele's contribution concerning testimony from the Apartheid era and relatives' desperate struggle to find the earthly remains of the victims (Brenner et al. 2011; Ratele 2011).

PERSPECTIVES: TOLD AND UNTOLD STORIES

In discussing women's disregarded voices, I have argued that it is important to give elderly women a voice and include their narratives in history. I am still sure that this is a very important goal. However, through the process of working with part of these tales about war, persecution and pain, I also realised the ambiguity of this goal, because alongside the wish to pass on the stories, the events are often shrouded by silence both at an individual and a collective level (Connerton 2008; Hamelink 2016). In the Lifeboat study we have met women who waited decades to break the silence for instance about their Holocaust experiences. The question of silence has been a topic in sociology and testimonial literature. "To write poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric", is a famous and controversial quote by Theodor W. Adorno. No matter which of the many interpretations of the quote one choose, it highlights the Holocaust as a significant divide in the history of civilization as well as the impotence of the written word and art (here poetry) in terms of depicting the suffering (Adorno 1949/1983: 34).

The discussion of individual and collective memories and testimony puts into focus not only what is said but also what is left unsaid and the silence (Connerton 2008). At a collective level, the question of testimony and "narratives about the truth" has been an important and controversial topic in terms of atonement and justice. In relation to the Holocaust, testimony was given through international criminal courts (e.g. the Nuremberg process). However, the issue has also been raised in the wake of colonialism and other oppressive regimes and has given rise to widespread debate and conflict (Stoltz 2020).

After the end of the Apartheid regime in South Africa, The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was formed, which – along with Nelson Mandela's ideas about forgiveness and reconciliation – should contribute to unite blacks and whites. The expectation of the organisers of the TRC was that if the victims of apartheid could narrate their experiences of violation then it could be a step forward, so that the past would no longer overshadow the future. The assessment today is that the Commission may have succeeded in digging up past oppression, but it is doubtful whether the relationship between blacks and whites has been improved by this process. (Andrews 2003; Krog et al. 2009). According to Krog, Mpolweni and Ratele, one of the reasons for this is that many of the testimonies did not fit into the general framework of the TRC because they were anchored in a divisive past and reproduced old cultural, racial and geographical divisions. One of the consequences was that many testimonies were disregarded because they were not seen as clear and straightforward narratives of victimhood (Krog et al. 2009, see also Ratele 2011).

Altogether, 'giving voices' and 'telling stories' is a very complicated process that must take into account the different positions the victims are talking from, for instance in relation to gender and race. At the same time, it is crucial to be aware of the existence of a variety of silences that are related to both an individual level and a structural level about collective memories.

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The future of gender equality in academia, and what I learnt from Liisa Husu about it

Anne-Charlott Callerstig

HOW CAN IT BE that women after decades in the academia, despite increasing in numbers, are still not becoming professors, getting research grants, being cited or celebrated to the same degree or in the same ways as their male colleagues? What does it take to achieve gender equality in academia? Is it even possible?

We know today how gender is a fundamental element of organisational structure and work life, visible in most organisations' processes, practices, images and ideologies, and in the distribution of power (Acker 1992: 567). These processes relate to the organising of general requirements of work and class hierarchies: recruitment and hiring processes; wage setting and supervisory practices; and informal interactions while 'doing the work' (Acker 2006). Specific inequality regimes are produced where systematic disparities are visible in terms of who has the power and control over goals, resources, and outcomes; workplace decisions; opportunities for promotion and interesting work; security in employment and benefits; respect; pleasures in work and work relations and also in pay and other monetary rewards. Further, gender is often intertwined with other forms of inequalities such as ethnicity, class and age (Acker 2006).

Previous studies have convincingly shown how academic organisations are no exceptions to the above: on the contrary, academia at large is gendered in multitude ways with similar patterns across the globe (Husu 2001; National Academy of Science 2007; Caprile 2012; Al-Gazali et al. 2013; Bergman & Rustad 2013; Britton 2017; Fox et al. 2017). In Sweden, like in many other countries, there are gender inequalities and differences within academia in relation to many areas. This includes vertical and horizontal gender segregation, where women and men study, research and work in different locations and functions based on traditional gender patterns. Several initiatives to counteract gender inequalities in academia have been launched over the past decades in Sweden. Yet, change towards equality has been slow in most areas, sometimes the reverse has occurred. A recent report from the Swedish Higher Education Authority (UKÄ) shows that the number of newly employed female professors dropped in 2019 (Stening 2020). A strong belief in objectivity, meritocracy and gender neutrality has been commonplace and research itself is often assumed to occur in a "culture without culture" (Egeland 2001), while gender disparities remain largely intact and unquestioned, or assumed as the natural order of things.

In the last decades or so, and with the increasing number of women as students and researchers, questions have been raised about if, and in that case how, the conditions for women and men in academia differ. Studies have shown, on the one hand, how women fail to compete on the same terms as men and, on the other, that those same terms might in themselves be biased in various ways. There has been a growing recognition that the conditions might disfavour women, not in openly discriminatory behaviours, but rather in much more subtle and even un-noticed ways. *If this is true, how then can gender bias within the academia be detected and challenged?*

Gender inequality in academia is a tricky thing. It can of course sometimes be caused by blatant sexism and misogyny, but much more often it is likely to be something completely different and much more difficult to pinpoint. It can, for example, be the sum of many small unintended and often unnoticed *non-events* (Husu 2005). As Liisa Husu, who has spent a great deal of time researching the matter has taught me and many others, this is in fact often the case. A lot of the time we focus our critical gender researcher-eyes on hoping to find those processes and practices that cause and sustain inequalities. We turn to various scientific methods trying to prove their existence, while the precise nature of gender bias and the exact point of injustice often remain elusive. Yet, most women in academia (and elsewhere) know that they are present. They have themselves experienced how gender is something they have had to learn how handle – some of the time or even all of the time. It can also be that nothing seems to be going right regardless of the efforts spent in the pursuit. It can be as Liisa wrote, in a quote I have used many times:

> *What is happening can really be that "nothing happens" or that something that should happen in your career does not happen: you are not made visible, heard, read, cited or quoted, invited, encouraged, get no support and will not be validated.* (Husu 2005: 23)

This is an astonishing thought – inequality caused by things that are *not* happening. I have been fortunate to have worked as a researcher in several research projects together with Liisa. Our many tours, walking and talking, in various historical parts of cities, art museums and botanical parks that we have visited during our project trips in Sweden and abroad have taught me many things. It has become clear to me that pinpointing those exact situations when implicit norms turn into explicit disadvantages is not an easy task. On the contrary, it is in fact very difficult. I have come to understand and appreciate how persons like Liisa are great experts in seeing the minor things, or even the lack of things, or the seemingly insignificant things that nobody else pays attention to. Liisa notices this in many ways; she sees the potential of very small things, like the beauty in something growing that hardly has risen above the ground and in time will turn into a magnificent flower. Not only does she see such things, but she also cares about the history or context that created them. She has told me many stories and facts about what we have seen together on our trips, for example as about the persons behind many beautiful pieces of art or poetry or architecture who have remained forgotten in history, only because they happen to be the work of a person of the wrong gender, race or class or something else. Persons that could, and probably would, have become celebrated intellectuals or innovators given a different context and time in history.

Many times, she has pointed out to me astonishing but difficult-to-spot plants, paintings by artists I have never heard the name of, or a detail on a building that I would normally just have rushed by. But also, the seemingly insignificant signs of a larger and systematic pattern of small events that leads to greater injustices and in the end to the unfair division of power, influence and control; such as the means to create or develop using resources important to all (as in the academia). These signs are important and even more so – the mechanisms they conceal, which are not only difficult to pinpoint but even more so to connect in order to explain the bigger picture. The 'devil is in the detail´ as the saying goes, or the opposite – 'god' is in the detail, meaning that it is the concern of the little things that makes a great wholeness. How then can we get better eyesight; to learn how to be better observers? This too is something that I have become better at by working with Liisa. It is about accumulating knowledge. You practice, and you learn.

But I have also come to realise that it all starts, not just by acquiring the skills to become a great researcher, but with a *will* to see. It's like the web of codes that surrounds Trinity, Neo and Agent Smith in The Matrix movie. "You have to believe", as Morpheus, the head of the resistance movement, says to Neo – "to be able to see". You have to acknowledge your own position in an environment so normative that it is hardly ever questioned. It is not impossible, but it takes a trained eye to detect and see through them. Or in the case of Neo – a red pill offered as a short-cut to detach from the Matrix and thus being able to see it. At times, and when we do uncover the implicit and hidden, it is often so obvious, so shiny, even on the verge of being too painful for our vision. And then it is hard to believe that we could not see it just a minute ago. The causes of gender inequality have not vanished, as Meyerson and Fletcher pointed out twenty years ago, they have just gone underground (Meyerson & Fletcher 2000). This is the painful reality of discrimination, the daily workings of a system that goes largely unnoticed and unquestioned by most. Those who do point to the emperor's lack of clothes, the faults and the injustices, risk being met by denial or blamed to be oversensitive, even ridiculed. They are most often reassured that nobody wants to treat them unfair, that it is all in their heads. Or – that it is merely how the system operates – meaning no harm to anybody and if you only would try harder and adjust better, you will be just as likely to succeed as another person. Those who *do point to* the problem, risk *becoming the problem*. The Matrix's Agent Smith will come after you, multiplying into a myriad of Smiths, always rational, polite and properly dressed – anybody and nobody. Armed with terrifying tools build by the very same system – the Matrix – that you want to overturn. Ewen worse, the Matrix, cruelly and cleverly designed, is powered by those dominated by it; they are the system's human batteries, without realising it. It is the invisible brick wall that Sara Ahmed speaks about, and to those who do not come against it, the wall does not ever become apparent (Ahmed 2012). They need the red pill.

It is a system of underlying norms, detriment to our own and others' thinking, acting and way of life. It is systematic, yet implicit and invisible. It is the ancient story of things such as the "old boys club" where men socialise with other men, form networks and contacts that stay with

them throughout their careers. It is about who sits next to whom in a meeting room – a coincident in the moment but always following the same pattern. Spurred on by taken-for-granted, stereotypical beliefs about women's capabilities as researchers, leaders or as working moms. Sprung from deeply rooted assumptions about proper and non-proper behaviour of women and men in conversations, as presenters, project leaders, colleagues and as care takers within and outside of paid work. The "problem with no name" that Meyerson and Fletcher discussed (Meyerson & Fletcher 2000) does in fact have a name and that name is "Women in Science", turning women into a group in need of assistance to overcome *hinders* while the underlying norms remain unquestioned (Garforth & Kerr 2009). It is the essence or the implicit ideal of the (male) Researcher: he who over the decades has taken many new forms, changed his appearances to fit evolving ideals and discourses, but always with a solid and stable core; *changed but not changed*. In the end, it all boils down to norms about the nature of our deepest and inner most wishes in life, affecting not just women but also many men. Agent Smith does not tolerate anybody who steps out of line.

The system does not always work in the same way, or all the times, to make it even trickier. We know now that some situations, where there is a high level of structural ambiguity about such things as how to act and what to base decisions upon, can act as *gender triggers* (Riley & McGinn 2002; Husu & Callerstig 2019). The greater room there is for interpretations and negotiations in a particular situation, the higher the likelihood for gender to kick in as a determinant for how a person will behave. We tend to fall back on deeply rooted and gendered patterns of thinking and acting, especially in situations that are more "open" for interpretations. This goes for both women and men. We are all batteries in the doing of the *gender Matrix*. Gender triggers become apparent when researchers are evaluated for position or a research grant. It can be when something or someone is to be evaluated on unprecise criteria such as 'academic excellence'. It is the young female project leader who is judged as insecure based on the size and composition of the project team, while her ditto male competitor is deemed instead to be a strong team builder with the same set up. It is the reference to women as "her" and "she" and men as "the researcher" and "the project leader". It is the differences in the possibilities for women to produce articles, being stuck in teaching and academic "housekeeping" (Husu 2005; Kalm 2019). The same rules, the same qualifications – but different outcomes for women and men. It is the infamous glass-ceiling, labyrinth, sticky floors or invisible firewalls (Bendl & Smith 2010). Uphold by a myriad of Agent Smiths within academia, sometimes in the shape of the *academic gate-keepers* that Liisa writes about, who effectively open or shut the doors for those they know and prefer (Husu 2004). But it is also the larger question about *what counts* as important in academia, and *who counts*. Without teaching and the ongoing 'housekeeping', universities would seize – or never become – to be the well-functioning, productive and intellectual stimulating places we want them to be.

There is of course, and thankfully, the legal ban on discrimination and the protection of so-called vulnerable groups in society from the oppression of majority norms. Still, many contemporary scholars studying work-life discrimination point to exactly the same phenomena as Liisa: a change in the very *nature of discrimination,* from the more overt forms of bias and antipathy directed towards groups of people based on some perceived social group characteristics, to today's more implicit patterns of discrimination. Patterns that tend to be more subtle, display features of unconscious biases and being concealed in workplace structures that systematically create disadvantage and micro-injustices on a daily basis (Bielby 2000; Reskin 2000; Strum 2001; Hirsh 2009; Ahmed 2012; Rowe & Giraldo-Kerr 2017). These changes highlight the need to question policy measures based on individual, case-by-case law enforcements and sanctions, and to problematise how existing legal requirement to improve equal treatment and opportunities which can change the structural or systematic nature of contemporary and *systematic* patterns of inequality (Pedriana & Stryker 2004; Hirsh 2009). The message is clear - discrimination is more often not only an individual matter. It is not merely the unfortunate mistreatment of a person by another person or unfair rules or regulations creating privileges for some while excluding others, even though this of course can still be the case. But the large majority of unfair treatment might not even be possible to counter-act by law since the law is ill-suited for this type of discrimination patterns (Sturm 2001). What counts as and can be subjected to legal cases in courts of law, is in fact most likely just the top of a gigantic iceberg,

they do not cover the non-events or micro-injustices of everyday academic life. Besides being able to detect implicit gender bias we also need measures to change the structural, or underlying character, of them in the daily actions of organisations.

The good news is that change does happen, frequently and regularly, also in academia. The codes of the web of the Matrix are after all just codes, they can be changed if they are detected. It is not an easy task, but gender norms, and other norms can be challenged and changed. This too, is something that Liisa has shown in her research and in her many missions within academia. It is not a 'quick fix' as Liisa says, but it is not a mystery either.[1] In order to enable change and implement new objectives in organisations, different factors and preconditions are needed. To implement gender equality objectives is not so different from the implementation of other objectives, such as new teaching regulations or mechanisms to counteract climate change. At large, the same factors are important for implementation regardless of political field and sectoral domains. The process of turning objectives into results requires both ambition and buy-in, a thorough understanding and functional capacity of both managers and street-level implementers. A multitude of components needs to be put in place for implementation to be effective, including both soft and hard incentives, commitment from managers and staff, expert knowledge and careful planning. However, gender objectives do simultaneously differ from other policy areas in the way that they may challenge personal beliefs, identities and power structures. In such cases, implementation is even more complex (Matland 1995). When working with gender mainstreaming, both the underlying and implicit gendered beliefs and norms, and the more manifest rules have to be questioned (Callerstig 2014). These consist of 'deeply rooted habits of thought' (Wittbom 2015: 529) or the deep roots of organisations (Rao & Kelleher 2003). Implicit and taken-for-granted assumptions about women and men, female and male are deeply embedded (Acker 1992) as is hegemonic masculinity and its almost always unquestioned support of a male norm (Kronsell 2005). It takes the will to see and the desire to change.

1 Interview with Liisa Husu, who is a member of the Genie Advisory Board, about how to work with equality in academia and how it has been done historically (Karlsson 2019).

Besides the more general types of implementation factors, more specific peculiarities of academic organisations affecting the work have been pointed out. One example is how academia is characterised by its informal power structures that makes relationships and networks especially important for successful implementation. A strong local independence principle where both faculties, institutions and individual researchers stand strong against university top leadership, means that top-down gender equality initiatives inevitably will fail if they are not locally supported. Furthermore, and spurred on by a 'veto culture', many academics feel they have the right to oppose anything they see as wrongly affecting science, this particularly concerns what is perceived as political nonsense (Maurer 2010). The ´buy-in´ needed for successful implementation needs to be not just by academic top and formal leaders, but by the larger share of the organisation. If not, there is plenty of arguments that can be used by Agent Smith as to why the current order of things must be kept. One argument is that the system in itself, such as the principle of meritocracy, competition and survival of the fittest, is in essence fine, it only needs to function better. In the Matrix movie, it turns out that not all the 'liberated' are happy to see the matrix evolve and the order they have come used to dissolve. They want to go back and forget all about it. To live in the illusion. Change is difficult and sometimes even painful. Power will be disrupted. Status quo often turns out to be the easier option, especially for those who the system does not deprivilege in an obvious or open way. There is always the risk for setbacks and the re-ordering of the Matrix.

At Örebro University, as in other academic organisations where Liisa, and I, have worked, we have witnessed and often been asked to support – both strategically and practically – initiatives to promote gender equality. It is a paradox that what we research is played out in front of our very eyes every day. It affects us to the degree and in so many dimensions that it is virtually impossible to separate ourselves from the *belly of the beast* (Haraway 1991). We operate *within* the Matrix, as all researchers, and are affected by what we study. It makes it difficult, but it also gives us an advantage. We have experienced the dedication of many, the many small and occasionally the bigger wins, the hardship and struggle first-hand. It has taught us things as both insiders and outsiders of a system that we

care about to start with – that is important to us. We need to continue to discuss what matters and what is important, and most of all, and I think Liisa agrees with me, we need more research about not just how gender bias in academia can be detected and explained, but about how it can be changed. We need to not only detect the *doing of gender* but *the undoings* (Deutsch 2007).

To change a system is not a simple task. However, I do remain hopeful, that we, like those that did awaken to the Matrix, and endured it, can embark on the route towards a new future where gender equality is the new norm for academic life – and where the journey that Liisa has set out on will be followed by many.

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Speaking of/to gatekeepers (and gatekeeping)

Ida Maria Börjesson

IT IS FEBRUARY 2012 and I am sitting in a crowded restaurant in London when my phone rings. It's been almost a year since I finished the Master Programme in Gender Studies at Södertörn University, Sweden. Only one call for two PhD positions in Gender Studies was announced during that time. I had of course applied and even been asked to interview, but in no way was I thinking I would actually get the position. Let alone have Liisa Husu as my professor and main supervisor.

I had actually already become acquainted with Liisa Husu just four years earlier. I first came across her work during a degree project, in which I and a fellow student were to carry out a gender equality study at the Swedish Royal Institute of Art. The study was based on surveys and interviews with students and professors from the Fine Art Programme and focused on the impact of gender on the student-professor relationship. When searching for the right theoretical tools to analyse the material, I came across a report written by Liisa Husu for the Swedish National Agency for Higher Education; *Dold könsdiskriminering på akademiska arenor: osynligt, synligt, subtilt* (2005). This led me to her groundbreaking work: *Sexism, support and survival in academia* (2001). It was striking to see how similar her inquiry and findings of the gendered processes of science were to our case study in the arts. By pointing us to the subtle, informal and covert side of gender discrimination, she not only helped us problematise the impact of professor-student relationships on gender equality, but also to the role of the professors as gatekeepers – a role they themselves had either trouble detecting or lacked responsibility for in their day-to-day interactions with students. Although academia appears to be gender neutral, it is not.

Back to the London restaurant. Back to the phone call eight years ago. It is Liisa Husu. The restaurant is so crowded I can hardly hear her, but the message is clear: the position is mine should I chose to accept it.

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Report from a lab coat[1]

Tomas Brage

1 A not so elegant paraphrase of the title of the novel, *Rapport från en skurhink,* by Maja Ekelöf, which discusses everyday life as a cleaner, while at the same time discussing world changing events.

WE ALL RECOGNISE THE SITUATION, when a person is supposed to deliver a speech in honour of someone's birthday, wedding, retirement, work anniversary, and quickly ends up talking about themselves. Either directly or in hidden form. I am very much aware of this risk, when I choose the topic of this contribution, to present some "gender work" at a typical Science faculty. The aim is to look at the future and wish Liisa welcome as an external expert at the Science Faculty of Lund University. Here we look forward to that she will support our equality, diversity and inclusion (EDI) work in general and to review our education in particular. So I would like to take this opportunity to introduce the Faculty to Liisa, and thereby I am running the risk of talking about, not myself, but ourselves. But I think a roadmap and some speculations of what we have done and are doing could be valuable, while relating it to how Liisa's work has inspired us during the years.

But let me start by stating the importance of researchers and educators like Liisa. My supervisor, who was an experimental Physicist, once advised me to become a "tame" theoretician (oh dear, now I am talking about myself again). This was meant as a positive remark, since he referred to someone that chose topics of relevance for the experimentalists, found results that could support the development of experimental science, and present them in an understandable form for the non-experts in theoretical Physics. In this sense Liisa is for us natural scientists a "tame" sociologist, said without belittling her contribution to fundamental and deep research. Just to mention one of her contributions, she has by identifying the gender paradoxes (Husu 2013) we have to face, where change is painfully slow, guided us in how we can meet them and change our actions. She has through the identification of micro-aggressions made the everyday discrimination visible and apparent, and therefore opened up a new way for us to understand vertical segregation and leaking pipelines. Her international engagement in conferences on Gender Equality in Higher Education (GEHE) and international networks (e.g. GenPORT, ADVANCE, PROMOTEA, and Gender STE) has developed the field and led to important meetings across national, scientific and subject borders. And this is just highlighting a few of her achievements. It is impressive how Liisa's contributions are key in so many fields, which has become apparent in our work at the faculty level – no matter whether we work on cultural change, discrimination, gender dimension in Science or Scientific Literacy, we discover important and relevant contributions from Liisa. It is clear that when we in Lund were looking for an expert on gender and STEM, it was easy to recommend Liisa – and we are extremely happy that she accepted and we have her on board to support and evaluate our work.

The Faculty of Science in Lund is typical for a rather large, research-intensive university. Liisa has written about cases like us and will recognise many patterns. Many people here have high ideas about our excellence, are convinced about the merits and success of our meritocratic system and fight for the somewhat cloudy idea of academic freedom. EDI in general is all too often a second thought and sometimes seen as counteracting the quality of our research and taking time and effort away from our teaching of Natural Science. But, there are also glimmers of hope and initiatives and thanks to a supportive and open-minded leadership, we do have some important and interesting projects on the way. And we might even have started the road to finding and implementing tools for change in culture and content, to understand social and symbolic dimensions, to move from individual to structural discussions and to understand that EDI is a prerequisite for a relevant university, with excellent outcomes.

Close to two decades ago, Lund University did get some attention, including from among unexpected quarters, when we introduced and implemented a gendered certification project (Brage & Lövkrona 2016). The idea was to find criteria and evaluate institutions and their work on gender equality and perspectives (Rosenberg et al. 2007). The first step was to define what gender certification could mean, a task delegated to a project group, by defining criteria and advice on processes. When these were presented, three departments volunteered to be active in the project, maybe surprisingly two of them were from the Science Faculty – Physics and Geology. The project was possibly a bit premature, but it helped putting the topic on the agenda – at least in two of our departments. Early on it was clear that it is essential to work on change of the culture (at this time we hadn't even started to think about the change in subject, research and curricula for teaching) and Liisa's thought-provoking ideas and contributions were an early inspiration, among them to tell us that we had to fight the Scandinavian complacency stemming from the idea that Sweden was "the promised

land of gender equality" (Husu 2000). Unfortunately the resistance outside the participating departments were strong and it seemed to be conceived as a particular threat to combine the words "gender" and "discrimination" – and especially the chair of the project group was a clear target (Sampson 2008). Other similar projects have been more accepted and it is clear that the ambitious "certification scheme" of Athena Swan in UK is a success (*Athena Swan Charter* 2015; Donald et al. 2011).

In a later project we were clearly influenced by Liisa's research (Husu 2001), when we approached the field of harassment, sexual harassment and discrimination. The importance of addressing micro-aggressions and everyday (non-)events, became evident and a workshop was designed to create awareness and implement actions – we referred to it as the "See the Human Beyond" workshops (Brage 2016). By approaching this hard topic from a fairly non-threatening starting point, the Discrimination law (but with a norm-critical perspective), the workshops took the participants, via research, investigations, examples and value exercises, closer and closer to their own experience. By using cases and discussing suppressions, structural causes and counteractions, it is possible to get to the hard part – seeing the non-events in one's own experience and workplace. The workshop has been running within Lund, but has also been on tour to other faculties and universities. It has even been implemented in non-academic institutions, for example, schools and county-administrations, and, to our surprise, it was even requested for the Swedish Procuratorate (Åklagarämbetet) – an unexpected transfer of knowledge from the Natural Science Faculty!

When asking for ideas and requests on gender actions from the departments of the Faculty, a recurrent theme is mentoring programmes, a field that could have many pitfalls – resulting in only cementing the structures and "tricks-of-the-trade" in the career paths at the university. A clear risk is that it only focuses on "fix-the-women" actions. But there are examples of mentoring that at the same time work for structural change, brought forward and presented in for example the ADVANCE-programme (Husu et al. 2009). In Lund, we choose to also be inspired by the methods developed by Jennifer de Vries from Melbourne University and co-workers, of a "bi-focal" mentoring programmes (de Vries 2012), combined with the idea of group mentorships, resulting in "Mentoring for Change" (Lövkrona et al. 2019). Again, when researching and developing this programme, we found resources from Liisa and her network. One could argue that the idea of this form of programme was introduced in Europe at least in part by the GEXcel International Collegium (https://www.gexcel.org/), for which Liisa is a Co-director. There are some frictions when introducing this type of mentoring, for sure. Participants often object to the idea of always having a gender perspective and discussing structural problems in parallel to learning how the system works and how to make a career. But our experience is that all are convinced at the end and have proven to act as "agents of change". From faculty members there is the obvious resistance against questioning the system, but an unexpected controversy arose from the fact that we insisted on professionalising the mentor role. This was manifested by financing time for their participation in the programme. We realised that many other programmes, even ones that are "bought in" as commercial products assume mentors are doing this as a "part of their duties as professors". We are convinced, and this was supported by the dean, that it is essential to reform this idea to guarantee the outcome of the programme. After a presentation and a meeting of the mentees and the faculty leaders, it has strong support and the pilot project will be used as a standard for other mentor projects at the faculty – so you are welcome, Liisa, to join us in "Mentoring for change 2.0".

A trap for many systemic actions for equality is, as in so many developmental projects in academia, to forget teaching, learning and curriculum-development – something that was pointed out early on by our present assistant dean for education. Therefore, two goals have been set up – to integrate the gender and equality dimension with the subjects of teaching, and to strive for cultural change in the form of inclusive teaching. The support and push for developing this came from the work on quality assurance that is in everyone's mind right now. The concept chosen was "Scientific Literacy", where equality and equal opportunities are introduced together and in parallel to ethics and sustainable development. This is supported both by the learning goals for general programmes formulated in the Higher Education Ordinance (SFS 1993) and the fifth paragraph of Higher Education Act (SFS 1992), where the latter basically discusses gender mainstreaming in higher education.

Scientific Literacy could be thought of as the ability to explain and relate Science to society and developing decision-making and leadership as a Scientist (Roberts 2007; OECD 2018). The current situation is that we are running two pilot projects, one course for academic teachers and one pilot version where we introduce workshops for students at the Physics Department. We look forward to Liisa joining us as an evaluator for our education and showing us how to proceed with integrating and mainstreaming equal opportunities in Science education.

As a final example of a project is one with a focus on scientific careers, a subject often touched upon by Liisa (Hearn & Husu 2019). Inspiration has been drawn for the effort to eliminate bias in selection processes at the Swedish Research Council (VR) (Söderqvist 2019). This process has recently been discussed and evaluated by Liisa in a more general setting (Husu & Callerstig 2019). The effort to get into the decision-making bodies is not straightforward and the project has been delayed many times, but we believe that we now are close to implementing it. With the support by Liisa as an external expert, we hope to climb the final barriers.

Finally, we have now designed a new and "aligned" system for working with gender equality. It follows evidence-based advice on how to promote equality and how to design and govern the process in a Science Faculty (Gvozdanovic 2018), for example. By creating an "action group" of Faculty members with competence and engagement in the area, together with an "external advisory group", we are following the process adopted for example in the Irish higher education action plan for 2018-2020 (HEA 2018). By joining forces with the quality assurance system, the hope is that we will implement an efficient system for improved equality and diversity at the Faculty.

I hope that this report from "the floor" of a typical Science Faculty in Sweden has shown that in each project we return to the contributions from Liisa to this field. We are very happy to welcome her here and are looking forward to our collaboration and the insightful support she will, no doubt, give to our work for change!

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"Context matters", context inspires

Argentina and its synergies among feminist researchers from different parts of the world

Gloria Bonder

IN THE EARLY 1970S, a group of fellow women professors at the University of Buenos Aires, Argentina, spontaneously began to hold occasional informal conversations about a shared unease that we were experiencing as academics and professionals, a problem that – as Betty Friedan (1963) would say – had no name at that time. Soon, our occasional exchanges turned into regular meetings where it became clear that we wanted to have a space of our own to voice and try to understand our dissatisfaction, a critique that we were not yet able to formulate or articulate into questionings based on the theories under which we had been trained during our university studies and with which we continued to teach, either as professors or by applying them in our research or professional practices.

Most of us, psychologists and sociologists and some medical doctors, engaged then in a reflective process on the interpretations of subjectivity, social relations, cultural processes and established norms regarding physical and psychological health and illness, historical and cultural narratives prevailing at that time as an idealised dogma among university faculty in Argentina. These were not acceptable for us to understand the living conditions and social and psychological problems of women in particular, nor to understand the relations between women and men. Nor did they reflect our own lives as academic women, in many cases mothers of young children.

Some of us were activists or shared the ideas of progressive political groups, but that also failed to provide us with the answers to the questions we were beginning to ask. More intellectual grounds were needed and, above all, more collective confidence and support to take the risk of confronting the dominant visions and interpretations at the university and develop consistent arguments, which were also supposed to be "rational, objective, and based on well-founded set of ideas" in order to challenge the legitimising theories of the "academic rigour" underpinning university prestige. Many of us had read Simone de Beauvoir and some had read Betty Friedan, but we could not figure out, in this initial phase, how to build bridges between ideas that had personally proven to be eye-opening, and the construction of arguments that questioned and proposed changes to academic practices in a university setting perceived as one of the most progressive academic institutions in the country. Small groups of feminist activists had existed for some time, but it took decades to build a fruitful relationship between academia and activism, and it is still a matter of debate on both sides. However, we persisted in our efforts.

Around the mid-1970s, I happened to meet Florence Howe[1] and, through her, I got to know the so-called "Women's Studies" (as they were called at the time) that were being developed in some, even many, North American universities. That gave us a name for what we envisioned along with a short but instituted background that provided us with a framework of legitimacy enabling us to move forward within our university whenever possible.[2] And this is because from 1976 to 1983 a strong military dictatorship ruled the country, persecuting, censoring and even "disappearing" those who opposed that regime and fought to restore democracy, human rights and freedom for citizens. Similar regimes were established in those years in other Latin American countries such as Uruguay, Chile, Brazil, and Paraguay. During those times, many scholars migrated to Europe or other Latin American countries with then democratically elected governments. Others remained in their countries and, in the case of feminists, they created numerous groups and particularly non-governmental organisations (in many cases financed by international organisations). These collective and autonomous groups at universities developed a prolific intellectual work and awareness and empowerment programmes or projects especially addressing women from sectors in lower socioeconomic classes.[3]

1 Florence Howe, author, editor, publisher and teacher, is an internationally recognised leader of the modern feminist movement. She became closely involved with the women's movement after her participation in the civil rights and anti-war movements in the 1960s. Described by colleagues as "the Elizabeth Cady Stanton of women's studies," Howe began teaching women's studies courses even before they had that name.

2 When I met Florence, what struck me the most was her definition: "Women's Studies are the academic arm of the feminist movement." This statement poses multiple challenges and still gives rise to intense debates on what we understand by "legitimate" academic knowledge, its epistemological bases and its explicit and implicit proposals on social and gender transformations. It also makes us ponder on which should be the relationship between academia and political practice, and from the standpoint of feminist activism, what knowledge on gender inequalities and inequities underpins its actions and what knowledge is built out of this practice.

3 Among others, we can mention CEM (Women's Studies Centres) and Lugar de Mujer in Argentina; CEM, La Casa de la Mujer La Morada, CEDEM, in Chile; Flora Tristán and Manuela

This option – in my opinion, highly valuable and courageous – was, however, brought into question by some currents of feminism calling it the "NGOisation" of the feminist movement and questioning its loss of radicality and influential power. Heilborn and Arruda (quoted by Álvarez 1998) described it as the "professionalisation of the feminist cause" because it was mostly made up of strategic spaces that offered a labour strategy to many professionals excluded or self-excluded from universities.[4] These opinions were challenged by other representatives of the feminist movement, who highlighted the political role played by NGOs, which even in very risky times maintained their firm beliefs and numerous forms of struggle against all forms of patriarchy, while producing knowledge despite their quasi-clandestine character.

In spite of the harsh times and the pain caused by the political context, we were able to experience an intellectual openness by reflectively embracing the constant developments in Women's Studies – to a lesser extent called "feminist studies" – in many countries around the world. We realised that it was possible and necessary to critically review the existing knowledge and social and institutional practices, creating and using new categories and methodologies that would reveal their androcentric, patriarchal, sexist and colonial biases.

The late 1970s marked the beginning of a highly productive period with NGOs as well as non-formal groups conducting rigorous research outside universities, mostly on the "classic" topics: violence, sexual and reproductive health, women's participation in political spaces, education and the labour market. In many cases, the methodology adopted was known as "action research" and/or "participatory research," which promoted the active participation of women, subjects of studies, in the production of knowledge.[5] These NGOs also provided training on the history

Ramos, Demus in Peru; Cotidiano Mujer in Uruguay; CEPUA and Cefenina in Brazil; Cotidiano Mujer Uruguay and CDE in Paraguay.

4 Sonia Álvarez (1998) defines feminist NGOs as having a "hybrid identity". They were places for both professional work and activism.

5 Many were inspired by the proposals of Paulo Freire, a world-renowned Brazilian pedagogue, who defined education as a process aimed at the liberation of the individual, through the development of their critical consciousness. His educational ideas were reflected in the various essays he published. Some of his publications include: 'Education as the practice of freedom' (1967), 'Pedagogy of the oppressed' (1969), and 'Transformative Education' (1976).

of gender theory and its different lines of thought and organised awareness groups with women from different social sectors as well as support and/or empowerment programmes for women from disadvantaged communities. It was a period of resistance and survival, both physical and intellectual and ethical, and of preparation for what we all wanted: the return of democracy and, with it, our return to the University.

It was not until 1983 that a democratic government took office in Argentina, making it possible to go back to teaching and doing research at the university. Our group came back with an unprecedented proposal: to create the Interdisciplinary Graduate Programme on Women's Studies, the first in Latin America with these characteristics.[6] The programme had two main objectives: to promote and encourage reflection and debate on the various "waves" of feminist theory, their conceptual contributions and transformative proposals in the social and public policy spheres, and to "apply" that knowledge to the analysis of gender inequality and inequity in key areas, initially also focused on "classic" issues.

At the beginning of 1990, and due to unexpected circumstances, UNESCO invited me to an international meeting to discuss women and/in science, and there I met Liisa Husu. This topic had not yet attracted the interest of feminist groups in Argentina. But I personally found it a very appealing challenge with great potential to formulate proposals that would broaden and enhance women's participation and leverage their contributions to disciplines having a significant impact on the development of countries. In fact, gender issues in science, technology and innovation became a focus of my work as a researcher in the following decades and prompted the creation of the UNESCO Regional Chair on Women, Science and Technology in Latin America. During the past three decades, this topic has been increasingly gaining attention, as shown by the emergence of networks of women scientists in different disciplines (mathematics, physics, biology, etc.), the organisation of congresses and regular conferences, and publications that apply gender lenses in fields

6 Later we moved from the University of Buenos Aires to FLACSO- Argentina, where we founded the Gender, Society and Policies Department and then the Online Master's Programme on Gender, Society and Policies as well as the UNESCO Regional Chair for Women, Science and Technology in Latin America.

that seemed "untouchable" for feminist research: biology, astronomy, mathematics, computer science, physics, for example.

Now, going back to my encounters with Liisa, I remember very especially when she described the progress made in university programmes and policies in her country and the overwhelming confirmation that gender studies were already crossing an epistemological frontier that advocates the universality, neutrality and objectivity of the so-called "exact, natural or basic" sciences, which place themselves above other fields of knowledge questioned for their ideological biases, their weak evidence and lack of methodological rigour. That meeting and other subsequent exchanges reaffirmed the conviction that even those fields that seemed "shielded" from the concerns and contributions of feminism could and should be reviewed and transformed to overcome the sometimes almost imperceptible gender biases implicit in their methodologies, the choice of their objects and subjects of study, and the interpretation and dissemination of their findings. After several years, I met Liisa again, this time in Buenos Aires, when she was invited by our UNESCO WS&T Chair to the "International Specialists Workshop on Integration of a Gender Perspective into Science and Technology in Higher Education and its Contributions to the Advancement of the SDGs" (April 2017).

Once again I was nourished by her long experience as a researcher and enriched by her precise, simple and clear insights, which are extremely powerful for understanding "in context" the current state of gender equality policies or measures in universities not only in her country but in many others. Likewise, her comments shed light on the resistances that continue to arise and how to overcome them and build gender equality policies in sciences with institutional and financial support to ensure their sustainability. From that fruitful meeting I have chosen this excerpt that, based on Liisa's broad experience, provides us with a map of reality offering us valuable guidance:

> *I want to show you what kind of processes are going on to really make a change happen in one of the most gender equal countries in the world and still struggle with issues in gender equality in the sciences and academia in large. I am really convinced that in my*

research context really matters. *So what the overall gender equality context is in the society is having a huge impact on what is happening in universities and in academia and research.*

Indeed, "context matters". In our case, we may say that since the restoration of democracy there has been a remarkable increase in the participation of women in higher education (although in some fields they continue to be a minority, namely physics, technology and engineering). There are many more women in political institutions, organisations and social movements; progressive laws have been passed (for example, on ending all forms of violence, recognition of gender identity, same sex marriage, comprehensive sexual education). Women are part of a massive and constantly growing social movement fighting violence against women, in favour of the legalisation of abortion, the distribution of caring responsibilities, among other causes that promote women's autonomy and their full participation and recognition in the Argentine society.

Currently, most Argentine universities run programmes or courses or hold conferences or congresses on gender studies applied to different topics and many have succeeded in establishing protocols and even units for gender equality. Again, context matters; these important advances do not guarantee that there will be no setbacks caused by—for instance—the positions and discourses of some conservative governments in Latin America that, through the so-called "gender ideology", accuse gender-based policies of posing a threat to the "natural" harmony of society. Without going to those extremes, we need to recognise that advances in gender equality in Argentina and Latin America confront power structures and relationships that are and will keep on putting up resistance. Being aware of this reality is an essential condition to move forward with a deep understanding of the power dynamics in our society but, at the same time, leveraging our imagination and commitment.

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Extending the uses of Liisa's notion of 'non-event'

The cases of gender equality work and sexual violence

Tobias K. Axelsson
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BASED ON HER RESEARCH on academia as a gendered organisation, Liisa (Husu 2001, 2005, 2013, 2020) uses the notion of 'non-events' in order to detect the more hidden forms of discrimination that women experience in academia. By identifying and problematising what is *not* happening, Liisa has contributed to a greater understanding of how gender inequalities continue to persist in academia. This is how she describes it in an article analysing women's work-related and family-related discrimination and support in Finnish academia:

> *One factor contributing to the difficulty of recognizing the more hidden forms of discrimination is that sometimes hidden discrimination takes a form of "non-events". Many forms of subtle discrimination appeared to be these kinds of non-events: silences, omissions, absences, subtle exclusions, ignoring, invisibility, lack of support, and lack of encouragement.* (Husu 2005: 172)

Through different hidden discrimination strategies, women in academia tend to be less 'seen, heard, supported, encouraged, taken into account, validated, invited, included, welcomed, greeted or simply asked along' compared to their male colleagues. As such, non-events "are a powerful way to subtly discourage, sideline or exclude women from science" (Husu 2013: 38).

In this chapter, we use Liisa's way of using the notion of non-event as a starting point for analysing two very different empirical cases from our own research areas. In the next section, Tobias uses the notion of non-events when analysing how a gender-based research intervention was treated within a municipal organisation. In the subsequent section, Lena relates the notion of non-events to discussions on sexual violence by analysing a story recounted by a woman she interviewed for a study on sexual consent. We then shortly discuss the implications of working with Liisa's notion of non-event in our own research.

TOBIAS' CASE: HOW TO TURN A GENDER RESEARCH-BASED INTERVENTION FROM AN EVENT INTO A NON-EVENT

In this autobiographical section, I describe what happened when I was researching and supporting the gender equality work in preschools and schools in a Swedish municipality. My aim is to analyse how this gender research-based intervention gradually changed throughout different stages in the working process: from an *event* into a *non-event*.

The planning phase: legitimising the intervention

In October 2018, I was employed by the Childcare and Education Department in a Swedish rural municipality (hereafter named the Department) in order to 'assist with research-based support' for developing the gender equality work in preschools and schools (Örebro University 2018).[1] During the autumn, I planned the study together with the head and two officials at the Department. I was invited to several internal and external meetings to discuss and present the study. During these meetings, I was met with what I perceived as genuine interest. When two of the officials at the Department took me on a road-trip to the municipality's preschools and schools, I felt especially welcome.

In November 2018, I wrote an interim report for the research funder (Region Örebro County). This report was not followed by any feedback from the funder. However, an official at Örebro University involved in the project showed great interest in my work. In December 2018, I finalised the project plan, which stated that the aim was to 'achieve a better steering and management of the municipality's gender-equality work in preschool and school' (Axelsson 2018: 1). During the writing process, I found the contacts with the Department supportive. In an email, the head of the Department wrote that she was 'very positive to the planning and the content' (personal communication, 18 December 2018). Analytically speaking, the intervention was generally positioned as an *event* with relatively high status during the start-up phase, thanks to local stakeholders.

1 All quotes are translated from Swedish.

The fieldwork phase: carrying out the intervention

Between January and June 2019, I observed five school classes and conducted 19 interviews. Thus, I met hundreds of people: children, pupils, preschool teachers and teachers, other caring and educational workers, and headmasters. I felt that my work and I were met with respect and interest, which I will illustrate below.

The teachers of the classes that I observed welcomed me to their classrooms, guided me through their schools, and introduced me to their colleagues. I met many teachers with open and curious minds. For example, one teacher of physical education and health invited me to his lessons since he wanted my view, as gender scholar, on his teaching. During a lesson in craft (woods and metals), the teacher started to ask questions and tell anecdotes about his subject:

> *The crafts teacher [...] says hello to me and asks if I am the "researcher". I barely have time to answer, before he tells me that the crafts education was gender segregated, only one generation ago, and that girls were not allowed to participate in the woods craft education. Often, girls are even better, he says loud.* (Field-notes, 4 March 2019)

Another teacher asked me to speak to the boys in her class about an idea that was common among the boys in her class: boys are better than girls are at football! A common feature in the interviews, especially with preschool teachers, was the notion of recognition. I got the feeling that the interviewees felt appreciated for their work during the interviews, since many of them told me that they already are quite knowledgeable about gender equality and norm-critical teaching, but that they wanted to learn more. I felt that I could contribute to their work.

So far, I have described the planning phase and the fieldwork phase as supportive and encouraging. However, I occasionally met teachers who seemed to avoid me and the gender equality topic as such. This did not surprise me, but what I found striking after a few months of fieldwork, was that the contact with the head of Department ceased. It turned out that the head was on leave. The temporary head of Department (who also became my employer) never contacted me during the rest of the fieldwork or during the upcoming phase of reporting and communicating the intervention. Regardless of the reasons for this, my interpretation is that the gender equality intervention as such, through the non-contacts between the head and me, was gradually silenced and sidelined. It was turned into a non-event.

The reporting and communicating phase: downplaying the intervention

In June 2019, after the fieldwork, I wrote a final report for the research funder. I received no feedback from the funder, although the responsible official at Örebro University wrote that he found my report 'very useful' (personal communication, 20 June 2019). Moreover, I wrote a final report for the Department in August 2019 (Axelsson 2019). I was invited to the Childcare and Education political committee to present the report. My presentation was put as the second item on the agenda. First, a consultant gave a presentation about the Department's economic situation. Except for the regular political representatives and a few officials from the Department, six members from the municipal executive committee as well as seven headmasters participated during this presentation. When the consultant was done, the six members of the municipal executive committee left the room. Thus, when I started to present, the most powerful politicians in the municipality were gone. Although this arrangement was set already in the agenda for the meeting, it made me feel less important. It felt like a symbolic event, in which economy was prioritised over gender equality. I cannot say that I felt mistreated neither as a scholar nor as a person during this specific happening, but I strongly felt that the gender equality intervention, that I had invested intellectual as well as emotional resources in, was downplayed. However, when looking back at this and talking to my writing partner, Lena, about it, it actually does evoke some sort of resignation that I perhaps had repressed to preserve my dignity.

Nevertheless, I gave my talk as prepared. During or after the formal presentation, the political representatives did not raise any questions. However, informally, during a short coffee break after the presentation, one political representative approached me, individually. The representative explicitly questioned the gender equality mission that Swedish schools have, and told me that the teachers do not need more duties given their already strained working conditions.

When analysing the situations described above as a whole – the non-response from the funder, the municipal executive committee leaving the meeting room, the silence from the political representatives in the Childcare and Education political committee, and the explicit resistance from a single political representative – I suggest that they can be understood as organisational practices – and non-practices – in which the gender equality intervention was treated as a non-event.

Reflection: drawbacks and benefits

I have used the notion of non-event in a different way than Liisa. In the autoethnographic section above, I only to a limited extent use the non-event concept as a way of referring to personal experiences of being disfavoured by others – for example colleagues and managers – through non-events. Rather, my intention has been to demonstrate that certain events, procedures and actions, are *constructed* and *treated* as non-events by central stakeholders. Instead of analysing non-events as something that one may suffer from as a *person* when 'you are not seen, heard, paid attention to, asked along' (Husu 2005: 172), I have described that the *work* that one does in an organisation, in my case a gender research-based intervention in a municipality, can be turned into a non-event through a series of organisational practices – and non-practices.

Although my usage of the non-event concept differs from Liisa's, what I especially like with her way of using it is that it names what is otherwise not recognised as discriminatory practices. Like other essential concepts in feminist organisational studies – such as master suppression techniques (Ås 1979), naming men as men (Collinson & Hearn 1994), and mobilising masculinities (Martin 2001) – it thus has an emancipatory potential.

What are the potential drawbacks and benefits of my usage of Liisa's non-event concept? First, it might overlap with already existing concepts in studies of gendered organisations, such as non-decision making (Bachrach & Baratz 1963), non-implementation (Pincus 2002) and various understandings of power and resistance (Benschop & van den Brink 2014). Whether this is a drawback or benefit, I do not really know. Second, a possible drawback is that I might turn the concept away from individual and group-based experiences of sexism and hidden discrimination. However, I believe that the non-event concept can be used in order to understand how individual experiences of being disadvantaged by non-events intersect with how certain work tasks are constructed and treated as non-events.

To the best of my knowledge, the gender research-based intervention that I was engaged in has not resulted in any new political decisions or organisational routines. Nevertheless, one of the good things about organisations is that they are constantly changing. This means that a *non-event* can be turned into an *event* whenever gatekeepers and stakeholders decide to.

LENA'S CASE: VIOLENCE AS NON-EVENT?

In common-sensical understanding, violence tends to be seen as a clearly demarcated event. This notion of violence is well reflected by the first definition of the word in the Merriam-Webster dictionary: "the use of physical force so as to injure, abuse, damage, or destroy". Academic theorisations of violence have, however, taken significant steps away from the notion of violence as necessarily a discrete event, mostly involving physical force, and feminist scholars have been leading in this development. In order to adequately address the gendered harms inflicted by men on women in the sexual and intimate spheres, feminist scholars have highlighted the need to take a broader approach to violence that goes beyond physical, delimited and direct actions; a systematic pattern of psychological control may be at least as harmful as being beaten, for instance. Feminist theorists of violence often apply what Karen Boyle (2019), after Liz Kelly (1987), terms 'continuum thinking', which addresses the structural connections between instances of outright physical violence and those subtler, everyday experiences in women's lives which form a broader pattern of violation.

Inspired by feminist expansions of the concept of violence/violation[2] and by Liisa's notion of discriminatory 'non-events', I will here explore the sense in which a sexual violation may sometimes be a matter of the offender's *non*-doing. My analysis also connects with Liisa's observation that non-events may be more troublesome than positively discriminatory

2 The term 'violation' is sometimes used by violence scholars since it is better suited than 'violence' to include the subtler practices that are part of the broad spectrum/continuum of harmful practices (Alcoff 2018; Hearn 2003).

actions in the sense that the former are more difficult to discern and, hence, to question and resist: 'Non-events are challenging to recognise and often difficult to respond to. Nothing happened, so why the fuss?' (Husu 2013: 38). Analysing a story recounted by a woman I interviewed for a study on sexual consent (Gunnarsson 2020), I will make the case that the potential harm of a non-action is intensified by the fact that widespread notions of violence as a 'positive' action stand in the way for identifying and responding to the harm caused by non-doings.

When not doing something is what harms

I interviewed Pernilla, a 30-year old woman, in 2017. Pernilla, who was previously bisexual but at the time of the interview had sexual relationships only with women, states that she generally finds women to be more responsive than men in sexual interactions. When I ask her to elaborate on this, she tells about a specific encounter with a male casual sexual partner.

> *Specifically I think of one guy. We had talked quite some time on Messenger and had excited one another and then he came home to me a night when I was home alone and we started having sex. I think we had sex twice that night and he didn't think of me a single time [laughs], he just did his thing and then left. He didn't talk to me and he didn't ask how it felt or how I was doing. And we had rather rough sex, because this was when I was a bit into BDSM stuff. No whips and that kind of things but the sex was a bit of the rougher kind, which I was totally okay with and have always been and will probably always be, but it was sort of… he could have talked to me a bit or posed some questions or something like that. But not a single one – he just came, we had sex, and he left, sort of.*

Pernilla is a person who declares she is almost always up for sex, but when it comes to this situation she is unsure if she really wanted to be part of it or not. I ask her if she felt this already when the sex took place.

> *No, I think it was afterwards. I did want to sleep with him, I did want to have sex. But he could have been a*

> *bit less rough and perhaps a bit more like "What do you want?". And he wasn't. But this I have thought of a lot afterwards, not right then.*

I want to relate Pernilla's story to an observation done by sexual violence researcher Katrine Bindesbøl Holm Johansen and colleagues (Bindesbøl Holm Johansen et al. 2020). They found that the young Danish women and men that she interviewed articulated two different understandings of consent.[3] In situations where the consent communication worked well they regarded consent as a matter of continually 'sensing' the other person, that is paying attention to and adapting to the other person's reactions to one's actions (cf. Beres 2010; Muehlenhard et al. 2016). By contrast, when they were to make sense of situations of unwanted sex they applied a narrower understanding of consent as the absence of an explicit rejection. This narrower conception made it difficult for them to *conceptualise* many experiences of unwanted sex as violations. At the same time, Bindesbøl Holm Johansen and colleagues (2020) show that unwanted sexual situations marked by a failure of one party to 'sense' the other were still subjectively *experienced* as violations.

It seems to me that Pernilla's confusion about the situation she describes may be understood in similar terms. Her casual sexual partner clearly failed 'sensing' Pernilla in the sense that is normalised in reciprocal sex, and I interpret Pernilla's sense of unease as caused by this. At the same time, he did not *do* anything particular to her to which she objected. This 'non-event' quality of the man's behaviour seems to have made it more difficult for her to make sense of her feelings of unease. This difficulty is also enhanced by the fact that the 'sensing' that was absent is in itself a rather vague event; it is something that is done habitually and continually by people also outside of the sexual sphere, but it normally becomes apparent only when lacking.

It is one thing to try to make sense of a situation like this afterwards, and another to discern what is happening as it is taking place. In the light of the interview with Pernilla as a whole, it is my impression that she is a person who would have had no problem to set a limit in the situation, if only she had been clear about what in the situation she felt uneasy about.

3 Note that 'consent' is not the term Bindesbøl Holm Johansen et al.'s research participants themselves used.

In my interpretation she had problems making sense of what was happening in the sexual encounter: She did want to have sex and had nothing against rough sex so what could be wrong? What's the fuss? to paraphrase Liisa. What I want to stress is that if Pernilla had had a clearer *concept* that being 'sensed' in sex is something we need and have the right to, she would probably have had better chances of understanding her feelings and needs as the violation took place and, hence, of responding to the man's non-sensing in a way that could have helped protect her (Gunnarsson 2020).

Honouring human neediness

That human beings have the capacity to experience a sense of humiliation, violation and hurt is linked to our intrinsically interdependent hence needy and vulnerable constitution. On the liberal, atomist view of human beings the needs of humans are regarded as mainly negative: as long as no one *interferes* with our allegedly self-reliant well-being, we are supposedly fine. I connect the action-centred notion of violence with this liberal view of personhood. If we instead adopt a relational view of personhood, it becomes clear that we also have fundamental positive needs for things that are outside of our immediate, individual control. Apart from material needs for sustenance we also need, among other things, to be *recognised,* met with respect and care (Honneth 2002). This is what makes someone's 'non-sensing' in a sexual situation potentially violating.

Inspired by Liisa's observation that 'non-events' are often part of discriminatory – hence harmful – processes, I have here explored an empirical case where what caused harm was the *absence* of something, in this case an effort on the part of Pernilla's casual sexual partner to 'sense' her during the sexual act. The ontological basis of the fact that this sort of non-action may harm us is the fact that we *need* other people to care for and respect us, in particular in intimate encounters. In line with Liisa's analysis, I also suggested that the violating effects of this sort of non-action may be more difficult to discern than 'positively' aggressive actions. This may render non-actions particularly harmful in so far as the one exposed to them may have trouble understanding what is taking or has taken place. Hence, raising collective, conceptual awareness about the fact that violations may involve a *failure* to do something (or take a certain attitude) is one important part of a broad approach to violence-prevention (Gunnarsson 2020). Such conceptual awareness is premised on a rejection of models of human existence that deny humans' constitutive interdependency, neediness and vulnerability. It is only from the point of view of honouring humans' basic needs for care and respect – needs which, I argue, ultimately underpin the normative stance that sex should be based on mutual consent – that we can legitimately state that someone who fails to respect these needs is guilty of harmful behaviour.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Liisa's way of using the notion of non-events to identify hidden forms of discrimination has taken our own thoughts in new fruitful directions as we have tried to make deeper sense of two empirical cases in our own areas of study. The cases we have analysed differ starkly and we have used the non-event concept in different ways. One thing common to the two cases, though, was the fact that the sense of harm connected with the obstructive process or violating experience came only *after* some time had passed and the experience had been significantly reflected on. Although such a lagging behind of the emotional response may happen also when someone is exposed to more clearly demarcated obstructive or violating actions, it seems safe to assume that it is more difficult to (make) sense (of) the sort of harm caused by subtler processes of the kind analysed in this text. Liisa's work has taken us a bit further in making sense of such subtleties and we hope this small piece of text has continued that process.

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A successful story without a happy ending

The institutionalisation of Gender Studies at The University of Novi Sad

Zorana Antonijević

INTRODUCTION

As a discipline that provokes critical thinking about mainstream science, humanities, but also societies, gender studies is much based in its methodological and theoretical positionings and development on the feminist practices of the women's movement. Within the framework of higher education, gender studies, as both a scientific discipline but also practice, has the complex task of proposing strategies for social change and transformation of global and local gender regimes. That very task makes it both important for critical knowledge production but also exposed and vulnerable to both open and more discreet attacks from conservative societal elements. Therefore, the institutionalisation of gender studies is a never-ending endeavour everywhere and Serbia is no exception. On the contrary, the weak and incomplete institutionalisation of gender studies in Serbia has been a challenge in and of itself, both for the women's movement and academic institutions. Gradually, the position of gender studies in Serbian academia is worsening not only because of the worldwide backlash against feminism and concepts of gender but also due to the growing request for more "useful" and "practical" knowledge production in Serbia's neoliberal higher education contexts.

In this paper, I will give a short overview of the development of gender studies in Serbia in the post-socialist and post-conflict context in general. I will also focus on the mutual reinforcement of women's grassroots activism, the ongoing institutionalisation of gender policies and higher education reforms that enabled the establishment of the Gender Studies Centre (GSC) at the University of Novi Sad and doctoral gender studies programme. I conclude with the challenges of the academic programmes gender studies are facing in the context of a predominant neoliberal academia and anti-feminist backlash globally and locally.

SPREADING FEMINIST KNOWLEDGE THROUGH ACTIVISM

Feminist knowledge production is inevitably linked to the women's movement. Further, women's studies are one of the most important products and evidence of the success of the women's movement (Papić 1998: 26). It will, therefore, come as no surprise that both the materiality and discursiveness of women's studies are interlinked with the development, growth and conceptualisation of the women's movement. Serbia, formerly occupying a pre-eminent role within ex-Yugoslavia, is no exception but rather the rule in relation to this claim.

Bearing this in mind and showing their connection to the women's movement, feminist scholars have presented various categorisations on the historical development of women and gender studies in Serbia. For example, Milić (2011) claims that the development of gender studies in Serbia - and more broadly in ex-Yugoslavia - could be better understood if seen through distinct feminist waves. She claims that the production and dissemination of feminist knowledge take parallel paths with waves of feminist organising showing their connection and mutual enforcement, including the period back in between the two World Wars (Milić 2011). Jarić (2019) sees the occurrence of gender studies as dynamic processes taking place between three actors: women's movement, Academia and broader European reforms of the higher education system, and three defined phases: raising awareness of the importance of gender studies, institutionalisation, and Bologna Process expansion and standardisation.

Taking Jarić's classification (2019) as a point of departure, I will present the process of the establishment of gender studies as both an academic discipline and institutional setting at the University of Novi Sad from the late 1990s to the present and their connection to the women's movement. My focus will be on doctoral level studies because it was (and still is) the only doctoral gender studies programme in Serbia. In this paper, I use the terms women and gender studies as synonyms, although there are conceptual, theoretical and even practical differences between them. The analysis is based on available literature and information gleaned from websites, official University documents, phone or email exchanges with three coordinators (Professors Svenka Savić, Vera Vasić and Vladislava Gordić Petković) and my own personal experiences, observations and memories of being a doctoral student within the same programme.

SOCIALISM, WAR AND WOMEN'S ACTIVISM

The first initiatives of gender knowledge production in socialist Yugoslavia started in the late 1970s with an initial group of female intellectuals, activists and socialist feminists. The turning point was the international conference "Drug-ca Žena" ("Comrade Women") in 1978 that gathered together feminists from the UK, France, Italy, and socialist former Yugoslav economic, political and cultural centres of Zagreb, Ljubljana, Sarajevo and Belgrade. After the conference, a group of Belgrade feminists established an informal group, "Žena i društvo" ("Woman and Society"). It was a consciousness raising, self-organising group of intellectuals and feminist activists whose aim was to critically examine socialist/communist political, socio-economic theory and practice through a feminist perspective (Blagojević 1998; Hughson 2017; Jarić 2019). From the end of the 1970s to the beginning of the 1990s the group organised various public events including lectures, discussions, workshops, and film screenings with the focus on illuminating the position of women in society. Few feminist-oriented artists and university professors from Novi Sad took part in "Žena i društvo" activities after the mid-1980s.

The advent of wars in the Balkans and dissolution of Yugoslavia marked the end of "Žena i društvo" activities. However, different forms of feminist organisations and initiatives did emerge from the demise of the group. They included peace and anti-war mobilising, violence against women initiatives, but also others aimed at producing and disseminating specific knowledge about/for/of women, gender equality policies, feminist methodologies and theories (Blagojević 1998). During the 1990s, these groups matured into more formal women's non-governmental organisations, with managerial and financial structures and extensive support from international feminist networks and donors. Their activities, during the decade of conflicts in ex-Yugoslavia (1990-2000), were focused on four areas: (1) Anti-war rebellions against nationalisms; (2) Filling gaps in services for women victims of violence in form of helplines and shelters; (3) Empowerment and support for intersectional groups of women: lesbians, refugees, Roma women and with disability; and (4) Feminist education, knowledge production and dissemination (Blagojević 1998).

Feminist activism and knowledge production took parallel paths that resulted in the almost simultaneous establishment of an elective course called "Žene i društvo" (Women and Society) hosted by the University of Belgrade Faculty of Philosophy and the NGO "Centar za ženske studije" (Women's Study Centre) in 1992 (Hughson 2017). During the nineties informal, NGO-type feminist educational programmes were established in major urban centres in Serbia - Belgrade, Novi Sad and Niš - which spread throughout Serbia through grass-roots initiatives and women's groups working within smaller communities. All of this was generously supported by international feminist networks and donors; primarily by the Open Society Foundation Women's Programme. Establishment of the "Women's Studies and Research" (WSR) in Novi Sad was part of this trend. The WSR was formed as a citizens' association in February 1997 with the main aim of offering non-degree interdisciplinary courses in women's studies. At the time, the University of Novi Sad did not have any courses related to women or gender studies. Feminist university professors were engaged off-site, in out-of-university public lectures and citizens' initiatives. Similar to "Žena i društvo" (Women and Society) activities in the early 1980s in Belgrade, the official registration of the association occurred after years' of extensive cultural, artistic and educational mobilisation of the Novi Sad feminist community, including university professors (Savić 2006; Subotički Miletić 2016).

The WSR from the very beginning received generous support for their women's studies educational programme. The programme introduced innovative teaching methods and curricula unknown to more mainstream higher education courses. The duration of the programme was equivalent to a master's course (two years), and the more creative side of the teaching methods included workshops and activist public interventions, not only more interactive lectures and research methodologies. The range of topics included gender perspectives within various disciplines (art, technology/techno-science, language, literature, history, theology) and women's position in all areas in society (economy, politics, education, health). From 1997 to 2008 almost 150 women and men participated in the WSR's educational programmes (*Ženske studije i istraživanja* n.d.).

The structure of the "students" was diverse and reflected the activist character of the WSR. There were regular students from the

University, but also women politicians, activists, journalists and trade unionists. Significantly, a number were older women of pensionable age. Many of them would never otherwise have had the opportunity to attend similar gender/women studies programmes if they had been organised and based at the University. It is also worth mentioning that 4 percent of men participated in the programme from 1997-2008 (*Ženske studije i istraživanja* n.d.).

The "students" had an obligation to submit a "diploma paper" after completing a two-year programme. All students also participated in the various thematic research exercises focused on elderly women and on gender perspectives in the media. A prominent part of the research was recollective work, employing oral historical methodologies focused on harvesting the memories of women of different ages or ethnicities (*Ženske studije i istraživanja* n.d.).

To rent premises and buy necessary equipment and furniture, the WSR received a grant from the Women's Programme of the Open Society Foundation. Extensive literature support was provided in the form of relevant books provided by the international feminist movement that resulted in the founding of a library of feminist and gender studies. For example, one of the most active feminist transnational networks, the Network of East-West Women (NEWW n.d.), through their Book and Journals Project, distributed more than 6,500 books to women's studies centres and individual feminist scholars within an 11-year duration. This activity included countries within Central and Eastern Europe including Russia as well as the ex-Yugoslav countries (NEWW n. d.). The WSR also had (and still have) an extensive publishing record.

An enabling environment for the establishment of the university centres for gender studies was created at the beginning of 2000. However, the elective courses of gender studies, primarily in sociology, occurred in Serbia as early as the 1980s (Milić 2003). The end of the Yugoslav conflict, democratic changes in 2000, beginning of the EU accession process and various reforms in all academic fields also facilitated institutionalisation of the gender studies and their breakthrough into the official higher education system. Civil society organisations played an active part in defining reform priorities, institution building and policy and law drafting in all areas of social and political life. Many feminist activists moved into the state administration as 'femocrats' (Eisenstain 1996) which facilitated wider reforms including those in higher education. Also, many feminist scholars returned to the universities they had been forced to leave due to the repressive measures of the previous regime. The conditions for women's groups to advocate for the institutionalisation of women's studies programmes at the University of Novi Sad were ideal: Serbia joined the Bologna Declaration on Higher Education Standardisation in Europe in 2003, the first female Rector was elected, the first gender equality mechanisms were established in 2002, and the WSR already had five years valuable experience to draw upon in organising educational programmes which created a solid base of students and lecturers (Savić 2006).

Reinforced by both civil society and gender equality government bodies, headed by the newly elected Rector, the University of Novi Sad took a lead in the institutionalisation of gender studies. They co-organised and co-sponsored the International Conference on Women's Studies/Gender Studies Curricula Development in February 2003, followed by a proposal for master gender studies programme (two-year) and (one-year) post-graduate specialisation course developed by the WSR team (Savić 2006). The first students enrolled in 2004/2005 after the programmes were approved by the University of Novi Sad's Scientific Council. The Centre for Gender Studies was placed within the Academic Association of Multidisciplinary and Interdisciplinary Centres and directly administered under the University Rectorate office. At the very beginning, the teaching and consultations continued to be organised in the premises of the WSR, not at the University. The WSR also continued with their alternative women's studies educational programme until 2008 and made its library and documentation centre available for the GSC students use. In 2009, the WSR's library consisted of more than 2,000 titles was partly donated to the University Library (Ćeriman et al. 2011; Savić 2006). The alternative programme of the WSR ceased to exist after the first state accreditation for the university postgraduate programme was received in 2008.

The doctoral studies programme was also initiated in 2004, again by the WSR, and approved by the University the following year. The first doctoral candidates enrolled in 2005. The programme was based on the current regulations of postgraduate studies (i.e. before the Bologna

Process), so no mandatory or elective courses were undertaken or organised, and potential candidates were obliged only to write and defend their theses. Seven candidates successfully defended their PhD theses from 2006 to 2008, after which the accreditation was officially received.

The new Law on Higher Education and Bologna Process higher education reforms were introduced in Serbia in 2005. Based on these rules and regulations for organising postgraduate studies programmes, the master and doctoral gender studies programme started the accreditation procedure and received the first accreditation for gender studies at master and doctoral level in 2008. The licence was issued for a three-year period, so the preparations for the second Bologna Process accreditation period started the same year. The doctoral programme consisted of three-year study periods, with the obligation for the GSC to organise lectures if more than five students were enrolled (Vasić 2020, pers. comm. 2 May). The generation enrolled in the programme had seven students, all of which were women. Most students were already employed in various institutions (academia, government, international organisations), therefore the lectures were organised on the weekends. All engaged teachers were mainly full-time professors employed within other Faculties and Departments of the University of Novi Sad. There were no professors specifically employed or recruited for the GSC.

The establishment of the Gender Studies Centre of Novi Sad University represents an excellent example of how "velvet triangle" of civil society organisations, institutions and academia (Woodward 2004) could move new and innovative educational and research agendas forward. The favourable political and historical momentum also contributed to the overall success. The doctoral programme established at the GSC was the first of its kind in the Western Balkans at the time and remained the only one in the following 15 years in Serbia.

From 2005 to 2020, 21 PhD theses, and over 30 magistratura/master theses were successfully defended. The accreditation of the master programme expired in 2018 and was not renewed for doctoral level studies in 2019. The last students to be enrolled in the master programme were admitted in 2015 and in the PhD programme in 2016 (Gordić Petković 2020, pers. comm. 3 May). The GSC has, therefore, been gradually ceasing to exist.

WHAT WENT WRONG?

After the successful start and significant number of students enrolled at master and doctoral level, one is forced to ask the question how after 15 years of fruitful knowledge production in gender theory and practice, the gender studies programme has been so easily allowed to atrophy.

Several reasons have contributed to this situation: firstly, the ideological resistance to gender studies as a discipline that was a reflection of the "scientific" valuation and validation of the GSC curricula, and outputs of its professors and students. Over a relatively short period of time, the predominantly conservative structures at the University became louder and more visible in their claims that gender theory had neither scientific value nor solid academic epistemological and methodological foundations. For example, one thesis was rejected by the University Scientific Council for Humanities in its final stage of defence due to its use and reliance upon oral history method with some members characterising it as trivial and non-scientific (Savić 2020, pers. comm. 2 May).

Secondly, the position and legal status of all the interdisciplinary centres became difficult, despite the fact that the placement of the interdisciplinary/multidisciplinary field of gender studies within the Rectorate's Academic Association of Multidisciplinary and Interdisciplinary Centres (AAMIC) was the only feasible solution at the time. As with all other centres belonging to the Association, the GSC could not propose, lead or participate in research projects. This meant that doctoral students did not get the opportunity to learn from or getting published based on the participation in research projects. This was also the obstacle for the engagement with other interdisciplinary teams within the country or abroad.

Thirdly, another important obstacle was the financial management of all the centres; including the GSC. Their primary financial resources came from student tuition fees that were supposed to cover the fees for regular and visiting lecturers. The idea was to optimise the financial independence and sustainability of the GSC. In the first years of the GSC, the support for visiting lecturers and students' scholarships were partly covered by donations as well as tuition fees. But as the GSC became more institutionalised the donations decreased or were diverted to other projects

or purposes. For example, the majority of donations were switched to covering scholarships for individual students (Savić forthcoming), as opposed to visiting lecturers.

Fourthly, insufficient opportunities to publish textbooks, theses and/or articles was also challenging due to the limited number of journals available, their insufficient ranking, and commercial orientation of the most respectable publishing houses. The space for the promotion of gender studies outputs become even smaller with the gradual shrinking of media independence and change in the political landscape.

Fifthly, the organisational protocols surrounding the teaching of elective courses was yet another challenge for the GSC. These depended on the number of students enrolled in the subject (minimum five) which was impossible for the GSC to achieve because of the very small number of students they attracted per year. So, most of the time, students relied on face-to-face contacts with professors and a prerequisite ability to work independently. For many students coming from different scientific fields this has been a great challenge. Furthermore, GSC courses were not open to all interested doctoral students from other Faculties and Departments and the visibility of the GSC was very weak. The previous practice of the WSR, whereby a wider audience and acceptance of all applications for its educational programmes had to be abolished in favour of, and in deference to, the stricter and more formal rules of institutionalisation.

However, the biggest obstacle was the fact that, in its almost twenty years of existence, the GSC did not have any dedicated teachers or administrative staff employed. This was a major result of the accreditation rules which insisted that teaching staff coming to the GSC from other University of Novi Sad Faculties and Departments could be engaged only thirty per cent of their total teaching time. So, in practice, all those teachers employed by University of Novi Sad faculties, had to seek permission from their faculty in order for them to engage with the Academic Association of Multidisciplinary and Interdisciplinary Centres (AAMIC). In this regard, the AAMIC was relegated to the status of an external educational institution and independent from the University of Novi Sad. At the same time, there were no financial resources to engage teachers from other Universities or to employ those who had graduated. All the AAMIC centres (13 in total) worked on the same principle. Inevitably, sustainability proved to be an extremely difficult nut to crack. Lecturer motivation declined as did the space for docents and researchers to engage (Gordić Petković 2020, pers. comm. 3 May). External teachers were hired, but the practice was short-lived, as their remunerations became ever more symbolic and scarce.

Lastly, international cooperation was yet another obstacle. Without regular financial resources the GSC could not even pay the membership fees demanded by the most relevant and authoritative organisations and international associations concerned with gender studies. International cooperation was based on the goodwill of foreign colleagues, private contacts and friendships (Savić 2020, pers. comm. 2 May).

THE FUTURE — NOT SO BRIGHT AND HAPPY ANYMORE?

The fact that no students have been enrolled in gender studies at both master and doctorate levels since 2016 coincides with the change of ruling coalition and with the resurgence of more conservative and anti-feminist ideas. Expressive of these changes is the renaming and re-assignment of authority for gender equality within the Provincial Government from Labour and Employment to Social Policy and Demography. The new, conservative, winds appear to have prevailed.

As aforementioned, in 2019 the second accreditation for the gender studies programme expired. In December 2019, the University Council, on the proposal of the University Senate, abolished the Academic Association of Multidisciplinary and Interdisciplinary Centres (AAMIC) and founded a new University Centre for Multidisciplinary and Interdisciplinary Studies with the possibility of organising studies at master and doctorate levels (*Univerzitet u Novom Sadu* 2020). Information on the new structure and the fate of the Gender Studies Centre are still not currently available on the University of Novi Sad's website.

The GSC has been exposed to many structural obstacles from the outset; from a lack of sustainable (state) funding, side-lining in terms of content of the gender studies themselves and their perceived relevance for both their practical use and scientific value. The neoliberal request for a more utilitarian higher education system instead of a critical thinking

one also affected their current status and future sustainability. Their legacy was also scarce. The webpage of the GSC did not contain any relevant information about defended master or doctoral theses, books and articles or professors and students. For example, it was also impossible to find professional biographies of GSC professors. The one book which was published by the GSC in cooperation with a professional publisher (Milojevic & Markov 2011) was not promoted on the website and none of the doctoral theses were published by the University but rather by the effort of the students or other institutions. The parallel process of shutting down the gender equality mechanisms and concurrent slowing down of the process of policy implementation, affected not only gender knowledge production and dissemination but also institutional memory.

The future is not bright. Thus far, it is unknown (until May 2020) what the future organisation of interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary studies in general and the GSC in particular will be and whether gender studies will survive these organisational changes. Even though many professors include a gender dimension in their teaching, without independent and fully funded Centre for Gender Studies, gender knowledge production depends upon isolated and sporadic individual efforts instead institutionalised practice. Without a full-hearted lead from the University from the outset and strong voices inside and outside academia, it will be almost impossible to strengthen and maintain the process of gender studies institutionalisation.

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DOES KNOWLEDGE HAVE A GENDER?

A Festschrift for Liisa Husu on gender, science and academia

This question has preoccupied Liisa Husu since the mid-1970s — and probably much earlier too — when she began work on women and gender relations. It is a central question in contemporary Gender Studies, the Social Sciences, and beyond.

After working long-term as Finnish National Coordinator for Women's Studies and Senior Adviser in the Finnish gender equality machinery and at the Prime Minister's Office and Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, she has researched this and related questions in doctoral and postdoctoral research, and many national, Nordic, EU and international projects. She has lectured and given presentations in over 30 countries, and organised and facilitated many conferences across the Nordic region and Europe. In 2009 she was appointed Guest Professor in Gender Studies, and in 2011 was recruited as Chair and Full Professor in Gender Studies, Örebro University. She has also been Director of the Centre for Feminist Social Studies at Örebro University during this period.

This volume gives multiple responses and reflections on questions around the gendering of knowledge, as a celebration of all that work that has affected and inspired many.

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