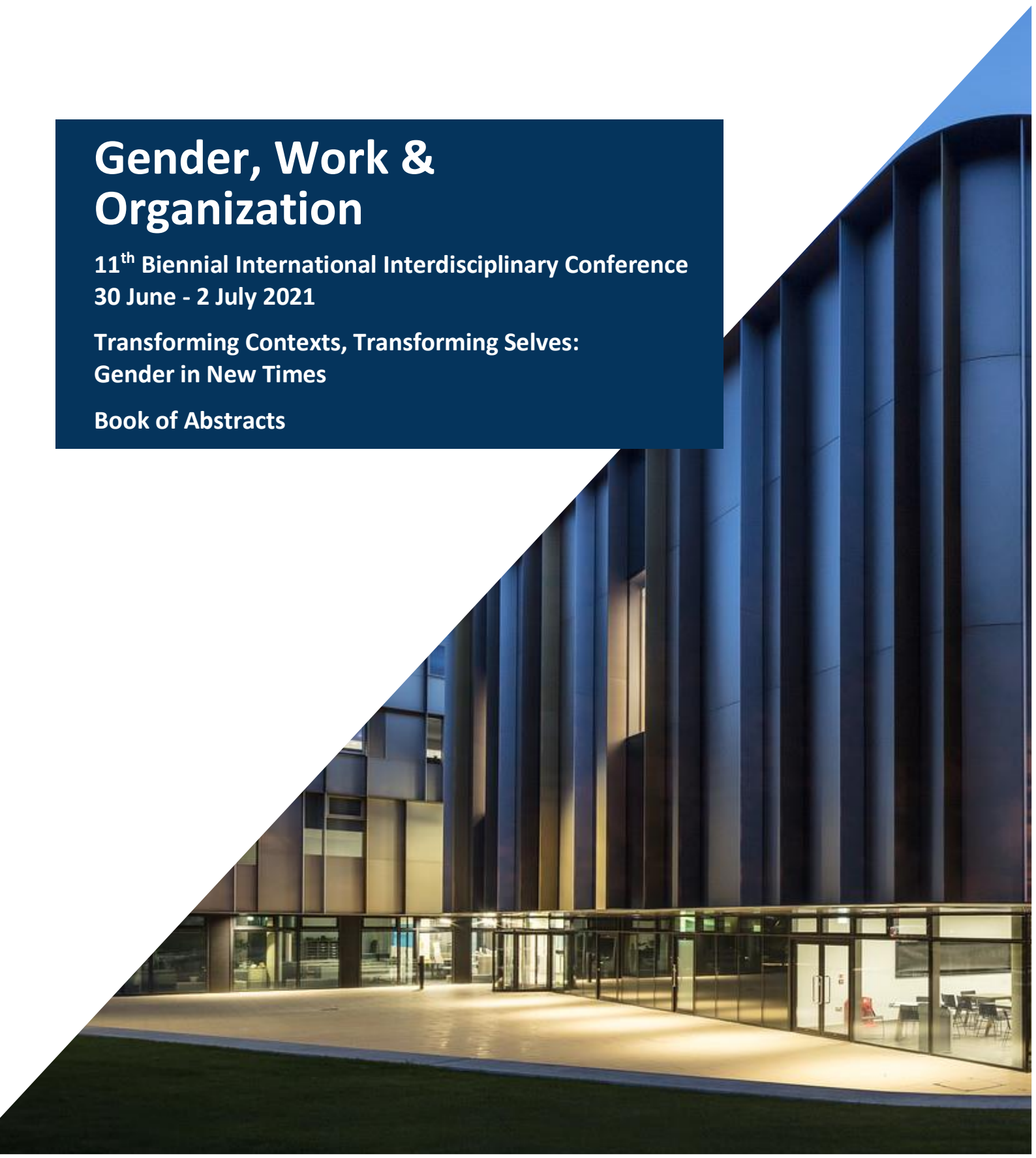


# Gender, Work & Organization

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30 June - 2 July 2021

Transforming Contexts, Transforming Selves:  
Gender in New Times

Book of Abstracts



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**Stream 1**  
**Troubling/Transforming Working Lives and Contexts:**  
**Judith Butler, Gender, Work & Organization**

**Conveners: Leanne Cutcher, Moya Lloyd, Kat Riach and Melissa Tyler**

*Kate Kenny*

**From subjectivity to materiality: Speaking out in Organizations**

Judith Butler's work is well-recognized for enhancing our understanding of the relationship between subjectivity and power (Hall, 2000), including in the context of organizations, business and management (Ford, 2010; Fotaki et al., 2014; Hancock & Tyler, 2007; Pullen & Knights, 2007; Pullen et al., 2016; Riach, Rumens & Tyler, 2014; 2016; Tyler, 2012; Tyler & Cohen, 2008; Varman & Al-Amoudi, 2016). In this paper I explore the value of her work for shedding light on questions of organizational resistance and transgression of the status quo. This exploration moves from subjectivity to examining embodiment and materiality in this context (Butler, 1993; 2010).

To date Butler's conception of subjectivity has shed light on how subjects are constituted amid wider flows of power, but not in any straightforward or determinist manner (Butler, 1990; 1997). Nor can her work be reduced to a theory of agency. Rather an understanding of subjectivity via Butler entails a micro-level examination of the mundane practices and experiences of people alongside a macro-level consideration of wider structural, cultural and political forces, and foregrounds the role of the psyche in the movement between these 'levels'. In the case of organizational resistance involving whistleblowing, for example, her ideas on mourning and melancholia (1997) provide insights. Drawing on Butler's concept of normative exclusions and the effects these can have on those outside the norm helps understand how whistleblowers whose names have become public began to experience themselves as abject (Kenny, 2019, see also Pullen et al., 2016; Riach et al., 2014). Adding to more well-known exclusions including being rejected by one's organization, one's colleagues, friends and family, self-abjection can involve the apparent internalization of 'outside' exclusions such that people find themselves unwittingly participating in their own suffering. A second insight enabled by Butler's work involves the ways in which people can find themselves adhering to norms that ultimately cause injury (2004), because in some cases these are the only means of securing a sense of validity as a subject. Where particular labels and categories are problematic and hurtful, and in some cases impossible, subjects can paradoxically desire subjection to them because they offer a valid and recognized, albeit hurtful position. The alternative is not to "exist" at all. Such insights can shed light on the experiences of the many cases of silenced whistleblowers and the ambivalent, liminal role that can be occupied (Kenny et al., 2019). At the same time, recognition from respected others as valid truth-tellers, can help subjects in this position to survive and cope, offering a subject position that is somewhat "liveable", a sense of comfort and possibility (see also Tyler, 2012). A focus on recognition and affect can help understand such dynamics.

One key contribution of Butler's work, overall, for debates on organizational resistance is to show how the figure of the individual who resists, can be reworked and rethought as necessarily social. Counter-intuitively, on this view someone in this position is perceived as

an ‘ek-static’ subject (Butler, 2004). Their existence and their survival cannot be thought of apart from the social milieu in which they are embedded, which encompasses powerful discourses but also other people with whom they engage as they go through a journey of transgression and resistance. As part of this, Butler’s work highlights how resistance emerges within and between bodies, that are subject to multiple forces, and that can work towards political change (Fotaki and Harding, 2018). The vulnerability and precarity of the body is central to this (Butler, 1993; 2010). Physical bodies engage in resistant practices, sometimes suffering a result (Butler and Athanasiou, 2013). Bodies are subject to material, economic, social and environmental affordances, and obstacles, albeit that this can be overlooked in approaches focusing on the discursive aspects of social life. On this view however, organizational resistance can only be understood through a perspective emphasising the co-constitution of material and discursive productions of ‘reality’, an area that will be explored further in this paper.

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**Stream 1**  
**Wednesday, Session 1 – 11:30-13:00**  
**Subjectivity, performativity and materiality**

Pullen, A., Thanem, T., Tyler, M & Wallenberg, L. (2016). Sexual Politics, Organizational Practices: Interrogating Queer Theory, Work and Organization. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 23(1), 1–6.

Riach, K., Rumens, N., & Tyler, M. (2016). Towards a Butlerian methodology: Undoing organizational performativity through anti-narrative research. *Human Relations*, 69(11), 2069–2089.

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Tyler, M., & Cohen, L. (2008). Management in/as comic relief: Queer theory and gender performativity in ‘The Office’. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 15(2), 113–132.

Varman, R., & Al-Amoudi, I. (2016). Accumulation through derealization: How corporate violence remains unchecked. *Human Relations*, 69(10), 1909–1935.

*Scott Lawley*

### **Performativity and spatiality: Butler in the locker room**

This paper reviews the impact that Butler's work on gender performativity (1990) and the materiality of bodies in organisational spaces (1993) has had on my own research and activism with regards to the marginalisation and exclusion that LGBT+ participants face in sport. The paper draws upon wide-scale research into LGBT+ sports participation in England (Lawley and Smith, 2017) and ongoing focus group research into the experiences of young LGBT+ participants in sporting provision in institutions such as schools, universities and leisure centres. The paper notes that the problematic cultures and contexts which create marginalisation and exclusion revolve around parodic hypermasculine performances, or demand performances of gender in accordance with heteronormative 'scripts' of behaviour. Furthermore, these performances are often materialised within specific spaces of sport, such as the locker room, rather than being observed in the wider behaviour of the participants. In this respect, these gendered performances reflect the 'spatial turn' in organisation studies which places Butler's gender performativity within specific spatial and material context (eg Tyler and Cohen, 2010)

In the paper, I highlight the significance of this focus on performativity and spatiality for future interventions in three ways:

- 1) I highlight how this has informed my own recommendations for policy and practice with respect to LGBT+ participation in sport, in particular by recommending a focus on the 'lived spaces' (Lefebvre, 1991) where sports takes place and is experienced.
- 2) I highlight the implications for equality and diversity practices in organisations more widely, in particular highlighting the differences between actions as a policy level and the impact that this has on the experience of participants in organisational spaces (eg Ahmed, 2012)
- 3) I link this with the critical performativity debate on academic intervention in organisational practice (eg Spicer et al, 2006), noting in particular that whilst this debate has drawn upon Butler's work and debated it widely, it has had little to say about gender and LGBT+ issues in organisations.

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**Stream 1**  
**Wednesday, Session 1 – 11:30-13:00**  
**Subjectivity, performativity and materiality**

Butler, J. (1993), *Bodies that matter: on the discursive limits of “sex”* Routledge, London.

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*Alan McKinlay and Scott Taylor*

**Making Men, Making Ships: Everyday Gender Performativity in Shipyard Labour, 1880-1939**

Performativity has become synonymous with Judith Butler's work and ideas, especially in relation to how we embody and enact gender. Here we return to J.L. Austin's original coinage to explore how utterances make sense as social imperatives. In particular, we focus on context and intent, as implied in Austin's original example of 'I name this ship...'. Performative utterances only operate as such when a person has the authority to act. We examine this dynamic of performative authority in relation to shipyard workers' claims to be 'making men' as they made ships between 1880 and 1939.

To do this we focus on how performativity unfolds in key moments of making. In the example of the ship launch, Austin concentrated upon the words that launched the vessel, and the remote possibility that these words could fail to become performative; or, even less likely, that the words would be subverted. Austin's focus is restricted to the launch's platform party - he does no more than hint at the drama of what leads to and follows the launch: the smiles, the momentary anxiety and silence that follows the naming, then the relief of racket and dust as the drag chains ease the ship's passage from land to river, and finally the crowd's exhilaration as the ship moves down the slipway. This is, we argue, also present in the performative processes of 'making men', suggesting that performative outcomes are always uncertain, always dramatic.

We do this by analysing four performative moments that underpin everyday dramas of masculinity as embodied by men making ships. Specifically, we analyse apprenticeship completion, signified by speech and action related to tools, alcohol, and earnings, marks the end of childhood and the start of the gradual making of men. Second, becoming a craftsman [*sic*] disciplined by a community was, paradoxically, to accept the values of independence and self-determination. Only time-served trades were allowed to touch machines and decide on how tasks should be completed. Famously, one shipyard engineer drew a chalk circle around his machine to mark the border of supervisory or managerial control. Third, independent craft identity was defined by membership of a community, exemplified in the ritual of 'tossing the brick': when crafts returned to the yard gates after their unpaid summer holiday, they decided whether or not to go back to work. A brick would be tossed into the air, and work only resumed if it landed on its end. This ritual was watched every year by furious, impotent, managers conscious that this was a pointed reminder that capital was valueless without craft. Finally, all shipyard trades relished their reputation as ferociously political economic militants. This militancy remained an irrational mystery to economists,

but can be readily understood as a collective expression of masculinity and what it meant to perform being a man in that time and place.

*Jules Allen*

**Work, parenting and performativity: a route towards undoing gender?**

A pathway to addressing gender inequality at work and the gendered division of labour is men's greater sharing of parenting responsibility, starting with parental leave. The gendered division of labour is a core element of the heterosexual matrix (Butler, 1990) and is foundational in establishing and maintaining the gender binary. However, constellations of social norms, workplace cultures and government policy shape fathers' access to parental leave. Existing literature exploring fathers' use of leave tends to focus on the consequences of policy design and workplace constraints. This literature is yet to examine the relative impact of policy norms, workplace cultures and social norms as three contributing domains. My doctoral research addresses this gap by interviewing fathers working at the same audit firm in UK, Sweden and Portugal to understand the operation and interrelation of these three spheres of norms in shaping fathers' leave use. A further question pursued is whether changes in fathers' use of parental leave hold potential to unravel the gender binary.

Theoretically, my central doctoral contribution lies in arguing for an understanding of parenting as performative (Butler, 1990). While conducting my fieldwork I encountered, as other scholars (McDowell, 1997; Tyler and Cohen, 2010), the operation of performativity in the workplace. For many respondents, workplace cultures were the most salient factor in decisions about leave use. Fathers in the UK and Portugal faced explicit and tacit judgements from senior peers, whereas fathers in Sweden experienced direct encouragement. The cultural mediation of fathers' parenting is clear. Yet, in all countries, tensions between respondents' desires to be engaged 'good fathers' and their ambitions towards success has led me to conceptualise the 'performative breadwinner'.

This paper mobilises Butler's work on performativity, gender and regulation to illuminate questions of access to parental leave at work. Theorising differential access to parental leave as shaped by norms that are governed by and also exceed state level regulatory frameworks (Butler, 2004), this paper will explore the ways in which gender, and gendered access to parental leave, is produced by the operation of these norms at the organizational level. Data collected from the three countries suggests that workplace constraints significantly delimit the field of possibility for fathers, with implications for the potential of parental leave to unravel the gender binary.

Gender performativity constrains the field of possibility for behaviour, actions and bodily enactment. If change is possible but only through subversion/resignification (Butler, 1993) or refusal/revision of norms and new gender formulations (Butler, 2015), then work is a key site of change. Although Wall (2014) and Brandth and Kvande (2016) find that fathers' caring practices whilst on 'leave alone' have potential to shift notions of masculinity and "undo" gender norms, both forms of performative subversion/resignification, these instances take place at the household/community level. Drawing on case studies in Sweden, Portugal and

UK, this paper will ultimately argue that performative resignification at work is a central pathway to widening fathers' access to parental leave, but that potential for undoing gender is constrained by workplace and governmental regulatory frameworks.

*Mahaut Fanchini and Kate Kenny*

**Troubling Whistleblowing: A gendered experience?**

Is speaking truth to power a gendered experience? Extant research and knowledge in this area tends to conceive of the worker who speaks out about perceived wrongdoing, as a gender-neutral subject. A small body of scholarship examines the gender dimensions of speaking out; some report on the different public perceptions and opinions that can emerge in response to whistleblowing cases involving male and female disclosers. Other studies examine whether inherent differences exist between men and women whistleblowers. Reflecting on his extensive research, C Fred Alford observes little difference in what women disclose or how often they do so. He notes however that women ‘talked differently about their experience’ of speaking up (p. 70), evoking a greater concern and care for the others involved in the disclosure, an observation for which Alford draws on Carol Gilligan’s work. Yet other studies engage large-scale survey techniques to pose hypothetical questions to respondents, and thus ascertain whether gender affects one’s likelihood to speak out about wrongdoing in the first place, with variable results. Few studies adopt an in-depth, qualitative perspective on the gendered experience of speaking out.

In this paper we address this lacuna by presenting data on the experiences of women whistleblowers in the financial services industry from France, Ireland and the US. We specifically draw on insights from scholarship in gender and organization, that examines the ways in which organisations are structurally and culturally gendered. We are particularly inspired by scholars who draw on psychosocial theorists including Judith Butler, in order to examine the ways in which discourses of power impact upon subjects in organisations but also – paradoxically- how those subjects maneuver and construct a liveable self. We find that these women workers are marginalized twice, first excluded as disclosures of secrets and second as gendered subjects. Analysing their accounts in-depth, we find people upholding and defending aspects of organizational structures that ultimately work to exclude them as females, while at the same time finding spaces for survival within the painful experience of being retaliated against for speaking out. Our paper concludes with insights for theory, both in the area of business ethics and organization studies, but also for gender and work.

*Mohammed Cheded, Niall Curry and Chloé Vitry*

**Dragging Rupaul: ‘Brand identity’ and the marketable drag persona**

This paper investigates the performative effects of marketing language on the construction of identities and practices in the context of drag performances. More specifically, we focus on the effects of use of the metaphors of ‘brand identity’, which has particularly increased with the growing popularity of the reality TV show ‘RuPaul’s Drag Race’ (RPDR), to interrogate ‘drag as undoing gender’ (Butler, 2004) in the context of neoliberal cooptation of queer culture. Prior research in organisation studies has shed light on the role of organisational language in shaping gendered practices in the workplace (Tyler and Cohen, 2007; Harding et al., 2011; Ashcraft and Muhr, 2018). More specifically, research engaging with Butler’s concept of ‘undoing gender’ (2004) has highlighted what her scholarship can bring to analyses of identity for organisation studies (Pullen and Rhodes, 2013). We aim to extend this scholarship by exploring how the language of marketability of drag can, instead of ‘undoing gender’, participate in reproducing a narrow view of ‘gender as drag’ and ‘drag as parody of gender’. By doing so, we hope to contribute to developing an understanding of the performative effects of marketing language on gender, with a focus on metaphors, queer art and practices.

To this end, our empirical study employs a corpus-assisted discourse analysis to investigate the language surrounding the reality TV show, ‘Rupaul’s Drag Race’. By building a corpus – a principled collection of texts – and by using Sketch Engine (Kilgariff et al. 2014) – corpus analysis software – we adopt a triangulated approach, popularised by Baker et al. (2008), that combines corpus linguistics and discourse analysis to reveal and unpack discourse patterns present in the language of RPDR Drag Queens. Our corpus, the RPDR Corpus, was compiled by webscraping online texts related to RPDR, and by using RTweet to capture tweets produced by a selection of RPDR Drag Queens as well as tweets that contain RPDR themed hashtags. Using a combination of frequency lists, key word lists, and key multiword lists, as well as a range of further computational approaches, our analysis focuses on extracting and analysing marketing metaphors, such as ‘brand identity’ or ‘on brand’, to contribute an empirical perspective on the discourse of drag marketability.

Our preliminary findings highlight how the commodification of drag through the usage of marketing metaphors participates in (1) the ‘sanitisation’ of the art form of drag to create a version that is more suitable for wider ‘consumption’ and audiences, (2) the exclusion of ‘less marketable’ drag forms and identities (such as POC, trans, untucked, and gore queens), which can affect their opportunities to access work, and (3) exacerbating the tensions between the mainstreaming of queer art and its roots as a form of resistance to hegemonic expressions of gender. In doing so, we shed light on the performative effects of the usage of marketing metaphors in drag narratives in reproducing narrow, and sometimes oppressive, views of the art of drag.

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*Sanela Smolović Jones, Owain Smolović Jones and Caroline Clarke*

## **The gendered surplus value of precarious labour**

### **Introduction**

Precarious work has become an “en vogue” topic (Prosser, 2016: 949) in the organisation studies literature, although precarity as a phenomenon has been on the rise globally for several decades, especially in the ‘developing’ world (Korica and Bazin, 2019). Perhaps the increase in attention can partially be attributed to the fact that there has been a steady upsurge of precarious employment in the ‘developed’ world (Fleming, 2019). Such precarisation has led to the theorising of an emerging ‘precariat’, a ‘dangerous’ ‘class-in-the-making’ (Standing, 2016: Loc173) that is symptomatic of an increasing disparity in wealth distribution.

However, to date the organisation studies literature lacks depth in exploring the gendered experiences of precarity, particularly for women suffering poverty while in work. In this paper we bring together two pre-eminent feminist theorists of precarity, Judith Butler (2006, 2011 and 2016) and Silvia Federici (2009, 2012), to better understand the normative work of exploitation aimed at women within the precariat. We develop and theorise the notion of a ‘gendered surplus value’ enacted by women in precarious employment, as an additional aesthetic and reproductive form of labour, performed by women yet benefiting owners and executives. We do so through a qualitative study with McDonald’s, Wetherspoons and TGI Fridays workers in the UK. We draw on 34 interviews in total, 24 with women.

### **Conceptualising gendered precarious work**

Precarity can be defined as a condition of vulnerability and insecurity inflicted upon a person, or group, by the policies of employers and government (Lorey, 2015) in contrast to the ontological condition of precariousness posited by Butler (2006). The causes of precarity are well-known: the dissolution of structural support and collectivisation of workers (Jaehrling et al, 2018); the ‘projectization’ of work (Greer, et al., 2018: 2); the unwitting participation in precarity by workers themselves through the adoption of neoliberal discourses and norms (Moisander et al., 2018); and the lack of recognition for ‘invisible’ forms of work, which are usually highly gendered (Federici, 2009; Lewis, 2012; Ravenswood and Harris, 2016; Silva, 2005).

We theorise gendered surplus value from a feminist post-structuralist (Butler, 2006; Lorey, 2015) and Marxist (Federici, 2009) perspective. Through doing so we can reflect on the material experiences, and consequences of women’s exploitation through surplus labour, and situate this in a historical context of oppression (Acker, 2006; Federici, 2009). But we also explore how women’s bodies are enmeshed within neoliberal discourses that normalise their surplus value, rendering exploitation as both desirable and self-authored (Butler, 1999 and

2011). In doing so we engage with Butler's (2006) account of precarious life, where precariousness is theorised as an ontological condition common to all humans (Butler, 2016), but where some human lives are made to be more precarious, "expendable" (Butler and Athanasiou, 2013: 43) and "ungrievable" (Butler, 2015: 152). Within this account, the precarious body is viewed in relational terms, "less an entity than a relation, and it cannot be fully dissociated from the infrastructural and environmental conditions of its living" (Butler, 2016: 19). Adopting this position, and placing it in conversation with Federici, allows us to surface how such relational 'infrastructures' may perpetuate the exploitation of women in precarity while also providing the conditions that enable resistance (Tyler, 2019).

### **Initial findings**

We theorise three practices of gendered surplus labour.

First, *caring* involves the work of being an informal social worker, counsellor and child-minder for colleagues and customers. This aspect of surplus work is both empowering and oppressive; empowering because it helps us view in practical terms how relational infrastructures of support (Butler, 2016: 21) function under precarious conditions; oppressive because it also draws attention to the exploitative and assumed norms at play in the unfolding of these infrastructures (see also Federici, 2009).

Second, *entertaining* involves performing a visually appealing and artistically talented self to please the crowd - trade union officials, customers and employers. Such performances involve being a certain type of 'extroverted' communicator and someone who can draw on artistic skills to entertain customers. We turn here to notions of the body as site for the production (Butler, 2011) of capital (Federici, 2009), where women in precarious conditions are continually pressed to produce ever greater surplus value beyond the traditional expectations of service. Yet these entertaining bodies can also act as tools of resistance, as workers draw on the embodied communicative strengths developed at work to garner support for workplace rebellion through trade unions.

Third, *cleaning* involves hygiene tasks, such as mopping up bodily waste from bar and restaurant eating and drinking spaces, but also the behind-the-scenes 'tidying up' work, of ordering and organising unionised workers. Here we have reproductive labouring (Federici, 2012) as surplus work, where women performatively enact imposed gender identities both in their salaried and activist work.

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*Sine Nørholm Just and Sara Louise Muhr*

**‘Almost like female men’ – The performative violence of gendered leadership**

*Take a lot of the women in top-positions, then I'll claim that they are almost more tough than men. They are almost like female men. And it almost makes you sick to the stomach, because they are almost too tough.*

The introductory quote may be extreme in its frankness, but it is thoroughly representative of male managers' perceptions of female colleagues as expressed in our data of more than 50 in-depth interviews with Danish male and female managers. In this paper we will analyze the violence of these expressions, along with the (self-)injuries they incur, in terms of performativity.

While the import of performativity on organization and management studies, especially its implications for the (im-)possibility of critical engagement with managerial practices, has been thoroughly discussed (see inter alia Spicer, Alvesson & Kärreman 2009; Alvesson & Spicer 2012; Spoelstra & Svensson 2016; Cabantous et al., 2016), the rooting of this concept in speech act theory has received less attention (but see Gond et al., 2016). With this paper we will first trace Butler's conception of performativity back through Derrida to Austin, thereby emphasizing not only the productive dimensions of being able to 'do things with words' but also the material constraints placed on and power relations involved in this productivity (Butler, 2010).

Against the critique that Butler presents a 'merely cultural' social diagnosis (Callon, 2006; Fraser), we will argue that her conceptualization of performativity offers analyses of structural inequalities that may inform political activism (Butler, 1997a). In so doing, we will perform a second trace of performativity, now focusing on the developments of the concept within Butler's own work from *Excitable Speech* (1997b), tellingly subtitled *A Politics of the Performative*, to *Dispossession* (2013, written in dialogue with Athanasiou), with the equally evocative subtitle of *The Performative in the Political*.

Based on the conceptual traces, we will turn to analysis of the interviewed managers' interpellations of self and other, the performativity of their utterances. This analysis will first follow the speech act theory trace so as to provide close readings of the utterances' locutionary meaning, illocutionary force and perlocutionary effects. Here, we will detail the violence done in various interpellations of 'woman' and 'manager' as contradictory terms. Further, we will examine the internal contradictions of these interpellations, arguing that men *and* women are complicit in upholding these contradictions and, hence, maintaining the performativity of 'manager' as 'male'. Second, we will turn from the analysis of speech acts to discussion of their political implications in order to consider how the analysis may become actively involved in the undoing of gendered leadership.

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*Sharon Mavin, Valerie Stead, Carole Elliott and Jannine Williams*

**Judith Butler and the Framing Women Leaders: Media misrecognition, audience responses and legitimacy**

This paper connects Judith Butler's (2009) framework of recognition and framing to women leaders' legitimacy to theorize how media misrecognize women leaders as part of the gendering of leadership. We examine audience reaction to women leaders' gendered media representations and provides insight into why legitimization remains problematic despite their increased media coverage. Butler (2009) considers how media frames, (how media defines '*what is at issue* in public debates' (Brüggemann, 2014, p.62, original italics)), and actively participates, to selectively produce and enforce what counts as 'reality'. It follows that media frames of women leaders are selectively produced and work to organize the visual and discursive experience, constituting subjects through reiterated norms, 'through which subjects are recognized' or not (Butler, 2009 p.3).

Media's representation of women leaders, audience reaction and the media's agency in constructing and evaluating leadership legitimacy is under-explored (Elliott & Stead, 2018; Liu, Cutcher & Grant, 2015; Mavin et al., 2018). Butler (2009) proposes that media frames lives, and in this case women leaders, in particular ways to solicit and delimit audience responses as an 'operation of power' and which appreciates recognition as constitutive. We surface how media misrecognition, which manifests in a dynamic relationship between media and audience through visual and textual representations of women leaders, create, affirm and challenge legitimacy reactions. Women in powerful positions have a harder time than men eliciting respect and achieving legitimacy as credible leaders (Vial, Napier & Brescoll, 2016). Being misrecognized in media and by audiences can place women leaders' legitimacy at risk; they 'can be renounced, sidelined and/or stigmatized' (Harding, Ford & Fotaki 2013, p.57). We extend knowledge into how normative and implicit ideas of legitimacy (Ridgeway, 2001; Vial et. al., 2016; Griffin, Harding and Learmonth, 2017) are strengthened.

We discuss an audience-based multimodal analysis of an article and image published by the UK *Daily Mail* newspaper, in print and online, on Tuesday 28<sup>th</sup> March, 2017. This focused on a meeting at a Glasgow hotel between Scotland's First Minister, Nicola Sturgeon and the UK Prime Minister, Theresa May, to discuss Brexit and security issues. The meeting was held prior to May's triggering of Article 50, signaling the government's intent to start the negotiation process of the UK's departure from the European Union. This included an article entitled 'Finest weapons at their command? Those pins!' on pages 6-7 of the newspaper and an image of Sturgeon and May seated together with the caption 'Never mind Brexit. Who won Legs-it!' on the front page.

Four workshops took place with self-selecting audiences; a total of 75 women and men. We present a multimodal analysis of audience reactions to the newspaper article and image. Butler's framework (2009, p.3-4) positions media frames as eliciting particular affective and

ethical audience dispositions which ‘produce and shift the terms through which subjects are recognized’, and in ways that do not necessarily enable the potential for those framed (women leaders) to thrive. Adopting this theoretical lens presents possibilities to disrupt limiting normative representations of women’s legitimacy as leaders. Audience reactions captured in themes of The Female Body, Irony, Battle and Power, illustrate how media framing solicits audience reactions, unsettling women leaders’ legitimacy. Surfacing the gap between the media’s acknowledgement of women as leaders and their legitimacy we offer a theory of media misrecognition to explain how, through framing, media devices and tactics combine and mobilize to misrecognize women leaders’ legitimacy.

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*Claire Jin Deschner*

**Recognising vulnerability to build anarchist infrastructures for collective autonomy: A Butlerian perspective on social movement organising in Germany**

While Judith Butler's concept of performativity has received increasing attention in organisation theory (de Souza, Brewis, & Rumens, 2016; Gond, Cabantous, Harding, & Learmonth, 2015; Harding, Ford, & Lee, 2017; Riach, Rumens, & Tyler, 2016; Tyler, 2019a; Tyler & Cohen, 2010), until recently there has been little regard to the underlying concept of an ontological vulnerability (Butler, 2015) and the resulting embodied ethics (Tyler, 2019b). Ontological vulnerability as concept discusses the capacity of all human life to be affected, physically and verbally, and to affect others. In Butler's (1997) earlier work the concept of vulnerability was essential, because it creates the need for attachment to performative norms and the need to be recognised.

In her work on the 2011 protest wave Butler (2015) used vulnerability to discuss the importance of infrastructure for any form of assembly and politicised the social and material conditions which enable any kind of political performance. She wrote this work in the context of the 2011 Occupy protests and the underlying anarchist principles of self-organisation (Landesman, 2016). Through the principle of self-organisation anarchists aim to create alternative conditions of politics, that enable a collective autonomy. Doing so, they prefigure emancipatory spaces of politics addressing intersectional forms of oppressions both in their aims and methods of protest (Luchies, 2014; Maeckelbergh, 2009). In this they are faced with the inevitable problem of different forms of vulnerabilities, that are being called in and being addressed.

In the context of alternative organisations (Parker, Cheney, Fournier, & Land, 2014) this research project discusses how anarchist organising aims to include vulnerability as underlying concept. I base these discussions on my activist ethnography (Coleman, 2015) in the Autonomous movement in Germany. The Autonomous have been developing since the 1980s as anti-fascist, anti-capitalist, anti-racist and radical queer-feminist political network. A core political strategy of the Autonomous was to self-organise movement infrastructure based on a strong recognition of mutual interdependency and a political commitment of solidarity: an autonomous life can only be lived in structures that allow autonomy for all, not for some.

During the last 40 years the Autonomous have created and maintained a common infrastructure of social reproduction with multiple housing co-ops and social centres (Katsiaficas, 2006; Thorburn, 2017). However, this commitment contrasts with movement self-images of the militant street fighter and a connected dominance of whiteness and masculinity (Kadir, 2016). Movement practises have tried to address this problem. Following feminist epistemologies, movement internal theorising aims to recognise different forms of vulnerabilities as sources of knowledge without essentialising differences; and using the

concept of privilege Autonomists have tried to differentiate an ontological vulnerability from different levels of precarity that result from intersection forms of oppression.

Using Butler's concept of ontological vulnerability, I discuss the organisational processes oriented towards a collective autonomy based on embodied ethics. The lived reality of this example of anarchist self-organisation offers concrete examples in which embodied ethics have been practised for decades and have also experienced their practical limitations.

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*Marjan De Coster and Patrizia Zanoni*

**The paradox of organizing for political change within the scene of power: The case of the “yellow vests”**

The work of Judith Butler, often accused for a lack of empirical ground, has been increasingly applied as a theoretical lens to understand organizations and organizing. Studies have largely drawn on her influential early work on gender performativity (Butler, 1990, 1993, 2004) to look at the (un)doing of gender in organizations (e.g. De Coster & Zanoni, 2018; Pullen & Knights, 2007). Following her own intellectual trajectory, organizational scholars have shifted attention to her latest work on precarious lives, dispossession and the assembly for instance to understand commoning as a counter-hegemonic movement (e.g. Velicu & García-López, 2018) and to study contemporary political mobilization and activism (e.g. Daskalaki, Fotaki, & Sotiropoulou, 2018; Tyler, 2019).

The current paper inscribes itself in this latter stream of work and draws on Butler’s latest work on the mechanisms of power delineating the conditions of resistance (Butler, Gambetti, & Sabsay, 2016) to denaturalize the scene of power through which social movements can emerge. For Butler, the street – a key place where mobilizations occur – cannot be taken for granted, but should be understood as a political space, a space where the terms of appearance are prescribed by the frame of power and contested. Hence, freedom to march the street only occurs when political support is granted by those in power. Butler continues by arguing how the political order reproduces itself through ‘a mechanism of disavowal’. Hereby she means that within the ‘scene of power’, those in dominant positions have the power to disavow the vulnerability of those mobilizing and, moreover invoke their own vulnerability as a way to shore up the viability of such movements. She refers to powerful men who proclaim feminism as a threat as an example. But also the (mostly male) responses to the #metoo movement, obliterating the movements as ‘a witch hunt’, can be understood in this sense. But the ‘logic of disavowal’ and the relative (lack of) support to march the street is also particularly relevant to understand how resistance against the political order can be rendered harmless.

Drawing on this ‘logical of disavowal’ as theorized by Judith Butler, this paper empirically investigates the recent case of the “gillets jaunes” (yellow vests) movement to analyse the scene of power and the terms of legibility through which movements critical of current neoliberal politics can or cannot occur. The yellow jackets originated in France at the end of 2018. Wearing their ‘safety jackets’ – a bodily performance of the condition of vulnerability – they demonstrate against the neoliberal policies implemented by the government of president Emmanuel Macron and ask for a radical political change. The movement spread quickly across Europe. Although the yellow vests consider themselves pacific protesters, the movement has gained negative connotation because of images of violence and aggression against the police spread by media and politicians. This way, the political message of the yellow vests is displaced and the organization is rendered harmless to the political order.

Empirically, the paper draws on interviews with 30 yellow vests active in various cities in Flanders, participant observation of one local group, and an extensive discourse analysis of online platforms of the Flemish yellow vests as well as of the media messages that have reported on the (international) movements. Based on these data, this paper seeks to address the question of 1) how the yellow vests constitute themselves as resisting subjects – recognized by others – despite the logic of disavowal limiting the space through which they can act and 2) whether the Internet offers an alternative to the limits of the streets as a political space where politically subversive movements can or cannot organize.

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*Suzanne Decat, Patrizia Zaroni and Tom Kuppens*

**The commons as a collective of vulnerable bounded selves: A Butlerian reading of the case of “The Old Barn”**

**Positioning in theoretical debate**

This paper draws on the work of Judith Butler to analyse emergent practices of commoning in an organization which we call, with a pseudonym, “The Old Barn”. In the last decade, the public debate on alternatives to capitalism has gained renewed attention. A growing number of people world-wide has actively come to question the capitalist imperative of endless accumulation for its own sake, a mode of production and distribution of wealth that leads to inequality, environmental degradation and alienation (Parker, Cheney, Fournier & Land, 2014). Against this background, the commons are advanced as an alternative, more fair and sustainable mode of organizing the economy that is not based on private property (Caffentzis & Federici, 2014).

The commons refers to goods that are not owned and governed privately, but rather by a community (Ostrom, 2000). The notion was popularized by Elinor Ostrom (1990), who, against neoclassical economists, reinterpreted the ‘tragedy of the commons’ – the historical enclosure of commons into private properties – not as a consequence of the inherently calculative and egoistic nature of human beings (e.g. Hardin, 1968), but rather as the absence of communal rules with corresponding systems of monitoring and enforcement.

In Ostrom’s (1990) understanding, human beings handle based on ‘bounded’ rationality, which reflects their relatively stable preferences and their limited knowledge and ‘processing’ capabilities when they strive to maximize their personal welfare. In this perspective, individuals are ‘conditional co-operators’: they choose whether or not that cooperate based on a consideration of costs and benefits, within relations of ‘trust and reciprocity’ in which they are embedded (Ostrom & Walker, 2003; Ostrom, 2009). Individuals cooperate as an ‘experiment’, after which they can decide to exit the relationship if cooperation is not reciprocated.

Despite the importance of Ostrom’s work in de-esstializing the neoclassical economic subject, through its emphasis on the social dimension of individuals’ decisions, her understanding of the ‘commoning subject’ has recently been critiqued for assuming a specific kind of human subjectivity (Velicu & García-López, 2018). Whereas Ostrom recognizes the material interdependence of commoners as they are bounded by a contingent rationality to sustain common resources, similar to neoclassical economists, she assumes that individuals operate in autonomy within a fair and free market system, driven by rational calculation and utility maximization. Drawing on Judith Butler’s understanding of subjectivity as produced in sociality, Velicu and García-López (2018) propose a re-theorization of the subject as formed *through* commoning practices, rather than preceding them. In this understanding, commoning is a ‘relational politics’, a struggle to perform common liveable relations, rather than a mere management of resources.

For Butler (2005), the subject does not pre-exist sociality but rather emerges through the relation with others along a normative framework which we do not fully choose, nor understand. The subject is thus inherently social and relational. Furthermore, the subject's dependence on something outside of her to be recognized and granted the right to exist and make her life liveable renders her inherently vulnerable (Butler & Athanasiou, 2013). This understanding is productive to reconceptualise the commons as a collective of 'bounded selves' where subjects engage in relations because of the shared recognition of being mutually vulnerable, and with the aim of reclaiming a common liveable life.

### **Goal of the paper**

In this paper, we build on Butler's understanding of the subject to analyse the commoning practices in "The Old Barn" (in short TOB) and the vulnerable bounded subjectivities that they perform.

### **The case and methodology**

As a solidarity economy initiative recently built in an (architecturally protected) abandoned train shed, TOB is organized in a cooperation between a Belgian town municipality, an autonomous agency for urban development, the neighbourhood (the initiators, the crowd funders and the users), non-profit social welfare organizations focussing on the disadvantaged groups living in the area and small businesses (a solidarity food shop, several sports clubs, a bakery, a pizza baker and an Indian kitchen service). The TOB-partners – the initiating neighbours, the food partners, the sports clubs and the social welfare organizations – re-common the empty railway building rented from the municipality in a diverse and densely populated area and organize several community-based activities: they create the possibility to buy and cook food around the food court, the communal bar and the solidarity grocery store, but they also harbour various social, cultural and sports activities that focus on the engagement of the different groups that inhabit the neighbourhood.

Methodologically, the paper rests on data generated through in-depth semi-structured interviews with 12 different actors associated with TOB (neighbours, volunteers, partners renting a food court in TOB, partners involved in social welfare such as community development organizations and youth mobilizing organizations, partners renting a space in TOB to develop sport activities, employees of the autonomous agency for urban development and civil servants like neighbourhood managers working for the municipality), non-participant observation of meetings and gatherings of the different partners in TOB, documents and agreements between the different actors shaping their respective roles in TOB, and social media communication by TOB to promote its activities.

### **Preliminary findings**

From our preliminary observations of the commoning practices, we could distinguish three types of relations through which the commoning subject is performed:

- I. Relations within each partner of TOB. For example, the relation of the baker within the bakery as a partner of TOB.
- II. Relations between the different partners within TOB. For example, the relation between the baker of the bakery and the volunteers.
- III. Relations between the different partners of TOB and a) people living in the neighbourhood, b) crowd funders and c) the local state.

Our analysis emphasizes how these mutual dependencies shape both the commoning practices and the subjectivities that are performed through them. The commoning practices and subjectivities within the TOB effectively ‘queer’ capitalism (Gibson-Graham, 1996), in that they seem to re-appropriate market practices (e.g. real estate pricing, crowdfunding, branding, and public tendering) in new ways to foster the commons. In this sense, they illustrate how collective resistance can be organized within the framework of intelligibility imposed by capitalism.

The paper contributes to the burgeoning literature on alternative economies by showing how the struggle about commoning practices redefines social relations and subjectivities constituted through them.

### **Contribution**

This paper further interrogates the terms of existence of commoning practices and subjects amidst the capitalist frame of intelligibility that is imposed upon us (De Angelis, 2019; Federici & Sitrin, 2016; Zanoni, Forthcoming) in recognition that subjects can only resist through subjection. In particular, this paper seeks to analyse how commoning practices explicitly attempt to queer the framework of power imposed by capitalism.

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*Justine Grønbaek Pors*

**Ethics beyond individualism: Vulnerability, inheritance and discursive-affective entanglements**

This paper targets the relationships between organisational ethics, embodiment and vulnerability. The paper begins in the analysis offered by feminist organisational scholars of how corporate ethics and corporate responsibility have for many years been thought through an epistemological construct of individual, disembodied, masculine leadership. (Harding, Pullen and Rhodes, 2015; Loacker and Muhr, 2009; Kenny and Fotaki, 2015). To foster a different manner of thinking about organisational ethics, the paper lets empirical and theoretical inspirations cross-fertilize each other.

Empirically, I think with two empirical instances where educational managers come to think and feel in collective manners about how present pressures put at stake the future of the children they work with. Also, the managers experience a link between this risk and the ways in which the managers are themselves under pressure to polish their individual identity as strong and rational managers. These empirical instances bring with them insides into how, in spite of a range of techniques in place to consolidate rational individualism in leadership, once in a while, through a moment of vulnerability, more collective and affective ways of thinking and feeling emerge. Also, the empirical instances bring with them tricky questions about how organisational actors in embodied and affective registers come to experience and relive a feminist inheritance of their educational profession.

Theoretically, I take a point of departure in Butler's writing on vulnerability and her idea that an ethical engagement is inescapably embodied. I seek to develop our understanding of vulnerability and organisational ethics with two theoretical discussions:

First, I reflect upon how our understanding of vulnerability needs a well-considered concept of affect. I visit new approaches to affect in organisation studies and affect studies more broadly and discuss the potential pitfalls and risks of drawing on a Deleuzian/Massumian notion of affect as detached from discourse and subjectivity. I argue that the Deleuzian/Massumian concept of affect, recently receiving a lot of attention in organisation studies, disregards hard won feminist appreciations of the power of categories, processes of categorization and their performative effects. To support our thinking on vulnerability and ethics, I develop a concept of affect that does not position itself as a new and original turn, claiming to make unnecessary Butler's work on performativity. I relate and continue Butler's work by thinking about entanglements of (rather than separations between) affect and discourse/subjectivity.

Second, I consider Karen Barad's Butler-inspired work on hauntology to tackle the question of inheritance (how past educational values reemerge in the present and opens new futures) and the relationships between inheritance, vulnerability and responsibility. I thus, relate questions about vulnerability to how organisational actors allow themselves, in embodied and

affective registers to feel past, half-forgotten feminist values as well as noticing and confronting the processes through which these were made dispensable and became excluded.

I conclude by offering a framework of organisational ethics built on these inspirations.

*Angelo Benozzo, David Watson and Roberta Fida*

**Vulnerability, subversion and resistance of transgender and non-binary workers**

Our paper is inspired by Judith Butler's work on the vulnerability of the subject. In this paper we put some Butlerian's concepts to work in exploring the complexities encountered by transgender and non-binary people in their work life. In particular we draw on the idea of vulnerability and subversion in Judith Butler's work (Butler, 1990; 1997; 2006) to explore the narratives of some Italian non-binary/transgender workers. We focus on how words, speech and the context (the workplace) shape these narratives. Organizational contexts, materiality, processes and actors all contribute to the formation of situations that can expose non-binary and transgender workers to vulnerability. Butler argues that we become subjects by way of subjection to language. To be recognised as subjects all human beings, are subject to the constitutive power of language which exposes them to a vulnerability. Words not only describe, they have the power to produce effects. They can offend, cause suffering, generate anxiety, anguish, depression and incite physical violence. But, if words are unstable, repeated and repeatable, they are never wholly determined by conventions or norms. Meaning always exceeds sedimented conventions and the intention of the speakers, opening space for unexpected and enabling responses from the subject (see Butler, 1997 p. 2). Starting from Butler's concepts we ask: How do some transgender or non-binary people constitute themselves as vulnerable subjects? How do transgender and non-binary subjects repeat, support or resist (hetero and gender) normative organizational contexts. What subjectivities can emerge "as an improvisation in a scene of constraints" (Butler, 2004; p. 1) in the workplace, and how do these subjectivities emerge? What possibilities are there to re-signify (or re-contextualize or subvert) transgender and non-binary subjectivities made vulnerable by words and actions? What unexpected and enabling responses can a subject produce within constituting and constraining heteronormative organizations?

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*Isabella Scheibmayr*

### **Organizing vulnerability: Using Butler's conception of Vulnerability in Organizational Research**

This paper proposes to use the concept of vulnerability in organization studies. Even though Gender, Work and Organization published a special issue with vulnerability in the title (Durbin, Page, & Walby, 2017), vulnerability is hardly used conceptually in the field. Vulnerability might be understood in organization studies signifying *the other*, in contrast, vulnerability as an analytical concept highlights the role of dependence on relations as a basic human condition (Butler, 1988, 2004) and focuses on the potentiality of injustices instead of only materialized harm (E. Gilson, 2014). First approached by Judith Butler (2004; Butler, 2009, 2016), the concept has been refined in feminist philosophy (Cole, 2016; E. Gilson, 2011, 2014; Hollander, 2001; Pistrol, 2016). Vulnerability is double-gendered – gender structures vulnerability in contexts and organizations and vulnerability defines gender (Hollander, 2001; Phillips & Knowles, 2012), but vulnerability as a concept might be especially productive to consider the entanglement of gender with other dimensions of inequality. This framing enables us to analyze vulnerability across different levels and forms and re-write bodies within organizations (Pistrol, 2016; Sabsay, 2016).

As a theoretical discussion, the contribution of this paper is to conceptualize how vulnerability might be used in organization studies to enrich research processes and sharpen critical investigations. Vulnerability can be used in organization studies in the following ways: First analyzing companies in the business of vulnerability (vulnerability markets), second analyzing the constant maintenance of vulnerabilities by organizations (vulnerability maintenance) and third, strategies organizations are using to manage vulnerability in producing an image of invulnerability (vulnerability management). Organizations appear as reducers and producers of vulnerability alike. Vulnerability has been used in a wide area of research - e.g. international development (Klasen, Lechtenfeld, & Povel, 2015), bioethics (E. C. Gilson, 2015), care (Sveinsdottir & Rehnsfeldt, 2005), poverty (Corsi, Botti, & D'Ippoliti, 2016) and sex trafficking (Szörényi, 2014). In the field of organization and management research, however, vulnerability as a concept is not used, even though vulnerability is implicitly inherent in organizations, reflected for example in Whiteman and Cooper's (2016) study on organizational rape (Greenwood, 2017; Salaiz, 2017).

The paper proposes a framework of vulnerability to analyze organizational processes and structures from an ethical, epistemological and ontological perspective. Recent debates in organization and management studies can be enriched by taking into account the concept of vulnerability. Vulnerability might be used in studying gender in organizations to enrich our understanding of how injustices are constructed in organizational structures and processes. In doing so we can produce a counter-frame to the frames of war (Butler, 2009), violence (Villa, 2011) and gender (Butler, 1990; Lorber, 1994) that shape our lives. Vulnerability, understood in feminist sense, can serve as an analytical looking glass as well as a frame of resistance.

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*Nancy Harding*

**Organizational mattering: bodies, work and organization**

Feminist new materialist scholars accuse Butler's work of ignoring materialities, including especially the materiality of the body (Barad, 2007; Colebrook, 2008; Hekman, 2010). This is of particular concern given that the title of Butler's (1993) second major book refers specifically to *matter*. Posthuman approaches to research, in many ways the logical destination of poststructural perspectives such as Butler's, tend to ignore Butler's work altogether, preferring the inspiration of Deleuze. Given the theoretical and empirical power of these approaches, does this render Butler's work passé, no longer of relevance to organisation studies? I argue: 'of course not. Just the opposite in fact'.

In a riposte to her critics, Butler gathered together a selection of her essays written since 1993 that deal specifically with matter, notably that of bodies, in a collection entitled *Senses of the Subject* (Butler, 2015). She locates the difficulty of discussing materialities in philosophy's floundering 'time and again on the question of the body, it tends to separate what is called thinking from what is called sensing, from desire, passion, sexuality, and relations of dependency' (p. 15). Locating this failure in Descartes' influence and his successors' inability to apprehend that the matter of bodies exceeds discourse, she draws on Descartes, Merleau-Ponty, Spinoza, Hegel, Kierkegaard, Irigaray and Fanon, often reading them against themselves, to ponder matter's place in the formation of the "I". I argue these essays develop a theory of how matter, materialities, discourses and norms facilitate the on-going, reiterated emergence of a sense of self from the primary experience of its emergence in earliest infancy.

This paper explores the theory that assembles in *Senses of the Subject* to understand its relevance to contemporary studies of organisations. It takes as its focus a body that is easily to hand (pun intended), that of the academic's, and explores how Butler's insights may influence the ways in which we do our research. What are the implications of taking bodies and other materialities seriously when carrying out interviews, undertaking auto/ethnography, or developing new ways of researching (e.g. Stewart, 2007)? I will argue that Butler's theory of matter and materialities can enrich empirical research into working bodies, that new materialist theories are strengthened if Butler and Barad's approaches to performativity are read diffractively through each other, and that 'Butlerian posthumanism' is not an oxymoron but a means towards ethical politicised praxis.

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*Bontu Lucie Guschke*

**Embodied anti-narrative research – Methodologically navigating ‘reflexive undoing’ and vulnerable subjectivities in researching harassment and discrimination in organizations**

This paper explores the possibilities and implications of using embodied anti-narrative methodologies in research on harassment and discrimination in organizations. I draw upon Kathleen Riach, Nick Rumens and Melissa Tyler’s (2016) developments of a Butlerian inspired anti-narrative methodology and operationalize it using embodied research approaches, such as queer listening. Overall, the aim of the paper is to provide practical and theoretical insights towards the potentials and challenges of using an embodied form of anti-narrative research when engaging with research topics that require navigating the emancipatory potential of critical research with the vulnerability of research participants.

The methodological contribution is discussed based on the research I conduct as part of my PhD project on the (re)production of harassment and discrimination at workplaces in Danish universities. Engaging with the work of Judith Butler (1990, 1993, 1997, 2004) in dialogue with intersectional black feminist thought (Ahmed 2015, 2017, Crenshaw 1989, Davis 1981, Emejulu & Sobande 2019, Essed 1991, Essed et al. 2019, Holvino 2010, Lorde 1984), one of the main aims of the PhD research is to investigate how harassment and discrimination are perceived by people working at Danish universities and how their perception is based upon normative organizational structures and the related performative (un)doing of viable organizational subjectivities. In this study, anti-narrative research is used to explore the conditions, expectation and ideals of organizational subjectivities and how these are linked to perceptions and understandings of harassment and discrimination. Furthermore, following the approach of ‘reflexive undoing’ (Riach et al. 2016), I delve into a collective reflexive questioning and undoing of the norms and structures that govern the study subjects’ perceptions of and experiences with harassment and discrimination while engaging in a constant (self-)reflection process to balance the risk of ‘fixing’ these normative understandings in the research process.

Contributing to the further development of anti-narrative methodologies, I draw upon the methodological possibility of embodied queer listening (Gill 2012, Landreau 2012) to operationalize anti-narrative research. Embodied queer listening focuses on listening for narratives that are not coherent, not ‘straight’, and on attentively listening with the body, for instance by focusing on bodily resistances in interview situations. I argue that embodied queer listening in anti-narrative research reveals and untangles situated lived experiences beyond the normative frames through which they might be told and maintain that it opens up space for narratives (and subjectivities) that are complex and contradictory yet not less viable. In my research, I practice embodied queer listening by working with vignettes that describe

situations of (potential) harassment or discrimination. Inspired by the frameworks of (queered) collective biographies, the interviewees and I engage with embodied sensations and give space and voice to affective experiences, even if they seem to ‘not make sense’ (Basner et al. 2018, Davies & Gannon 2012, Davies et al. 2013, De Schauwer et al. 2018).

The methodological considerations discussed in this paper are embedded in reflections on how to enact feminist ethics of care and how to avoid engaging in “academic research with anti-oppressive commitments and emancipatory aspirations [which nonetheless] continues to textually reproduce what it purports to critique” (Riach et al. 2016: 2070). An important part of the paper will engage with the question of how to balance the potential inherent in a ‘reflexive undoing’ of idealized, seemingly stable organizational subjectivities with the risk of undoing vulnerable, and already marginalized, subjects.

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*Sara L. Crawley*

**Crushing on Butler: The Curious Absence of Ethnomethodology in Gender Studies (and Sociology)**

In 2016, NYMag.com published an article in the popular media arguing that “we” have Judith Butler to thank for the performance revolution in gender theory and activism of the past 20+ years. The 34 comments that follow either shore up this devout love of her work or excoriate her writing style—encapsulating the general trend in responses to her work over time. My students have called the phenomenon of becoming enamored of a particular author a *theory crush*. Indeed, what gets taken up as the canon of any particular discipline is often loaded with theoretical allegiances that are not always clearly spelled out. One must be wary of becoming too enamored of what one loves. Theory crushes both uplift one theoretical hero, simultaneously crushing others. Judith Butler is the quintessential theory crush in gender studies. Who is crushed in the furor over Butler?

One waning root branch is a lengthy ethnomethodological (EM) tradition beginning with Garfinkel (1967) and culminating in West and Zimmerman’s (1987) “Doing Gender” and West and Fenstermaker’s (date) “Doing Difference,” though canonical among US-based sociologists, seems non-existent outside that realm and largely ignored by Butler herself. Butler’s work and EM work share several (though not entirely overlapping) premises around the performance of gender, however, Garfinkel (by 23 years!) and West & Zimmerman predated Butler’s (1990) *Gender Trouble*. Still a simple comparison of Google Scholar citations (from October 30, 2018) shows a major preference for Butler’s work—53,830 for *Gender Trouble* (1990, 2002), 29,392 for *Bodies that Matter* (1993, 2011), and 8,073 for *Undoing Gender* (2004), whereas West & Zimmerman received a sturdy but markedly less 12,132 for “Doing Gender (1987).” Kessler and McKenna’s *Gender: An Ethnomethodological Approach* (1978, 1985) recorded 2,302 and “Who put the ‘trans’ in transgender?” recorded 87. Indeed, response to the NYMag article, only one comment mentions Garfinkel, Goffman, Kessler & McKenna, and West & Zimmerman. Less a critique of Butler’s work than a concern with the claim that we have Butler--alone--to thank for gender performance theory, I ask: Why is there so much love for Butler and not so much for ethnomethodology?

Meanwhile, a celebrated concept within sociology, “doing gender” has become a kind of *folk concept*—a trope, rather than an epistemologically-grounded, ethnomethodological (EM) premise. I investigate the longer EM tradition that developed in Sociology and compare them to Butler’s contributions-- focusing specifically on epistemology and the image of the actor. Framing each more transparently from its epistemological roots, I posit a shift to interpretive epistemologies, which call into question the so-called micro and macro divide and whether we must only envision willful, individuated actors or the so-called death of the actor. Specifically recuperating EM allows us to recognize that: *my gender is not mine; it is ours. Similarly, my race or class or sexuality are not mine; they are ours.* In sum, utilizing EM to

*focus on social relations*, rather than individual identities, enables us to see analytical connections of gender, race, sexualities, and embodiments across time and space from particular embodiments to transnational dynamics. The ethnomethodologically-informed work of Dorothy Smith (2005) provides a fruitful direction for gender studies.

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**Stream 2**  
**Gender and Entrepreneurship: Critically Transforming**  
**Debate**

**Convenors: Lorna Treanor, Susan Marlow, Haya Al-Dajani and Karin Berglund**

*Sanita Rugina and Helene Ahl*

### **The Discursive Construction of a Woman Entrepreneur in Women's Magazines**

In 1991, Latvia, the small Baltic country in northeast Europe, broke free from Soviet communist rule. Capitalism, democracy, an independent press, and free enterprise was welcomed by all. Women seized the opportunities that became available, and now own 43 per cent of Latvian businesses. But did they also break free from traditional gendered norms and constraints? We report on the actual situation which shows that their businesses are largely in female gendered occupations with low earnings potential. So economically, the answer is no. And discursively? Entrepreneurship was a new phenomenon with few preconceived notions about it, meaning the new independent press held great potential to influence women's conceptions of it. Using gender positioning analysis developed by Czarniawska (2013), we analyse the discourse on women's entrepreneurship in interviews with women entrepreneurs in all Latvian women's magazines during a 30-year period, identifying a discourse centred on three basic assumptions: i) essential gender differences, ii) entrepreneurship as normatively male, and iii) women as family caretakers. These assumptions guided how women were positioned by journalists, as well as how they positioned themselves, resulting in an overall subordination of women. Moreover, the Soviet construction of a "super-woman" who can do it all was replaced by a Western notion of femininity centred on beauty, caring, and fragility. We conclude that the turn from communism to capitalism did not challenge the traditional, patriarchal gender order, nor did it provide women with real independence and emancipation. The gender order is resilient – it overrides or supersedes changes in economic systems.

This study confirmed the findings of previous studies that the discourse on women's entrepreneurship positions women as secondary to and subordinated to men. Its unique contribution is the context studied and its longitudinal perspective. Providing an opportunity to observe the development of women's entrepreneurship and position in a post-Soviet "gender-blind" country transitioning into a market economy, it demonstrated that free enterprise was not enough to change women's positions. In other words, the gender order is resilient to economic system change. Another contribution to the literature is the positioning analysis which enabled us not only to describe the discourse, but also show how it was produced.



*Magdalena Petersson McIntyre*

**New feminist entrepreneurialism: Power and agency in the context of lifestyle bloggers and gender consultants**

What is feminism in the 2010s? New entrepreneurial feminisms along with new ways of making money on femininity and feminism have emerged and spread exponentially through digital media. Feminism has, as argued by critics of post-feminism (Tasker and Negra 2007, Gill 2007), increasingly become a measurement of femininity. Post-feminist media culture has turned feminism into a matter of pleasure and lifestyle and for indulging in the self. Thus, the concept of post-feminism is generally used to criticize this new form of feminism for being depoliticized, as without critical content or edge and as a celebration of individuality.

The paper makes a comparison between two different empirical fields to discuss the effects and meanings of post-feminist entrepreneurialism. The first is based on in depth-interviews with lifestyle, beauty and fashion bloggers. Many of these fitted the descriptions of post-feminist entrepreneurialism to its fullest. They talked about indulgence in the self and the creation of a beautiful body as an expression of feminism. They make links between femininity and feminism and presented beautiful, surgically improved bodies in terms of empowerment. The other field is a sphere closer to activism and draws on fieldwork from gender consultancy firms and in-depth interviews with gender consultants. These saw themselves as critics of the 'gender system'. Their activities involved the creation of a market for gender expertise by developing tools to deal with issues brought up after #metoo. Nevertheless, neoliberal rationalities informed their ways of explaining their activities and the conditions surrounding their daily work. Both groups call themselves feminists, and saw their practices as feminist practices.

This paper examines whether these two ways of dealing with feminism, femininity and gender inequality can be seen as expression of similar development or understood as entirely different processes. Drawing on Gill's (2007, 2016) interpretation of post-feminism as a "sensibility"; a kind of emotional responsiveness that is enmeshed in a neoliberal message, the paper will develop the argument of how these two fields, and their different, yet similar, responses to feminism, individualism, choice and agency can be understood. Thus, the aim is to discuss the ambiguous meanings of post-feminism. When listening to these self-employed workers and entrepreneurs it became clear that for them all, post-feminist sensibilities made sense as a matter of taking control over one's own life and one's economic activities, and as a way of increasing one's space for agency.

*Katrina Pritchard, Maggie Miller and Helen Williams*

**Tracking images to explore constructions of gendered entrepreneurship in digital spaces**

This research advances critical debates by generating insight into the ways in which entrepreneurial femininities and masculinities are constructed in digital spaces. This continues a line of enquiry examining media representations of entrepreneurship (Swail et al., 2014; Pritchard et al., 2019). With some notable exceptions (Boje and Smith, 2010), previous works have mainly focused on representations of female entrepreneurs (Lewis, 2014; Ahl and Marlow, 2018). This literature has usefully progressed understandings of the visual, particularly in relation to postfeminist aesthetics (Swan, 2017); situated both femininity and masculinity as relevant to female entrepreneurs and broadened the range of contexts under consideration (Jones and Treanor, 2011). New research is beginning to explore how entrepreneurs' self-presentation in digital spaces is multimodal, highlighting the ways in which visual and textual aspects combine in such representations (Duffy and Hund, 2015; Swan, 2017; Berglund et al. 2018).

Our research takes these developments as a starting point but uses new tools to track images across digital spaces. Previously, researchers seeking to explore visual representations have used text-based searches to identify relevant images. While issues of platformisation are important considerations, Google reverse image now allows us to follow an image to identify different sites of use. This opens new opportunities to track how visual and textual combinations work to re-present entrepreneurship. Institutional ethical approval has been granted for our research process, with an agreed protocol in place to ensure we are sensitive to the different digital spaces our research might lead (Whiting and Pritchard, 2017).

The first stage of our research involves identifying popular images of male and female entrepreneurship. We note the importance of embracing complex understandings of both masculinity and femininity in respect to all these images (Lewis, 2014; Rumens, 2016). We offer a compositional analysis (Rose, 2012) highlighting differing representations of femininity and masculinity across both sets of images. Our data includes both identifiable (named) and image-bank photographs, but we found common compositional aspects across these different types. That image-bank photographs replicate the composition of images of identifiable, well-known entrepreneurs extends the influence and reach of these visual forms. This acts to limit the visual variety and perpetuates particular visual constructions. In contrast, initial analysis highlights significant compositional differences between images of male and female entrepreneurs in relation to pose, type of activity and engagement with the viewer. This analysis is ongoing and will be a key part of our paper at GWO.

The second stage of our research involves tracking these images using Google reverse image search. We will then download and analyse both the visual and textual elements of each site of use. While still collecting data, we will use a combination of further visual and discursive methods to unpack the relationships between images and text on these digital spaces. This

enables us to consider how the images work alongside other media to gender entrepreneurship. This offers insight to the interplay between visual and textual elements in digital spaces, while generating further understanding of femininity and masculinity within entrepreneurial contexts. We go on to argue that these re-presentations are active agents in processes of construction and, through a sociomaterial lens, can be understood as entrepreneurial.

*Caroline Essers and Maura McAdam*

**Proud to stand out: Entrepreneurial legitimacy within masculine industries in the Netherlands**

This paper aims to explore the identity work undertaken by female entrepreneurs in masculine dominated industries in order to gain entrepreneurial legitimacy. This is particularly significant for women given the embedded masculinity of the entrepreneurial discourse, with feminine features considered to be deviating from the norm (MacNabb et al., 1993; Bruni et al., 2004; Ahl and Marlow, 2012). This is further exacerbated in male-dominated industries where there is a lack of fit between women's ascribed femininity and the stereotypical image of the entrepreneur. According to De Clercq and Voronov (2009: 395) this legitimacy dilemma can be referred to as 'fit in whilst standing out'. Within the extant literature upon entrepreneurship, the detriment of femininity is well rehearsed (MacNabb et al., 1993; Ahl, 2006; Calás et al., 2009; Duberley and Carrigan, 2012) yet, how this translates specifically into entrepreneurial legitimacy for women in masculine industries, and particularly in the Netherlands, is less considered.

Within this paper, we adopt identity work as our theoretical lens in order to address our underpinning research question: "How do successful women entrepreneurs construct their identity in male-dominated industries in order to gain legitimacy?". The concept of identity work originally referred to by Snow and Anderson (1987: 1348) is "the range of activities individuals engage in to create, present, and sustain personal identities that are congruent with and supportive of the self-concept". Identity work is thus about constructing an identity that fits in with the way people see themselves. Furthermore, it is concerned with activities reflexive individuals undertake in order to be seen as legitimate actors in specific environments (Marlow & McAdam, 2015). Within this paper, we argue that given the masculinity which imbues the entrepreneurial discourse and related identity work necessary to be recognised as an entrepreneurial actor, the legitimization process is critically gendered.

Our methodology is informed by a post-structuralist and standpoint feminist epistemology. Interviews with 10 Dutch women entrepreneurs active in male-dominated industries (e.g. manufacturing, construction, ICT and farming) in the Netherlands were conducted, using a semi-structured approach, allowing for in-depth responses, and analyzed using a narrative approach (Osazir-Kacar & Essers, 2019; Riessman, 2008).

The paper will extend knowledge at the intersection of entrepreneurship, gender, identity construction, and legitimacy. Specifically, it makes for a contextualized contribution of how such women apply different forms of (gendered) identity work in order to legitimize themselves as women entrepreneurs in male-dominated industries. Further, it illustrates the forms of impression management used by such women not only to empower themselves, but also other women entrepreneurs in these sectors.

*Laura Treanor and Susan Marlow*

**Business Incubation Centres: Gender-neutral sites of entrepreneurial potential or Unwelcome Spaces for STEM women entrepreneurs?**

Entrepreneurship is a socially-embedded activity (Granovetter, 1985; Davidsson and Honig, 2003) with context influencing the likelihood of, and outcomes from, entrepreneurial activity (Welter, 2011). This paper explores STEM women's entrepreneurial activity, outcomes and experiences in the context of UK business incubation centres. Business incubators offer tenant companies reduced rental-rates, business-support services, mentoring, advice and access to both networks and finance (Bollingtoft and Ulhøi, 2005; BEIS, 2017). This enhances business-survival rates and accelerates firm growth in terms of turnover, employment-levels and export sales (Lendner and Dowling, 2007; BEIS, 2017).

Research on incubation has tended to use the tenant business as the unit of analysis. This conveys an image of a gender-neutral space where business ideas of disembodied entrepreneurs are developed. This is consistent with the neoliberal discourse infusing UK economic policy which positions entrepreneurship as a vehicle for individual emancipation, personal fulfilment and wealth creation. The neoliberal subject is a disembodied agent with individualised responsibility for their own success through personal agency and effort. This individualisation obfuscates gendered structural and cultural barriers and limitations that may be present.

A 2016 report (EU BIC) evaluating the impact of 150 EU-based incubators in the preceding three years highlighted that 83% of tenant firms were owned by individual entrepreneurs, with 74% of tenants being male. The under-representation of women in incubation facilities is unsurprising when one considers STEM disciplines are acknowledged to be gendered masculine (Treanor and Marlow, 2019). Given that STEM women are more likely to undertake entrepreneurial activity in non-STEM sectors (Marlow, 2008), this suggests that these women are not essentially entrepreneurially deficient. Instead, this phenomenon may relate to gendered barriers to career advancement and business-ownership within STEM sectors (EC, 2008; EC, 2013; Treanor, 2013; Thébaud, 2015).

The focus on the tenant business as the unit of analysis fails to reflect that, at entry, “...*the individual is the physical embodiment of the enterprise. Thus, the partiality of incubation is masked and a biased, ideal type of entrepreneurial legitimacy is reproduced*” (Marlow and McAdam, 2015, p.810). On the demand side, if women eligible for incubation perceive incubators as unwelcoming, masculinised-spaces, this may deter uptake of incubation service provision (McAdam and Marlow, 2012). This, in conjunction with the potential for unconscious bias to influence incubation tenant selection, suggests that a gendered analysis of incubation is apposite. Marlow and McAdam (2015, p.810) call for research that acknowledges “*these physical spaces as socially-biased contexts which reproduce institutionalised prejudices regarding assessment of eligible and legitimate incumbents.*”

Our paper seeks to answer the research question: to what extent (if any) do (a) ‘masculine’ incubation environments and/or gendered structural barriers contribute to current levels of women’s representation within UK incubators? Drawing upon the BEIS (2017) directory of UK incubators, we administered an online survey to incubation centre managers and tenants across the UK. Personal interviews with STEM women entrepreneurs in incubation facilities were then undertaken to explore their experiences during the entrepreneurial process and within the incubation context. The data were thematically analysed (Braun and Clarke, 2006) in order to address the research question outlined.

*Samantha Hicks*

### **From the Straw-Man Ideal to Real-World Entrepreneurs: Rethinking the Male Agenda in Entrepreneurship**

Despite the growing complexity of contemporary debate, entrepreneurship research draws almost exclusively upon women as gendered subjects (Marlow and Dy, 2018). Discursive analyses of gender continue to reinforce gender binaries and so, fail to recognise the multiplicities in which gender is enacted by both men and women. To transform debate, entrepreneurship research must now explore the diverse articulations of gendered performances, and the way they shape entrepreneurial activity. Men continue to serve as the normative subject within entrepreneurial discourse; yet, the nature and veracity of gendered assumptions which reproduce the normative entrepreneurial actor remain under-explored. Men are exemplar entrepreneurial subjects, who by virtue of their gender, are afforded legitimacy, privilege and visibility; yet, despite the power of gender to bestow such authority, this has remained invisible and immune from scrutiny (Swail and Marlow, 2018). Diverse and discrete articulations of masculinity and how they are performed and reproduced by male entrepreneurial actors, demands greater consideration.

The topic of men and masculinity in critical management studies has, for many years, occupied a central space; unlike entrepreneurship where the troubling masculine stereotype persists. Apart from a few analyses of men and masculinity (Smith, 2010; Hamilton, 2013; Giazitzoglu and Down, 2017) that suggest a nascent thread of critical masculinity studies is emerging, such research continues to operate under the chimera of masculinity; framing the common-sense definition of ‘who’ can be an entrepreneur within the confines of normative masculinity (Hearn, 2009). Such assumptions are challenged by analyses of queer entrepreneurship and postfeminist males, as they make visible, contemporary and diverse articulations of masculinity – from new metrosexual males to post-feminist males and gay men (Anderson, 2009). Such developments undermine prevailing biases that treat those who do not ‘fit’ the strawman ideal as the ‘other’. Assumptions of generic stereotypical masculinity within entrepreneurship research have to date been rarely questioned or critiqued (Marlow et al., 2018); unlike the debate on women and femininity. Men do not have to work for, nor differentiate between particular articulations of gender, as the normative default role is assumed. Issues of normativity and the normative entrepreneurial ideal are wrapped up in assumptions of ‘who’ and ‘what’ constitutes a legitimate entrepreneur. Entrepreneurial debate must move beyond current analyses that attribute gender to women and now recognise that gender has a myriad of articulations that should not go overlooked when developing contemporary analyses (Marlow et al., 2018).

This study will present empirical evidence from several in-depth case studies detailing the entrepreneurial activities of male business owners working within the high-tech business sector; using qualitative evidence gathered from a combination of traditional and visual methods such as semi-structured interviews, participant led audio/visual diaries and overt observations. Visual methods whilst prevalent in social sciences, have yet to gain popularity

within entrepreneurship research, specifically in regard to the study of entrepreneurial men; offering a novel approach for such exploration.



*Olutayo Korede*

### **Entrepreneurship and Stigmatized Masculinity**

In this article, I ask the question: how do stigmatized and marginalized masculinities such as black men negotiate entrepreneurial venturing? The discourse and practice of entrepreneurship have been described as ethnocentric, hegemonic and ideological, which excludes racialized and stigmatized groups. There is also, a notion that entrepreneurship is gender-biased, sustaining prevailing male stereotypes and archetypes. Recently, entrepreneurship scholars have made attempts to challenge prevailing assumptions through critical and feminist perspectives. However, these studies themselves have assumed that all men possess hegemonic masculinity. Research at the intersection of entrepreneurship and multiple identities has revealed that black males in entrepreneurship do not enjoy the hegemonic and the idealized entrepreneurial masculinity associated with white male. The male supremacy in the discourse of entrepreneurship is a white male phenomenon. For male, with non-hegemonic and stigmatized identities, their masculinity in entrepreneurship is under threat; as they do not conform to the ideals of masculinity. Drawing from Goffman's theory of social stigma and the critical race theory; I show qualitatively, how stigma and the construction of the black identity undermine entrepreneurialism and masculinity among black men. The study argues that stigma robs black male of their entrepreneurial identity and legitimacy. Stigmatised black men in entrepreneurship are devalued, undermined and discredited. I identify strategies employed by black male entrepreneurs to reduce and neutralise their stigmatized masculinity. This research contributes to the debates on entrepreneurship, gender, legitimacy and identity.

*Samaneh Khademi, Caroline Essers and Karin van Nieuwkerk*

### **Into Socio-Cultural Integration? Iranian Refugee Entrepreneurship in the Netherlands from an Intersectional Approach**

This article is a multidisciplinary study concerning refugee entrepreneurship amongst Iranian refugees in the Netherlands. It combines the intersectionality theory with the concept of agency to analyze how the entrepreneurship of Iranian refugee entrepreneurs impacts on their socio-cultural integration into the Netherlands. This paper addresses two questions: first, how do Iranian refugee entrepreneurs conduct and deploy their entrepreneurship at the intersection of ethnicity, age, class, gender, and religion in the Netherlands? Second, how does (not) this entrepreneurship contribute to their socio-cultural integration in Dutch society? A considerable number of Iranian refugees immigrated to the Netherlands in the 1980s, relatively quick after the Iranian Revolution of 1979. This group made up the first wave of Iranian refugees. The Iranian refugees in the Netherlands are mostly regarded as highly skilled, well-educated, and political refugees. Despite their Islamic background, they have more secular beliefs and less tendency to practice Islam than other groups from the Middle East. Living for a long time in the Netherlands has given them enough time to set up their life in the host society, and now they are considered as an established group of former refugees. Although roughly four decades have passed since the first wave of Iranian refugees entered the Netherlands, few studies have been conducted on them, particularly in the context of entrepreneurship. Hence, we argue – also given the heated debate on the position of refugees nowadays- it is important to see how entrepreneurship has played a role in the integration of an established group of refugees, and how they have conducted and still conduct their entrepreneurship at the intersection of their other social categories. We use thematic life-story interviews to do so. Fourteen Iranian refugee entrepreneurs (men and women) who immigrated in the Netherlands in the 1980s and early 1990s were interviewed.

The results demonstrate that the intersectional positions of Iranian refugee entrepreneurs impact on their entrepreneurial motivations, resources, and strategies. It is also shown how their agency has been exerted at these intersectional positions. Being a political activist and believing in the agentic role in the society, on the one hand, and experiencing exclusion in the host society, on the other hand, led them to entrepreneurship. Agentic strategies reflect the link between intersectional positions and integration. Considering different aspects of integration, entrepreneurship has impacted on integration of the interviewed Iranian refugee entrepreneurs in different ways: a. the positive impact of entrepreneurship on integration; b. the enclave impact of entrepreneurship on integration; c. the neutral impact of entrepreneurship on integration d. integration as a resource for entrepreneurship. Focusing on refugee entrepreneurship, this study provides profound knowledge about refugees' lives and the agentic ways of socio-cultural integration in the Netherlands. It contributes to the refugee entrepreneurship field and intersectionality theory, and societally to better policies of local and national governments concerning refugees and their (labor market) integration.

*Haya Al-Dajani and Susan Marlow*

### **Consequences Of Crescive Conditions: Evidence From Arab Refugee Women Entrepreneurs**

An emerging strand of literature within entrepreneurship research has challenged normative presumptions of what constitutes entrepreneurial activity, who can claim to be an entrepreneur and the impact of entrepreneurial activity upon society. One particular critical theme which has emerged focuses upon contextual influences upon entrepreneurial behaviour (Welter, 2011; Wright, 2012). All human activity occurs within context so drawing attention to this issue may appear tautological. However, context is subject to valorisation. So for example, the preferential ontological assumptions conferred upon advanced economies as the normative context for entrepreneurial activity has informed a partial and biased analysis (Al Dajani and Marlow, 2010). Recent critiques of this bias have drawn attention to how entrepreneurial activity is enacted in transitional (Welter and Smallbone, 2011), developing (Naudé, 2013) and post-conflict economies (Torri & Martinez, 2014). Although invaluable in challenging the western/advanced economy bias, we focus upon displacement from conflict zones within the Middle East region, which Kiss et al. (2012) note remains under-explored. To add to current debate, we focus upon a critical outcome of such volatility – displacement which is a persistent and growing phenomenon (UNHCR, 2016) generating large waves of refugees to proximate host nations such as Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey. Collectively, these three countries are managing a very delicate economic, political and social balancing act whilst ranking amongst the world's top 10 refugee host nations (Amnesty International, 2016).

Conflict related upheaval generates 'crescive conditions' (Dorado and Ventresca, 2013) whereby new and unexpected forms of action become possible and prompt unexpected consequences. It is suggested that such conditions motivate 'every day' people, who would not normally act, to engage in entrepreneurial activity enabling local level micro-solutions to some challenges associated with catastrophic problems. In turn, such solutions open up further, unexpected possibilities for engaged actors.

Our preliminary analysis indicates that the crescive conditions in all three research contexts motivating the refugee women to engage in microenterprise incorporate permanent temporariness and its associated social and political marginalisation including statelessness, and economic deprivation with elevated levels of poverty. As such, whilst their micro enterprises did not offer solutions to their political marginalisation as refugee women, they did enable micro solutions such as poverty alleviation through which they are able to catalyse change for their children, families and themselves.

The UK Economic and Social Research Council and Department for International Development [grant number ES/N014405/1] funded the project we draw upon in this research. The project involved data collection with 150 Iraqi, Palestinian and Syrian refugee women displaced to Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey, allowing for in-depth within case and across case analyses accounting for length of displacement and context of displacement. To account for the crecive conditions and their entrepreneurial consequences, we conducted two consequential individual interviews one year apart, with every participant.

**Karin Berglund and Anna Wettermark**

**Pharmacists' silenced entrepreneurship in the service of a health care in crisis**

Entrepreneurship is often associated with individuals acting (successfully) on the market, identifying opportunities and introducing technological innovation (Ahl, 2006; Ahl & Marlow, 2012). They are often portrayed as charismatic, gaining attention by assuming somewhat of a hero status (Anderson & Warren, 2011; Dempsey & Sanders, 2010). Often, they are men, young and relatively confident (Treanor & Marlow, 2019). Theirs is a 'loud entrepreneurship' that 'command our attention' (Ahmed, 2000: 53). This, however, does not correspond with the form of entrepreneurship we have observed in a study of health care professionals during the Covid-19 pandemic. Based on an ethnographic study of hospital pharmacists, a predominantly female low-status occupation in Sweden (Stanfors, 2007), we noted how their entrepreneurial agency expressed itself, without any excessive gestures or self-affirmatory narration, in the development of alternatives to pharmaceuticals that became scarce due to global shortages, and how they strove to counterweigh a failing market, thereby safe-guarding high-quality care to patients.

The pharmacists, in our view, became silent representative of good judgment and practice. They were silent, we hypothesize, due to how they were socially constructed (Berger & Luckman, 1991), internalising preconceptions of themselves as being in 'their appropriate place' (Al-Dajani & Marlow, 2013), and largely lacking a language with which to describe themselves as 'creative', 'entrepreneurial' or 'innovative' (Berglund & Johansson, 2007). They saw themselves as occupying a secondary role, as 'supporters' of frontline workers (c.f. Ahl, 2007, on spouses' silent role in entrepreneurial narrative). From an identity perspective, pharmacists portrayed themselves using vocabularies of being 'shadow figures', located in the basement of the hospital, arranging and preparing for others, behind the scenes. Yet, they acknowledged their proficiency, their ability to prevent life-threatening situations to occur, and they were suddenly seen as competent in the eyes of others (ICU nurses and physicians).

In their 'silent entrepreneurship' we noted a strong sense of *professional judgment*, based on awareness of what the consequences of their potential non-action might be, and an ability to focus on their organization's main mission. We also identified an *ability to act under uncertainty*, to balance risks, when necessary circumscribing rules and norms and to develop solutions that addressed concrete problems, often in collaboration with others (Weick et al., 2005; Maitlis & Sonenschein, 2010). In addition, we saw them as relying on pharmaceutical *craftsmanship*, a sociomaterial connectedness (Fenwick, 2014), that, though 'untrendy', helped them cope with challenges in their daily work. This professional judgment, combined with practical agency, enabled pharmacists, as a marginalized profession, to play an increasingly important role in an organization in crisis.

In this paper we develop the notion of 'silent entrepreneurship' to conceptualize and explore the professional judgement and entrepreneurial agency demonstrated by pharmacists. We problematize the distinction between 'silent' and 'silenced' entrepreneurship, leaning on

Fricker's (2007) theories on epistemic injustice. Our suggestion is that, in the case of our study, pre-emptive testimonial injustice, combined with hermeneutical marginalization, normally suffered by pharmacists, were, during the Corona crisis, offset by an increased need for professional judgements and creative, practice-oriented action. This enabled pharmacists to enhance their identity power through engaging in 'silent entrepreneurship'.

*Sara Alshareef*

### **Cultural embeddedness and the emergence of lifestyle woman entrepreneurship**

Entrepreneurship has emerged as a result of opportunities in the local structure, where these local opportunities ‘become manifested in actions of embedded entrepreneurial agency’ (Jack & Anderson, 2002, p. 469), therefore, it is possible to argue that women might choose lifestyle entrepreneurship due to local structure within which they operate in. Lifestyle entrepreneurs are individuals who operate and start a business that aligns with their interests, beliefs, values and passions (Henricks, 2002; Marcketti, Niehm, & Fuloria, 2006). This contradicts with the common view around entrepreneurship, where entrepreneurs are subject to ‘extreme experiences’ such as dealing with job stress (C. A. Thompson & Prottas, 2006), ambiguity, uncertainty, and other emotional experiences (Cardon, Wincent, Singh, & Drnovsek, 2009; Schindehutte, Morris, & Allen, 2006; McMullen & Shepherd, 2006). Nonetheless, lifestyle entrepreneurs tend to look for control, independence and sacrifice growth for lifestyle choices (Henderson, 2002). Because of their lifestyle focus, these entrepreneurs benefit primarily in enhancing their quality of life including their families and communities (J. Thompson, Alvy, & Lees, 2000). A number of studies investigate entrepreneurs’ behavior with respect to the individual primary goals. The most common distinction is between economic (Carter, 2011) and non-economic goals (Cooper & Artz, 1995). However, few studies looked at non-economically motivated entrepreneurs and their association with ‘lifestyle entrepreneurs’ (Burns, 2001; Hendrson, 2002; Johannisson, 2003; Marcketti, 2006), where women start businesses provide them with flexibility and the ability to manage their dual responsibilities as they seek a more balanced life (Jennings & McDougald, 2007; Walker, Wang, & Redmond, 2008). Building upon this, there has been limited number of studies that examined the consequences of a culture on the emergent of lifestyle entrepreneurship. To this end, this is an exploratory research, which seeks to understand the role of cultural embeddedness in attracting certain types of businesses for women and in influencing their practices and behaviors. This paper echoes Spigel (2013, pp. 807-808) account of cultural embeddedness that states ‘without a way to explain how and why entrepreneurial actors are affected by the cultures that surround them, we risk using culture as an all-encompassing, deterministic force to account for otherwise unexplained variations [...]. Rather, we should seek to explain why a particular set of entrepreneurial practices makes sense given the cultural and social contexts in which they occur.’

Since this study is exploratory, the qualitative examination of women entrepreneurs seeks to investigate the ways in which cultural embeddedness influence women’s choice to become lifestyle entrepreneurs. Since the study deals with soft issues and looking for meaning that explains actions (Hammersley, 1992), qualitative approach of semi-structured interviews are considered Narrative analysis is employed by looking at stories produced by the participants (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008) associated with their entrepreneurial choices and practices. Our analysis considers *what* has been spoken as well as *how* it has been spoken. This study makes a theoretical contribution to the development of cultural embeddedness

(Spigel, 2013) through considering the ways in which culture promote lifestyle entrepreneurship as a career for women.



*Isabel O’Neil and Lorna Treanor*

**Could I be an “entrepreneur?”: An Critical Examination of Low Income Women’s Motivations for Self-Employment**

The diverse range of motivations for entrepreneurship include: autonomy, creativity, self-realization, vision, drive, altruism, recognition/ status and passion, (e.g. Carter et al., 2003; Cardon et al., 2009; Shane et al., 2003; Hessels et al., 2008). However, entrepreneurship has also been promoted as a solution to poverty, although the principal research context for exploration and critique to date has been on actors in the global south (Sutter et al., 2019). Despite the neoliberal positioning of entrepreneurship as a vehicle of emancipation, self-actualisation and wealth creation in developed economies (Ahl and Marlow, 2019), there has been little consideration of how and why low-income individuals in the UK might be motivated to engage in entrepreneurial activity (Rouse et al., 2018). Oftentimes, women in the UK are positioned as failing to exploit their entrepreneurial potential causing a resultant deficit to the national economy (Treanor, Jones and Marlow, 2020). This paper explores the experiences and motivations of low-income women in the UK who are motivated to pursue self-employment.

This paper critically explores nascent female entrepreneurs’ views on if, and why, they believe starting their own businesses is a suitable pathway to financial stability and/or personal fulfilment. We explore whether they consider entrepreneurship as an enabler for breaking free from, and breaking up the conventions of, working life and its constraining structures (Mallon and Cohen, 2001; Rindova et al., 2009). Given that recent research suggests that entrepreneurship and self-employment may be a “poor career choice” for low-income women (Ahl and Marlow, 2019), we consider the empirical exploration of this proposition to be both timely and important.

This paper employs an action-research approach. The first author is delivering a charity-funded entrepreneurship programme for women from lower income backgrounds in a second tier, medium sized, UK city. Running in late 2019, this programme has 12 participants in the very early stages of starting a business. To qualify for participation, the women had to be earning less than the UK average per capita salary (£19,500) with the majority being referred via the Women’s Centre, Job Centre or similar organizations. The participants are 50% white and 50% BAME and aged between their late 20s to their late 50s.

Data is being gathered in multiple ways. First, the first author is conducting personal interviews in week 1 and upon programme completion for the purposes of evaluation, to satisfy funder requirements. Second, the first author will complete observation notes and reflections following each session. Third, the women will complete a series of written self-reflection exercises. Finally, they will be invited to participate in semi-structured, interviews both during the programme and at periodic intervals thereafter.

This research seeks to add to the literature in two key ways. Firstly, it offers novel insight into the motivations of low-income women seeking to engage in entrepreneurial activity in

the global north. Secondly, the longitudinal follow-up of participants will also facilitate an evaluation of their outcomes from entrepreneurial activity as well as gaining insight into if they adopt and/or evolve their entrepreneurial identity over time.

*Tammy Mudd, Joan Lockyer and Paul Jones*

**Double jeopardy: Exploring lone parent entrepreneurship from a gender perspective**

There are gender differences in entrepreneurship (Yetim 2008; Barrett and Moores 2009; Claire 2009; Lockyer et al. 2018) and research, whether by default or design, continues to single out women from the mainstream entrepreneurship arena (Minniti and Naudé 2010). If women in particular are regarded as an ‘inferior species’ of entrepreneur, then lone mothers are in addition vilified (carry a double indemnity) by various factions of society as adding ‘a burden of cost on the state’ (Horrigan, Kelly and Millar 2017: 5).

Recent EU-Statistics on Income and Living Conditions ([EU-SILC](#)) data highlight that lone parent families in general continue to experience a disproportionate level of poverty (Cross and Millar 2018). Central Statistics Office data (2015) shows that the risk of poverty in lone parent families is circa 12% higher than the general population and that deprivation levels are considerably higher (over 30% more) than for the general population. The primary explanation for such differences is the lack of paid employment in lone parent households (see Cross and Millar, 218: OECD; NESC; DSFA).

The view of lone mothers as parasites is seeing an upsurge in recent times (Crosse and Millar 2015; 2018). Moreover, it would seem that lone mothers are aware of the negative depiction of them within British society (Anwar and Stanistreet 2014). Devereux et al. (2011:124) assert that national consciousness shapes the creation of negative stereotypes, damaging the reputations the ‘underclasses’, to which lone mothers belong. Wigginton and LaFrance (2015:2) assert that those who are particularly vilified by such ideologies include working class, single women, the result of which is stigma; referred to by Devereux et al. (2011: 125) as ‘spoiled identity’. Goffman (1963) defines stigma as a ‘mark’ of social disgrace, a deeply discrediting attribute that results in the social devaluation of a person for their ‘spoiled’ identity. Wigginton and LaFrance (2015:15) assert that motherhood ideology runs parallel to patriarchal and capitalist discourses, which together shape dominant constructions of ‘good’ mothers. They also posit the difficulty to repair one’s identity once this negative identity is claimed.

Entrepreneurs are persistently projected as heroic figures, which may contribute to people’s motivation to set up their own businesses (Mahto and McDowell, 2018:2, potentially triggering aspirations of entrepreneurship and increasing the likelihood that some individuals consider themselves as entrepreneurs (Taskin et al. 2018).

This study attempts to address the lack of research into lone parent entrepreneurs, and explores how they navigate the complex tensions of managing both family and entrepreneurial venture, whilst questioning whether entrepreneurship is a mechanism to restore and enhance their identities. The research methodology employs a qualitative design using semi-structured interviews with lone parent entrepreneurs. It explores the drives and motivation for lone parents to explore entrepreneurship, whilst also illuminating and acknowledge the subjective realities of the genders.

Preliminary findings evidence an emergent strand, indicating that the male narrative seems to follow that of a 'hero', as men are likely to focus on entrepreneurial endeavours rather than the conflicting female narrative, with women focused on recapturing a semblance of credibility having been 'spoiled'.

*Nicole Lehmann*

**Muslim women's experiences of entrepreneurship and the intersectionality of gender, race and religion**

This paper focuses on Muslim women entrepreneurs within the context of the United Kingdom under the theoretical lens of intersectionality as to further explore how gender, race and religion come to shape their experiences of entrepreneurship. The current entrepreneurial discourse has been criticised as exclusionary by many scholars (Ogbor, 2000; Ahl and Marlow, 2012) for its primary representation of an archetype entrepreneur as White, male and Christian (Jones et al., 2017). Especially for those of marginalised backgrounds, the dominant hero entrepreneurial discourse as necessarily liberating and positive may be found to be less applicable (Calás et al., 2009). Freedom for all as implied in the entrepreneurial discourse is closely aligned with neoliberalism and as such the often-repeated notion of meritocracy inherent in entrepreneurship becomes questionable (Perren and Jennings, 2005). Instead by focusing on entrepreneurship as a socially embedded resource dependent process of developing an opportunity for achieving socio-economic returns the context of the entrepreneurial activity and social positioning of the entrepreneur become central to the analysis of different entrepreneurial experiences, whereby the experiences of minority women entrepreneurs can be better understood (Dy et al., 2016). An intersectional view on entrepreneurship asks to further investigate the creation of privilege and oppression through the intersection of multiple social categories of difference such as gender, race or ethnicity. Intersectionality's potency therefore lies in focusing on those situated at neglected previously neglected intersections. Through the intersection of multiple social categories of difference distinct social positions are created which shape the experiences of entrepreneurship and the attainment and employment of resources (Anthias, 2011, 2013). This study therefore extends current research into the role of gender in intersection with other social categories of difference through the inclusion of religion as a critical factor beyond gender and race. This study also advances research into the role of religion for entrepreneurship as previous studies had been focusing primarily on its either institutional role (Henley, 2017) or influencer of values and consequently behaviour (Dana, 2010) while for this study religion is understood as a social construct to be performed in interaction in relation to one's (perceived) religious belonging. Being Muslim provides a particular interesting case in current times due to the extent of racialisation this minority marker has undergone and especially with regards to Muslim women, "the symbol of Islam and Muslims", distinct prejudices, stereotypes and consequently discrimination have been documented, hinting at the gendered nature of islamophobia (Allen, 2010; Meer, 2008). In order to gather data for the intersectional analysis, semi-structured interviews were conducted with British Muslim women entrepreneurs in the UK and then thematically analysed. Findings revealed how religion strongly informed the Muslim women's experiences of entrepreneurship not only with regards to their current entrepreneurial activity but also previous work and private experiences which have come to shape their engagement with entrepreneurship. Muslim women's experiences were therefore found to be distinct from the wider women

entrepreneurship literature as Muslim women not only had to negotiate gendered and racial barriers but also those attributed to their religious belonging within the community as well as the wider society.

*Sophie Alkhaled*

**Women's entrepreneurship in Saudi Arabia: feminist solidarity and political activism in disguise?**

Understanding entrepreneurship as an economic activity has been criticised for its limited capacity in appreciating its impact on social change and community development (Hjorth & Steyaert, 2004), particularly women's entrepreneurship (Calás, Smircich & Bourne, 2009). Feminist research building on these critical perspectives argue against the neo-classical paradigm of the self-serving entrepreneur who engages in business only for personal economic gains (Hughes, Jennings, Brush, Carter & Welter, 2012), and has provided the ground for a gendered view on entrepreneurship as social change, away from the individualist and endemic Western perspectives of the entrepreneur (Lewis, 2006; Ozkazanc-Pan, 2012). Postcolonial feminist perspectives in particular have outlined how the epistemological assumptions researchers carry from the "West" and deploy on "the Rest" in conceptualising entrepreneuring and 'the entrepreneur' (Ozkazanc-Pan, 2014, p. 156) have misrepresented or even silenced the voice of 'the Other'.

Research on gender and entrepreneurship has noted the different historical experiences and government structures that negatively affect women and their enterprises. The research has explicitly or implicitly conceptualised social change as empowerment of the entrepreneur (herself), and subsequently her family (Alkhaled, 2019) and her local community (Scott, Dolna, Johnstone-louis, Sugden & Wu, 2012) in areas that government has neglected to support (Welter & Smallbone, 2008). However, the social change impact of women's entrepreneurship as a collective, is rarely addressed, and therefore, the political potential for entrepreneurship as a practice of feminist organising and social change has gone largely unexplored (Barinaga, 2013). Furthermore, whilst some studies have addressed the impact of geographies and politics on women's entrepreneurship (Berg, 1997), there is a need to explore how women entrepreneurs collectively as a social movement- not as individuals- use their entrepreneurial platform for solidarity *with* women and political activism *for* women.

This paper is a longitudinal study that uses insights from postcolonial feminism (Mohanty, 2003) to explore women's entrepreneurship as a political form of feminist organising for social change in Saudi Arabia. Postcolonial feminist approaches challenge Western feminism, which can obscure the diversity of women's lived experiences, agency and activism. Therefore, through Bayat's (2013) theory of 'quiet encroachment', I identify the ways in which contemporary Western conceptualisations of feminist activism and social movements have dismissed 'Other' women's 'silent', protracted and (dis)organised activism in parts of the Middle East. By exploring how Saudi women utilised their legitimate entrepreneurial space as a platform for change, I aim to enrich understanding of women's activism through everyday solidarity practices, which allow them to quietly encroach onto the previously forbidden political space. The findings exemplify how their activism 'quietly' developed over time through a three-step process - from the entrepreneur aiming to empower women within their organisation, to developing feminist consciousness within their entrepreneurial network,

to becoming a ‘political activist’ lobbying for policy changes for women. These solidarity practices exemplify the West’s relationship with ‘the Other’, and reveal that feminist organising for social change must be explored within its own context in order to fully appreciate its political potential globally.



*Bridget Irene, Regina Frank, Cherisse Hoyte, Sunita Dewitt and Stella Xu*

**The ‘No Choice’ option: A contextual analysis of the role of entrepreneurship in reinforcing the oppression of women in patriarchal societies**

The field of women entrepreneurship has been dominated primarily by a purely market-based and ‘individualist phenomenon’ orientation, adopting a gendered approach to understand the characteristics, differences and challenges/ barriers. Indeed, whereas entrepreneurship offers prospects for economic development and freedom for women, its impacts are generally over-represented in influential spheres, be it in political, economic, cultural or family domains. While women have privileges, in some contexts, these privileges are embodied in their domination which is reproduced in many ways, beyond strictly economic, legal or political means. The domination is also embedded in stereotypes, religions, culture and traditions. Therefore, there is need for a shift from the focus on entrepreneurship as a “desirable” economic activity and transpose this positive side with the negative. Scholars therefore advocate for other perspectives that illuminate the different entrepreneurial features including the negative effects associated with entrepreneurship such as its oppressive and psychological impact on women in various cultural / religious contexts. Only looking at the socio-economic dynamics inherent to women entrepreneurship obscures any understanding of patriarchy and the binary division between men and women. Consequently, other oppressions and subjugations are concealed eroding the notion of emancipation and freedom that entrepreneurship projects. This socially constructed phenomenon highlights the importance of understanding the role of culture in women’s entrepreneurial journeys. Inspired by this relatedness, this paper explores the no ‘option / choice’ dynamics of entrepreneurship in the African patriarchal context where there is increasing participation of women in entrepreneurial activities. In this study, women entrepreneurship is analysed as a cultural / religious dilemma given the conflict arising from the perceived role of women and a culture of subjugation that forces women ‘to do as they are told’. It will explore the notion of ‘no choice’ option whereby women are compelled to become entrepreneurs in family-owned businesses (often unpaid) or as a means of keeping them away from mainstream employment/ career so that interactions with the opposite sex especially within the context of patriarchy and the African society are kept to the barest minimum. This research aims to answer the following research questions: *Is entrepreneurship reinforcing the oppression of women in patriarchal contexts?*

**Conceptual framework:** The concept of patriarchy and oppression is embedded in feminist political philosophy/theory and is often presupposed rather than explicitly expressed. This paper will draw upon existing work in women’s entrepreneurship and the work–family interface (WFI), to theorize the constraints from which women entrepreneurs in the patriarchal societies are likely to be seeking liberation. By integrating theory and research on entrepreneurship versus patriarchy, we make the following propositions: (1) patriarchy is a complex social order based on dominance and exploitative relationships and cannot possibly

be considered as independent from women entrepreneurship in the context of work-family interface (2) patriarchy reinforces women's oppression by unpaid and/or depreciated work in family-owned businesses.

**Design/methodology/approach:** A qualitative approach utilizing the interpretive phenomenological approach (IPA) to understand the influencing factors with psychological impacts that can be associated with women entrepreneurship in the African socioeconomic and cultural context.

*Tatiana Rowson, Adriana Meyer and Elizabeth Houldsworth*

**‘Don’t see me as a housewife’ – Self-employment and entrepreneurship as a trailing spouse**

Traditional gender roles are still the norm among expatriate families. When both partners work, the move abroad tends to have consequences for one of the spouses’ careers, often the wife (Ravasi et al. 2014; Käsälä et al. 2015). Changes in the cultural context, a lack of equivalence in qualifications or a lack of suitable opportunities are among the common reasons trailing spouses feel they cannot continue their occupations (Pellico & Stroh 1997; Rusconi et al. 2013). In the process of expatriation, partners who are unable to enact their occupational identities in the home country experience a sense of identity loss (Shaffer & Harrison 2001; McNulty 2012; Collins & Bertone 2017). This study explores how trailing spouses experience these changes to their occupational identity and how they use entrepreneurship to maintain an occupational identity. Building on ideas of identity work (Ibarra & Barbelescu 2010) and identity development (Marcia 1966), we contribute to the literature by introducing the concept of identity pause. We also explore how this process of identity pause leads women to explore different modes of entrepreneurship to preserve an occupational identity when being a trailing spouse.

We focused on women based in Dubai, United Arab Emirates [UAE] which is considered an expatriate hub as 85% of the UAE’s population are expatriates (Epps & Demangeot 2013). Like many Arab nations, it is a patriarchal society (Sholkamy 2010). Local and expatriate women are expected to oversee the domestic domain, looking after the family and the home (Elamin & Omair 2010; Metcalfe 2008; Omair 2008) and taking on traditional gender roles such as ‘wife’ and ‘mother’ (Hutchings, Snejina, & Edelweiss 2013, p. 304). In this context, women are still perceived as inferior at work (UN Women, 2017) and are underrepresented. Negative stereotypes associated with western expatriate wives’, perceived focus on leisure and luxury, makes it harder for them to be taken seriously (Walsh 2007).

This qualitative study takes a narrative approach. Narrative research is a suitable strategy to investigate how individuals connect past and present events (Ibarra & Barbelescu 2010) to make sense of their identities (McAdams & Mclean 2013). A purposive sample of 28 women was interviewed. They were between 32 and 51 years old, had childcare responsibilities and were all based in similar western gated communities. These women considered themselves small business owners or entrepreneurs and recognised themselves as working-women in their home country. The interviews were analysed case-by-case using thematic analysis. Mindmaps were used to consolidate the data.

For all women in this study, traditional gender roles such as mother and wife take priority over their occupational identity. This contributed to the family decision to move abroad. During the first few years, their focus was on helping their families to settle and adjust to Dubai. During this time, their occupational identities were paused. Once their families settled, a sense of loss and resentment from this paused identity started to manifest itself. Some

referred to boredom, others to frustration, sadness, anger and even depression. The employment opportunities tried or considered were perceived as unappealing or limited for working mothers, their difficulties further magnified by language and a lack of qualification equivalence. The importance of their previous identity, their desire to continue in similar roles or to try new work opportunities guided their exploration. Mapping onto Marcia's identity status dimensions of exploration of possible selves and commitment to an identity path, four manifestations of occupational identity status emerged: hobbyists, adaptors, explorers and re-inventors. In different ways, unpausing their occupational identity allowed women to identify their entrepreneurial potential (Lewis et al. 2015)– largely in its latent or emergent stage (Caiazza et al. 2019). While for some women in our sample, their business was just a way to escape the 'housewife' or 'expat wife' stigma; for others, expatriation offered a low-risk opportunity to try a new career not possible for them before.

This paper furthers our understanding of identity development processes and how identity pause influences the development of an occupational identity as trailing spouse. This study also allows us to identify how these identity changes encourage women to consider entrepreneurship. Despite the potentially positive outcomes of these identity developments, the authors warn of the challenges these women face to develop their business in a way that is not only meaningful but also impactful as a career path and sustainable as an income stream.

*Janice Byrne and Amanda Shantz*

### **Entrepreneurship for Survivors of Gender Based Violence: Empowering Force or False Promise?**

Gender-based violence (GBV) is a global pandemic that affects 1 in 3 women in their lifetime. In addition to the significant physical and psychological impact of gender violence, women survivors' work activities, financial well-being, employment stability and development prospects suffer. Entrepreneurship is often promoted as a powerful integrative tool for disadvantaged individuals as well as an equalizing, emancipatory and empowering force for women. Numerous initiatives exist globally which promote entrepreneurship as a way to enable GBV survivors forge a new future. However, recently, researchers have signalled the false promise that entrepreneurship holds for women, pointing to implicit institutional and normative constraints as well as gendered public policy. Self-employed women earn less than those in paid employment, and have a harder time acquiring benefits, including maternity leave and childcare. When it comes to start-up funding, women and those from lower socio-economic groups are more likely to experience financial exclusion. GBV survivors may be even more susceptible to the downsides of entrepreneurship. The psychological and relational impact of gender violence means that survivors start out with weakened human capital. Even when funding is available, GBV obstructs women from initiating new businesses; their pasts undermine their entrepreneurial self-efficacy and increase their fear of business failure. While this debate is emerging, there is scant empirical evidence of the effectiveness of initiatives that support those who have experienced GBV to foray into entrepreneurship.

In this study, we explore this tension for women gender violence survivors – 'entrepreneurship as empowerment' versus entrepreneurship as a 'false promise of individualized opportunity'. We ask: is entrepreneurship a viable career option for GBV survivors? We adopt an interpretive case study approach, building theory from field-based data. Our 'field' was an entrepreneurship association and its corresponding program specifically designed to help survivors of gender violence rebuild their lives through new venture creation. 80 participants took part in the program over a four year period (2014-2018). We drew on a myriad of data sources: training observation, focus groups (n=9), interviews (n=36), written mentor feedback (n=8) and program evaluation reports (n=2). We thus capture the voices of the association founder, program managers, facilitators, mentors and volunteers as well as the participants themselves. We follow a grounded theory approach in our analysis. We worked inductively: drawing on our theoretical sensibilities, leveraging previous knowledge, experiences, and associated ideas.

We find that entrepreneurship is collectively constructed as a positive and viable option for women who have experienced violence, but a dark side to this empowerment discourse prevails. For survivors, engaging in entrepreneurship helps them (initially) feel that they have a 'place' in the world, thus facilitating a sense of belonging. Prior research has shown how traumatic events can disrupt one's professional identity, and entrepreneurship can help

reconstruct it and in doing so help individuals recover emotionally and psychologically. Our findings show how this effect is facilitated by the training cohort and network in which the women become embedded. Being surrounded by others who have had similar experiences, and now share similar ambitions, helps reinforce their legitimacy as ‘entrepreneurial hopefuls’. Volunteers, mentors and facilitators further cement and validate the women’s entrepreneurial ambitions. For volunteers and facilitators, advocating entrepreneurship for these women is a way to negate societal wrongdoing (i.e. gender violence against women). While well intentioned, this intention may be misguided. The feeling of empowerment and belonging these women gain is often short-lived. Once the women leave the program, and begin operating as independent entrepreneurs, their safety net dissolves, leaving them without a steady support to deal with the challenges that the solitary practice of entrepreneurship implies.

*Heatherjean MacNeil*

### **The Modern Princesses of Pot**

In 2015 American media predicted that the legitimate cannabis market would be the first billion-dollar industry dominated by women (Lidz, 2015; Dockerman, 2015). As this new, regulated industry takes shape, emerging data defies this claim, with women hold less than 30% of leadership positions (Marijuana Business Daily, 2017). Despite the fact that women are operating in a male-dominated cannabis arena, their entrepreneurial activities are playing an influential role in how the industry is taking shape. To further investigate the role of women in the cannabis industry, this paper applies Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony to better understand the relationship between cultural ideology, gender, and power in a new industry context. This work explores specific ways that women cannabis entrepreneurs, or "*modern princesses*" are creating new cultural frames that are feminizing this once masculinized industry. This gendering process is transforming how cannabis is used, and in turn engaging a new and growing market segment of women consumers. Although these new frames are building legitimacy for the industry, they are ironically, strengthening the material and dominant position of men.

#### ***A Feminist View of Gramsci's Modern Prince***

Antonio Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony explores how dialectical tensions between the material and discursive, the dominant and resistant, maintain the power structure of an organizational field (Seo and Creed, 1992; Mumby, 1997). Gramsci's theory of hegemony recognizes that change is possible when institutional entrepreneurs, who he coins as "modern prince," resist dominant ideology and leverage opportunity (Gramsci, 1971; Levy and Scully, 2007). This paper explores how, despite their sub-dominant position, the modern princesses of pot are driving a new feminized ideology. Examples of these frames are explored below.

#### ***New Frame: No Longer a Man's World***

The modern princesses include high profile women such as Martha Stewart, who recently partnered with a Canadian company to create a line of CBD products for pets (Holson, 2019), and Whoopi Goldberg, who launched a line of medical marijuana products that treat the discomforts of menstruation (Ciaramella, 2016). The media is using these high-profile celebrities to generate a new discourse that growth entrepreneurship is no longer exclusively for white, heteronormative males.

#### ***New Frame: Feminized Cannabis Products***

Modern princesses are also redefining how cannabis is used through product innovation. When interviewed about her line of products which include cannabis edibles and bath soaks, Whoopi Goldberg said she "wanted to create a product that was discreet, provided relief, and wouldn't leave you glued to your couch" (Ciaramella, 2016). Goldberg's products lead with their medicinal value, shifting the focus from intoxication embedded in the "bro culture" to

self-care and medicine. This feminizing of products is redefining how consumers view and use cannabis, and ultimately contributing to a more inclusive market.

***New Frame: A New User Base***

Marie Claire magazine ran a cover story on the “Stiletto Stoners” to describe new users of pot: high-power executive women who smoke and “kick off their Marc Jacobs” as a way of unwinding after a long day (Kohen, 2009). The author reported that one in five female pot smokers earn an annual salary of more than \$75,000. Although a highly feminized stereotype, the stiletto stoner showcases a new image for cannabis, re-claiming cannabis as a women’s space. These consumer archetypes are dismantling the stereotype of cannabis as solely a bro-activity.



*Meera Alfar*

**An Intersectional Exploration: Perceptions and Lived Experiences of Entrepreneurial and Professional Women in the Context of Occupied Palestine'**

The study of women and their entrepreneurial activities has gained considerable scholarly attention over the last few decades, with notable contributions made within a range of key thematic areas, including patterns of women's entrepreneurship, the barriers hindering its development and the motivations of women entrepreneurs (Bruni *et al.*, 2004; Brush, 1992; Lockyer and George, 2012; Monaci, 1997). However, much of the existing work in the field – particularly its mainstream articulations – has often been criticised for tending towards pure descriptive explorations (Marlow, 2014; Neergaard *et al.*, 2011), lacking a clear conceptual grounding (Ahl, 2006; Ahl and Marlow, 2012), and adopting, by and large, a 'gender as a variable' (GAV) approach which reinforces essentialist and objectivist assumptions, hence disregarding the various contextual and historical factors influencing women's experiences and practices of entrepreneuring.

Moreover, notwithstanding the growing body of work revealing the gendered nature of entrepreneurship and exploring the detrimental effects of gendered ascriptions and related stereotypes on women's entrepreneurial propensity and potential (Ahl and Marlow, 2012; Dy *et al.*, 2016; Henry *et al.*, 2015; Jennings and Brush, 2013; Marlow and Dy, 2018; Marlow and Patton, 2005), the majority of the available analyses remains predominantly embedded within a white Western/Global North norm which continually marginalises and excludes the entrepreneurial activities of people situated in disadvantaged and oppressed regions of the Global South (Al-Dajani *et al.*, 2015; Ansari *et al.*, 2012; Rodriguez and Scurry, 2019), and hence fails to recognise and constructively engage with the social conditions and contexts in which such activities take place (Marlow and Dy, 2018). This brings to the foreground the need to broaden the current entrepreneurial debate by looking into different directions and new places, but also by examining how intersectional positionality (Anthias, 2001, 2006, 2008, 2012; Marlow and Dy, 2018), i.e., the confluence of gender and other ascribed social characteristics, shapes women's experiences and practices of business ownership.

In this respect, drawing upon narrative data empirically collected from Palestinian entrepreneurial and professional women in the context of occupied Palestine, this paper seeks to make a contribution to the existing literature on gender and entrepreneurship in two ways. First, in contextualising the study of women's entrepreneurship specifically within the Palestinian socio-economic and political environment, this research extends the analysis to a novel context, hitherto unacknowledged within the dominant theoretical and research frameworks, and turns attention to how contextual influences and individual characteristics dynamically interact to enable – or constrain – certain types of entrepreneurial activity and behaviour. This involves transcending generic gendered ascriptions that homogenise female identities, experiences and struggles, and offering insights into the plurality of women's realities and motivations in engaging with entrepreneurial activity. Secondly, by placing particular emphasis on issues of diversity and multiplicity, this paper attends to the ways in

which the intersectionality between gender and various other categories of difference – such as, class, education, culture, location, religion, race/ethnicity, age and capital (Anthias, 2001, 2008; Marlow, 2014), impinges upon the entrepreneurial propensity and potential of women positioned within a turbulent context – like occupied Palestine, one that is persistently defined through patriarchy, conservatism and colonialism.

*Tabitha Magese Sindani*

### **We are all in ‘Jua Kali’: The Influence of Gender on Women Entrepreneurs in Rural Kenya**

The context of this paper is based upon investigating the influence of gender on *Jua Kali* women entrepreneurs in Rural Kenya. *Jua Kali* is a Swahili term, which means fierce sunlight, and refers to an informal economy whose unlicensed enterprises operate in open-air marketplaces, literally “under the hot sun” (Mang’unyi et al., 2018: 453). Women own up to 60.7% of enterprises within Kenya’s *Jua Kali* sector (Ndemo and Maina, 2017) which are labelled as feminine, ‘lifestyle’ and homebased (Marlow, 2002: De Bruin et al. 2007:331). Current research portrays entrepreneurship as a desirable and flexible pathway to women’s empowerment from conditions of subordination, thereby emancipated from shackles of poverty to empower others (Rindova et al., 2009; Dy Martinez et al., 2018; Alkhaled and Berglund, 2018). Increasingly, however, recent streams of research question the often ignored prevailing structural and contextual constraints such as uncertainty, long hours, multiple caring roles and poor financial returns associated with women’s entrepreneurship (Ahl and Marlow, 2019). However, a bulk of these studies are conducted in western contexts which does not present the structural context-specific peculiarities operative in non-western contexts. This is especially apparent in the rural sub-Saharan Africa context that is embedded with cultures of patriarchy and misogynistic gender bias (Maseno and Kilonzo, 2010). Thus, this makes this study’s objective and context a timely and justified investigation.

The study involved documentary analysis of several government policy frameworks on women’s empowerment, followed by 16 semi-structured in-depth interviews with rural *Jua Kali* women entrepreneurs from Vihiga County-Kenya. All data was voice-recorded and transcribed verbatim, first and second order coding was done in NVivo 12 Pro and thematic content analysis applied (Gioia et al., 2013).

The analysis reveals women’s vulnerability due to harassment and uncertainty that is embedded within *Jua Kali* sector. A majority of women expressed being harassed by *Kanjo* (the city council tax officials, who are mostly men) who confiscate their stocks, in case of any delay to pay the daily open-air market fee occurring due to lack of sales. Even though women seemingly appear to be liberated through entrepreneurship, they are still subordinated by dominant masculine power relations forcing them to negotiate their survival through bribery. Regarding uncertainty, a majority of *Jua Kali* women’s business premises are either temporary market stalls called *Kibanda* (made of wood with metal sheet or canvas cover generally about 3-6m<sup>2</sup>) or simple tarpaulin on which they spread their meagre stock along pedestrian streets. However, due to the ongoing Kenya’s Vision 2030 infrastructure and housing projects country-wide (GoK, 2018), most *Jua Kali* stalls have been demolished, and the majority of women displaced without reallocation to alternative marketplaces. Consequently, most of them resort to selling from home which ultimately impinges on their enterprise’s credibility and legitimacy when accessing bank loans. In conclusion, these findings provide compelling evidence that extends research on entrepreneurship that suggests, by itself, entrepreneurship does not ameliorate the negative effects of subordination.

Rather it reproduces structural and contextual constraints that trap women in the same old conventional structures of misogyny in rural Kenya.

*Natasha A. Webster*

**Migrant women entrepreneurs and emotional encounters in the Swedish entrepreneurial policy field**

This study explores the ways in which emotion, examined through the lens of emotional citizenry (Askins 2015), is a central part of the entrepreneurial process as seen through migrant women's encounters with various institutional and support actors. Despite widespread acknowledgement that emotions are central to the entrepreneur's motivations and to their performance (Fodor and Pinteá 2017; Cardon et al. 2009); for example, being passionate or goal-driven, the role of emotions in daily entrepreneurship remains under examined. I draw on Fortier's (2010) work, and conceive of the entrepreneur as an affective subject "whose conduct arises from desires, fears, anxieties, insecurities, affection, care, dis/trust, un/ease and so on" (p. 19). This implies migrant entrepreneurs are not only engaging in entrepreneurial economic activities but doing so as an affective and embodied actor who responds emotionally to the policy fields and contexts around them. Encounters and contacts between migrant women entrepreneurs and services occur regularly in social spaces produced in and through policy fields. Horton and Kraftl (2009) highlight the ways in which policy programs in everyday life matters by demonstrating the co-production of emotions in institutional spaces. Thus, I am interested in exploring (in)formal spaces and places such training courses, counselling sessions or with governmental authorities. However, the outcomes of these encounters vary broadly depending on the type of social interaction. Encounters are never neutral, they are packed with power and histories (Mountz 2011; Valentine 2008) and have transformative potential for entrepreneurs— of moving someone forward or away from their successes. For migrants undergoing an entrepreneurial journey and engaging within the entrepreneurial policy field, encounters are not a one-off experience. Rather encounters are tied to their migration processes and mediated through normative understandings of entrepreneurship which are embedded and (re)produced within the policy field.

Drawing on 40 economic life course narrative interviews with migrant women entrepreneurs from 26 countries in Sweden, the aim of this paper is to explore the role of emotions in encounters as migrant women entrepreneurs navigate the Swedish entrepreneur policy field and thus asks, what role do emotions play in policy fields for early stage migrant women entrepreneurs? Entrepreneurial stories reflect an embodied and affective subjectivity of interactions and encounters centering on individual interactions. Entrepreneurial stories were described in hopeful terms, for a specific type of future in a new context. I show that encountering policy fields is an emotional process for migrant women entrepreneurs analyzed under two broad scopes: hoping to succeed and hoping to be recognized. This study shows emotions as central to migrant women's experiences and, therefore, deeply impact their sense of self, entrepreneurial identity, as well as their engagement in accessing entrepreneurial resources. This paper raises important questions for further research on the role of emotion citizenry to understand institutional spaces in entrepreneurship.

*Wojdan Omran-Farraj, Shumaila Yousafzai, Haya Al-Dajani and Shandana Al Sheikh*

**Acknowledging Alternative Perceptions of Success among Internally Displaced Palestinian Women Entrepreneurs: An Intersectional Perspective**

This study addresses the misrepresentation of women entrepreneurs in scientific research as underperformers based on objective, financial measures in defining success. The aim is to understand how perceptions of entrepreneurial success are shaped with heed to contextual considerations of the lives of internally displaced people (IDPs) by looking at Palestinian women entrepreneurs running businesses in the West Bank region of the Palestinian Territories. To this end, the subjective nature of success is demonstrated with reference to the critical realist positional approach to intersectionality, emphasising how success is shaped by: (i) overlapping identity categorizations of gender, ethnicity, and social class (intersectionality); (ii) historical and contemporary influence of patriarchy and military occupation (temporal positionality); (iii) city or refugee camp as business location (spatial positionality); and (iv) how disadvantage and privilege are perceived in light of their circumstances (transfactuality). The results of this study emerging from data collected from a sample of IDP Palestinian women entrepreneurs encourages policy-makers and financial institutions to acknowledge and appreciate alternative non-financial measures of success influencing decisions to support IDP Palestinian women entrepreneurs who can make a significant impact on the well-being of their society without having an outstandingly financial success.

*Liron Baharav and Nitza Berkovitch*

**Micro-entrepreneur Women: Between religion and neoliberalism**

This paper expands the knowledge about marginalized women and shows how when operating in contradicting contexts, women micro-entrepreneurs in a highly traditional-patriarchal society, can become agents of social change as reflected in adopting rather modern practices and bringing them into their traditionalized homes and families.

In recent decades, as part of the neoliberal reorganization of the welfare state and the emergence of workfare policies, micro-entrepreneurship has been introduced by many governments, including Israel, as a solution for unemployment and a method to reduce poverty among marginalized social groups, especially women. In the Israeli context, one such group was ultra-Orthodox (Haredi) women. Indeed, Haredi women rates of micro-entrepreneurship has increased, alongside with their participation rates in the labor market. While most existing literature examines the effects of micro-entrepreneurship on women's income levels, this paper focuses on how it shapes women's structural opportunity to become agents of social change in the local distinct context of their family and community.

The Haredi community is characterized by a gender order that is different from most Western societies. The activity most valued and important is studying Torah (the holy scripts) and is reserved strictly for men. The most respected men are those who study all day long. Their wives are obligated to support them in their studies and are expected to be the breadwinners and caregivers of the family. The Haredi traditional values are regulated by principles of exclusion and extreme gender segregation and are pivotal in the community and social order. As Haredi women rate of micro-entrepreneurship is increasing, such characteristics stand in contrast to their need to adopt modernity, innovation and openness practices which take an essential role in the entrepreneurial spirit.

Based on 27 life-story interviews with Haredi women entrepreneurs and 12 months of participant observation of their networking group meetings, we argue that their unique position enables them to negotiate the degrees and scales of segregation, seclusion and openness. They use business entrepreneurship as a resource in negotiating the degree of openness towards modernity. At times religious laws still dictate the terms, mobilizing neoliberal market values to justify certain practices as required for the development and success of their business: for example, using the internet at home, or a smartphone that is not "filtered" (allows free internet surfing); obtaining a driver's license; making ties with "the outside world" (i.e., with nonreligious business consultants). These are groundbreaking steps which bridge between the secular and modern worlds and allow for some modernity to penetrate the Haredi home, sometimes even without rabbinical supervision. However, what still needs to be examined are the implications of these changes in terms of the alteration in the patriarchal order and the way of life of these superwomen who manage to do it all.

*Sir Shimoni*

### **Ageing Women under Neoliberalism: From Risky Subjects to Human Capital**

As the contemporary flurry of positive representations of ageing individuals in Anglo-Western mainstream media reflects, there is a shift in the kind of subjectivity ageing subjects are called upon to cultivate—from subjects imbued with risk for themselves and for society to savvy entrepreneurs who take risks and diligently maximize their self-worth. This shift seems to be consistent with neoliberal values and rationality, whereby ageing people are presented as proactive subjects who are able to manage their ageing process while upgrading their selves financially, professionally, mentally, aesthetically, affectively and romantically. Moreover, similar to the interpellation of younger people, it seems that people in their "third age" are also encouraged to conduct their lives by constantly weighing current investments against future returns.

However, while this neoliberal metrics is effectively internalized among younger individuals whose present investments are deeply tied with expected returns to be yielded in the future, it appears that when it comes to ageing individuals, this temporal dimension of the cost-benefit metrics proves to be problematic. Taking into account that ageing individuals' present moment does not assume an ever- extending future (at least not in the same way as younger individuals do), postponing these returns-on-investments for later does not make much sense. Instead, I suggest that contemporary representations of ageing demonstrate an emphasis on the "here and now" and not on the future as what bears value in and of itself. In these representations it seems that the future is no longer extended towards an endless or limitless horizon, but rather gets condensed and contracted into a continuous "here and now" moment. Differing from what scholars describe as neoliberalism's future-oriented temporality, the popular representations of ageing individuals register a sense of time that is dependent on the "here and now," where the *present* moment is granted unique power.

In this paper I would like to focus on Netflix's longest-running television series, *Grace and Frankie* (2015-), featuring 80-year-old Jane Fonda and 81-year-old Lily Tomlin as two unlikely friends brought together after being left by their husbands as they enter the so-called third-age. While my research to date has found that the neoliberal imperative to cultivate an entrepreneurial selfhood hails men and women alike, I suggest that investigation of *Grace and Frankie* reveals the particular ways in which the adherence to entrepreneurship in old age is significantly gendered. More specifically, by center-staging Grace and Frankie's transformation into successful business entrepreneurs as they start their own business of vibrators for older women, I highlight how the "here and now" moment is configured as the most important time frame for their self-realization. While this occurrence is positioned in the series as an antidote to ageism, by analyzing the temporalities that are at play within the emphasis on the "here and now," I argue that Grace and Frankie's successful trajectory in fact underscores ageing women's heightened precarity under neoliberalism and at the intersection of sexism and ageism.



## **Stream 4**

### **Gender and Class-based Inequalities and Identities at Work**

**Conveners: Samantha Evans, Joanne Duberly, Candice Harris, Shelagh Mooney, Barbara Myers, Susan Ressia, Bridgette Rickett, Huriye Yeröz and Maria Villares-Varela**

*Bridgette Rickett and Anna Morris*

**‘Mopping up tears in the academy’ – Working-Class Academics, belonging and the necessity for emotional labour in contemporary UK academia for Working-Class women**

Previous research exploring how working-class women experience UK Higher Education (HE) work has made evident themes of social segregation and corresponding difficulties with feeling a sense of belonging. This paper develops this work by exploring the ways in which UK, HE based working-class female lecturers talk about their sense of belonging, and the contemporary requirement for emotional labour through student support. The study uses one-to-one semi-structured interview design to interview twelve lecturers working in HE institutions in the North of England, all of whom identified as female and as being from a working-class background. Feminist Relational Discourse Analysis on the transcribed interview data identified two main, over-arching discourses; ‘being a fish out of water’ and ‘labouring to mop up the tears’. These worked together to construct the deployment of emotional labour, first, as necessary in order to support students, second, as presenting opportunities for belonging in an otherwise exclusive terrain, and third as undervalued labour. In sum, in contemporary UK HE lecturing work is located within a ‘marketised’ space where caring for students is central and the deployment of emotional labour to seen to be a necessary requirement to meet those demands. In addition this labour is understood to be work that working-class women can readily take up, and as one of the few vehicles to enable feelings of value and belonging. However, this work is also devalued and unaccounted for, potentially harmful to those who do engage in it, therefore shoring up a class and gender stratified UK academy.

*Lisa O'Rourke Scott*

**Transformation in the neoliberal academy in Ireland: Athena SWAN, feminist activism and social class**

Athena SWAN is designed to improve representation of women in higher education. It requires academic institutions to complete a self-assessment inquiry of all staff in relation to equality issues and to develop a gender action plan. The plan is assessed for awards which are retained if actions are completed and equality standards improved. Athena SWAN has been successful in establishing structural and cultural change in organisations (Oveseiko, et al., 2017). There has been growth in the numbers of institutions that implement the process across the UK and it has spread to Australia and Ireland. In addition, government agencies have incentivised participation by linking it to research funding for higher education. The scope of Athena SWAN has expanded from its initial focus on women in STEMM to include arts and humanities, professional support staff and representation of women in senior positions (Tzanakou and Pearce, 2019).

Athena SWAN has been criticised as a form of neoliberal feminism, (Rottenberg, 2014) for its emphasis on individual choice, (Kirkpatrick, 2010) and for being focused on the needs of business rather than women, (Roberts, 2015) all of which conflict with the feminist value of collective action. Those who advocate for Athena SWAN argue that it is a form of 'moderate feminism' (Tzanakou & Pearce, 2019) which pragmatically replaces protest with action, particularly since the addition of an intersectional lens which includes race and sexual orientation, and its inclusion of an acknowledgement of the needs of trans people.

This paper builds on work by Grosser and McCarthy (2019) who develop social movement theory to suggest that 'feminist social movements' can contest neoliberal feminist projects in innovative ways. This is accomplished, they argue, because of the political opportunities the process presents: allowing access to those in management positions and to elite allies with the power to advocate for gender equality. It provides access to mobilising structures: networks, communities and committees and associations as well as the tactics for social change that they employ. In addition it allows for the strategic framing of messages so that they are taken up as 'common sense' by society and those with influence within it.

Using the experience of participation in self-assessment and data analysis for an Athena SWAN application in Ireland, this paper develops Grosser & McCarthy's (2019) theorisation, adding theorisation of discursive contexts and technologies of the self (Foucault, 1988) that make available certain subjectivities. It argues that spaces for agency and change are opened up as a result of the contradicting strands of discourse (Rose, 2008) within the neoliberal academy which can support the inclusion of women, of people of colour and of those who are gay or trans. However, inequality regimes (Acker, 2006) of social class remain unexplored (Hughes, 2004) and unchallenged because of neoliberal discourses relating to meritocracy and blame; and a lack of analyses of social, cultural (Mohr and DeMaggio, 1995) and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 2013) and their importance to workplace integration; as well as the invisibility of those providing contracted services to higher education institutions.

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*Jo Burgess*

**Gender segregation in vocational education: the structural, the individual, the inertia**

The persistence of occupational gender segregation in vocational education and training is either a structural failure to realise equality in the largest sector of post-compulsory education in the UK, or a manifestation of choice and preference. This presentation intends to explore the experiences, choices and opportunities of young people. The research findings from classroom observations and interviews with young people in vocational education will indicate whether career decision making represents choice or is shaped by predictable patterns of gender and class. For young women, particularly, in VET the intersection of gender and class maintains disadvantage, they lack the agency of their academic peers and are concentrated in sectors that offer low financial returns and poor opportunities for progress. Addressing gender segregation in this sector of education could have significant impact upon the broader debates around occupational gender segregation and the material opportunities of young people.

Beyond the representations of choice and self-determination manifested in the neo-liberal individual, young people negotiate the challenges of an unequal and restrictive education system which replicates advantage and disadvantage. The impact of maintaining inequalities in VET is evident in the labour market, gender pay gap and poor social mobility. Class and gender stereotypes hinder progress in equality and obscure opportunities for young people which represent rational choice such as: career options in emerging markets and sectors and the achievement of optimum financial returns for their labour. Gender blindness has been a feature of VET policy despite continual change over the past three decades.

This comparative case study seeks to explore the perceptions and experience of young people in vocational education and training through classroom observations and interviews. The fieldwork phase of this project is at an early stage in two FE providers in the North of England. The curriculum areas for focus are currently engineering and health and social care. The geographic comparison between differing social, economic and labour market environments provides context for the examination of young people's perspectives of career choice and the constraints of gender, class and location. The focal point of the research is to identify the reasons for persistently high levels of gender segregation in VET and consider the potential to galvanise changes.

This research project aims to contribute to the debate by demonstrating that individualisation, and the illusion of meritocracy, have further deepened educational inequalities and are reinforcing a duality of constraint for young women: social expectation in the present and the conformity of the past. Education has become the primary site for the realisation of individualised goals, however, the achievement of social and economic security remains largely determined by gender and class. Change and instability in the FE sector coupled with inequitable levels of funding have impacted upon esteem and progress. The persistence of gender segregation in VET is a result of structural constraint and individual choice, but maintained by inertia in tackling inequalities for young, working class women.

*Nkechinyelu Edeh, Patrizia Kokot-Blamey and Sarah Riley*

**Migration, gender and professional status: identity and the process of becoming as female Nigerian nurses and doctors in the NHS**

This paper will explore the implications of professional status in mediating the experiences of female Nigerian healthcare professionals in relation their gender, race/ethnicity, and class. This exploration will be based on the findings of an empirical feminist study focusing on the implications of professional status for female migrants from Nigeria working in the British healthcare sector. Here, as we focus on the process of becoming through migration, we draw on professional status rather than class in our analysis, in order to consider the ways in which social class is complicated and entangled with race/ethnicity (Gilroy, 2000) and especially through migration. The structures of relations that systematically position migrants are embedded in laws, policies and regulations, and migrants consequently reposition themselves strategically through accessing professions in the UK. In this paper, we are therefore particularly interested in exploring the extent to which the experiences of female Nigerian nurses and doctors differ in the process of transitioning to, or becoming of, a healthcare professional in the NHS.

According to McLeod and Yates (2006) identities are projects, and we are all in the process of making. The ‘identity package’ of individuals can be a challenge or an advantage and thus affects the rights, and status of people, especially migrants. Within the healthcare sector, female workers are clustered at the bottom, with less prestigious, less autonomous and lower paid jobs, than their colleagues. Considering the impact of migration, existing research has particularly focused on the experiences of migrant nurses. Yet, little is known about the relationships between different groups of healthcare workers and how their experiences might differ depending on professional status from an intersectional perspective. The qualitative analysis here draws on insights from Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) in order to make sense of interviews conducted with 12 female doctors and 12 female nurses from Nigeria.

Employing the work of cultural theorist Stuart Hall (1991), this paper considers the transitional experiences of the participants; their experiences of loss, ambivalence, and discomfort and the ways in which these are associated with the process of becoming in a new and different social climate. Starting with the decision to immigrate, the participants’ experiences were characterised by a lack of control. Structured by their intersectional location as Nigerian women, most told an account in which the decision was made by their husband or family. Despite this lack of agency, many developed aspirational expectations of life in the UK, particularly around employment possibilities. These expectations were not met. Those who were doctors experienced lengthy retraining and challenges negotiating cultural differences in the workplace. Most of the participants who are now nurses, trained as nurses in the UK having failed to secure work with the qualifications and training they migrated with.

*Negar Faaliyat, David Peetz and Susan Ressia*

### **Skilled migrant women and employment outcomes**

This paper assesses the post-migration employment outcomes for female skilled migrants in Australia. It examines the impact of gender, ethnicity, race, family status, human capital, education and occupation, as a proxy for class. Applying the Standard Australian Classification of Countries (SACC) by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), the origin countries of these migrants are aggregated into nine regions (ABS Catalogue no. 1269.0, 2008). The migrants have skills, formal education and English proficiency, and entered Australia via the skilled workers visa. They arrived under the presumption that their skills and qualifications would fill identified skill gaps in the Australian labour market, as certain occupations had been identified as in short supply. However, many of these migrants experience difficulty in finding commensurate employment equivalent to their human capital, and subsequently they either experience unemployment, or find work in low-skilled, low-paid jobs, and thus suffer downward occupational mobility (Ressia, Strachan, & Bailey, 2017a).

This paper uses the Australian Census and Migrants Integrated dataset over 2006-2016. The dataset was created by linking two sources of migrant data: the ABS quintennial Australian Census of Population and Housing, along with permanent migrant settlement data from the Department of Immigration and Border Protection's Settlement Data Base (ABS, Catalogue no. 3417.0.55.00.1, 2014). This combined dataset provides information about skilled migrants' sex, age, religion, number of children in the family and their childcare system, applicant status, year of arrival in Australia, level of education, occupation, and labour force status. Bringing a feminist lens to this research, this study explores separately the employment outcomes of female and male skilled migrants of each region. Additionally, it compares the employment outcomes of migrants from each region to native-born Australian workers and to skilled migrants from other regions with the same levels of human capital.

Making use of intersectionality theory (Crenshaw, 1989) (along with critical perspectives on human capital and labour segmentation theories), this research provides further insights into employment outcomes of these migrants along a variety of axes of identity including, gender, race, ethnicity, class and migration and family status to understand how the act of migration affects their employment outcomes (Ressia, Strachan, & Bailey, 2017b). Moreover, information on migrants' date of arrival in Australia provides further insight into the employment journey of these skilled migrants from both short-term and long-term perspectives.

*Alicia Palecka*

**Gender solidarity, class hostility. The interplay of gender and class in bureaucrats – claimants interactions in Polish Job Centres**

The paper aims to present how class and gender differences work on the level of practice in Job Centres (JC) in Poland. JC are state institutions which provide counselling, job training and health insurance to the unemployed, while also adhering to disciplining practices towards claimants. Centres struggle with limited resources, therefore access to their services is unequal. The personnel of JC is highly feminized and bureaucrats' gender is an important factor in the way services and discipline are distributed. In the paper JC will be considered as a site of interplay of gender and class of both, the bureaucrat and the claimant. For the unemployed person the stakes of this interplay are high: it is the access to JC resources and the scope of discipline they are enforced upon.

In their everyday work bureaucrats employ various strategies towards different categories of claimants. Strategies seem to be based equally on their experience, as on stereotypes. While stereotyping organizes the workflow in JC and facilitates decision making, it also leads to gender and class segregation of the unemployed. For instance, one of clearly distinguishable and numerous category of the unemployed is the category of mothers with young children. Two main strategies are used by JC female personnel in interactions with them: of solidarity and of distinction. The choice between those two is guided by class affiliation. Motherhood and its hardships may be considered an experience shared by the bureaucrat and the unemployed if they also share class position (in Bourdianist sense). It may, however, become the basis for hostile othering of the unemployed by bureaucrat, if the former belongs to working/lower class. Bureaucrat's choice of strategy has a profound effect on claimant's access to resources offered by JC and may impair her agency in contact with the institution. While the strategy of distinction leads to exacerbation of neoliberal approach towards claimants, the strategy of solidarity moderates it. Moreover, working class men as claimants are more often than women (or specifically: women who perform care labour) subjected to this neoliberal, disciplining approach. Gender and class privileges and disadvantages have especially articulate manifestations in JC. Interviews and observations allow to look into the intersections of class and gender and propose the typology of strategies of dealing with various imbalances followed by both, JC personnel and the unemployed.

The paper is based on 40 individual in-depth interviews with the personnel of four JC and other labour market institutions in Poland, and over 40 interviews with the unemployed persons who are registered in JC. Analysis of the interviews was based on two complementary approaches: of Street Level Bureaucracy to grasp the bureaucrats' perspective and the way social policies are implemented on the street level, and of Institutional Ethnography which takes into consideration the women's, or more broadly, people's standpoint when they enter institutions. Data analysed in the paper was collected in two research projects financed by National Science Centre, Poland: *Information technologies in public policy. Critical analysis of the profiling the unemployed in Poland* (ID no.: 2016/23/B/HS5/00889) and *Negotiating the norms of work in Polish labour market institutions. Perspective of the unemployed* (ID no.: 2018/31/N/HS6/01964).



*Clare Lyonette and Tracey Warren*

**Gender, class and COVID-19: turning back the clock on progress towards equality in work?**

The Covid-19 pandemic has intensified existing gender and class-based disadvantages both at home and in the workplace, bringing with it the prospect of an attack on - or at best a stalling of - equality in work in the UK.

Our paper examines the work of working class women. Frequently found working in the ‘5C’ jobs of caring, cleaning, catering, clerical work and cashiering, working class women have traditionally helped to care for children, sick and frail elderly, clean the nation’s buildings, cook and serve our food, administer institutions, and staff our shops. The work that they do, and their key skills, are fundamental to our everyday lives but they are under-valued and [under-rewarded](#).

The pandemic has highlighted this essential work, work which brings with it severe risks to working class women’s working lives and well-being. For example, for women working in close contact with customers, clients and patients, COVID-19 brings work intensification and life-threatening health risks (e.g. those undertaking personal care in over-stretched care homes and hospitals). For many others, national and regional lockdowns have increased job loss, work instability, financial hardship and insecurity, alongside more unpaid care looking after sick family members, caring for children with school and nursery closures, self-isolation and home-schooling.

Class also shapes the places and spaces where paid work is carried out. For example, the jobs held by many working class people are far less open to being carried out in their own home. Moreover, even when work tasks could technically and even easily be done from home for some or all of the time, the flexibility to work from home is not available to all groups of eligible workers equally. Having some autonomy over where you carry out your work is associated with improved work-life balance, especially when working in a comfortable environment. Middle-class families have been more able to take advantage of flexible working arrangements, including working from home, in order to help them manage their additional responsibilities during the pandemic.

The availability to work from home does not necessarily spell good news for middle-class women, however, in terms of the sharing of housework and childcare with partners. Deep-rooted attitudes towards who should do what in the home are proving hard to shift and, although some middle class men are doing more, women of all classes are still taking on a disproportionate share of the daily tasks such as cleaning and washing. In fact, this share has

grown wider during the pandemic, meaning that any hoped-for changes in the division of domestic labour now appear overly optimistic.

This paper draws on new survey data on the impact of COVID-19 on women and men in the UK. In 2020, participants in the ‘UK Household Longitudinal Study’ were invited to take part in new monthly surveys and 17,450 participants filled in a first-wave questionnaire in April. Our study looks at employed women and men, and class variation in their experiences, over time. We ask how women fared overall compared with men, and to what extent their working lives were impacted differently according to their class.

*Fernanda Teixeira*

**Examining the responses of worker organisations and civil society to the COVID-19 pandemic: the case of domestic workers in Mexico**

With more than 1.5 million confirmed cases and almost 140,000 deaths, Mexico was one of the countries most affected by the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020. As in other parts of the globe, Mexico has seen the health crisis evolve into an economic and social disruption with especially dire effects on the most vulnerable. Among those particularly affected by the pandemic are domestic workers, the vast majority of whom are women (94%) in informal employment arrangements (98%). Unable to work online or work from their own home, domestic workers have experienced a rapid loss of jobs and income in Mexico. It is estimated that from March to July 2020, more than 732,000 domestic workers lost their jobs, a 33% reduction in the total number of domestic workers. Among those remaining in employment, working conditions have deteriorated; many have had their income and working hours reduced, while others have been forced to work longer hours or perform more tasks for the same wage. In addition, reports of violence and harassment against domestic workers have multiplied. In this context, domestic workers' organisations - such as trade unions and professional associations - have supported workers severely affected by the crisis by counselling, providing legal support and promoting sensitising online campaigns about workers' labour rights. Along with social allies from other civil society organisations (CSO) - such as community-based organisations and women's rights groups - they also have publicly reported and denounced the abuses that domestic workers have suffered, campaigned to raise awareness of decent work among employers, and demanded government action. The aim of this article is to provide a detailed examination of this plurality of responses, which have emerged as a reaction to the challenges brought about by the COVID-19 pandemic to domestic workers. Drawing on qualitative content analysis of newspaper articles and interviews with representatives of organisations, this paper outlines the many ways that domestic workers' organisations and civil society have partnered to respond to the COVID-19 crisis given the scenario of government inaction. Based on a case from the Global South, the research seeks to advance knowledge about the role played by various organisations in supporting working women during crises and suggest recommendations to help improve responses in future crises.

*Lorenzo Cattani*

### **Breaking the Doxa? Determinants of gender segregation across occupational groups**

Determinants of gender segregation can be grouped under two components: an explained one and an unexplained one (Gaiaschi, 2019). The former relates to women's individual choices, such as human capital, the latter relates to the discrimination women face regardless of their own choices. These two components, however, must be studied at different levels of analysis. There are individual choices, but also structural determinants that shape opportunity structures, such as family policies that serve different purposes, like parental leave and childcare coverage.

Taken together, the sum of these dimensions forms the Doxa (Bourdieu, 1990), the group of presuppositions and prejudices each individual faces. The objective of this paper is identifying those elements that may help women in “breaking the doxa”. Its focus is to understand how “atypical choices”, such as undertaking a STEM education or working more than 40 hours per week, which is said to drive women out of male-dominated fields (Cha, 2013), may foster female employment in male-dominated occupations. It also tries to fill a gap in the “welfare paradox” literature, by investigating the impact of childcare coverage, that shapes women’s opportunity structure, on the probability of being employed in a male-dominated occupation.

The study of gender segregation has often overlooked class and the occupational context, (Acker, 2006; Di Stasio and Larsen, 2020). Mandel (2012) studied possible “welfare paradox” effects on equal pay between high-skilled and low-skilled workers, a distinction that does not appear to be sufficient in grasping potential class divides. Korpi *et al.* (2013) also stated that existing studies on welfare policies lack intersectionality.

Following the work of Bourdieu (1983, 1990, 1998), especially his conception of “field” and sub-field”, this paper studies horizontal segregation by breaking down occupational groups in five sub-fields: 1) managers and professionals 2) technicians 3) white-collar workers 4) blue-collar workers 5) elementary workers. By adopting this approach, the paper will be able to identify different patterns of segregation across different occupational contexts. This will fill a void in the literature, since a more accurate distinction among occupations was not considered by empirical studies on gender segregation.

Using EU-LFS microdata and EU-SILC public data on childcare, the paper will compute a multilevel logit model. The outcome variable is the chance of being employed in a male-dominated occupation. The level-1 explanatory variables will be sex, the field of an individual’s education, the orientation of this education, and overwork (more than 40 hours per week). The analysis will also control for age, marital status, and number of children in the household. The level-2 independent variable will be childcare coverage for children between 0 and 3 years of age. The paper will study eight countries: Ireland, UK, France, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Italy, and Spain. These countries will be “multiplied” over five years to have a significant number of level-2 units.

The results will show that there are significant group differences and that these differences are more pronounced within countries than between countries. It will also show the different impact childcare coverage has on the five groups.

*Sophie Pochic*

**Market feminism at work: how gender equality policies became class-blind**

Since the 2000s a "business feminism" or a "market feminism" grow and became very popular. This neoliberal discourse justifies positive actions for the "business case" of gender equality. A socio-historical survey of a large French utilities company, privatized and transformed into a multinational in 2000s, provides an opportunity to show in practices how gender equality policies became class-blind. This multinational company is considered as an "equality champion" on various rankings, including its feminization of the corporate board and senior management. The survey is based on the works council archives (from 1983 to 2016) and on a hundred interviews with managers, trade unionists, and female workers from low-ranks to top management (between 2004 and 2016).

This monograph reveals that in the 1980s and 1990s, equality was a trade union claim, sensitive to low-paid women issues, but was not legitimate for (male-dominated) management. Since the 2000s, equality is supported by a business women's network, and more legitimate to (mixed-balanced) management, for HR and communication issues. This managerial version of equality is selective in areas of action (diversity in decision-making spheres, support for active parenthood), and elitist in terms of rights holders (priority given to senior managers, indifference to low-paid workers). This has two major consequences: market feminism accompanies, or even accelerates the company's financial restructuring; it disrupts labour feminism, as women trade unionists, more qualified, are often in conflict with their male comrades skeptical, even hostile, to this issue now in the hands of management.

Market feminism is not only embodied in soft law tools, as labels and charters, but also tends to colonize gender equality collective bargaining, which tends to focus measures and budgets on the specific problems of professionals and managers (glass ceiling, work/family balance). The progressive gap between a negotiated equality that becomes conflictual and a diversity managerial policy that is increasingly oriented towards external signs (for clients, financial analysts, or job candidates) and a few over-selected "talented" or "potential" women reveals the risk of an "class-blind equality". The trend observed in this monograph was confirmed in an official report made from the French Labour Ministry, thanks to textual analysis of a large sample of 200 negotiated agreements and action plans studied in 2014-2015.

*Mary Nyona Okumu and Sagie Narsiah*

**Gender Inequalities in Irrigated Agriculture? A Case Study of the Ahero Irrigation Scheme in Kenya**

This paper explores the role of women in irrigated agriculture in the Ahero Irrigation Scheme in Kisumu County in the Western region of Kenya. Irrigated agriculture is seen as one of the major means through which food security may be improved in Kenya. Women face various challenges when it comes to taking up agricultural activities: from insecure access to land, credit, agricultural inputs and lack of proper agricultural training. The aims of this study were to: examine women's roles in irrigated agriculture in the Ahero Irrigation Scheme, ascertain the nature of the contribution that women have made in irrigated agriculture in Ahero Irrigation Scheme, identify and document the challenges that women face in irrigated agriculture in Ahero Irrigation Scheme. The theoretical framework used in the study is 'eco-feminism'. Eco-feminism is derived from understanding women's encounters with nature and their impact on the social system, economy, politics, culture and way of life generally. With this in mind, the study focused on six key themes: women and agriculture, women and land tenure systems, water and irrigation, financial resources and assets, technology, education and agricultural politics. A qualitative research approach was used, involving sixty-six participants (both men and women) who were selected through purposive sampling from the Ahero Irrigation scheme. The study collected data through the use of questionnaires and interviews which were distributed within the twelve farming blocks located within the scheme. Sixty-one participants answered questionnaires and five participants took part in interviews. Data analysis (via Microsoft Excel) was conducted using theme-based groupings. The findings of this study acknowledge the important role that women play in irrigated agriculture with regards to rice farming, the challenges that women faced in irrigated agriculture with regards to land ownership, inheritance, financial assistance and agricultural training in Ahero Irrigation Scheme. The study concludes with the need to develop agricultural policies that have bottom-up approaches that meet the needs of farmers, regardless of gender. The development of better access to financial services, training and farm inputs can assist farmers within the scheme to improve the production of their crops. Lastly, there is the need to change social and cultural aspects that hinder women from inheriting land from their husbands due to land policies that have heavy cultural influences.

*Sara Dorow*

### **Class and Gender Dynamics of Mental Health among Mobile Workers**

The gendered and racialized dynamics of mental health in the workplace have received growing attention in recent years (Tausig and Fenwick 2011; Schnall et al. 2018; see also Rosenfield and Mouzon 2013). Less apparent in this literature is attention to how gendered dynamics might intersect with class to create differentiated experiences and environments of mental health.

In this paper, I present initial findings from a community-partnered project currently underway in the oil sands region of northern Alberta that seeks to understand mental health within the context of mobile (fly-in fly-out) work. While related research has been going on in Australia for at least a decade (e.g. Gardner et al. 2018), this is the first such study in Canada. A ‘social determinants of mental health’ approach helps to place the production and prevention of mental health issues within socio-economic context and across multiple overlapping scales, including the individual lives of workers, the structured arrangements of their work, and the impacts of policies and institutions beyond the workplace (World Health Organization 2014; Tausig and Fenwick 2011). How the organizational characteristics of fly-in fly-out work affect mental health depends on the different social positioning of workers within these overlapping scales.

Three key factors characterize the context of study. First, it is mobile work: each year some thirty thousand workers fly in and out of the oil sands region for rotational work, where they stay in work camps for rotations of usually one week or more (Dorow and Mandizadza 2018). Second, it is masculinized work: more than 80% of the oil workers are men, working in an industry characterized by “frontier masculinity” (Miller 2004). Third, it is socially classed work: not only is this mobile population comprised of everything from day laborers to managers, but these occupational positions intersect with a number of other cultural and material markers of status such as years of experience or type of employer (operator or contractor) or trade.

Our project deploys a mixed-method survey and interview approach to ask how the relationships among these work-related characteristics spell inequalities and differences in mental health outcomes. How do social class and gender intersect in structuring the facets of mobile work that exacerbate mental health as well as access to resources and networks of support? For example, my previous research suggests that variations in mobile work conditions (e.g. rotational schedule or camp amenities) have different implications for mental health; differences in those conditions are a matter of class (e.g. manager versus trades worker) but also of differentiated masculinities. For another example, women who are apprenticing may avoid accessing mental health supports for fear of further gender stigmatization in camp and at worksites. The results of our research, which promise to address how increasingly mobile work shapes the class-gender dynamic of mental health, will be “hot off the press” in spring 2020.



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*Olga Lucia Huertas-Hernández*

### **Intersectionalities of gender and class in the context of paid work**

Intersectionality has helped to put in evidence the variability in the experience of the effects of working conditions according to the social intersections of workers. The intersection of gender and class operates both in the problems that affect them and in the way they face and solve these situations. Making clear how these intersections operate will help us to understand the impacts of the current dynamics of paid work and make visible the conditions of inequality that are generated in formal organizations and other paid work scenarios.

In this presentation I will discuss some results from my doctoral research entitled "Porque el trabajo es una cosa y el hogar otra: una aproximación feminista a la salud mental de mujeres vinculadas a empleos subcontratados" (2013). In this research a first group of women workers who were subcontracted by an intermediary agency experimented more precarious working conditions and difficulties to deal with economic troubles and familial expectations related with care work at home. They received a very low salary, and they were pushed to sacrifice part of their leisure time to keep the balance work-family. They described not have free time during de day to talk freely with their colleges and not having access to other spaces for dialogue to share experiences, like a counsellor or therapist, because they did not have money. Many of their needs related with mental health were naturalized for the company as 'being part of the job' or considered as an inability of these women workers to deal with the requirements of their jobs. These aspects were linked to the lack of access to social resources because of belonging to a lower social class. A second group was composed for women workers who were subcontracted directly by companies. They had access to higher incomes than the first group, they had lower tasks related with work care at home (most of them did not have children) and they were link with mental health professionals who help them perceive the situations that affected their mental health like something external and unnatural in the context of their employment. Because of their social conditions related with a higher social class than the first group, they had access to social resources to try to solve the job situations that had affected their mental health.

In my research I concluded that women workers subcontracted who belonging to lower social classes have more difficulties to express and to prove that certain situations that affect their mental health were derived from changes produced by the neoliberal project in the context of paid work. To complement this argument in my presentation I will include a small review of articles indexed published between the years 2010-2020 about intersectionality of gender and class in the context of paid work.

*Kiran Mirchandani and Taralyn Parr*

**The Titanium Bowl Trap: The Racial Feminization of Teachers' Work in Singapore**

Feminist scholars have noted that occupational segregation remains persistent and systemic in many supposedly meritocratic societies. Ridgeway (2011) summarizes that “contemporary occupational structure...is so sex segregated that most people work in occupations or jobs that are largely filled by members of their own sex.” Other theorists note that the racial feminization of work results in the siphoning of marginalized women of colour into precarious, low status and poorly paid occupations. Teaching is a particularly skewed profession. Reports by the World Bank suggest that in North America, Europe, the UK, and Central Asia more than 80% of primary school teachers are women. Similarly, in 2019 the Singapore Ministry of Education reported that over 80% of primary school teachers were women, a statistic that has been steadily increasing for decades. What is particularly interesting about the teaching profession in Singapore is that it is not only highly segregated, it is also a prestigious and well-paid occupation with a high concentration of Malay women. Malays in Singapore are a minority and occupy persistently lower socio economic positions. In this paper, we examine the structures through which the racial feminization of teaching continues to be reified in Singapore, despite its high status. Drawing on 11 focus groups with 40 young women in Singapore, we explore how and why Malay women are siphoned into teaching, and why they leave the profession. We were surprised to discover that all but one of the Malay participants in our sample were either pursuing teaching or had previously been teachers. Participants experiences suggest that the state sponsorship of teaching, as well as family and religious values play a role in Malay women entering the teaching profession. One participant in our sample referred to teaching as a “titanium rice bowl,” noting that the profession is seen as ideal for and desirable by Malay women. While hierarchical and state-managed career ladders in teaching provide higher status, people in this profession find it difficult to raise attention to issues of inequality despite the gender and racial discrimination they experience and witness. Our results explore how Malay youth report that the teaching profession can serve as a “trap” which entrenches the racial feminization of occupations, and how Malay women attempt to disrupt the racial feminization of teaching in Singapore.

*Claudia Abreu Campos, Rejane Prevot Nascimento and Renan Gomes de Moura*

**Intersectionality and exclusion: The insertion of egresses from the penal system in the Brazilian labor market**

When we talk about the insertion of women in the workplace in Brazil, it is important not to look only at gender issues, since this is not a lonely category. For example, race, social class and educational level become extremely important to understand the behavior of the labor market towards black and peripheral women. Collins (2014) considers intersectionality both a "knowledge project" and a political weapon. It concerns "social conditions for the production of knowledge" and the issue of social justice (2014). To understand this intersectionality is important since it allows to analyse how access to different forms of resources and capital is determined (Skeggs, 1997), and this dialogue must also include women egressed from penal system, since criminal selectivity induces the massive imprisonment of impoverished segments, black people, foreigners and other minorities perversely included in the consumer society (RODRIGUES, 2019). It is important to contextualize that in Brazil the prisoners are mostly from marginalized groups of the country, and that are excluded from the formal job market. Only 50% of incarcerated women have elementary education, 50% of them are between 18 and 29 years of age, 68% are black, 57% are single, most of them are single mothers, most has not a long criminal past, but have worked in small retail activities for drug trafficking and national and international drug transport. Most of them has difficulty of access formal employment, as pointed out by the Earth, Labour and Citizenship Institute (ITTC).

This difficulty in having access to the formal job market is linked to a view based on the construction of gender about the prison system, because, in common sense, the world of crime is only associated to behaviors and practices of men. Therefore, when a woman commits a criminal act she carries a greater stigma than a man in the same condition, as she becomes a "criminal woman" (Santos, 2018). According to Goffman (1988), a criminal record makes the condition of man in debt to justice, in most cases, be attributed by the symbolic negative representation to its bearer. This paper sought to understand how the categories gender, class and race are useful to understand the insertion of graduates in job market. The corpus was produced from four interviews focusing on life history. The research made it possible to perceive that from the period that women were imprisoned, they do not allow their children to visit them, especially when they are young, as they consider the prison environment hostile, inhuman, humiliating, and yet they are ashamed of the situation they are in. This situation directly influences their relationship with motherhood. Despite the penal legislation guaranteeing the offer of study and work for women in prison, in practice, what is observed is an extreme deficiency of opportunities for these women while they are imprisoned. When they leave the prison, they carry yet another stigma: that of being ex-prisoners. It was also observed that when they go for formal jobs in post-prison they find enormous difficulty. Organizations do not consider them to be a reliable workforce and opportunities are scarce, pushing these women into informal, low-paid jobs, making them remain on the margins of society and not being able to access well-paid, formal jobs, that guarantee labor rights, for example. It is considered that gender, class and race are categories that intertwine when the phenomenon under study is the insertion of prisoners in the world of work.

*Diane McGiffen*

**Don't leave me this way: gender, age, class and health and social care work**

The doctoral thesis considers the retention of women over 50 in health and social care and will make a contribution to the understanding of work and organisation issues affecting working class women in gendered occupations.

Health and social care are nominally, inherently and symbolically gendered. Eighty-three per cent of the UK's 1.8M health and social care workers are women, 20% of jobs are held by over 55s and the sector is growing. However, retention is poor, with average turnover rates of around 27% masking wide regional and institutional variations. Policy makers often neglect the "agency" of employers and older women at work. The experience of working-class older women is relatively unexplored area, with research on women's occupations often privileging the experience of professional and managerial occupations for women.

Care work remains constrained by patriarchal assumptions. The impact of austerity, outsourcing and binary narratives that pit love or money against each other in care combine to suppress pay. The retention crisis in the sector may reflect some of these issues, but this research will explore choices and pressures directly with women in this sector.

There is doubt about the relevance of conventional career models and human resource management practice for older women workers. Qualitative research on flexible working options - often seen as a panacea for older workers – highlights the gendered nature of flexibility and reveals the micro and meso-level tensions experienced by older women and managers. New forms of work and organisation reveal the idealised male worker reinvented in contemporary settings and workplace practice. The impact of this, and the compounding effects of class, gender and age in gendered occupations is little understood.

One study argues that our understanding of even the most basic concept of work is highly gendered and that caring and domestic work carry gendered invisibility into the workplace, affecting pay, status, employment contracts and legal protections. It finds "institutionalised humiliation" for homecare workers. Human resource management and development has seldom challenged masculine rationality in organisational culture. This limits the ability of human resource management theory and practice to reduce gender inequality in the workplace which is seen in many outcomes for women in the workplace such as the gender pay gap and limited progression

This research will seek to make visible the invisible for this critical workforce and make a contribution to the understanding of the relevance of contemporary hrm practice on retention and turnover for older women in the workplace while exploring the impact of class.

This early stage of the work is supported by a comprehensive literature review of academic and practitioner material.

If society reflects older women back at half their normal size, it silences their voices too, which are seldom heard. The literature calls for more detailed, qualitative research with older women at work, especially in low paid occupations. This research will respond to that call and explore theoretical and methodological issues in intersectional research.

*Abigail Tazzyman*

**Navigating care and shouldering the burden? Class, gender and job role change in primary care**

In the UK, the general practice (GP) workforce is in crisis. A nationwide shortage of GPs, reduced funding and an ageing population has resulted in the primary care sector being understaffed and overworked. The introduction of new roles, such as ‘care navigators’, has and continues to be, a significant policy attempt to address these issues, provide cheaper care and improve recruitment and retention rates by making the GP role and working conditions more appealing and sustainable. The design and implementation of these new roles has focused on what they can offer the GP workforce, which is over 50% women and occupied predominantly by the middle class.

What has not been considered in the implementation of these roles is what they mean for those who will occupy them, in terms of wellbeing, career prospects, professional identity, and sustainability. This is particularly salient for the new ‘care navigator’ role. Care navigators are usually existing receptionists who in addition to their traditional duties are also required to triage patients away from GP appointments and allocate them other more appropriate health and social care professionals and services. This means attaining patients’ reasons for wanting to see their GP, making a judgement of their health status and other needs and persuading them to take up alternative services. The role requires them to upskill, take on more work that can result in increased hostility, incurring greater risk and responsibility. There is no increased financial reward, but the decision as to whether they participate is generally made by the GP partner/s. The care navigator role is predominantly occupied by working class women on minimum wage.

Based on a qualitative study on the introduction of new roles to general practice in a metropolitan county in England, this paper investigates how the interrelationship of gender, class and professional hierarchy impact on workforce change and job design. Using the case of the care navigator, we consider whose wellbeing and working conditions are valued and prioritised. We will explore the consequences for those who are being asked to step up into these roles and shoulder the burden of a workforce in crisis and the wider implications for primary care.

*Chidozie Umeh*

**An intersectional exploration of gender, ethnicity, class/status and inequality in multiethnic contexts: Insights from Nigeria**

In this conceptual paper, we examine gender, ethnicity, class/status, (ethnic) identity, and inequality from an intersectional perspective based on preliminary insights from two organisations in a multi-ethnic developing country. Extant research on identities such as ethnicity, class or gender, mainly focused on organisations, or drawn from theory developed in the global north, is based on the central premise that processes of identity construction are frequently intertwined. These studies have sometimes focused on gender as women in different jobs and organisational positions embody and reveal manifest and hidden forms of work-related discrimination. Indeed, studies that focus on other categories such as ethnicity and status or class show that, like gender, ethnicity - and so ethnic identity - cannot be meaningfully studied in isolation from other relevant social categories. This suggests that to understand the nature of oppression and discrimination, the simultaneity of categories such as ethnicity and class, amongst others, should be explored concurrently. This is the thrust of Crenshaw's intersectional theorising/analysis. However, regarding these submissions, insights from indigenous ethnicities in federated developing countries of the global south while theoretically fundamental remain largely unexplored. That is an intersectional approach to studying inequalities related to gender, class/status and ethnicity without recognition of the relevance of context and so context specificity may not adequately challenge or account for discriminations or inequalities accontextually.

In this paper we argue that (i) While several studies suggest that the theory of intersectionality has fundamental implications for how individual identity and identity construction occurs, when applied to federated states with indigenous ethnicities such as multi-ethnic Nigeria, scholars frequently fail to simultaneously explore the multidimensionality of structural intersectionality central in Crenshaw's work as well as the limits of the writers intersectional lens. (ii) The notion that relations between categories can be characterised as relations of domination merely because it embodies (predetermined conceptualisations of) inequality and subservience among individuals, or groups, may, however, ignore how ethnic affiliates from different ethnic orientations make meaning of inequality and how they experience this. For instance, in the situation where it is socially or ethnoculturally endorsed and legitimated, inequality and concomitant practices will not be viewed by individuals as oppressive or discriminatory. (iii) While acceptance does not necessarily elevate such practices, where status, or perceptions of status thereof, are used to navigate and assert identities (gender, ethnicity or class), individuals will most likely view inequality as a virtue, and not a vice. (iii) Although studies like that of Crenshaw suggests that a structure exists within organisations based on a system of interlocking gender, ethnicity, class, and oppression, and while this view supports the extension of analysis from that of simple descriptive differentiation of these systems of oppression to one of interconnectedness, for multi-ethnic communities, the tacit presumption that inequality is indicative of oppression of certain groups in multi-ethnic environments requires further research.

*Amarachi Amaugo, Hazel Mawdsley, Alison Thirlwall and Mary Naana Essiaw*

**Is Workplace Bullying a Gendered Issue? The Experiences of Employees in Non-Western Context**

This paper reviews the research to date in relation to workplace bullying and gender. Relatively few studies have explored the impact of personal characteristics like gender upon the experience of bullying, beyond the extent to which they influence incidence, which generated conflicting results. Some researchers argue that gender differences should be considered more than demographic characteristics, which may result in under-reporting bullying (Salin and Hoel, 2013). Rather than being ‘gender-neutral’ (Hutchinson and Eveline, 2010) bullying could emanate from conceiving gender as a social status that permeates organizational processes; structures and interactions (Keashley, 2012). It has been suggested that some workplace cultures and practices adversely affect female employees (Lee, 2002; Conley and Jenkins, 2011) and this is echoed by some of the findings from our data collected; and some studies reveal differences in the way men and women evaluate, and respond to, negative behaviour and illicit responses (Rodriguez-Munoz et al., 2010; Escartin et al., 2011; Salin, 2011).

The aim of this paper is twofold. Firstly, via a documentary review, it explores the workplace bullying in non-western context. Secondly, drawing on data gathered from cognitive interviews conducted whilst testing the cultural validity of a commonly used workplace bullying questionnaire (NAQ-R) (Einarsen et al., 2009). This study reports some interim findings from an international study into the experience of workplace bullying which relate to gendered bullying in Nigeria and Ghana. The paper concludes by offering recommendations health, education facilities, policy makers and academics undertaking research in this area.

This research draws on Acker’s theory of the gendered organisation. This provides a benchmark to explore the discourse around organisational and feminist theorists which have been around for some decades and has been further amplified to incorporate the sociological dimensions of class and race. Acker’s (1990) original account x-rays 5 processes which would be further elucidated in the paper and how these processes contributes to the gendered relations Adopting this approach helps us to counter some of the narratives around gender inequalities; invariably raising awareness of the challenges around gender and workplace bullying and facilitating a dialogue concerning this important area of discourse.



*Lea Reiss, Michael Schiffinger, Wolfgang Mayrhofer and Marco Rapp*

**Inequalities Based on Socioeconomic Origin and Gender in Business School Graduates' Career Success: Some Counterintuitive Intersectionality Effects**

Rising levels of inequality in different forms and global goals of their reduction are a key political agenda. Paying attention to interrelations of inequalities, intersectionality theory has been applied in a variety of settings investigating issues of dominance and oppression. However, in career studies, intersectional inequalities remain mostly unaddressed, especially those focusing on gender with regard to classed resources. The effects of socioeconomic origin and gender on career success have been attracting growing attention, but not so the interplay of the two dimensions. Therefore, we respond to the calls for more intersectional analyses by investigating how the intersectionality of socioeconomic status (SES) origin and gender influences business school graduates' career success.

Data stem from a cohort of the Vienna Career Panel Project ([www.vicapp.at](http://www.vicapp.at)) who graduated around 2000 ( $n = 557$ , 44% women). Parental SES was measured using the ISEI scores for the reported occupations of respondents' fathers. Based on this variable and participants' gender, we created a group variable with four categories (women/men with high/low SES origin). The dependent variables are income, career satisfaction and imputed career success. Analyses are based on mixed linear models for longitudinal data and calculation of the average group difference effect sizes.

Results show clear differences between objective and subjective career success. Counterintuitive intersectionality effects emerge for the former related to income and for the latter related to perceived career success. While men benefit, as expected, from higher SES origin, the reverse applies for women: those of lower SES origin attain a higher income than the high SES origin women. In addition, the effect sizes show large differences depending on the SES origin. The gender pay gap is almost twice as large in the high SES origin group ( $d = .94$ ) compared to the low SES origin group ( $d = .56$ ). The effect of SES origin on income is considerably smaller ( $d = .24$  for men and  $.16$  for women). For subjective career success outcomes, there is virtually no effect of either gender or SES origin, except for a decline over time in perceived career success for high SES origin women.

Our findings demonstrate that the interplay between SES origin and gender is not as straightforward as sometimes assumed. While men's objective career success rises in accordance with their SES origin, women do not benefit from higher SES origin and even seem to be penalized for it. However, women's income is less sensitive to SES origin than men's even though women are discriminated against based on their gender. Consequently, this raises questions about different kinds of disadvantages and privileges affected by intersectionality, e.g.: How can inequalities on different intersectional levels be explained? What are paths to career success and accompanying motivations, pressures and resources for different groups? What does career success mean to them and for their chances in life?

*My Rafstedt*

### **Never Too Late? Gendering Neoliberal Labour Reforms After Their Adoption**

Gender equality is not always top of mind when new laws are proposed. The adoption of gender-aware laws requires a concerted effort by both political and civil society actors, and the effect of a law on the population is intimately connected with how it is implemented. However, we know little about how laws may be gendered after their adoption. This paper explores the post-adoption process of gender regressive labour laws introduced in Spain since 2010, which have reduced Spanish labour rights significantly. These reforms were rushed through the Spanish legislature by the government, which used the financial crisis to justify the reforms as emergency measures necessary to respond to the crisis. Although the legal text is gender-neutral, it introduces measures that are believed to have severe negative consequences for women's labour market participation. These gendered effects may not depend only on the wording of the laws themselves, but on how the reforms are interpreted by political actors, social partners and the women's movement during the post-adoption process. How are these adopted laws politicised from a gender perspective, by whom, and to what effect? I conduct a comparative study of four distinct political contexts in Spain where different parties are in power, three autonomous regions and the central state, because these different political environments may facilitate or hinder the actors' room for manoeuvre. Through interviews with political actors, social partners and women's movement representatives, I examine the extent to which these actors gender the labour reforms and what scope they have to influence the reforms' gendered outcomes. The paper provides evidence of how leftist and centre-left governments are concerned with the gendered effects of the labour reforms and attempt to subvert these legal changes through public policy initiatives, whilst conservative governments deny the reforms' negative effects on female employment and are less responsive to demands from civil society actors. I demonstrate how gender-aware governments prioritise their resources with the aim of reducing the gendered effects of laws that negatively impact women and argue that laws can be politicised and gendered also after their adoption as long as the political environment is favourable.

**Stream 6**  
**Inequalities and Discriminations in the Restructured  
Public Sector: Exacerbation or Reshaping?**

**Conveners: Julie Douglas, Cécile Guillaume, Gill Kirton and Katherine Ravenswood**

*Asiyati Lorraine and Tiyesere Chikapa*

**Engendering Public Sector Organisations: Ambiguities and Conflicts in the Implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in the Public Sector Organisations in Malawi**

This paper utilizes the Ambiguity /Conflict Model (Maitland, 1995) to examine the ambiguities and conflicts surrounding the implementation of gender equality mainstreaming policies in the Malawian Public Sector. Based on an empirical qualitative study of twelve public sector organisations in Malawi, the paper discusses the divergence between rhetoric and reality in how gender mainstreaming was implemented in the public sector organisations and the influential factors that had an impact on the implementation process. Data was collected through in depth interviews, key informant interviews, and focus group discussions. The public sector is the main driver for the formulation and implementation of the national development agenda currently contained in the Malawi Growth and Development Strategy III. The paper argues that the way gender mainstreaming has been enacted in these public sector institutions reflects a complicated interaction between policy adoption processes, mobilising structures, change agents and agency. The paper concludes that the potential to mainstream gender in public sector organisations in such a manner as to lead to transformation and institutionalisation of gender equality in developing country like Malawi requires paying attention to the institutional contexts and the policy adoption processes, the mobilising structures, and the potential role of a variety of actors in facilitating or blocking change. This discussion contributes to our understanding of implementation of gender equality policies in developing countries, and how inequalities are reproduced and sustained in public service by public sector organisations, its actors, and processes.

*Caroline Demeyère*

**Gender equality as the new rationale for the modernization of public administration? A participant observation approach on equality practitioners' strategies in local government**

Local governments have been a determinant space in institutionalizing gender equality through the mobilization of equality practitioners that have acted as activists within the state (e.g. on municipal feminism: Johnson Ross, 2019; Bruegel & Kean, 1995). As decentralized public authorities, they are often presented as key actors to address the evolving issues gender equality raises (Breitenbach, Brown, Mackay, & Webb, 2016; Council of European Municipalities and Regions, 2006). Local governments face increased pressures to be exemplary as an ethical imperative, but also as a necessity for their internal and external legitimacy and the efficiency of the programs they lead. The gender dimension is particularly addressed in these social pressures whether they are framed around the concepts of representative bureaucracy (e.g: Peters, von Maravić & Schröter, 2015) or democratization of local governance. The articulation between their double role of employer, from a public organization perspective, and of policy-maker, from a governmental authority perspective appears as a strategic issue.

Yet, local governments face a context of economic austerity and administrative restructuring that appears as a threat to put gender equality on their organizational and political agenda (Durbin, Page & Walby, 2017). Research shows an extreme variability in the degree and depth gender equality is addressed with, allowing to the organization that is considered and the persistence of organizational phenomena such as occupational segregation, wage gap, or harassment in local government (e.g: Fawcett Society Report, 2017 for United Kingdom; Conley & Page, 2018). This communication is an insight in equality practitioners' strategies and tactics to build gender equality policies within local governments. Two types of equality practitioners, and the interactions of their strategies are considered. First, I take into consideration the strategies of the members of gender-equality specialized bureaus within local governments. Then I focus on the private gender equality consultants hired to build gender-equality programs in local governments, since the outsourcing dynamic has largely touched the gender-equality field. The methodology is based on an extensive participative observation and observant participation in four different local governments of the same region, as a researcher and a trainer and consultant for gender-equality working for a non-profit feminist consultancy. I particularly discuss the potential of the strategy to link gender equality with the modernization of government rationales in a tempered radicalism perspective (Meyerson & Scully, 1995), and its major risks in terms of cooptation of the feminist agenda.

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*Alban Jacquemart and Marion Demonteil*

**Beyond merger mania: new public management's gendered effects on French ministry of Culture**

Over the past two decades or so, mergers have become an increasingly common phenomenon in French public administration. They have been used for major restructuring and aimed to address problems of institutional fragmentation, low efficiency and quality. The French General Review of Public Policies (RGPP), a State reform policy implemented between 2007 and 2012, resulted in numerous mergers and in the reduction of top management positions. As far as human resources are concerned it introduced faster career paths, the development of a results-driven culture and the diversification of civil service recruitment. Launched in 2019, the latest State reform policy pursues the same goal by slowly dismantling French civil servant corps, promoting mobility and the expansion of contract agents' recruitment. All these changes have strong consequences on civil servants' careers and especially on women's careers which are less mobile and more likely to face the glass ceiling. At the same time gender equality policies have been implemented in the public sector, especially by the introduction of gender quotas in the bureaucratic elite appointments since 2012.

This paper considers these two facets of contemporary organisational changes which are apparently opposed: on the one hand changes in the hierarchical structure are bound to penalize women and on the other hand some coercive policies punish gender-based professional inequality. The paper draws on a detailed case study, the French ministry of Culture, a female dominated administration (62 % of women), where contract agents are traditionally numerous (50 % of the senior management), that has been deeply restructured in 2009. Driven in 2019, the inquiry is based on sixty in-depth biographical interviews of both men and women senior managers. Our findings demonstrate that statistical feminisation and gender equality are not synonymous. First of all, despite new egalitarian norms promoted through public policies, obstacles in the careers of women remain strong at the heart of the administration. State reforms and reinforced competition for top jobs fragilize possibilities for female managers to move up the ladder professionally. Moreover, these changes promote general skills, cross-disciplinary expertise, and devalue specialised civil servant profiles, as heritage curators (*conservateurs du Patrimoine*) for instance, which are female-dominated. At last, gender career inequalities in management positions result in wage inequalities, that are hidden by the French rules of public sector. Even if their wage is supposed to be determined by unbiased and impartial rules, female top civil servants have lower bonuses and their promotion inside the corps are as unequal as their possibilities to move up the ladder professionally. In addition to that, the case of a female dominated administration where contract agents are numerous reveals that contract agents are not only less paid than civil servants for the same job, but their career opportunities are dramatically narrowed.

*Ester Höhle and René Krempkow*

### **Higher Education and Science Management in transformed Universities - A new Career Field for women?**

During the last decades, universities have been in a transformation process. Growth of student numbers, introduction of New Public Management structures as well as financial cuts throughout the public sector have led to an increasing professionalization of the “third space” at universities (Whitchurch 2008): a widening of managerial positions with a service character supporting teaching and research, and positions with a bridging function. These higher education and science managers (also named: professional managers, university research managers, academic managers) fulfil various functions *between* research and administration, e.g. quality management, controlling, technology transfer, international office. Some tasks that were previously part of the administration were raised in status and "professionalized" (Klumpp / Teichler 2008: 152). This has to do with the fact that the orientation in the legality of processes (pure administration) is superseded by increasingly strategic requirements and service functions for research (management).

In Germany, academic careers in teaching and research remain precarious up to the middle of life and beyond, and are hard to realize (Höhle 2019), especially for women (cf. BuWiN 2017; Höhle 2018). Therefore, the strengthened field of research management, that absorbs academics (many of them PhD holders), but is less conspicuous than science, seems like a potentially attractive alternative for academic women.

Research about this new growing field of profession (e.g. Whitchurch 2008; Banscherus et al. 2017; Schneijderberg et al. 2013; Kloke 2014) contributes considerable insights: We know that these positions embrace a large spectrum of tasks and all require both academic knowledge, understanding of organizational processes and excellent communication skills. They offer interesting and demanding tasks, higher job security than positions in research and teaching (stable contracts) and decent payment (Banscherus et al. 2017; Schneijderberg et al. 2013). Still, there is little known about its gender implications: In how far do science manager positions offer good career chances for women (cf. Krempkow et al. 2019), and in how far is this field interspersed with gender segregation? Here, we follow up on the one study on science managers with a gender perspective by Blättel-Mink/Franzke/Wolde (2011).

In the project “KaWuM-Survey: Career paths and qualification requirements in higher education and science management” (6/2019-5/2022), funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research, we are conducting a quantitative panel survey of higher education and science managers. The first wave shall be finalized in January 2020. We expect a number of about 1000 valid questionnaires. With this data, we will conduct a gender comparison of the themes:

- Career path
- Status and payment
- Contract and working conditions
- Job motivation



- Professional self-perception
- Tasks and autonomy of decision
- Research management as a plan B

Furthermore, we will analyze cross interactions of the perceptions of family friendliness by women and men, by parents and non-parents. The results will give an insight of the gender friendliness in research management at German universities.

*Mario Fernandes, Simon Hilber, Jan-Egbert Sturm and Andreas Walter*

**Did the Women Professors Program break the glass ceiling in German academia?**

Despite increasing awareness and efforts by policymakers as well as universities in recent years, women still are underrepresented in leading positions in academia (Stepan-Norris & Kerrissey, 2016). According to Löther and Glanz (2017), in 2015 only 23% of professors in Germany were female. Overall, the proportion of women at all academic career levels in Germany is below the European average (European Commission, 2019). Consequently, German policy makers initiated the so-called *Professorinnenprogramm* (Women Professors Program [WPP]) in 2007, as a joint initiative of the federal republic and the federal states.

The WPP consists of three rounds – to date – with the first round beginning in 2008 and ending in 2012. The second round followed and ran from 2013 to 2017. The third round (2018-2022) is currently underway and thus will not be analyzed in this paper. The program's main goals are to increase the share of women on all academic career steps, in particular among professors, and to improve gender equality in academia in general (Löther, 2019). To be admitted into the program, universities have to develop gender equality concepts, which must then be positively assessed by an independent review board. If included in the program, a university can receive financial support when appointing a female professor. That is, the program offers financial incentives to increase the share of female professors.

Our paper addresses two research questions regarding the effectiveness of the WPP in the discipline of business administration. First, we analyze whether universities that participated in the WPP did increase the share of newly appointed female business administration professors at a higher rate compared to non-participating universities. Second, we investigate a potential mechanism by which the WPP actually supports women on their path of becoming a tenured professor. More specifically, we analyze whether publication records (i.e. tenure requirements) – as measured by publications in peer-reviewed journals – of female professors who obtained tenure at WPP universities increased at a lower rate compared to publication records of their female peers who obtained tenure at non-WPP universities.

To answer our research questions, we draw on a hand-collected dataset consisting of 827 business administration professors who obtain tenure in Germany between 1996 and 2017. We merge this data with publication data provided by *Forschungsmonitoring*, a source for publication data used prominently in recent research (e.g., Ayaita, Pull, and Backes-Gellner (2019), Backes-Gellner, Bäker, and Pull (2018)).

Our results indicate that the WPP reached one of its main goals, as we find that universities that participated in the WPP did increase the share of newly appointed female professors compared to universities that did not participate in the program. Additionally, we find that publication records of female professors when obtaining tenure at WPP universities increased at a lower rate compared to publication records of female professors who obtained tenure at non-WPP universities. In other words, we provide evidence that WPP universities lower the entrance barrier for young female researchers.

Our work contributes to existing literature on gender equality in academia, in particular to literature focusing on policy interventions as a means of improving gender equality.

Furthermore, we provide evidence for the success of the WPP in the discipline of business administration. From a broader perspective, our results provide evidence that financial incentives can be a useful tool to break the glass ceiling.

*Katherine Ravenswood and Julie Douglas*

**Intended or unintended consequences: pay equity by neoliberal design?**

Internationally it is often argued that the outsourcing of public services leads to poorer work conditions and work intensification (Cunningham and James 2009; Kirton and Guillaume, 2017). This is no different in the outsourcing of aged care and disability care in New Zealand where healthcare assistants (HCA) experience low wages, low status and sub-optimal work conditions (Ravenswood, Douglas & Haar, 2017). Gender norms shape the way these workers are perceived and treated by managers (England et al., 2002; Palmer & Eveline, 2012; Ravenswood & Harris, 2016). The gendered undervaluing of care work has extended to government funding models that rely upon low wages to provide care (Ravenswood & Kaine, 2015). Indeed, Ravenswood and Kaine (2015) argued that governments should resume their role as lead employer in the labour supply chain to ensure better conditions for HCAs in outsourced carework.

The State's role in outsourcing care to private companies was brought into sharp relief in New Zealand in the landmark 2017 Care and Support Worker (Pay Equity) Settlement Agreement. This settlement resulted from legal action under the 1972 Equal Pay Act taken by an HCA Kristine Bartlett and her union. It acknowledged historic discrimination in wages for these workers and provided additional government funding to employers to cover the costs of mandatory increased wages of HCAs.

This paper examines the role of the State in outsourcing care and support work in New Zealand with specific reference to the Care and Support Worker (Pay Equity) Act 2017. It does this across three sectors: residential aged care, home and community care and the disability sector. Based on interviews and focus groups with 69 participants (managers and HCAs), this paper argues that the unintended negative consequences of the settlement (Douglas & Ravenswood, 2019), were in fact, the designed result of neoliberal approaches to employment relationships and the regulation of work.

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*Raquel Rego, Tatiana Pita and Cristina Nunes*

### **The Role of Social Partners in Gender Equality Policies and the Need for Institutional Reform**

In modern democracies, one of the tools of the corporatist model is social concertation (Lijphart, 1999). Social concertation or tripartite social dialogue involves trade unions, employer organizations and the government striking national agreements known as social pacts. These represent an input into economic governance and a democratization strategy (Encarnación, 1997) given their potential role both in any systematic welfare state reform and in fostering market integration, accountability and equality. Consultative in nature, social concertation may be approached as an enabler of social peace and as a promoter of cross-class consensus while also bearing in mind that social partners perform relevant coordination roles at the national and supra-national levels.

In many European countries, the adoption of social concertation was mostly stimulated by European integration. This is the case of Portugal where social concertation started out as a means of coping with an environment of economic uncertainty and with the first social pacts correspondingly focusing on capping salary rises in the mid-1980s. Later, within the Economic and Social Committee, which involved all the social partners, including the most representative trade union organization, CGTP-IN, social concertation resulted in several other agreements. Social pacts on narrow topics apparently gained consensus easier (such as training and health and safety at work) while also interrelated with the European framework.

For some authors, social concertation was an alternative to trade union influence in the face of a weaker collective bargaining (Donaghey and Teague, 2005). In recent years, other authors have been claiming that social concertation is in crisis in Continental Europe due to the consequences of the sovereign debt crisis and recession (Baccaro, 2015; Sanchez Mosquera, 2018). We here argue that social concertation contains structural weaknesses and current issues extend beyond a question of conjunctural pressures (Regini, 2003), on the one hand, because of its consultative nature and, on the other, because it reproduces the constellation and composition of social partners' interests.

Focusing on gender equality policies in the Portuguese labour market and given the persistent inequality, we have wondered what contribution social concertation has been making to gender equality policies. Based on the analysis of the content of the social pacts signed in Portugal in over more than 30 years of tripartism (1984-2019), we identify there has been a lack of representation of women's interests in social concertation. Results show that gender equality has little weight in social pacts and that the European regulatory framework is decisive in the progress made.

We concluded that the tripartite social dialogue played an irrelevant role over the course of decades. In fact, the introduction of quotas for executive and supervisory boards in public sector companies for instance, as well as gender content in labour collective agreements (Cerdeira, 2009) mainly result from legal impositions. Therefore, we advocate that institutional reform is required for social concertation to become an effective promoter of equality and innovation.

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*Miikaeli Kylä-Laaso, Paula Koskinen Sandberg and Julius Hokkanen*

**The feminized public sector at the center of corporatist struggles: Affective atmospheres under neoliberal regime**

Responses to the economic crisis of 2008 have seen intensifying neoliberal policies in combination with more authoritarian approaches to governance. Ordinary people have been expected to make sacrifices, such as accept cuts in wages and benefits, for the sake of national competitiveness. Austerity measures have been implemented in several countries, including Finland. As they target the public sector, austerity measures have had gendered consequences. The feminized public sector has often been viewed as a burden and as a threat to national competitiveness. Collective bargaining has been under great pressure in Europe, as neoliberal policymaking and austerity have created a hostile environment towards trade unions in particular. Demands for increased competitiveness have been articulated in the form of wage competitiveness and reductions in (predominantly female-dominated) public sector spending, making these policies highly gendered.

In 2015, with newly elected centre-right-populist government, Finland saw neoliberal policies and reforms being instigated in the labour markets in the form of the Competitiveness Pact. The Competitiveness Pact was an attempt to decrease labour costs by 5 percent, and increase the competitiveness of the Finnish economy, negotiated between the labour market parties and the government. The government demanded reductions to wages and other costs for employers, with a threat of further cuts in the public sector, if the labour market parties would not accept the Pact. This resulted in a conflict between trade unions and the state, where gender equality rose to a prominent role in argumentation opposing the government. The gendered impacts of the Pact were opposed by trade unions, opposition and many academics. In the end, however, gender equality was overshadowed, and sacrificed for the sake of reaching an agreement. Cuts were implemented in the feminized public sector, while the private sector received alleviations to employer costs.

In this article we ask the following research questions: how is the position of the public sector defined in the struggles between the corporatist actors, and how does the tension between the public and the private sector appear in the data? Additionally, we ask what kind of an affective atmospheres are the corporatist actors creating in their discourse regarding the Pact. For our data, we analyse the positions (press releases, news etc) of the labour market parties and the government relating to the Competitiveness Pact published 2015-2016. The data consists of approximately 400 documents. These documents represent strategic communication of these central actors to the wider public and to each other, thus form an interesting data for our analysis. As methods, we utilize rhetoric discourse analysis in combination with thematic



*Advaita R and Ankur Sarin*

**(In)visibilisation of waste and waste work: intersections of gender, caste and organizational form**

India has a long embarrassing history of condemning specific communities (castes) to waste-work (Rodrigues, 2009) - often characterised by occupational rigidities, poor conditions of work and low social security (Gill, 2010). The historic bureaucratization of sanitation and waste-work, retained the caste-ed nature of the work that has been reproduced by the post liberalization retreating state ([Fernandes, 2018; Srikrishna, Dholakia, Mathur, & Nath, 2008](#)) typified by the increasing contracting out of 'waste-workers.' The reordering of governing institutions of waste-work, in the context of rapidly increasing 'waste' has seen several new or modified institutional forms - private companies, public-private partnerships, and national schemes that include 'formalized' self-help groups. Albeit accompanied by new forms of informalization, the emerging organizational forms ought to 'visiblize' waste-work. Existing municipal waste-workers, usually from lower caste *dalits*, often organized into unions, have gone on strike in many cities, demanding for permanent employment in government services and better working conditions (Bisht, 2018).

Some city governments have responded by drawing in workers from other marginalised groups. In this paper, we draw on an ethnographic account of a small town in central India, that has employed 400 women workers from indigenous communities (known as tribals in India) from neighbouring rural areas in the last three years. These communities have not been traditionally involved in waste-work. They partly replace and partly work parallel to the existing bureaucratic system of provision of sanitation services. These women, unlike other waste-workers, are often valorized in policy documents as "eco-warriors." These women are however considered "voluntary" workers and are organized in the form of self-help groups. The formation of self-help groups has its roots in the formation of women collectives to further their demands - of credit, political action. However, the employment of this organizational form by the government has allowed for an exclusion of these women from legal protection of labour laws including payment of minimum wages.

The apparent response of state entities to the contestations around the devaluation of waste-work has been to draw in groups that have been devalued and excluded along other social lines. In this paper, we understand the processes and practices that lead to and characterize this devaluation. We interrogate the reordering of processes through which workers paradoxically continue to be 'invisibilized' even as their work is celebrated.

*Karin Sardadvar*

**Outsourced and invisible? Working conditions in the cleaning sector – examples from Austria and Norway**

Cleaning work has been at the forefront of the jobs being outsourced, both in the public and the private sectors, in many countries (Aguiar/Herod 2006). For this and other reasons, scholars have pointed out the “disconcerting pioneering role” (Gather et al. 2005: 209, my translation) of the cleaning sector with regard to flexibilisation and precarisation. Today, the cleaning sector in Europe has particularly unfavourable employment conditions, including high shares of fixed-term and part-time employment contracts, low wages, high health and safety risks and scarce career prospects (Eurofound 2014). This presentation zooms in to the employment and working conditions in this sector in Europe.

In my contribution, I discuss how the widespread outsourcing of cleaning work, as a typical area of low-skill, low-wage, feminized work, contributed to changes in employment and working conditions. At the same time, I show how employment and working conditions are characterized by inequalities within the cleaning sector along gender and ethnicity lines (Sardadvar et al. 2015; Sardadvar 2016; Schürmann 2013; Schroth/Schürmann 2006). As a consequence, women in the Austrian cleaning sector, for example, are overrepresented in the lower paid, more fragmented parts of the sector.

This presentation discusses the current characteristics and employment conditions of the commercial cleaning sector with a focus on Austria and Norway and with special attention given to the issue of working times. I argue that the changes to cleaning work that were exacerbated by outsourcing, especially the prevalence of working times in the early morning and late afternoon or evening, contribute to making the work invisible and, in turn, underrecognized. The paper draws on the example of Austria, where much cleaning work has been outsourced and unsocial working times are widespread, and draws comparisons to Norway, where outsourcing has been taking place to a lower extent and at a slower pace, and where much cleaning in the public sector is still done in-house. In contrast to other countries, Norway has succeeded to some degree in creating full-time and daytime cleaning jobs both in the public and private sectors by means of, among other things, joint trade union and employers’ initiatives. One of my main arguments is that working conditions in the cleaning sector, including working times, can be designed and negotiated rather than, as is often argued, being inevitable and completely subject to the customers’ preferences.

This contribution is based on previous papers (Sardadvar 2019; Sardadvar 2016; Sardadvar et al. 2015), on qualitative research in Austria within the ongoing project SPLITWORK (the SPLITWORK project, 2018-22, funded by the Austrian Science Fund, V 598-G16) (see: <https://bach.wu-wien.ac.at/d/research/projects/3187/>) and on research in Norway conducted in Spring 2019.

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*Gill Kirton & Cécile Guillaume*

**‘Racializing’ the union agenda – the potential for intersectional solidarities on the front lines of healthcare**

The idea that unions need to ‘feminize’ the union agenda in order to tackle the specific concerns of women workers related to gendered hierarchies, grading structures and the organization of work, has long been the subject of debate. Unions have made huge progress even if they are still open to criticism on this front. In a period when the Black Lives Matter movement has reinvigorated the public and policy conversation about workplace racism, this paper extends the critical interrogation of the union agenda by exploring how far unions have come in ‘racializing’ the agenda. While there are signs that the overall union agenda is making progress on incorporating issues of race and racism (Kirton, 2019), how this filters through to workplaces – to the front lines – where much member-facing union activity occurs is less clear.

Using findings from a case study of two UK female dominated professional unions, the RCN and RCM (the Royal College of Nursing and the Royal College of Midwives), the main unions (which double as professional organisations) representing the nursing and midwifery professions, this paper focuses on the dynamics of workplace unionism as a site for evaluating the extent to which the union agenda on the front lines has incorporated race/ethnicity.

Influenced by what Crenshaw calls an ‘intersectional sensibility’ (1991), the paper explores how the specific interests of BME women in highly feminized workplaces/occupations are acted upon by workplace union representatives. Thus, it acknowledges the importance of the intersection of multiple inequalities (Healy et al., 2011; McBride et al., 2014; Walby et al., 2012). Importantly, it engages with the concept of ‘political intersectionality’ (Walby et al., 2012), which places the focus on actors with power – here trade unions – that have the ability to influence discrimination at work (McBride et al., 2014; Seifert and Wong, 2018). Few studies have focused specifically on union representatives’ approaches and experiences in confronting workplace racism particularly in feminised contexts. This paper argues that understanding the dynamics of workplace unionism helps to advance thinking about how political intersectionality might construct intersectional solidarities capable of tackling workplace racism.

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**Stream 7**  
**Gendering Screen Industries: Representation, Working  
Conditions and Agency**

**Conveners: Maria Jansson, Frantzeska Papadopoulou, Ingrid Stigsdotter  
and Louise Wallenberg**

*Frances C. Galt*

**‘It was just clawing a bit at a time’: Campaigning for Gender Equality through Trade Unions in the British Film and Television Industries**

During the late 1960s and early 1970s women union activists were encouraged to critically assess the role of their trade union, the Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians (ACTT), in maintaining gender discrimination in the British film and television industries and to recognise its potential to challenge it. In this period, there was a sense of impending revolutionary change within activist circles engendered by an intensification of global protest movements, human-rights initiatives and anti-imperialist struggles which erupted globally in 1968. In Britain, this political culture found its expression in the New Left and women’s liberation movement. According to ACTT activist, Sarah Boston (2016), women were encouraged to see trade unions as ‘a place to fight for women’ by this political climate.

In 1973, ACTT women activists demanded an investigation into gender discrimination which culminated in the publication of the *Patterns of Discrimination Against Women in the Film and Television Industries* (hereafter *Patterns*) report in 1975. This seminal report illuminated widespread gender inequality by quantifying women workers’ experiences of discrimination and analysing the structures and attitudes that facilitated this discrimination within the film and television industries and the ACTT. The report provided an extensive list of recommendations – including maternity leave, the provision of childcare facilities in the workplace and at union meetings, and the formalisation of women’s representation within the ACTT – which offered ‘immense ammunition’ to women activists (Boston, 2016). At the ACTT’s 1975 Annual Conference, the *Patterns* report was declared as ‘the beginning of the practical fight for women’s rights’ (Anon., May 1975: 8); however, by the ACTT’s first Women’s Conference six years later in 1981 the report was described as ‘regrettably up-to-date’, indicating that little had changed (Skirrow, 1981: 94).

Between 1975 and 1981, the relationship between women and the ACTT was characterised by inertia; however, the ACTT’s 1981 Women’s Conference provided the ‘catalyst the women in the Union needed’ (Skirrow, 1981: 99). Women demanded structural changes in the ACTT which would formalise women’s representation in the union structure and facilitate the implementation of the report’s recommendations. Amongst the demands were the appointment of an Equality Officer, an annual women’s conference and the establishment of a network of Equality Representatives, which were introduced in the ACTT over the course of the 1980s. However, the political gains inside the union were undermined by the socio-politico-economic climate of the 1980s that followed the election of Margaret Thatcher’s Conservative government in 1979.

This paper will explore the strategies adopted by women trade union activists to challenge gender discrimination in the British film and television industries and the obstacles women activists encountered during the 1970s and 1980s.

*Anne O'Brien and Susan Liddy*

**Motherhood and media work: A summary of a collection of recent international case studies**

A large body of research has identified that mothers in societies around the world have a disproportionate care burden, across various work sectors, including in the film and television industries. It has been well established that motherhood or the 'maternal wall' is a significant cause of women's withdrawal from work. These dynamics have been further exacerbated by the Covid 19 pandemic. However, despite the fact that many women leave creative work on becoming mothers, nonetheless some women attempt to sustain both working lives and caring commitments. Yet, relatively little research attention has been paid to mothers who continue to work in creative and cultural industries. This paper proposes to summarize a collection, edited by the presenters, of recent international research on motherhood and media work. The paper makes four key points about experiences of creative work particular to mothers in the international audio-visual industry. It argues firstly that mothers in creative work are penalized because of their parenting role across a broad range of socio-cultural contexts. We examine studies from Australia, Nigeria, Sweden and Hollywood that outline the multiple ways in which motherhood is generally not seen as a benefit but rather as a liability in the formal work context. The second key argument presented in the paper is that mothers experience exclusion within creative industries in ways that are complicated beyond gender, by other aspects of their class, religious or family identities. Examples from cases as apparently divergent as Malaysia, Colombia and Britain for instance are presented and the commonality of intersectional exclusion is established. The third key point that will be addressed is that the combination of care duties with formal work burdens is internalized by mothers with consequent socio-psychological impacts on women's work and lives., which we explore with reference to work on the UK, Scottish and Bollywood contexts. The fourth key theme highlighted by the paper is to look for ways forward or potential solutions to the 'problem' of mothering for women who are also trying to sustain a career in media industries. The conceptual and activist work that remains to be done to address the gendered inequalities that women face as mothers is set out here where project-based, policy-based and best-practice approaches to reform and change are outlined and critically evaluated with reference to research on the UK and Ireland. In all, the paper offers a summary and overarching analysis of an edited collection of recent research as well as potential solutions for the 'problem' of working mothers in film and television work in an international and comparative context.



*Doris Ruth Eikhof and Stevie Marsden*

**The everyday decisions that shape gender equality: New evidence from the UK screen industries**

In her 2018 Oscar acceptance speech, Frances McDormand turned the spotlight onto a key cause of gender inequality in the screen industries: the decisions made by (mainly male) gatekeepers about women's opportunities to participate and advance in screen work. The problem, McDormand pointed out, is not a lack of women talent, but that women are systematically perceived as less worthy of opportunity and reward, and that as a result of these perceptions, crucial decisions are stacked against them. Other industry sources, too, provide growing evidence that women are perceived as "too risky" (e.g. Directors UK, 2014; European Women's Audiovisual Network, 2016; Ofcom 2019) or as less suited to the screen industries' 24/7 pressure culture (O'Brien, 2014), and that these perceptions adversely influence recruitment, casting and crewing decisions.

But despite increasing calls for better understanding of how decisions about participation and advancement in the screen industries are made (e.g. Eikhof, 2017; Verhoeven & Palmer, 2016), empirical evidence on decision making and gender equality is still scarce. We have little insight into how the various decisions with which women's opportunities in the screen industries are afforded or withheld are made, by whom, in which situations and contexts, under the influence of which perceptions, logics or paradigms. Notably, what evidence there is pertains mainly to recruitment, casting and crewing, with little insight into the full range of decision points that affects gender equality in screen work. Our proposed paper for this stream will report first findings from a research project designed to address such shortcomings in current understanding.

The *Everyday Diversity* project (undertaken in partnership with key UK screen industry stakeholders, the British Film Institute and the Creative Diversity Network) investigates the decisions that afford or withhold work opportunities for women and other under-represented groups in UK film, TV, animation, VFX and post-production. Through 70 interviews with decision makers and industry experts, we are currently gathering new empirical data on how decisions are made about financing and commissioning; recruitment, casting and crewing; employment relationships (e.g. contract types, entitlements to paid carers leave) and work practices (e.g. scheduling, working hours); as well as training and development. This data will be analysed to:

- Identify the decision points, decision makers, contexts and practices of decision making; and,
- Map sequences of decisions (decision chains) that, over (a) the career of an individual worker; and (b) the lifespan of a typical screen production (e.g. a film or TV show), shape opportunities for participation and advancement.

For the proposed GWO paper, we will focus on those findings which pertain to women and gender-related intersectionalities in the UK screen industries. We will demonstrate how analysing decisions and decision chains can provide a fruitful new conceptual lens for

understanding the systemic nature of gender inequalities in screen work, and for developing policy and practice interventions.

*Frantzeska Papadopolou*

**Rights and wrongs in the saga of Swedish film contracts.**

This paper discusses the way women involved in film production as directors or as authors have acted in relation to their intellectual property rights and in particular when negotiating and enforcing film contracts. The analysis presented in the paper is based on empirical material in terms of film contracts, correspondence between authors/directors and their legal representatives as well as interviews. The empirical material and the study stretches chronologically from the 1910s to today, and follows trends and the evolution of the way film contracts have been and are today negotiated and drafted by women directors and authors. The trends in contract drafting are juxtaposed with the evolution of women emancipation and the strengthening of women in the film industry by means of both societal and political changes as well as by the recent gender policy of FiftyFifty by 2020 of the Swedish Film Institute.

*Anne O'Brien and Sarah Arnold*

**Equality and Diversity in the Media Industries: Experiences of gender and class among new entrants to media work in Ireland**

Recent international challenges to hegemonic structures in the media industries – particularly regarding gender, sex and class - have resulted in a range of institutional-level responses. In Ireland, state bodies such as Screen Ireland and the Broadcasting Authority of Ireland have developed gender action plans aimed at increasing the participation of women in audiovisual production and in funding female-led audiovisual projects. In addition, funding incentives in screen production are now tied to increasing women's participation. The national broadcaster, RTÉ and various independent companies have published diversity and inclusion strategies with RTÉ in particular committing to more diverse representation of the population. The Irish media workforce today, it seems, should be open and inclusive to all.

However, contemporary scholarship on media work suggests that structural barriers remain (O'Brien, 2019; Kerrigan, 2020; French, 2020). Media work is still a site of privilege, with working conditions and cultures reproducing class and gender hierarchies (O'Brien et al, 2016; Malik 2013; Banks & Oakley, 2016). Although policy makers promote media and creative industries as areas of growth and opportunity (Oakley, 2004), these industries nonetheless have been said to produce and perpetuate structural inequalities, which are experienced particularly at the entry-level, by those with less economic capital and by women (Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013; Wing-Fai, Gill & Randle, 2015). Job insecurity is a feature of work in sectors such as film and television, where work is often project-based, low paid and with long hours, which disproportionality effects women's capacity to engage in such work (Blair, Grey & Randle, 2001; Wing-Fai, Gill & Randle, 2015). In addition, workers themselves often take unpaid work or engage in continuous training to adapt to technical and industrial change (Percival & Hesmondhalgh, 2014; O'Brien, Kerrigan & Arnold, 2021), which adds additional burdens (or act as barriers to entry) to new entrants that have less economic supports and those with caring responsibilities.

Our paper proposes to add to this body of knowledge by prioritising the relatively neglected point of view of new entrants to industry as they navigate diversity strategies and the inequalities they address, with a particular focus on gender and class. Generation Z graduate entrants unpack: firstly how graduates conceive of diversity in the workplace; secondly, whether they experience structural or cultural exclusions; and thirdly, how they interpret organisational efforts to achieve change. We consider the relationship between the macro-level institutional initiatives that promote equality and diversity in media work and the micro-level experiences of individuals who negotiate entry into highly competitive and scarce media work in Ireland. We prioritise narratives of those new entrants at the coalface of media work and bring their experiences of equality or inequality and of gender and class into focus.

*Maria Jansson*

**Women in Swedish film unite: From women film festivals to #Metoo**

This paper discuss women film workers' organizing in terms of counter-publics (Fraser 2000, Felski 1989), where women mobilize and formulate their experiences in order to make demands for change. The aim of the paper is to analyze the strategies women have developed and what issues they have formulated into political demands. The paper contextualize the development of women film workers' organizing in Sweden from 1974 until now and relates it to mainstream debate about women in film and the development of gender equality policy in Sweden. The paper is based on interviews with women who have been active in the different organizations, public record and a large media material consisting of newspaper articles. The paper answers questions about changes in possibilities for mobilizing, what demands have been possible to put forth at different points in time and what oppositions and resistance women have encountered in their work.

*Louise Wallenberg*

**Beauties and Beasts: Looking at and Looking with in Ingmar Bergman's *The Silence* (1973) and Gunnel Lindblom's *Paradistorg* (1976)**

Apparently, when Ingmar Bergman starts working on a new script in the early 1960s that is to become part of his trilogy on 'God's Silence', he first envisions two men who will experience a relational breakdown: an older man in a wheelchair is pushed around by a young man and the story is suffocating. Realizing that no one wants to see a film about two men in a destructible relationship, he transforms his characters into a family on a journey through Europe, and here, it is the husband who gets sick. Soon after, he changes them back to being men. But since he is eager to please the audience (he is, after all, a 'publikhora' [Sjöman 1962]), he changes them into two women, two sisters, in their early 30s (Koskinen 2010).

The film becomes *the Silence*, starring two of the Swedish screen's most beautiful actresses: Ingrid Thulin and Gunnel Lindblom. The story is still suffocating, but the visual beauty in settings, costumes and feminine perfection is there to make it more sufferable. And while Bergman has his beautiful women expose themselves in a sexualized and clearly confined manner to his voyeuristic and objectifying gaze, he also punishes them both: Thulin is being dismantled throughout the film, as she is transformed from flawless ice queen to anguished, dying corpse, and Lindblom is torn down and tarnished through rough sexual encounters with a stranger. Bergman's sadist relation to his leading ladies evokes that of another male auteur, Alfred Hitchcock (Spoto 1983). Their sadism is in no way unique: most visual popular culture is built on it. Influenced by Laura Muley (1975), Linda Williams once argued that: "There are excellent reasons for the *refusal of the woman to look*, not the least of which is that she is often asked to bear witness to her own powerlessness in the face of rape, mutilation, and murder. Another excellent reason for the refusal to look is the fact that women are given so little to identify with on the screen" (Williams 1994; Williams 2001).

Bergman's sadism was also experienced off-frame: Lindblom tells about how he became furious when she, refusing to get naked and demanding a body double for the many nudist scenes, and how he then punished her by not giving her another role in his films in ten years (Lindblom 1988/1995). And when he finally did so, he put her in a small assisting role. This is notable, taken that Lindblom had been a recurrent star in Bergman's films and theatre plays since the early 1950s. When Lindblom makes her own film, *Paradistorg* (1976), she too relies on displaying feminine beauty and female nudity. But here, bodies are depicted as natural, liberated bodies – and her lens is free of voyeurism and objectification. She does not look at, she looks with: hence giving her actresses full subject positions. What more, she includes male nudity and beauty: in fact, she includes shots of full and frontal male nudity, breaking with the unwritten law that men's genitals must not be put on display (Dyer 1991) since that would demolish the notion of the fantastic, threatening and powerful phallus.

Based on interviews and representation in the two films, this paper offers a cross-reading, focusing on how power relations are being dictated by the director's gaze, and also, how (female) nudity and sexuality are being portrayed and explored within the narrative.

**Stream 8**  
**Rural Frontiers In-between Tradition and Change:**  
**Gender, Work & Organization in Rural Contexts**

**Conveners: Minna Salminen-Karlsson & Hilde G. Corneliussen**

***Hasanthi Wirasagoda, John Bennett, Shalene Werth, Jim Cavaye, Samantha Rose and Charlotte Brownlow***

**Australian rural women on the move: Towards a positive identity in a digital age**

The role of women in farming communities has evolved over time. Most recently a significant catalyst of change has been the improved access to, and utilisation of, technology for a variety of farm related functions. Women have been able to leverage the availability of technology to construct positive identities as change agents within the Australian farming community.

In this context women are key partners in farm businesses and are responsible for 40-50 percent of the output on Australian family farms (Alston 1998). They are involved in both strategic decision-making and critical operational activities. Although both men and women have demonstrated their abilities in developing multifunctional identities in the context of family farming, women have played a leading role in crossing the boundaries of the farm and connecting with new networks in new contexts (Hallett, 2016; Seuneke & Bock, 2015) through access to digital technology.

The field work for this study involved a purposive survey and five focus group discussions with 42 women farmers over a 14-month period in regional communities of South West Queensland, Australia. Information was analysed using Critical Discourse Analysis and explored the multiple identities of rural women embedded within discourses and the discursive construction of identities by women who actively use digital technology in contemporary family farming.

The findings from this study suggests that digital technology provides spaces for innovation and change agency for women. The study findings suggested that digital technology served as a catalyst in shaping positive identities associated with characteristics of agents for change, but individual differences were also seen. It is also evident that the ethical codes of the family and the self, in combination with knowledge, power and digital technology, play a key role in the construction of rural women's identity.

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*Lucie Newsome and Tasch Arndt*

**Female sustainable farmers in Australia and the Netherlands: Gender performances and challenges to the gender order**

In Australia and the Netherlands productivist agriculture is hegemonic and the farmer is constructed as masculine. He is physically tough, solitary and dominating of women and nature. Sustainable farming rejects the tenets of productivist agriculture and is deviant to masculine culture of control and domination (Paddock, Paddock, and Bly 1986) and it is more accessible and accepting of women farmers (Newsome 2020). We draw on in-depth interviews and farm visits with sustainable farmers in Australia and the Netherlands to examine gendered performances of sustainable farmers in productivist agricultural spaces. We assess the extent to which the participation of women in sustainable agriculture represents a challenge to the gender order. Participants reported being excluded from knowledge and networks, as hegemonic farmers engaged in boundary maintenance to preserve power and privilege (see Ridgeway 2009; Janowitz 1975). Similar to studies by Trauger (2004), Brandth (1994), Pilgeram (2019) and Leslie, Wypler, and Bell (2019) participants performed masculinity through speech, dress and body language in order to be perceived as legitimate farmers, rather than the subordinate farmer's wife. Participants reported being seen as incompetent in male, productivist spaces when performing masculine tasks such as driving tractors. Participants engaged in a conscious, female apologetic of downplaying their competence to access farming resources. Some participants reconstructed their farm work along feminine lines as care work, which risks marginalising women's work within a heteropatriarchal matrix (Shisler and Sbicca 2019). By claiming the farming identity and seeking to redefine what constitutes 'good farming' participants challenge the gender order. That women are better represented in sustainable farming risks the devaluation of this model of production and the reimagining of this work through a heterosexual matrix as an extension of care work or housework, rather than as 'real' farming. The doing of gender can reproduce men's dominance (Butler 1990, Schippers 2007). Further investigation is needed into how women's increased participation in farming changes the distribution of material resources and power within families and institutional power.

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*Minna Salminen-Karlsson and Hilde G. Corneliussen*

### **The Life We Want: Women Working in Technology in Rural Regions**

Women's careers in technology have been conceptualized as largely dealing with glass ceilings and work-life balance. This is often contextualized only by type of work/employer and societal family policies. However, locality also plays an important role. Work-life balance is related not only to hours spent in work or with children, but to the whole life situation. Our study shows that for women living in rural regions, work, career, family and life situation have somewhat different features than for women living in urban hubs. This influences their careers and work-life balance.

In two qualitative studies in Norway and Sweden involving interviews with a total of 40 women (NO:28 + SE: 12) working in male dominated areas of technology, this paper explores factors that are related to rural settings. With 'rural' we understand both what is described as 'countryside' (in Norway) and what is described as a 'small town' (in Sweden), i.e. what is outside the 'urban' city setting.

The women in the sample have either moved back to their roots, or ended up there because they have found work. Most of them have lived in an urban setting at least during their studies, but found advantages – and some disadvantages – in their present rural environment, and few have any desire to move to a more urban setting. Thus, we ask, which qualities of the rural setting is making this a preferred place for living and working for these women?

Our findings suggest that, on one hand, women working with technology are highly visible in the rural regions, making networking easier. On the other hand, alternative employers are few, making it difficult to move on to new jobs when having hit the glass ceiling, unless one is prepared to commute large distances.

While work situations and career options were partly different between the Norwegian and the Swedish sample, there were commonalities in regard to "life balance". In particular, rural areas were perceived as good places to raise children, so even when the women worked long hours, life could be less stressful for them. The women who had moved back to their roots in particular had assistance from their extended family. Another commonality was the appreciation of the "nature", i.e. the possibility to easily exercise outdoor sports, 'friluftsliv', and also to have farm animals and household pets. What is generally seen as provisions of city life, such as culture and entertainment, was not asked for by the women.

In addition to studying company policies and family policies as shaping highly educated women's careers and lives, we call for a more nuanced understanding where more contextual factors, such as urban-rural variations are also taken into account.

*Paul Michaels*

### **Gender relations in rural contexts that affect the working life of male Sign Language interpreters in the UK**

Sign language interpreting is a linguistic profession which is predominantly female in its makeup. The number of respondents to the Association of Sign Language Interpreters Fees and Salaries surveys between 2001 – 2011 showed that an average of 81% were female and 19% were male. Similarly, the National Union of British Sign Language Interpreters found that 85% of females and 15% of males responded to their working conditions survey in 2015-1016 and most recently, the 2017 survey results showed that 84% of respondents were female and 15.3% were male. For the first time, 0.7% identified as transgender.

	ASLI	ASLI	ASLI	ASLI	NUBSLI	NUBSLI	Average
	2001	2005	2008	2011	2015-16	2017	
Female	79%	82%	80%	82%	85%	84%	82.0%
Male	21%	18%	20%	18%	15%	15.3%	17.9%
Transgender						0.7%	0.1%

My current PhD research examines the motivations for men to become Sign Language interpreters and their experience in the profession. Throughout my research, I draw parallels to the experience of men in other predominantly female professions such as nursing and primary school teaching. However, one significant difference is that a majority of Sign Language interpreters in the UK are freelance and often lone-working. In the initial data collected from research participants, certain themes have emerged that speak to this stream's theme of gender and work in rural contexts.

Male camaraderie is one area discussed within the field of predominantly female professions and in the case of male nurses, it has been identified that it can be viewed as 'male bonding, as men support and develop alliances with other men as a means of protecting or defending men and masculinity' (Evans & Frank, 2003). However, not having contact with other male interpreters was highlighted as an issue by one research participant who stated that 'certainly geography plays a big part because if we're 200 miles away from one other, then it's gonna be very difficult to see each other' (Harry).

Some male interpreters thought they would benefit from being in the minority and one research participant said 'I thought maybe rightly or wrongly that I do have an advantage in getting work because maybe they would like to pair more male interpreters with male patients' (Jack). However, this was not always identified as the case because 'you regularly see jobs advertised for female only and I would say it's very rarely - I would say once every nine months - that you might see male only. In my experience, the male-only jobs tend to be around very sensitive issues that males experience' (Leo). There were also issues of being the

only male interpreter new to an area where all females work. This was in relation to fear, by the female interpreters, that the man would ‘take all the work’ (Archie).

This research contributes to the body of knowledge we know about men in predominantly female professions whilst filling a gap in the knowledge surrounding male Sign Language interpreters working in rural settings.

*Alina Trabattoni*

**Disengaging from the patriarchal twilight zone in Southern Italian rural communities**

This article responds to Stream 8 in the conference call for research exploring how “rurality, work and gender affect and construct each other.”

Despite increasing interest in the relationships between women, work and rural communities in recent years and the proliferation of policies and academic research targeting these issues, evidence shows these women are still marginalized, not only when compared to menfolk but also to urban-dwelling counterparts. Indeed, rural gender-equality issues remain unchanged world-wide even as overall cultural, social and economic landscapes undergo massive transformation, driven, amongst others things, by migration, technology and globalization.

Even as technological developments and the growing tertiary sector increase work opportunities available to women in rural areas, asymmetries persist and these communities trail large cities in work-related gender issues. This also results in ongoing “gender-selective migration,” with higher female outflows resulting in social imbalances that negatively affect development in the 28-member EU where women now only make up less than 50% of rural communities.

This paper draws on qualitative research in the south of Italy, home to an estimated 20,000 depopulating rural villages (Symbola Foundation 2016), to examine how women can build successful careers and entrepreneurial businesses within rural communities. Emancipation is achieved as they by unshackle themselves from the prevalent gender hierarchy embedded deep within Europe's more traditional societies, where women are relegated to the informal spheres of family and child care, and to providing unpaid labour for family businesses.

To explore these phenomena, I use phenomenography (Marton, Booth 1997), a research method well suited to analyzing the subjective realities behind the accomplishments of this minority. Phenomenography analyses the “the qualitatively different ways in which people experience, conceptualize, perceive, and understand various aspects of, and various phenomena in, the world around them” (Marton, 1986, p. 31) by using rigorous data collection and analysis methods (Entwistle, 1997) including phenomenographic interviews to decipher meaning and categories (Limberg, 2008; Marton, Booth, 1997.)

Phenomenography's two-way lens allows for a more complex understanding of these individuals' worldview as they engage in “role conflict” (Goffman 1977) to break free of the patriarchal twilight zone, exploring territorial space and how this reflects the patterns of social arrangements that shape them (Massey 1994.) As a research method, phenomenography generates insight on why these women refuse to “do gender appropriately” and how they shed the trappings of conventional social interchanges that “sustain, reproduce, and render legitimate the institutional arrangements that are based on sex category.” (West, Zimmerman 1987 p. 146.)

Understanding these phenomena provides potential for social change, which “must be pursued both at the institutional and cultural level of sex category and at the interactional level of gender” in that “it is important to recognize that the analytical distinction between

institutional and interactional spheres does not pose an either/or choice when it comes to the question of effecting social change.” (West, Zimmerman 1987 p. 146).

These findings may pave the way for new phenomenological research in this field and provide new impetus to the integration of gender issues into rural policies both at a local, national and EU level by introducing change into rural governance structures and processes from a gender equality perspective.

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*Anella Nwinkuma Bieteru*

**Reversing gender roles: The gendered dynamics in rural setting. The experiences of women in Zambo community, Ghana**

The various socio-cultural norms that exist in rural areas define and shape specific rural life and the nature of gender roles that exist within a particular rural setting. Some Western scholarship on African studies that do not take such norms into consideration have shown that patriarchy is absolute in many African societies and women are mostly the victims of this system. This has created wide gender gaps between men and women making the potential of women either unrecognized, overlooked, or suppressed. The aim of this presentation is to highlight the dual role of both paid and unpaid labour that rural women bear. These roles make rural women primary responsible for the great deal of work that ensures the survival and care of their entire household. Despite the major contributions of rural women, they are, however, constrained heavily by many social, economic and cultural factors that limit their opportunities to gain any economic or social independence. These rural women also bear major economic responsibilities of their families making them the ultimate decision-makers in almost all aspects of household decision making. This research drew significantly on the theoretical perspectives of African feminist scholars such as Ifi Amadiume and Oyeronke Oyewumi, and feminist standpoint theories to question the notion of patriarchal absolutism which has one major consequence of undermining the major contributions of African women in the power dynamics of African societies, and also highlight the importance of knowledge creation directly from the lived experiences of rural women. Other findings from this research show that women, in their subordinate positions, which in this case I refer to as subalterns, are capable of resisting patriarchal power in complex ways despite public declarations of rural African women as powerless. In this presentation, I will recommend for a more in-depth and nuanced discussion around gender roles in rural setting, taking into careful consideration the socio-cultural norms of individual rural areas. Such a discussion should focus on how these norms define and specify masculinity and femininity and also how such definitions shape working life conditions for the rural populace.



*Jozelin María Soto Alarcón*

**Rural Mexican women-led cooperatives: Community economies and feminist political ecology**

The Mexican rural area is reconfigured by economic crisis, environmental degradation, and change in gender relations (Appendini, 2010). The shift was prompted by the effects of the Structural Adjustment Programs after 1982. Export agriculture was promoted and small-scale peasant agriculture was neglected, making living conditions more precarious. In this context, households diversified their strategies: male out-migration, women's paid work increase and unpaid work burdens were intensified. Rural women joined farm and non-farm activities and adjusted the household budget like other urban women (Benería, 1987; Chant, 1996). Collective entrepreneurial activities were developed as an alternative, although such programs were criticized (Moser, 1989; Chant, 2008). In the research, it is discussed how women-led cooperatives, initially supported by external actors, generate strategies based on gender practices to produce livelihoods with local resources, although women members increase their burden and intensify their time-poverty. The cooperatives produce agave syrup and natural medicine based on the situated peasant knowledge. The members are mestizo and indigenous *Otomies*, located in Hidalgo, central Mexico. A longitudinal study was carried out from 2010 to 2018, to analyze the long-term practices in three arenas: households, cooperatives and the communities. In this research gender is understood as a situated process (Butler, 1988) performed through repetitive individual and collective acts related to livelihood in context. With this conceptualization, it was analyzed the dynamism of the practices intersected by ethnicity and moral responsibilities associated with the motherhood notion in rural areas. Such conceptualization illuminates the ambivalences created by the organizational process. In the beginning, women, based on their motherhood responsibilities, founded the cooperative to obtain extra income to feed their family. Along the process, they have generated strategies to manage the cooperatives, use the household agricultural surplus in the collective production and contribute in their households' livelihood. Through these practices, women developed skills and agency to transform traditional gender norms (e.g. women's work exclusively inside the home). To understand how cooperatives have created a collective space to produce based on local resources and transform gender norms, herein it was discussed the interdependences between cooperative organization and strategies to access, control and manage natural resources, intersected by gender, ethnicity and training as criteria of social differentiation in the Mexican context. Community Economies theoretical framework was used to politicize the cooperatives as intentional economies, since they generate a democratic and ethical space for decision-making (Gibson-Graham, 2003; 2006). Also, Feminist Political Ecology was used to study how rural women access, use and control local natural resources (Rocheleau *et al.*, 1996). Regarding intersectionality, it was discussed the effect that ethnicity, training have in the natural resources governance (Nightingale, 2011; Clement *et al.*, 2019) led by the cooperatives.

*Dalit Yassour-Borochowitz*

**Who cared about us? – Agricultural women for 1- shekels an hour " : The narrative of an Arab leader of women agricultural workers**

Unemployment in Arab communities in Israel is 3 times higher than in the Jewish communities, especially in the small peripheral areas. Lack of workplaces combined with the lack of accessible public transportation, are the main reasons for this situation. As often is the case of unemployment in rural areas - it mainly affects the employment of women. Thus, often Arab women in rural areas find themselves working as a seasonal labour force in agriculture, employed under a contractor (a "Ra'ees") without a pay check or the labour law mandatory conditions. It is important to observe that traditionally most agricultural lands are owned by men, and that all the contractors that employ these women are men, quite often their relatives or neighbours.

This study is part of a larger project that aims to investigate the experience of Israeli women who are workers' leaders and trade unions' leaders in the 21st century in Israel. The narrative I want to present in the current paper is that of Ammal (a pseudonym), an Arab woman, who organized Arab agricultural women workers to fight for their working legal rights and became their leader. Ammal is a young women (under 40) and she had no public or political experience prior to the struggles to organize ("unionize") her co-workers. She represents fairly powerless workers, mostly women, who were not allowed to organize and who were employed as temporary (albeit for many years!) employees with no social rights. She had to pave her organizational struggles in a very male-dominated working environment, and she had to develop tactics to bypass gender-based suspicions, and often suppression, from her colleagues, employers and from her community.

Modern political and social history is in many ways the story of the struggles of workers, minorities, ethnic groups, and women, trying to have a voice and to be included and influential in the universal social structure. In the present study – the workers Ammal tried to organize and lead, as well as Ammal herself, belong to a complex intersectionality: They are women, Arab, poor and live in the periphery. Thus Ammal and her colleagues have to overcome many barriers in order to unionize and gain their rights.

Some unique gender issues emerged from this narrative, that I would like to discuss: The role of marital and family status; Being an outsider in the negotiations, having to deal almost exclusively with older men ; the image that is "expected of a woman"; The fact that she represents unskilled women being an obstacle in her negotiating powers.

The narrative presented here is an example to Geertz's (1983) recommendation for "local knowledges" that are contextualized and weaved into a broader relevant knowledge. In Israel nowadays more women lead workers' unionizations. This is a cause for hope for a change in the place of women as leaders of industrial relations.

*Dinna Teaheniu and Suzette Dyer*

**Moving the conversation outside of the western framing of ‘rural’/‘urban’: Experiences of matrilineal Solomon Islands women working in the formal urban sector**

In a development context, the empowerment of women has long been linked to wider societal development. The default for empowerment has often been assumed to manifest in women’s participation in formal work. In many developing country contexts, the rural-urban divide is characterised by the formal/subsistence work dichotomy. The context of our research, the Solomon Islands, falls into this category, with the largest proportion of formal work occurring in the main centres, and involving the movement from rural areas. Moreover, the presence of women in leadership positions in the formal sector is often viewed as a symbol of making gains, and indeed emancipatory (Maezama, 2015). Indeed, Maezama (2015) argues that in such contexts women holding leadership positions is an ‘issue of social justice’ (p. 51). As described in the stream call, rurality is not often not defined by location, but rather by identity and (often gendered) social relations. Indeed, in the case of Solomon Islands, a large number of rural communities are matrilineal. The matrilineal societal structure challenges many of the traditional neo-liberal and patriarchal bases of leadership. Scholars posit matrilineal societies as a form of social organisation where lineage is traced through the mother’s line (Schneider & Gough; 1961; Holden, Sear & Mace, 2003; Andersen, Bulte, Gneezy & List, 2008; Thomas & Humphries, 2011). Holden et. al (2003) states “relatedness through females is regarded as more culturally significant than relatedness through males” (p. 100). Our research explores the experiences of 14 women from matrilineal villages, who hold leadership positions in the formal urban sector. For our participants, holding a leadership position in the formal sector involved not only the physical movement from rural community to urban areas, but also from matrilineal relations to patriarchal (western) organisational contexts, problematised by discourses of development and empowerment. Discourses of gendered empowerment are problematised within those contexts deemed ‘less’ developed, as ‘discourses of development are riddled with false binary juxtapositions of ‘developed’ Western and ‘developing/underdeveloped’ non-Western models of progress’ (Bawa, 2016, p.119). Indeed, assumptions underpinning the developed/undeveloped binary assume a need for those to be ‘elevated to the level of the western [developed] ideal’ (Bawa, 2016, p. 120). Nkomo (2011) goes further, in asserting that even alternative representations of leadership and management, in positioning as ‘alternative’ serve to reinforce the othering of a non-western view. This pattern is reflected in leadership discourse, as described by Liu (2017). In a western neo-liberal ‘formal’ context, leadership is individualised, and seen as a personal set of attributes and skills, gifted upon (or taught to) only those who have proven themselves ‘quintessentially moral and good’ (Liu, 2017, p. 343). Moreover, the set of activities associated with corporate leadership are not technical in nature, but rather skills such as listening, which in any other role are not considered role-related, yet in the leader are revered (Liu, 2017). Liu rather argues that that leadership as a phenomenon is a relational and political act, which has the ‘potential to draw together all members of society, including those who have been rendered marginalised’ (p. 352). The participants in our study reflected the view that women’s involvement in the formal sector, and particularly in leadership positions, is often used as proxy for empowerment and development in non-western contexts. Moreover, coming from a matrilineal context was outwardly perceived to have well prepared

the participants for career progression in the formal sector. The opportunities afforded to these women, and their families, are one important thread of this story. The women all expressed that they felt their matrilineal upbringing had empowered them to reach study and career goals. They also felt that this upbringing had prepared them to succeed in their formal sector careers. However, within these narratives of empowerment and success, the women also speak of frustrations faced in the workplace which are largely reflective of gendered workplace experiences recounted throughout the world (Brescoll, 2016; Cundiff & Vescio, 2016; Vial, Napier, & Brescoll, 2016). Importantly, the women also felt that their engagement in the formal sector has diminished their role and status in their community, and that the traditional sources of matrilineal power/status, based on subsistence skills, have been eroded by the time and space taken to pursue a formal role. In this sense, they felt their traditional source of status within matrilineal system has eroded, with their status now based on providing income to the community. The pragmatic and real need for financial support of the community, providing education, clothing and development, is a trade-off for the loss of traditional skills and sources of matrilineal empowerment. For these women, the benefits of urban/formal sector engagement is real, and to be honoured. However, the postcolonial concerns of the privileging of western notions of empowerment and leadership over traditional is also an important lens to provide insights.

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*Hilde G. Corneliussen and Gilda Seddighi*

**Moving out, moving in, moving through: Exploring what motivates women in ICT work to move in and out of a rural region in Norway**

In this paper we explore what motivates women in ICT work to move in and out of a rural region in the western part of Norway. Rurality means different things in different parts of the world, even in Scandinavia. Norway – a large country with a small population – is less urbanized than its neighbour countries, Sweden and Denmark. The county where this study took place, is marked by small municipalities (between 800 and 13.000 citizens) across a vast area with fjords and mountains, making travel from one end to the other a challenging task. The region has no big cities and is characterized by an organizational “thinness” recognized from rural regions (Tödtling & Trippl, 2005). But the region has also been named the “wellbeing county” due to high scores on feelings of satisfaction, low degree of criminality, good results for schools, the country’s lowest unemployment rate (below 2%) and more<sup>1</sup>.

In our study of women in technology-related careers, we have explored how women enter ICT work in this rural region. By focusing on women’s narratives of their spatial mobility, moving in and out of the region, we explore the characteristics of rurality that are identified as creating certain conditions, opportunities as well as fostering inequalities in ICT working life for women.

The paper will draw on feminist theories concerned with spatial mobilities to raise the questions of privilege and marginality linked to space (e.g. Kaplan and Grewal (1994)). Among others, Ahmed et al. (2003) explore the less discussed processes of “grounding” in migration and “uprooting” of home, without taking for granted a rather traditional dichotomy between perceptions of home and migration. This approach helps us to challenge the dichotomy of urban vs. rural that contributes to imagining rurality as static, untouched (Halfacree, 1993) or “backwater” (Cruikshank 2009).

The analysis is based on in-depth interviews with 25 women working with ICT in a rural region of Norway. The interviews followed a professional-life history structure, with questions about family, education, occupational history, work experiences as well as work-family arrangements. Some of the women were born in the region while others were born in other regions or countries. The rich sample gives a variety of narratives of moving in and out of the region that serve to highlight how the characteristics of rurality involve opportunities and challenges for women in ICT work.

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**Stream 10**  
**Daring Gender and Doing Entrepreneurship in New**  
**Times**

**Conveners: Maura McAdam, Gry Agnete Alsos, Elisabet Ljunggren, Ulf Mellström and Sibylle Heilbrunn**



*Sarah Marks*

### **Gendered Narratives of Entrepreneurial Income: The Malcontented Female Business Owner**

This paper explores how women talk about money in the context of describing their entrepreneurial experiences and forwards a theoretically informed challenge to the poorly remunerated but “contented” female business owner (Powell and Eddleston 2008).

It draws on a narrative analysis of in-depth career interviews with 50 women entrepreneurs from diverse class and ethnic backgrounds and, in contrast with most extant research (Hechevarria et al., 2017; Manolova, Brush and Edelman, 2007), finds the vast majority have strong pecuniary goals, although these are rarely articulated and infrequently satisfied.

The main conceptual contribution advanced is that women develop gendered ways of talking about the transactional nature of entrepreneurship to avoid potential pejorative consequences of articulating pleasure in receiving money or appearing malcontent. Conceptually, it distinguishes between *money talk* – money as arbiter of exchange value; *anti-money talk* – distancing the self-image from money; and *de-money talk* – substituting alternative exchange values for entrepreneurial effort.

To draw theoretical support, the paper draws insights from the organizational literature on salary negotiations (Babcock and Laschever, 2003) and critical postfeminist scholarship (Ahl and Marlow, 2019; Gill, 2017; Lewis, Benschop, & Simpson, 2017) to suggest internalised gendered, classed and racialised entrepreneurial “feeling rules” (Hochschild, 1983) interpellate women to narratively downgrade monetary gain as an entrepreneurial goal, metric of success or source of well-being in favour of role-congruent social and public value objectives (Eagly & Karau 2002). Postfeminism, understood as gendered mode of self-governance fetishizes happiness (Gill, 2017) requiring the construction of a confident and contented subjectivity in order for women to claim an entrepreneurial identity (Marks, 2021).

The paper also critically evaluates the ontological power afforded motivations in the literature in causally explaining differentiated entrepreneurial outcomes. Instead, it suggests entrepreneurs retrospectively retool motivations in gendered postfeminist sense-making processes (Treanor, Marlow and Swail, 2021) that render paltry entrepreneurial outcomes satisfactory.

This paper’s findings suggest that narrative compliance with gendered entrepreneurial feeling rules may help women business owners gain legitimacy, access resources and construct subjective well-being. However, by obscuring the significance of money in women’s lived experiences, these discourses also perpetuate the “false promise of entrepreneurship” as a sustainable living (Ahl and Marlow 2019) or liberating, emancipatory practice (Al-Dajani and Marlow, 2013; Alkhaled and Berglund 2018). These rules may also be inadvertently supported by some feminist research practices which have responded to calls to decouple entrepreneuring from financial metrics (Bruin, Brush and Welter, 2007) and reveal the need for more reflexive criticism of epistemological biases (Marlow and Mcadam 2013).

*Diele Lobo, Ana Carolina Rodriguez, Silvia Casa Nova and Alexandre Ardichvili*

**Doing Social Entrepreneurship and (Un)Doing Gender: Shifting gender frames as an entrepreneurship practice for sustainable community development**

The purpose of this study is to explore shifting gender frames as an entrepreneurship practice. We posit that social entrepreneurs can advance social inclusion - a core attribute of sustainable communities (Flora and Flora, 2012) - by performing gender acts that contest in some way expectations circumscribed by gender frames. Gender acts are mundane manners of doings, sayings, and embodying through which gender frames are enacted as well as constituted through time (Butler, 1998). We investigate this proposition by analyzing the case of Dr. Niede Guidon<sup>1</sup>, the founding president of the *Fundação Museu do Homem Americano* (Fumdhm), a nonprofit organization that supports actions of cultural heritage conservation and sustainable community development in the UNESCO Heritage Site Serra da Capivara National Park, Brazil. We used interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA; Smith et al., 2009) to identify gender acts starred by Dr. Guidon and Fumdhm's stakeholders that have contributed to bringing about new possibilities for women in impoverished rural communities. We also explore what gender frames underlie the identified gender acts and how and to what effect they have been transformed. Preliminary findings were generated from transcripts of interviews with Dr. Guidon (n=3) and residents of two rural communities near the Heritage Site (n=40). We identified two main gender acts in the studied case: 1) presenting oneself and behaving in ways that did not conform with local gender norms and 2) hiring mostly local women to traditionally male occupations. Dr. Guidon's performed her part in those acts assuming that: 1) there is no single way of being or behaving like a woman; 2) gender does not determine one's capacity to work, and 3) dismantling a culture of gender oppression is essential for sustainable development and requires female economic empowerment. These gender frames conflicted - to varying extents - with many long-standing normative expectations of gender held by the local people. By taking part in Fumdhm's activities alongside Dr. Guidon and other women of Fumdhm's leadership team, community members revised - consciously or unconsciously - the realm of possibilities of what is or ought to be a woman and a man. For example, women reported that Dr. Guidon's accomplishments as a researcher and social entrepreneur inspired them to become whatever they want, including a business owner and scientist. Likewise, men reported that working closely with Dr. Guidon changed their perceptions of gendered division of labor. These two illustrative examples show how local gender frames have shifted to embrace new possibilities regarding 'masculine' and 'feminine' roles and behaviors. These shifts accompanied Fumdhm's entrepreneurial actions to create opportunities for sustainable livelihoods, legitimizing those actions within the community. Gaining legitimacy is critical to social entrepreneurship as it helps mobilize a community around a common purpose and facilitates access to local resources (Kibbler et al. 2015). By enacting her gender frames within the community in non-conforming ways, Dr. Guidon prompted local women and men to *undo* prior conceptions of gender identity, behaviors, and roles in a way that allowed the emergence of new ones conducive to sustainable development.

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*Helen Williams, Katrina Pritchard and Maggie Miller*

**The winner takes it all: Challenging constructions of entrepreneurial success**

Informed by critical neoliberal and postfeminist perspectives, our research contributes to a growing body of literature questioning gendered understandings of entrepreneurial ‘success’ (Ahl and Marlow, 2018; Marlow and McAdam, 2013). Extant literature demonstrates that notions of entrepreneurial success are underpinned by heteronormative (Rumens and Ozturk, 2019) feminine and masculinised stereotypes (Giazitzoglu and Down, 2017; Kirkwood, 2016). To investigate this phenomenon, we explore the experiences of female and male entrepreneurs in South Wales, paying close attention to how our participants make sense of their entrepreneurial endeavours. Conceptually, we extend the work of Bröckling (2015), who interprets the ‘entrepreneurial self’ as an all-encompassing and continually self-improving subject. This contrasts with dominant constructions that position entrepreneurial activity as a conduit to self-efficacy, wealth, and job creation (Essers et al., 2017; Mole and Ram, 2012).

Taking a phenomenological approach, our research uses a co-creative method of Lego-based interviews within an Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) framework (Smith and Osborne, 2008). In using IPA, we capture entrepreneurs’ lived experiences in ways that are sympathetic to its richness, disclosing contextual complexities that are both individually and universally felt (Berglund, 2015). Existing IPA studies have investigated experiences of entrepreneurial failure, without exploring how perceptions of success may impact them (e.g. Cope, 2011). However, gendered studies employing the use of visual methods offer rich empirical work providing insight into how and why such conceptions of entrepreneurial success or intent are constructed (Pritchard et al., 2019; Swail et al., 2014). More broadly, entrepreneurship research has yet to fully exploit visual methods or multi-modal approaches, despite repeated calls for ‘bolder’ research designs (Wiklund et al., 2019).

In line with Bröckling’s (2005; 2015) work, our preliminary findings suggest that participants experience the all-encompassing ‘entrepreneurial-self’ as more than just a profession, economic activity or legal status of being self-employed. Rather, within a neoliberal context, we are all supposed to *become*, and this *becoming* is dictated by what our environment thinks we (or indeed the ‘entrepreneur’) *ought* to be.

In our paper we explore this notion of becoming. Specifically, we turn our attention to how participants’ experiences of entrepreneurship illuminate various social, economic and cultural forces that reinforce hidden gender inequalities (Kelan, 2009), but also encourage self-regulation and self-care (Rottenberg, 2014; Brockling, 2005). Interestingly, we found this contradicts participants’ descriptions of their entrepreneurial ideals of success, suggesting a growing crevasse of entrepreneurial success. In turn, this contributes to how entrepreneurs perceive failure within a neoliberal context (Olaison and Meier Sørensen, 2014). We argue, both male and female participants’ perceptions of failure are impacted by neoliberal fantasies constructing the successful entrepreneur. Finally, we consider if this continual state of ‘self-improvement’ is a novel interpretation of ‘doing’ entrepreneurship, and if so, how it could serve to reinforce gendered presumptions rather than erode them.

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*Talia R. Esnard*

### **Systemic Intersectionalities and Entrepreneurial Women in the Caribbean: An Interrogation**

Increasingly, female entrepreneurship emerges as a strategy for increasing the participation and empowerment of women across the globe. Despite this push for entrepreneurial engagement, researchers call for needed examinations of the persistent forms of inequalities in the entrepreneurial space, and, the extent to which these affect the relative positionality, status, and prospects for women who operate therein. Notwithstanding this growing census in the literature, empirical research on female entrepreneurship remains theoretically and methodologically limited with taken for granted assumptions about women, their motivations and experiences. In fact, a central aspect of such examination has been the gendered nature of the entrepreneurial space. Yet, the contribution of lenses to the entrepreneurial field, the use of gender as a single axis of power fails to capture the multiple points of intersections that frame the identities and experiences of women entrepreneurs. Such theoretical and methodological limitations also exist in the research on female entrepreneurship within the Caribbean; perhaps to an even greater extent. To a large extent, these studies take as a given, the presence of some entrepreneurial or managerial deficit within women-owned startups. In many cases, such interrogations are often framed within rationalist conceptions of entrepreneurship that focus on performance indicators or metrics, growth expectations, and sectoral engagement, with little examinations of the social and cultural realities that undergird their access, participation, and experiences. While such descriptive representations offer a critical starting point for examinations of female entrepreneurship in the region, the challenge remains that of exploring more interpretative epistemologies that contextualize while theorizing the lived experiences of female entrepreneurs. Given the above, the paper challenges entrepreneurial scholars who are concerned with the experiences of women within that sector to critically interrogate interlocking structures of power (e.g. gender, race, class, age, industry-based hierarchies) that operate within that space, the marginalizing effects of related processes, and the extent to which these affect their thinking and practices of female entrepreneurs within the region. Through comparative lenses, the paper highlights the structural and relational realities and complexities that undergird the entrepreneurial landscape within the region, the effects of these on the entrepreneurial identities, positionalities, and practices of female entrepreneurs. It also underscores the many ways in which they navigate that terrain. In so doing, the paper offers critical insights into the historical, socio-cultural and economic parameters within which female entrepreneurs in the region engage, the lived realities associated with these, the prospects or possibilities for re-presenting or re-framing such contextual and discursive spaces. It also provides needed understandings of the motivations, positions, prospects, possibilities and constraints of entrepreneurial women in the region and the policy implications of these realities.

*Dipsikha Guha Majumdar*

**Intersecting realities of poor women-entrepreneurs in global south: A critical perspective**

Entrepreneurship has been popularly represented as an ‘individually focused’ social and economic phenomenon (Al-Dajani and Marlow, 2013: 503; Steyaert and Katz, 2004). A large body of literature identifies entrepreneurship as a magical solution to poverty and deprivation (Bruton et al., 2013) and entrepreneurs being ‘drivers of economic and social transformation’ (Langevang et al., 2012: 439). Being argued an enabler, with emancipatory and transformational capabilities (Rindova et al., 2009; Tobias et al., 2013; Jennings et al., 2016), entrepreneurship is advocated for effecting social change (Calas et al., 2009) and empowering marginalized groups to move beyond poverty alleviation (Battilana et al., 2009; Mair et al., 2012). However, evidence in literature highlight that although entrepreneurship offers some degrees of autonomy from vulnerable and patriarchal contexts, it does not capacitate women to challenge the ‘embedded patriarchal gender hierarchies’ (Al-Dajani and Marlow, 2010: 482). Contributing towards ongoing debates around emancipatory potential of entrepreneurship, Al-Dajani et al., (2015) find entrepreneurship more as a ‘means’ to ‘get by’ rather than to ‘break free’ (p. 727). Emphasizing for a deeper and critical look inside the realities of entrepreneurial contexts and advocating for new means of alleviating poverty, critical scholars have challenged entrepreneurship from a revolution perspective (Sutter et al., 2019), arguing for re-evaluating how entrepreneurial growth is perpetuated and whether it leads to emergence of unequal power relations, structural inequalities, and exclusions (Essers et al. 2017; Marlow and Al-Dajani, 2017). There is an opportunity to question who is and who is not to be subjected as an entrepreneur (Jones and Spicer, 2009), how entrepreneurship ‘fuels inequality’ and ‘perpetuates unequal relations of power’ (Essers et al. 2017: 1).

In line with CfP of stream no. 2, this paper attempts at examining entrepreneurship from the perspectives of marginalised women, who continue to be the subjects of this neoliberal phenomenon in global south. Using microfinance and entrepreneurship development programs,

in global south as a context, I focus upon uncovering how multiple social categories (Acker, 2006) as that of caste, class, gender, interplay to shape ‘interpenetrating realities’ (p.442) and how these intersecting categories perpetuate different forms of inequalities. Informed by experience of working with women entrepreneurs from marginalised communities in India, I provide a critical analysis of the recent scholarly debates in entrepreneurship literature and through an intersectionality, feminist theory lens (Crenshaw, 1989; Collins, 1990) analyse how inequalities are aggravated by entrepreneurship. Adhering to a critical perspective, this paper challenges the popular ‘call to entrepreneurship’ (Ahl and Marlow, 2019) prevalent in literature with an underlying assumption of entrepreneurship being a desirable and potentially empowering solution to women, wherein women become primary entrepreneurial subjects (Chatterjee, 2020) and ‘reservoirs of entrepreneurial potential’ (Ahl and Marlow, 2019: 61; Berglund et al., 2018). Being equipped with a microloan, it is conveniently assumed, that the entrepreneurial poor-women will be capable of ensuring their escape out of poverty by establishing and growing different forms of income generating activities (Bateman and



Chang, 2009). Contrary to this hegemonic development paradigm championing entrepreneurship as a magical solution to poverty, this critical review argues that entrepreneurship plays an active role in the business of poverty reduction (Chatterjee, 2020; Banerjee and Jackson, 2017) and exacerbates inequalities, pushing marginalised women back into poverty and often diminishing their opportunities of emancipation.

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*Ella Fegitz*

**Is the older worker still white and male? Exploring ‘difference’ in UK public policy in the aftermath of the 2007/2008 economic crisis**

Economic crises and older people have a complex relationship: on the one hand, pensioners are often accused of being a burden on the economy and – thus – partly responsible for the crisis itself; on the other hand, older workers’ labour has also been described as resource, and thus as means to overcome the economic deficit. Scholars have also remarked how the development of pension policy has generally presumed a male breadwinner, neglecting how gender impacts work patterns and retirement contributions (Lewis 2001; Ginn 2003). However, in the aftermath of the economic crisis of 2007/2008, social policy in the UK has begun to more explicitly target older women *as* workers, characterised by an encouragement to continue to work - and be entrepreneurial - in older age.

Illustrative of this shift are two recent documents, one produced by The Department of Work and Pensions (2017) named ‘Fuller Working Lives: A Partnership Approach’, and another by The Women’s Business Council (in collaboration with the Government Equalities Office) (2018) named ‘Staying On: The Age of Success’. In the former document, a whole section is dedicated to addressing both the benefits of extending women’s working lives and the challenges women face in relation to work. The second document has on its cover an older black woman dressed in a work uniform, accompanied by a quotation: “[t]he only thing that can limit me is opportunity”. Besides an incorporation of gender difference, both reports are also characterised by a celebratory tone in describing the benefits of work in old age for women.

Gill and Scharff (2011), among other scholars who investigate post-feminist culture, have illustrated the reliance of neoliberalism on the entrepreneurial subject, and argued that it is young women especially who are positioned as entrepreneurial. In opposition to this body of literature, I argue that older women are now included in a post-feminist cultural and political environment, expanding the ‘luminosity’ that McRobbie (2009) attributed to younger women a decade ago, partly as a result of their participation in the labour market.

The paper will present some preliminary findings resulting from an analysis of social policy regarding work and retirement, from the economic crisis of 2007/2008 until 2019. I explore how the older worker has been constructed in public policy in a time of austerity, and if, and in what way, differences in terms of gender, class, race, and (dis)ability have been included. I contend that – in the aftermath of the economic crisis – older entrepreneurial women have emerged as the preferred subjects of neoliberalism under austerity, supporting the view that that post-feminism ‘operates as a kind of gendered neoliberalism’ (Gill 2017, p.606).

*Anne-Jorunn Berg and Elisabet Ljunggren*

### **Doing minoritized female entrepreneurship – intersectionality and gender**

Entrepreneurship studies use a vast array of labels to describe female entrepreneurship as different from (male) entrepreneurship and minoritized entrepreneurship as different from (majority) entrepreneurship: ‘women’, ‘gender’, or ‘female’ and ethnic entrepreneurship: ‘minority’, ‘immigrant’ or ‘ethnic’. This suggests minoritized female entrepreneurship as a heterogeneous research field. In a literature review Baycan-Levent (2010) argues that little research attention has been paid to female ethnic entrepreneurship. She underlines the dual character of being a woman entrepreneur and an ethnic entrepreneur and asks if this dual effect brings about double barriers or more opportunities (2010:4). ‘Double barriers’ takes as its point of departure that women’s careers are blocked in work organisations in the labour market. ‘Opportunities’ suggests that women choose entrepreneurship to gain better financial outcomes, to be independent and to gain autonomy. In addition, a “work-family balance” argument is often used when studying women entrepreneurs (see e.g. Low, 2003). So, what happens when ‘ethnic’ is added to this gendered story? By applying an intersectional approach (e.g. McCall, 2005; Martinez Dy, Martin & Marlow, 2014,) we ask: How does female entrepreneurship become female *minoritized* entrepreneurship?

To address this, we explore the possibilities theory-infused discursive and narrative analytical approaches may entail in the analysis of qualitative interviews with 14 Norwegian female minoritized entrepreneurs. The qualitative approach is in line with Aliaga-Isla & Rialp’s (2013) suggestions from a systematic literature review where the lack of qualitative research on immigrant women entrepreneurship was pointed out. The interviewees represent a wide variety of backgrounds regarding education, work experience, migration history and residential time in Norway. Even though open-ended, we utilized a thematic interview protocol. All interviews were taped and transcribed verbatim.

In the interviews we mainly asked about their everyday life as entrepreneurs, their ups and downs in financial terms, start-up issues, market situation, irritations and defeats as well as joy and success as businesswomen. Their stories contained a well of diverse information about lived lives in an entrepreneurship setting. Funny, sad, engaging, shocking, yet, every story touched upon one similar issue, namely bits and pieces about their dual position as a woman entrepreneur and an ethnic entrepreneur. This lends itself easily to an analysis deploying the concept of intersectionality. Our analysis took off at the intersection of ethnicity and gender in relation to entrepreneurship, however, in the analysis our attention was constantly drawn to what we label a process of minorization. In addressing how female entrepreneurs becomes female *minoritized* entrepreneurship, we will explore what this means by discussing both the concept of intersectionality and the label “ethnic” in relation to our interview data. Being a woman entrepreneur and an ethnic entrepreneur always involved negotiations of both gender and ethnicity. The preliminary findings suggest that the entrepreneurs participated in complex processes we label ‘doing female minoritized entrepreneurship’. Thus, our study contributes theoretically to the intersectionality debate and empirically to a richer understanding of what entrepreneurship is about.

*Victoria Price and Darja Reushke*

### **Growth Pathways of Men and Women-Owned Small Businesses: Exploring the Role of Gender in the Home**

In the UK in 2019 39% of businesses with no employees and 19% of employers were located in the home. Narratives in the entrepreneurship literature surrounding businesses which are registered at a residential address, known as home-based businesses (HBBs), often focus on gender, both because female business owners are disproportionately concentrated in the home and because the home space is known to play differing roles for male and female business owners. HBBs are understood as providing a low-cost springboard for future growth in businesses which later transition out of the home (mainly men), and as an opportunity for those seeking the flexibility to balance domestic responsibilities with income generation (mainly women). For those remaining in the home, the common perception is that the business will stay small or pursue only turnover growth, avoiding taking on employees due to the spatial and logistical challenges of running a multi person operation from home.

Thus, home-based businesses are perceived as restrictive to the development of women's enterprise, leaving them financially dependent on their spouse, and with domestic responsibilities that reduce the hours they have available to spend on their business. It is possible that if women are less likely to relocate from the home as they do not wish to risk disrupting their work-life balance, this may lead them to pursue different growth pathways. However, there are a limited number of studies which have been able to directly link gender and homeworking to particular patterns of growth, due to the lack of longitudinal data capturing home-based businesses. We seek to address this research gap and investigate if gendered growth in small businesses is related to home-based businesses and their different roles for men (springboard) and for women (work-life balance).

The empirical analysis is based on the UK Longitudinal Small Business Survey (UKLSBS), 2015-2018. This dataset allows us to derive different and accurate growth measures rather than relying on self-reported growth. We develop a typology to capture the distinct business growth pathways of HBBs, with businesses in separate premises as the comparison group: turnover growth with employment growth (high and medium), turnover growth without employment growth ('jobless' growth), and stable or non-growth pathways. Multiple regression models are analysed for each growth pathway, including controls for key firm demographics. We also include interaction terms between gender and the home location to investigate whether women-owned businesses remaining in home face any additional growth penalty.

Contrary to much existing research the growth pathways in this study do not appear to be gendered. First, we find that women are just as likely as men to move out of the home. Second, women-owned businesses are also just as likely as men to pursue turnover growth with employment growth, and they do not appear to favour any particular growth pathway. Third, we do not find that women-owned businesses which remain at home for the three year period under study, face a growth penalty. We do, however, find that relocating a business out of the home is strongly associated with high turnover and employment growth.

The results from this study challenge the assumption that locating in the home reduces the capacity for women to grow their business, and that high growth businesses which relocate out of the home are reserved mainly for men. We suggest that further research is needed to untangle how gender and the domestic sphere impact businesses operating within the home, particularly in the light of significant increases to homeworking due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

*Sanaa Talha and Gry Agnete Alsos*

### **Becoming an entrepreneur: an immigrant women perspective**

With immigration high on the political agenda, governments are encouraging immigrants to engage in entrepreneurial activities as means for increasing socio-economic participation in the host country (Ram & Jones, 2008). Faced with challenges in the host country's job market, many immigrants turn to entrepreneurship to secure an income. The literature on ethnic entrepreneurship emphasize that ethnicity facilitate entrepreneurship by providing access to ethnic-based resources. While this literature helps understand the opportunity structures in the environment of immigrant entrepreneurs, it also tends to underestimate the effect of structures related to class and gender (Valdez, 2016), and that the intersection of ethnicity and gender influences entrepreneurship in specific ways (Chreim, et al., 2018).

This study aims to investigate how immigrant women nascent entrepreneurs form their entrepreneurial identity during the early stages of the business start-up process in the intersection between gender and ethnicity. Identity represents a lens through which entrepreneurs interact with and make sense of their environment, and forms the behavioural basis of individual entrepreneurial activities (Fauchart & Gruber, 2011). Hence, the process of becoming an entrepreneur is also a process of identity formation. We follow the process of women immigrant nascent entrepreneurs seeking to understand how they develop their entrepreneurial identity. For this purpose, we integrate literature on identity work among entrepreneurs with the theoretical concept of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989; Valdez, 2016) to help understand how the social positions of women immigrants and the power dynamics in the environment influence on their process of 'becoming' entrepreneurs. This means engaging not only with the external environment in which they undertake their entrepreneurial process, but also understanding how entrepreneurial identities are shaped in relation to household and family dynamics.

The study draws on case studies of 14 immigrant women in Norway during their process of becoming entrepreneurs. Data are collected through interviews and observations with the immigrant women from the beginning of the process of starting a venture. The first interviews were conducted late 2018/early 2019, with follow-up interviews 6-8 months later. Cases were identified from an incubator for immigrant entrepreneurs, and a support program for immigrant women entrepreneurs, both aiming at supporting the immigrant women during their business start-up processes. Data are analyzed using an inductive coding approach to identify the important aspect of the identity formation process, which are thereafter discussed in relation to extant literature.

The findings reveal how opportunity structures in the environment are intertwined with the subordinated positions experienced by the immigrant women. The challenges experienced in accessing the job market and dealing with challenges related to their position in societal communities, also work as the context through which these entrepreneurs shape their opportunities and form their identity as entrepreneurs. As such, this study links in to the debates on intersectionality as well as on embeddedness in relation to women immigrant entrepreneurs (Essers & Benshop, 2009; Valdez, 2016; Yeröz, 2019).

*Marta Gulli Lindvert and Elisabet Ljunggren*

## **The Female Tech Entrepreneur: Discourses Within The Entrepreneurial Ecosystem**

### **Principal topic**

The ratio of women entrepreneurs is low in most Western countries (GEM 2019), particularly in technology sectors. In this study we investigate how different actors within the entrepreneurial ecosystem perceive gender within the context of technology incubators, to understand how they construct or re-construct technology entrepreneurship. Hence, we ask: What discourses about tech entrepreneurs exist in the entrepreneurial ecosystems? How do gendered norms influence these discourses?

The technology sector is particularly interesting to study in relation to gender; it is heavily masculine, (Adam et al 2004), strongly oriented towards R&D and fostering innovativeness, and it is perceived as central for economic growth. The tech sector has a significant gap in business ownership between men and women, especially in high-income countries (Dautzenberg 2011). It is argued that masculine norms in the STEM sectors create a hostile environment for women, and that women have to accept or adapt to these gendered norms. The context of the study is Norway, which together with EU share policies to increase the number of women tech entrepreneurs (EU-policy, Governmental Action Plan 2019). Despite Norway scoring high on e.g. the UN gender equality indices, also Norway has a low ratio of women entrepreneurs. Hence, this is an interesting context to study discourses on women tech entrepreneurs. In the entrepreneurial ecosystems, incubators play a vital role for tech entrepreneurs. They also have a potential to reduce gender inequalities. As intermediary organizations, they can implement gender aware practices, and ease women entrepreneurs' access to crucial resources. However, Marlow and McAdam (2015) show that incubators can function as a legitimating induction process, where women are encouraged to reproduce masculine norms. Further, Ozkazanc-Pan and Muntean (2017) show that different gendering practices may work both separately and together, to marginalize women entrepreneurs within incubator environments.

Women's entrepreneurship has been described as a gendered process (Bird & Brush 2002), where women navigate through numerous gender related barriers (Bianco et al 2017). Hamilton (2013) calls for studies that engage in gender, and that challenge the dominant discourse within entrepreneurship research. Further, Ozkazanc-Pan and Muntean (2017) argue that most research on technology entrepreneurship lacks understanding of the complexity of gender inequality. Research on women entrepreneurs has dealt with different models to understand (and prevent) gender disparities, and among the promising avenues are theories about gender norms and gendering practices.

In this study, we focus on discourses on gender among actors within technology incubator environments, thereby addressing the need for more nuanced knowledge in this field.

### **Method**



The data comprises of personal interviews with 10 women and 5 men tech entrepreneurs, 4 incubator managers and 7 investors, in total 25 interviews. The interviews were conducted face to face or through Zoom and lasted around one hour each. Interview protocols for each of the three groups of respondents were used. All interviews were transcribed verbatim and coded in NVivoR1. Data were analyzed by the two authors, both separately and together.

Inspired by discourse analysis (e.g. Foucault 1972; Baxter 2003; Winther-Jørgensen & Phillips, 2005), we understand discourses as one, or several, ways to talk about and thus make sense of the world. Discourses form and is formed by ideas of knowledge and thus what is accepted 'truths', thereby having power implications. Different discourses can have competing understandings, they have implications for how social life is organized, and are important to study to understand social life as in this case: how gender and women tech entrepreneurs are understood in an entrepreneurial ecosystem. In the present study, we analyze discourses from three perspectives: women entrepreneurs, men entrepreneurs and actors within the ecosystem represented by incubator managers and investors.

## **Results**

The preliminary results show that perceptions about gender and tech entrepreneurs differ in several ways between the three groups of respondents. All respondents reflect on the role of gender but relate to the topic differently. The women entrepreneurs give us several examples of how they face gendered barriers in their venturing, and are well aware of the dominant masculine norms. They give examples of how their gender may be a drawback for them, but also how it, in some cases, can be a benefit to be one of the 'under-represented'. The perception among men entrepreneurs, on the other hand, seem to be that women who are operating within tech sectors are privileged. For example, they refer to special development programs targeting women and that the whole sector wants to 'show off' by increasing the proportion of women. According to their perception, it is easier for women to get access to capital and other resources. Respondents from the ecosystem, represented by incubator managers and investors express opinions that are 'politically correct' regarding gender and the proportion of women tech entrepreneurs. They acknowledge that women are still underrepresented and see this as a problem. Yet, they express that *they* treat all entrepreneurs the same way, stating that the problem must be somewhere else in the overall structures. Thus, they express a self-image of being free from gender bias.

The three groups of actors express very different discourses on gender in the studied context and construct and re-construct gender and technology entrepreneurship differently. When we understand that reality is interpreted in different ways, and actors take things for granted differently, it becomes meaningful to really discuss how arenas of social life should be organized. This is therefore the first step to target both men and women entrepreneurs in inclusive ways.

*Gabriele Griffin*

**Starting at 49: New Female Entrepreneurship, Daring Difference, Challenging Convention**

This paper explores entrepreneurship within a particular co-working hub ecology in order to raise questions about the construction of entrepreneurship per se, assumptions about female entrepreneurs, and daring differences in neoliberal times. Based on in-depth qualitative research carried out with female entrepreneurs in Sweden in 2017 to 2018, it analyses the limitations of entrepreneurship research which constructs entrepreneurs (both male and female) in particular ways that by default exclude the entrepreneurs that populated the study we undertook.

I argue that entrepreneurship as such, viewed by conservatives and marketeers in Europe as the panacea for neoliberal times and the decline of Northern welfare states, can also be conceived as a reaction *against* neoliberal workplace measures. As such it should be re-viewed within the context of individual work life histories, and the restructuring of both the public and private sectors that marketization and technologization have meant.

Here daring difference emerges as a gendered response to uncongenial workplaces, to the problematics of what I term the work-work (as opposed to the work-life) balance, and to a new care-for-the-self ethic that emerges as the source of female entrepreneurship. Daring difference also and further emerges in the very fact of first-time entrepreneurship in mid or later life with their associated benefits and provocations.

The paper analyses the gendered dimensions of first-time female entrepreneurship in mid-life as a considered response by working women to neoliberalist work cultures in Sweden and suggests that the very daring difference (here understood as a practice of gendered change and self-transformation) of the moves these women make defy gendered entrepreneurship norms, challenge conventional assumptions of entrepreneurship, and simultaneously challenge these entrepreneurs in their gendered identities. In all this, this paper deals with a wholly under-explored group of entrepreneurs who are multiply marginalized both in their working lives and experiences, and within entrepreneurship research.

*Janice Byrne, Marion Lauwers and Kate Lewis*

**Managing time when dealing with conflicting demands, understanding men entrepreneur's choices**

When individuals experience competing demands from family and work, time and temporal control are particularly important resources (Grawitch et al., 2010). Temporal flexibility is often touted as a key advantage of entrepreneurship (Cohen 2019; Carrigan and Duberley 2013; DeMartino and Barbato, 2003; Jennings and McDougald 2007). Hence, entrepreneurship is often proposed as a viable professional option for individuals seeking to better integrate their work and family domains.

Individual choice and personal identity as well as organizational and social discourses influence how people allocate their scarce temporal resources (Kuhn, 2006). While an entrepreneur may not have 'organizational' discourses to adhere to, they are still subject to 'key discourses of the day – such as discourses of enterprise, intensive mothering and work life balance (Carrigan and Duberley, 2013). These discourses shape the choices entrepreneurs make about time allocation and how they experience the process of allocation.

Previous studies have asserted that mainstream research (Hamilton 2014; Helene Ahl 2006; Ogbor 2000) and the media (Anderson and Nicholson, 2005) socially construct and/or represent 'the entrepreneur' as masculine. In the discursive construction of who is (and who is not) an entrepreneur, the entrepreneurial actor is often portrayed as a man, a '*he*' who is a strong, autonomous, individual actor (Ahl, 2004). Profits, risk taking and physical endurance are at the center stage of such vision of entrepreneurship (Ahl and Marlow 2019; Martilla 2013; Helene Ahl 2006). A neo-liberal approach prevails, prescribing how entrepreneurs should use their time and energy: entrepreneurs should work long hours (or non-stop), remain reachable, pursue optimum performance and success. However, these prescriptions conflict with contemporary perspectives on fatherhood which promote the idea of an involved father, who adjust their work lives to have more family time (Almqvist and Kaufman 2016; Ladge et al, 2015).

In an emergent body of work, some scholars have tentatively explored how entrepreneurs adhere to, and construct their own entrepreneurial masculinity (Giazitzoglu and Down 2017; Aure and Munkejord 2016; Smith 2014). Prior work has addressed entrepreneurial masculinities in suburban contexts (Smith, 2013), local pubs (Giazitzoglu and Down, 2017), as well as within the agricultural sector (Dessein and Nevens 2007; Laoire 2002; Brandth and Haugen 2000). These studies have shown that men entrepreneurs integrate and struggle with other discourses and do not necessarily always recognize themselves in the hegemonic, neo-liberal mirror of masculinity. While prior research has addressed the issue of time allocation with respect to women who started a business at the same time as having children (mum-entrepreneurs), little or no research has questioned how father entrepreneurs allocate time and experience that allocation.

In this paper, we further recent work by considering how individual male entrepreneurs account for and experience their use of time in relation to work and family. Our research is informed by theorizing on masculinity (Connell 1995; Collinson and Hearn 1994) and

fatherhood (Ladge et al. 2015; Behson 2015; Harrington, Van Deusen, and Ladge 2010) but also integrates important work on time and temporality (Kuhn, 2006; Cohen, 2019; Holmes, 2015) . We use in-depth interviews with nine father entrepreneurs as the principal data source for our study.

Following an initial semantic approach (Braun and Clarke 2006) , we broadly coded the father entrepreneurs talk of ‘time’, ‘work’ and ‘family’. We then revisit this coding and take a more latent, interpretive approach – looking at the underlying ideas and grounding assumptions that shape or inform the father entrepreneurs’ claims about their use of time and their entrepreneurial activity.

At this stage of our research, our findings are still preliminary. Broadly speaking, our analysis reveals the tensions and conflicts that can occur for men entrepreneurs’ who are also fathers. Several men simultaneously evoke competing discourses. We expose the prevailing discourses that shape and inform father entrepreneurs’ decisions about the time they dedicate to both work and family. Our work lends insights into how men entrepreneurs think they should spend their time and what this means for individual and household wellbeing.

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*Emmeline Skinner and Iana Barenboim*

**Understanding the reality of female entrepreneurship in the Global South: a case study from Mozambique**

Female entrepreneurship in sub-Saharan Africa is often hailed as a route to women's economic empowerment and a means of promoting women's access to income, status and decision-making power, in a context where formal employment opportunities have not been accessible to many women. A range of interventions (whether bilateral or multilateral) have been launched to target female entrepreneurs and women's businesses in Africa, promoting their access to finance, business development services, networks and markets and yet, too often, these interventions assume a 'one size fits all' approach which does not take into account the huge heterogeneity of this group or the diverse range of women who are represented by the term 'female entrepreneurship'. This diversity can be in terms of age, geography, experience, skill-level, sector, business stage and type of enterprise, encompassing everything from the small-scale informal sector female trader working on the side of the road to high-powered female executives driving high-tech innovations. One of the challenges with this broad-brush approach is that it tends to focus on the gender of the entrepreneur, rather than the type of business or the type of entrepreneur, thereby missing the opportunity to meaningfully strengthen women's businesses, with the risk that resources may be invested in the wrong areas, at the wrong times, or on interventions which are not necessarily the most appropriate at that particular moment for that particular type of enterprise. Attention also needs to be given to the relative benefits of more tailored business development programmes (that enable a more individualised approach) versus larger scale programmes that can reach greater numbers of entrepreneurs. It is important to acknowledge, in this context, that not all 'female entrepreneurs' are there by choice but may be driven to develop their own entrepreneurial activities due to lack of other economic opportunities, with their work characterised by long hours, poor (if any) pay and low returns. In this paper, some of those questions are addressed and others are raised, building on the experience of MUVA, a UK-Aid funded women economic empowerment programme working in urban Mozambique. The paper draws on data and evidence from two well documented 'entrepreneurial' projects – one with informal market traders in urban Maputo, and another with young female entrepreneurs supported through MUVA's business accelerator programme, to highlight the heterogeneity of the 'entrepreneurial' landscape in Mozambique, showing their different needs in terms of business development services, finance and training. It also explores the different ways in which entrepreneurship can empower (or disempower) women, focusing on the gender component of entrepreneurship trainings and the critical role this can play in promoting greater agency and equity. The paper examines different categories of female entrepreneurship and highlights the importance of understanding these categories before developing interventions for promoting female entrepreneurship, gathering better evidence on their specific challenges and needs and using a participatory, bottom-up approach to tailoring and co-creating interventions that can respond to the particular needs of these diverse groups rather than promoting a single one-size-fits all approach.

*Christina Constantinidis and Miruna Radu-Lefebvre*

**The silent script of ‘pitching like a man’: The *how* of gender performativity in entrepreneurship**

This paper draws on Judith Butler’s theory of gender performativity as a framework for critically assessing how women and men entrepreneurs ‘do’ masculinity in public, mediatized entrepreneurial pitch presentations. Gender performativity theory advances gender as an ‘act’, namely a certain kind of enactment accomplished with and for a social audience through language, but also through the stylization of the body through gestures, postures, movements, voice, appearance and dress. By taking a performative lens to study how masculinity is ‘done’ in entrepreneurship, this article contributes to the recent move in entrepreneurship research defending an embodied understanding of entrepreneurial practices and contesting the excessive and exclusive power of language for building identity and legitimacy.

Performing gender is shaped by dominant social norms relative to ‘appropriate’ gendered displays in particular social settings. As a field of social practice, entrepreneurship is a place of masculinity, embedded with masculine bias and stereotypes commanding who can be an entrepreneur and how one should behave in order to be recognized as a legitimate field player. The consequences of (hegemonic) masculinity have been largely explored through the female entrepreneur perspective, and more rarely for male entrepreneurs, not to mention the extreme scarcity of studies adopting non-binary and fluid gender perspectives. Moreover, the performative paradox of gender and entrepreneurship research is that it both uncovers and reinforces the normative injunction that society places on women and men entrepreneurs to behave and act ‘like a man’ in order to be successful, whereas the complex and heterogeneous ways in which entrepreneurs ‘do’ masculinity in particular times and places are systematically occluded. Additional conceptual and theoretically informed empirical research is necessary to understand *how* masculinity is *performed* in entrepreneurship, namely how women and men entrepreneurs perform masculinity in their doing of entrepreneurship. How do women and men entrepreneurs enact masculinity in pitch presentations? How do they embody the pressing normative injunction to ‘act as a man’ when engaged in a pitch performance? How do they ‘do’ and ‘undo’ gender by re-producing or challenging hegemonic masculinity norms in the public space?

We take a post-structuralist feminist stance to address these questions. Informed by gender performativity theory, we seek to go beyond the simplistic, binary view of ‘women’ and ‘men’, and instead focus on gender conceived as the cultural production establishing the sexes themselves. In line with Judith Butler’s thought, we consider that prediscursive bodies on which gender would be ascribed do not exist. The body is itself culturally constructed through performative acts, and the repetition of these acts constitute a gendered self. Drawing on this theoretical perspective, we examine public, mediatized entrepreneurial pitches as a particularly critical and revealing context for exploring how masculinity is performed, namely how women and men entrepreneurs enact stylized forms of gender embodiment in pitch presentations. The pitch is an institutionalized entrepreneurial practice that permeated the public media space in the last decade. The dataset for our study is sourced from video recordings of the highly mediatized Dragons’ Den show in the UK, enabling us to access and

examine a vast array of pitch presentations. By revealing how masculinity is performed by women and men entrepreneurs in a pitch situation, our study contributes to further theorizing the dynamic interplay of ‘doing gender’ and ‘doing entrepreneurship’ as a social productive process.



*Anne-Charlott Callerstig and Dag Balkmar*

### **Entrepreneurship in a new era: The rise of the Femopreneur**

In an article from 2016, Ahl et al, describes a shift in the Nordic countries “feminist project”, from state-feminism in the 1990s, i.e. gender equality as the primarily responsibility of the state, to a more market orientated gender equality entrepreneurialism in the 2000s. This shift has entailed a more individualistic view on gender equality, and spurred the development of entrepreneurship as feminist activism, i.e., feminist action through corporate endeavors where entrepreneurs pursue feminist objectives (Ahl et al 2016). Studies on social entrepreneurship globally confirm how entrepreneurship with social, environmental or community objectives is on the rise (Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, GEM). In addition, social entrepreneurs are, in comparison to mainstream entrepreneurs, more often younger and also more women, especially among start-ups (ibid.).

In this paper we expand the scope of investigation to ask not only if there has been a shift from state feminism to market feminism and with what effects, as problematized by several scholar (cf Kantola and Squires, 2012). Instead, our focus is on the increase in entrepreneurship as a form of feminist activism in line with the findings of Ahl and al (2016). Our aim is to deepen the analysis by focusing on how these shifts may have changed the underlying premises and alliances within state feminism. In state feminism Femocrats have played a central role operating foremost within the state. In the paper, we focus on the rise of a new “type” of actor - the *Femoprenur*. This actor operates, in synchrony with the changes towards new forms of governance, within a more differentiated system than the Femocrat. Our findings indicates that Femoprenurs populate all parts of the entrepreneurial ecosystem; as founders, funders and in state operated incubators. In the article we demonstrate the conditions under which Femoprenuers operate, how they build alliances and operates in wider networks related to entrepreneurship, start-ups and incubators. We portray their motivations, challenges and the dilemmas they face in their quest for change. From a more generic perspective, we discuss the implications that this shift may have for the feminist project more broadly, its opportunities and potential risks; such as “woke washing” and “Pippi-feminism”, and potentially losing a structural perspective on gender inequality.

The empirical data that the article is based on consist of 27 interviews with Swedish female and male founders, incubator managers and investors. The interviews were conducted as part of the larger ERA-NET funded project GENRE (Overcoming the Entrepreneurial Ecosystem Gender Divide: A Cross-Cultural Perspective), with a focus on the gender and technical entrepreneurship in a four-country comparative research endeavor departing from an microlevel analysis set in an ecosystem theoretical framework as a basis for the selection of data.

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*Caren Weinberg*

### **Ecosystems and Gender: Change the System not the Women**

Dimensions of entrepreneurial ecosystems encompass a combination of institutional, sociocultural and economic factors as well as key actors such as connectors, resource providers, interactions and mindsets. The dimension of and the actors in entrepreneurial ecosystems as well as the corresponding dominant discourses are primarily male, enfolding an anti-family environment. Women who want to enter the eco-system are expected to adjust to the male normative expectations of the start-up culture. As proposed by Dashper, we maintain that the inability of women to represent the ideal high-tech entrepreneur is perceived and judged as their failure to adjust to the system.

Thus, given the fact that eco-systems and their actors are interconnected, the gender biased mindset reinforces those structures and normative expectations, hindering women's ability to penetrate hi tech eco systems and become viable actors. While the majority of policies aimed at fostering high-tech entrepreneurship among women today are aimed at adjusting the women to the entrepreneurial eco-system, we claim that a more constructive path may be to adjust the entrepreneurial eco-system to the women.

To establish this claim, we present a baby-friendly accelerator for new mothers, Google Campus for Moms, operated in Tel Aviv, Israel, jointly by Google and Yazamiyot, Israel's leading community for women entrepreneurs. The initial idea was to utilize the maternity leave time of young mothers for coaching and educating the participating women in the world of hi-tech entrepreneurship. Sessions were led by successful entrepreneurs, investors, and technology experts. The content covered success stories, finance, legal and presentation skills, in addition to vast technical insights and meetings with knowledgeable individuals. Logistics were arranged making it easy for mothers to take care of their babies during the sessions, which made this program unique.

We conducted semi-structured interviews with 23 participants and with three of the initial founders of the program and reviewed secondary material as to the program content.

Our research showed that many of the women participated not because they had a specific entrepreneurial idea or desire to launch a startup, rather they wanted to get acquainted with the entrepreneurial eco-system – and see if it was a good fit for them. Specifically, they wanted to test their ability to actually launch a startup and see if they had the relevant knowhow and stamina. Their maternity leave seemed a good time frame to explore options and gain insights for future entrepreneurial activity.

Many stated that although they did not feel ready yet to start their own business, the introduction to the eco-system reduced their initial reservations and made them feel more capable of doing so in the future. Moreover, participants stressed the welcoming of young mothers into the eco system as a major signal of legitimacy that strengthened their entrepreneurial inclination. These statements correspond with the initial purpose stated by the program founders, that the program's main target is to push for their eco system's gender diversification in the long run.

Our paper contributes to existing studies on gender and entrepreneurial eco systems by pointing to the potential of such gendered oriented perspective for the promotion and better integration of women in technology oriented entrepreneurial eco systems.

*Saskia Duijs, Zohra Bourik and Tineke Abma*

**Squeezed out the organizations and pushed into self-employment: self-employed eldercare workers' experiences from an intersectional perspective**

In the Netherlands, more and more (lower educated) eldercare workers opt for self-employed care work as an alternative to being a hired employee. This happens after years of neoliberal policies that fostered precarious and flexible employment in eldercare, in combination with austerity measures that re-allocated caring responsibilities to unpaid caregivers. Self-employed (*or: freelance*) care work is highly debated in the Netherlands. Eldercare organizations frame freelancers as expensive, burdening limited care budgets. Patient and professional associations worry about the quality of care, while others raise concerns about *precarization* as freelancers lack access to social insurance. So far, little is known about the lived experiences of self-employed care workers themselves, and how they negotiate freelance work in relation to unpaid care work, their own health, and their financial situation.

We conducted a qualitative interview study with N=25 self-employed care workers. Theoretically grounded in *intersectionality* and in Nancy Fraser and Rahel Jaeggi's (2018) theoretical work on capitalism, we analyse how their lived experiences are shaped at the nexus of gender, age, class, sexuality and "race", and how these experiences can be understood within broader systems and structures of power. Fraser & Jaeggi illustrate how interconnected systems of oppression, such as class, patriarchy, racism and the exploitation of nature, are deeply rooted in the institutional system of capitalism. Capitalist economies do not exist in the absence of public power, social reproduction, expropriation at the (non-Western) "periphery," and inputs from nature. Yet, simultaneously, capitalism disavows the value of these realms for economic production, as well as their intrinsic value. These background conditions are not infinitely elastic and therefore struggles occur in each of these four realms, conceptualized as "boundary struggles" (idem, 2018).

Our empirical findings describes the experiences of self-employed eldercare workers in four themes. First, our study shows how their choice for self-employment has to be understood in the context of *disempowering working conditions*, which are shaped by the devaluation of reproductive work (gender inequality) and experiences of ableism, ageism and racism in the workplace. Second, opting for self-employment is described as a *personal empowerment process*. A protest against the low wages as hired employee (class), a deliberate choice for self-preservation including health (ability), a necessary strategy to combine paid and unpaid care (gender); a strategy to distance themselves from everyday racism at the workplace (race); and linked to menopausal transition (age/life phase). Third, as paid care workers shifted to self-employment they felt confronted with negotiating a *feminine-typed caring identity* as with a '*masculine-typed*' *entrepreneurial* identity. This negotiation act requires emotional and framing work, and manifests in making financial sacrifices, such as lowering tariffs or doing unpaid care work for clients, to foreground their caring identity. Fourth, our findings illuminate that in a gendered, classed and racialized landscape some freelancers are faced with precariousness, while others are not. We illuminate how this precariousness can translate into health risks, such as to continue working shifts while sick.

Elaborating upon Fraser & Jaeggi's (2018) theoretical work, our empirical findings show how eldercare workers found themselves at the center of boundary struggles. Neoliberal policies exhausted their reproductive work up to a breaking point (reproduction/production). In response, care workers individually try to protect their reproductive work by shifting from the domain of governmental funded organizations to the domain of the free market (polity/economy). This exacerbated existing labor market inequities as single mother, racialized care workers and women with unpaid caring responsibilities appear to be especially at risk of falling into precariousness (exploitation/expropriation).

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*Gráinne Kelly and Maura McAdam*

**Aesthetic Entrepreneurship: An Exploratory Study into the Dynamics of Female Entrepreneur's Digital Labour**

The incorporation of digital architectures (e.g. online communities and social media) and artefacts (digital components, applications or media content) mean that spatial and temporal boundaries of entrepreneurial activities are significantly less constrained and product and service opportunities are constantly evolving (Namsibian, 2016). In addition, the Internet attributes of convenience, ease of use, large audience reach, anonymity and interactivity (Case, 2016; Lin et al., 2015; Walther and Boyd, 2002) mean that digital technologies offers significant potential for those groups who face barriers to engagement in bricks-and-mortar entrepreneurship (Novo-Corti et al., 2014; Shirazi, 2012). Accordingly, digital entrepreneurship is posited to facilitate the engagement of marginalised groups, with one such group being women (Parker et al., 2016; Martin and Wright, 2005). However, less is known with regards to the particular effect of this boundary porosity on the experienced meaningfulness of work. In particular, there is a dearth of knowledge on the processes of producing social media and building digital capital and how these practices shape young women's embodied work experiences. To address this gap, we undertook a qualitative interpretative study with ten young female entrepreneurs in the health and fitness sector in Ireland and the UK, who were aged 22-29, who founded the business on their own, were responsible for businesses reliant on digital technology and had been operating a minimum of one year. The findings delineate the process through which new media technologies can be used to build symbolic digital and social capital to enhance existing cultural capital. The findings also show how the generation of these types of capital contribute to feelings of well-being and meaningful work through fostering an environment in which young female entrepreneurs can challenge pre-existing assumptions about health and fitness generated and in so doing challenge the echo chamber effects of social media (Turner and LeFevre, 2016).

*Darja Reuschke, Andrew Henley, Elizabeth Daniel and Victoria Price*

**Entrepreneurial activity and gender in the context of crisis: The impacts of COVID-19 on self-employed women in the United Kingdom**

A large body of literature has investigated differences in female and male entrepreneurship, covering motivations to become self-employed, risk-taking, investments, innovation and business growth, and the gendered nature of household entrepreneurial choices. A key issue concerns the influence of family and household for female entrepreneurship.

There is a growing body of literature that explores the impacts of a wide range of different types of crises on the self-employed and entrepreneurs. The COVID-19 crisis, however, is distinct and more severe in multiple ways. The COVID-19 pandemic has led to an economic crisis of a scale unprecedented in modern times. It is also amplifying gender and social inequalities, and throwing the differences in male and female entrepreneurship and particularly the role of family responsibilities and care at the micro level of the entrepreneur into sharp relief. The sudden impact of mitigation measures on the availability of schooling and accessibility of childcare and the concentration of female self-employed in ‘face-to-face’ service sectors are expected to exacerbate gendered aspects of self-employment. Other views, by contrast, have predicted a greater adverse impact on women’s businesses in the COVID-19 crisis arising not from family and childcare reasons but from the interplay of economic factors and the business models of women entrepreneurs.

In this paper, we address the under-researched links between gender, entrepreneurship (proxied through self-employment) and crisis using large-scale, longitudinal survey data for the United Kingdom (UK), collected during the COVID-19 crisis. The UK has been particularly hard hit by the pandemic. The restrictions for social institutions and businesses have been substantial over a prolonged period of time. Early official statistics report a very sharp decrease in self-employment between the first and second quarter of 2020, leading to concern about the impact of the crisis on entrepreneurship.

Based on social feminist theory, we test the role of family/social versus economic and psychological factors on gendered differential impact. While our analysis focusses on the differential impact of the COVID-19 crisis on self-employed women and men during the first wave of infection and lockdown restrictions, the identification of factors associated with impact in this economic crisis will provide understanding of the impacts of crisis and the resilience of female and male entrepreneurs.

Our findings suggest that self-employment exits were not gendered but women were more likely to experience reductions in hours worked and earnings - despite family responsibilities and home-schooling, industrial gender segregation and women’s greater propensity to run a non-employing business and to work part-time. However, lower attitude to risk in women is associated with *lower* risk of reduction in earnings. We conclude that lower risk appetite should not be viewed as a limitation of female entrepreneurs. Further, policy needs to look beyond business exit when considering crisis support for the self-employed.



*Seyda Bagdogan*

**The connection of Turkish ‘housewives’ to the world by handmade yarn products**

This study has aimed to understand the experiences of the Turkish women who share their knitting videos on YouTube through using the virtual ethnography conducted. The participant women mostly describe themselves as a “housewife” and/or specify their roles through association with domestic tasks, which is related to the position of assigned to many women by Turkish society. Most of them were born in the '70s and they learned to knit during childhood from an elder person in the home due to the traditional and conservative environment of the generation. While some of these women had worked in the service sector, their lack of education and the physical requirements of working life has compelled them to stay at home. Now, however, technological development has become a solution to their economic concerns. Working from home is now feasible, as in the digital space they can remain anonymous while performing knitting. In addition, in case they face a problem from their social surroundings regarding their performance on YouTube, they apply some coping strategies by adjusting their behaviour and performance. Moreover, they benefit from YouTube by reaching further audiences through knitting online. Apart from getting income, while they make connections with others having the same interest, they also teach the viewers how-to-do. Overall, this research sheds light on the life circumstances of these housewives, the path to knitting online, and the effects of Internet use on their lives. Thus, the results show that Turkish housewives knitting on YouTube increase their economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital by performing their traditional skills online during the time they find outside of their domestic responsibilities. For them, the Internet functions as “Third Space”, which means a hybrid field by Bhabha’s term (1994), between home and the virtual world within its hybridization process of the cultures. Regarding the analysis of their habitus (Bourdieu, 2001) associated with ‘online’ and ‘offline’ lives entwined, they emphasize that their self-esteem increase through their activities on YouTube. Since I adopt the methodology of Hine (2000) on Virtual Ethnography, which is grounded on “embodied, embedded, everyday” Internet, I criticize the concept of “digital habitus” coined by Papacharissi (2013).

**Stream 11**  
**Gender in Professional Careers: Disentangling Neoliberal  
Discourses of ‘Success’ and Gender Equality Initiatives**

**Conveners: Isabel Boni-Le Goff, Jane Creaton, Nicky Le Feuvre, Viviana Meschitti & Sevil Sümer**

*Sue Williamson, Lisa Carson and Meraiah Foley*

### **Representations of New Public Management in Australian Public Service Gender Equality Policies**

This paper examines how New Public Management (NPM) – a major component of neoliberalism – has impacted on gender equality policies in the Australian Public Service (APS). Analysis of a content analysis of the gender equality plans of all 18 Australian government departments, reveals that NPM is prevalent within the policies, which has implications for implementation, and ultimately the progress of gender equality in the APS.

Public management in developed countries has undergone seismic reforms over the past few decades. By the end of the 1970s, constrained economic conditions drove the governments of Britain, the United States, and Australia to reform their approach to public administration and public employment (O'Donnell, O'Brien and Junor, 2011; Podger, 2017). The underlying tenet of NPM was for the public sector to emulate the private sector, within a commodified and marketised public sector (Connell, Fawcett and Maher, 2009).

Researchers examining NPM and gender equality have concluded that NPM has impacted negatively on gender equality, slowing progress, diluting policies, and ultimately marginalising gender equality issues (Cunningham, 2000; Davies and Thomas, 2002; Kramar, 2012; Williamson and Colley, 2018). Authors have also concluded that NPM in the APS has served to “redo”, rather than “undo” gender (Williamson and Colley, 2018). Gender is a social process which is continually remade or “done” in organisations, reproducing essentialised, stereotypical masculine and feminine traits which also reproduce class and race hierarchies (Kelan and Nentwich, 2009; Healy, Bradley and Forson, 2011).

In an oblique acknowledgement of slow progress, in 2016 the Australian government recommitted to progressing gender equality in the APS. This refocusing has resulted in a tranche of new gender equality policies being introduced and implemented. This paper examines how NPM is reflected in the APS gender equality policies and considers whether NPM may assist or hinder gender being “undone” or “redone” in APS organisations.

The findings show that the policies strongly reflect an NPM framing. The authors conclude that while good intent is evident in the policies, they may “redo” rather than “undo” gender in organisations. Further, the analysis shows that the concept of intersectionality is not widely understood by APS agencies, which restricts the development and implementation of initiatives to benefit all categories of women. The authors conclude that the current approach of the gender equality plans is part of a neoliberal, individualized, and moderate feminist approach to securing gender equality, which has replaced previous collective-based approaches (Colley and White, 2019; Lewis, 2017). Finally, the authors envisage what a gender-equitable public sector organisation might “look” like, and how gender equality policies and plans can realise this vision.

*May Isaac*

**The Mother of All Contradictions: Neoliberal Success in Motherhood and the Implications for Mothers' Careers**

At the heart of women's intersection with career lies a wicked problem. Despite the surge in female education levels world-wide, the gender reversal in higher education, and a plethora of equal opportunity policies and legislation, the progress of women through the pipeline from education to employment, still ruptures at motherhood. The 'mommy track' which narrows a woman's career path, manifests in a persistently gendered workforce. Women are over-represented in female ghettos of low paying jobs and are under-represented in public and private leadership roles. Consequently, the global gender pay gap will take another 217 years to achieve parity. Meanwhile, for many mothers the personal consequences of navigating a career remains akin to walking through a minefield.

This paper illuminates the contradiction at the centre of contemporary motherhood and career; the neoliberal notion of motherhood success and its impact on mothers' careers. It critically evaluates motherhood literature about the social construction of motherhood to propose a conceptualisation of neoliberal motherhood as *mothering for success*. The paper articulates mothering for success via five plinths which dictate and underpin its practice; namely, determinism, future orientation, professionalism, caring consumerism and pervasive responsibility.

Within neoliberalism, childhood is constructed as an apprenticeship for adulthood. In this neoliberal 'century of the child', the interests of the child occupies a largely unchallenged, preeminent position in the policy and practices of legal, welfare, medical and educational institutions, as well as dominates discussion in academic, social and cultural discourses more than at any other time in history. Parents must now be train children for life in an increasingly complex and insecure world through the investment of more time, emotional effort and financial resources than ever before. However, neoliberal parenting is gendered. Mothers undertake the majority of the physical rigours of childcare and domestic housework, as well as bear the brunt of the mandated emotional labour.

Through the concept of mothering for success, this paper reveals how when neoliberal market logic is extended to motherhood, it coalesces economic and moral imperatives in the mother, who both drives and fulfils the neoliberal need for compliant, individualised, responsible, worker-citizens. The neoliberal mother demonstrates her success by raising children who are resilient, well balanced, independent and responsible and, therefore, primed for success in the neoliberal world. It is this purposeful joint pursuit of success *both for the child and for the mother* that is the linchpin of motherhood practice in neoliberal times.

The paper then pivots to examining how mothering for success, as a token of neoliberal excellence, impacts on mothers' careers. It posits that there is value in employing Pierre Bourdieu's thinking tool of symbolic violence for this analysis. Symbolic violence occurs when people play a role in reproducing their own subordination by internalising and accepting the ideas and structures which led their subordination in the first place. It is an act of violence because it constrains and subordinates individuals and it is symbolic as the

subordination is achieved indirectly and without the explicit and overt use of force or power. Symbolic violence could help illuminate how mothering for success operates via conditional inclusion in the context of mothers' careers. This could pose questions about the ways in which mothers submit to symbolic violence in the workplace in order to demonstrate their mothering for success, and in doing so, entrench gendered hierarchies of power and privilege.

*Nina Sharma, Fiona Anderson-Gough, Carla Edgley and Keith Robson*

**Making Sense of Professional Identity: Tensions between Merit and Diversity**

Beliefs about individualisation, professional identity and cultural fit in the accounting profession have long been enmeshed with commercial discourses. In particular, the motif of “the client” has functioned as a powerful organising principle in the workplace and has encouraged a preference for homogeneity in professional identity to standardise client services. Our study investigates how professional services firms are making sense of the diversity and inclusivity agenda. Processes which have in the past privileged the careers of white males whose faces fit, but have excluded or marginalised individuals with diversity characteristics, are no longer deemed acceptable. With the lack of dispersed gender and other diverse characteristics among staff at senior levels, audit firms are keen to demonstrate how they enact and can address diversity and inclusion.

Drawing on theoretical understandings of organisational sense-making and sense-giving, applied to the institutional field of accounting, we examine how the flow of organisational responsibilities in relation to the diversity imperative is retrospectively talked into existence, given plausible meanings, and turned into salient categories of understanding within firms. To explore how firms are drafting and editing the “diversity and inclusion story” we interviewed individuals at various stages in their careers in large professional services firms, HR professionals, members who have moved out of practice, members of accounting professional bodies and stakeholders. Our analysis of rationales that underpin the diversity story highlights three key findings. First, a bounded, technical understanding of diversity as a form of soft law and a training process depicts diversity as a form of institutional risk management. Second, a lack of engagement with diversity as a springboard for change has allowed the business case for diversity to thrive to the extent that individuals are included as long as they are able to display the right ‘skills’. The matching of diverse individuals to diverse clients to strengthen or build new relationships is being talked about at an even more nuanced level. By tagging diversity onto traditional commercial discourses, and tapping into the motif of the client, meanings are translated into categories that are familiar. The presence of many diversity networks within their organisation provides firms with a visible way of displaying a commitment to diversity, but this nuanced form of networking also opens up the potential for new forms of othering, wherein ‘successful’ diversity networks can leverage more power for organisational resources thus marginalising the ‘less successful’ networks. Third, our findings indicate that diversity and ‘merit’ are in significant tension as audit professionals sometimes avoid actively associating or aligning themselves with legally protected categories of social diversity in the appraisal of their own (and others) worth. Diversity initiatives struggle to engage with conceptualisations of the meritorious professional: a professional identity that values ‘merit’ as the driver of advancement and a function of firm appraisal processes that are currently untouched by reassessments of merit.

*Valeria Insarauto, Isabel Boni-Le Goff, Grégoire Mallard, Eléonore Lépinard, Nicky Le Feuvre and Sandrine Morel*

**Gendered effects of perceived discrimination among early-career French lawyers**

Despite the fact that women have entered the legal profession in large numbers in many countries over the past decades, law practice is characterised by strong gender inequalities that appear early on the career track. This study prolongs a long stream of research on gender inequalities in the legal professions, with a focus on the under-researched French case. But rather than taking a ‘view from above’, which looks at how organisational changes affect the distribution of career opportunities for men and women, it takes a ‘view from below’, with a focus on the perception of gender discrimination by those who have recently entered the legal profession and who are most likely to be affected by those organisational changes. Although previous research has suggested that women’s career paths and full integration into the profession are conditioned by discrimination, little research exists on how gender discrimination relate to lawyers’ individual work experiences.

Drawing on the quantitative analysis of the data we collected from a survey administrated to 663 Parisian female lawyers, we inquire into the relationship between perceived discrimination, job satisfaction, and intentions to leave the profession in the first part of the legal career. Results show that perceptions of discrimination negatively affect women’s satisfaction with regard to their career prospects and work-life balance, but do not have any influence on their quitting intentions. By adopting a ‘view from below’ on early-career lawyers’ individual work experiences, the article sheds new light on the construction of gender inequalities in legal careers, in a context marked by increased demands for gender equality and by de facto persistent inequalities. It points out that, without taking into account the basis upon which discriminatory practices against women take place, measures and policies aimed at facilitating women’s full integration into the profession will fail to grasp how such initiatives are likely to be understood and appropriated, especially by those most likely to benefit from them in a context of persistent discriminations in the workplace. In particular, our results suggest that any work-life balance policies should be formulated with the promotion of women’s career prospects in mind. Otherwise, they will not only fail to erode the glass ceiling, they will also fail to retain women within the legal profession.

*Gabriele Wydra-Somaggio, Tanja Buch and Stefan Hell*

**Development of gender wages during the early labour market career of German apprenticeship graduates**

In recent years, early career has been spotlighted as an important period in employment biography to set the course for further wage and career development. Several studies show that men and women earn almost the same when they enter into labour market. However, during the early career the wages of men grow faster than women do. An influential argument in economics is that the earnings trajectory of gender diverges when starting a family, with men specializing in paid employment and women focusing on housekeeping and child rearing. Other studies however find that differences start with entry wages and thus long before motherhood. In Germany, the average Gender Pay Gap (GPG) amounts to 21 %, whereby this gap is smaller in the younger age than in the older age. This fact emphasize the family role for explaining the GPG. However, in order to disembed the discussion on neoliberalism and thus, give further prerequisite for political support aiming at eliminating the gap, we need to know whether e.g. family decisions, employer discrimination, occupational segregation at the early stage of job career are crucial for vertical segregation as well according to further labour market career perspectives and the gender wage gap. Further research on the factors that drive the wage differences in the early career is necessary. Moreover, the specific importance of each of these driving factors may vary during early career – an aspect that has been neglected so far. Yet, as there is still no consensus about the specific point and determinants of wage differences, this paper will contribute to the discussion by investigating gender differences in wages during early career and the role of apprenticeship training decisions in Germany.

We use a unique dataset, which combines data from the Chamber of Industry and Commerce and the Chamber of Craft with the Integrated Employment Biographies from the Institute of Employment Research (IEB). This dataset contains of detailed information on apprenticeship training such as, detailed school certificates training occupations, grades at final exams, and duration of vocational training, the size and industry of the training firm, the date of graduation as well as precise dates regarding time spent in apprenticeship, (un-)employment, measures and detailed personal characteristics. We run separate Oaxaca-Blinder estimations for each of the first 10 years after graduation and analyze the contribution of our factors of interest concerning the apprenticeship training, the transition and the current employment characteristics. Our first results suggest that the rate of wage growth of full-time employed men and women decreases over time during the first years in employment, wage growth is even higher for women than for men, meaning wage gap, which is below average. However, after 10 years, male wage growth increase. During the early career, the explained part (the actual differences between genders) decrease. Training characteristics play a decisive role over time. These results suggests that that the initial occupational choice at the beginning of the career continue to have an impact on further career and might matter for climbing the career ladder within an occupation.



***Marianne Holly Clausen (with Amanda LeCouteur, Shona Crabb & Niki Vincent)***

**“Flexibility has to cut both ways”: Leaders’ accounts of flexible work and gender**

Australia has gendered patterns of paid employment and domestic/care work. While men are primarily occupied in full-time paid employment, women’s time is typically shared between paid employment and domestic/care tasks (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017). Australian mothers in paid employment frequently report using flexible, part-time or alternative arrangements to allow them to care for children, whereas employed fathers are much less likely to report the same (Baxter, 2013).

The Australian Government’s Workplace Gender Equality Agency (WGEA) describes flexible work as an arrangement to accommodate employees’ responsibilities outside of work, and as ‘key’ to enabling gender equality ((Workplace Gender Equality Agency, 2018). However, gender equality outcomes rely on men (as well as women) utilising flexible work to ensure that it does not remain a feminised and devalued activity (Bornstein, 2013). There is a clear need for greater understanding of men’s access to, and (non-)use of, flexible work opportunities.

Conducted in association with the Equal Opportunity Commission of South Australia, this study aimed to understand how organisational leaders make sense of men in flexible work. Accounts were collected through semi-structured interviews with twelve male and female leaders of public sector departments and private companies. Interview data were analysed using thematic discourse analysis.

Participants routinely drew on neoliberal discourses, most notably involving concepts of *choice* and *availability*. *Choice* was typically used to describe women’s lack of career success (in terms of progression and earnings) as a result of their own flexible working preferences. Participants also drew on the notion of being *available* to an individual’s workplace success. Particularly when discussing men, employees were positioned as needing to participate in informal arrangements where, if flexibility was offered, it was required of employees in return. The implication of this form of accounting was that flexibility was actually ‘available’ only when it was of little consequence to the organisation.

The importance of employees prioritising their availability to the organisation over their own requirements for flexible work arrangements arguably acts to entrench the form of gender inequality that flexible working policy aims to rectify. This occurs in two ways. First, people who achieve success by being ‘available’ will likely rely on others to perform caring and other non-work tasks: typically, this involves relying on women to look after children and home. Secondly, those who cannot adapt their work arrangements to suit the organisation are likely to be less successful: usually, this affects women who perform caring tasks that cannot easily be abandoned. The particular ways organisational leaders in this study made sense of flexible work serve to reinforce gendered patterns of paid employment and domestic/care work

*Emily Yarrow and Julie Davies*

**Women's scholarly impact in the Business School- Perspectives on faculty equity, sacrifice, and inclusion**

We explore how women management scholars experience 'doing' impact in the neoliberal Business School, a context where we remain underrepresented, subjected to academic inequality regimes, gendered academic networks, and women's academic career decisions and career trajectories are stigmatised and constrained by gendered organisational structures. Our conceptualisation of research impact examines inclusivity in terms of who is producing the impact and who is resourced to do so. Research impact is not only becoming increasingly important in the academy more broadly, characterised by increases in weighting on impact case studies in the research excellence framework (REF) in the UK, but also internationally, as a whole new marketised industry emerges around pathways to impact and impact generation.

In a previous study, we reviewed 395 publicly available REF2014 impact cases for business and management studies, which revealed that women led only 25% of the impact case studies. Subsequent exploratory interviews focused on negative experiences of women members of impact case teams at different levels including early career academics, which inspired us to carry out this follow-on research, in order to explore how women scholars in UK Business Schools engage in not only impactful management scholarship, but the research impact agenda, which is currently still dominated by male management scholars.

Drawing on the voices of 15 women impact case study leaders, all of whom were mid or late career scholars working in UK Business Schools, we examine the lived experiences of success narratives to counter existing gender inequality regimes that constrain talent management within the impactful scholarship agenda. In this appreciative inquiry we present insights from the lived experiences of women business school academics in the context of the growing research impact agenda casting light on women's impact journeys, and what systems and activities supported successful impact case study generation, in turn also driving empirical insight into gender segregation in management scholarship.

Our findings indicate that research impact is a form of academic activism and, in the case of many women management scholars, a Herculean task. This is often sustained over many years, requiring considerable discretionary effort and personal sacrifice, as opposed to an institutionally integrated activity.

Aiming to extend previous works through highlighting the pluralistic nature of impact beyond scholars 'doing impact' and creating 'pathways to impact' we contribute to contemporary theorisations of how the impact agenda affects women personally, their career strategies, and work life balance; considering also how to meaningfully supporting women's aspirations in terms of scholarly impact, as an expression of excellence in management studies. We critically investigate how a greater focus on impactful scholarship may offer new and different career opportunities, amidst growing concerns about casualization, proletarianization, and work intensification in today's academy.

*Charikleia Tzanakou (with Christina Efthymiadou and Alison Rodger)*

**Changing institutional culture from inside: reviewing an academic promotions framework to support female academics' career progression**

Research has shown that academic practices are not free from biases (Milkman et al. 2015). Academic excellence has been variably investigated demonstrating that the inequality structures based on gender, race, and class are being reproduced (Özbilgin, 2009) and academic promotions processes can contribute to this re-production though gendered practices (Van den Brink and Benschop, 2012). This paper draws on insights from an ongoing research project on academic promotions and relates to inclusive policies and practices supporting women's professional aspirations and what can we learn from these. It is based on an institutional case study where a new academic promotions framework was introduced partly to contribute towards advancing inclusivity. The project under discussion aims to investigate perceptions of academics as applicants and members of the promotions committee regarding the new framework and is part of the broader work of the H2020 project PLOTINA: promoting gender balance and inclusion in research, innovation and training. The paper draws on semi-structured interviews with members of a Professorial Promotion Committee and academics who submitted applications for promotion.

Preliminary findings show that the majority of promotions committee members perceive the new process as a welcoming step towards addressing gender inequalities in academic promotions since it rewards a much broader set of activities which are part of academic life and are most of the times undertaken by women and not adequately valued. Committee members commented about their long-term experience within promotion committees and pointed out significant discrepancies regarding the career progression of male and female academics. In relation to this, findings suggest that the majority of promotions committee members perceive that significant delays in the career progression of female academics, are mostly up to individuals to 'fix' (tendency to avoid risk; underselling themselves; weaknesses when writing their applications) and less on structural factors (limited support/encouragement from advisors; institutional rules to mitigate risk). Finally, special attention is paid to the concept of collegiality and its role as an assessment criterion in the new promotions system. Collegiality emerged as a significant theme in the interviews and in this paper, we discuss interviewees' perceptions of collegiality and its enactment in every-day workplace interactions. Interviews with academics who have applied for promotion, which can provide a more holistic analysis and evaluation of the new framework, are still ongoing. Based on this combined evidence, this paper will provide recommendations about initiatives and efforts in relation to promotions as a practice that can help towards career progression of female academics and can be applied across contexts.

*Julie Davies*

**A metaphorical appreciative inquiry into professional women's inclusion and impact:  
Epistemic privilege overcoming vertical segregation**

This metaphorical appreciative inquiry (Cooperrider and Srivastva, 1987) into professional women's voluntary engagement with new national policy builds on women's epistemic privilege to illustrate how women gain inclusion in an increasingly neoliberal sector. The study contributes to gender stratification theory by analysing metaphors in success narratives of women who were first movers in participating in research impact cases in Australia and the UK.

First, our findings illustrate non-homogeneous (Lund, 20129) ways that women professionals successfully navigate gender inclusion. Second, we frame professional careers non-linearly (Huopainen and Satama, 2019) based on relational and intellectual engagement. Third, the study provides management scholars and diversity practitioners with a methodology to understand career journeys in knowledge intensive sectors more broadly.

This paper responds to Morley's (2013, p. 126) observation that 'there is scant coverage of success stories of women accessing authority and facilitating feminist change'. Specifically we seek to provide insights into how we might subvert (Butler, 2004) inequality regimes (Acker, 2009) by addressing concerns about gender equality policies in the academy (Marini and Meschitti, 2018). We are interested in how women professionals overcome persistent gendered vertical stratification and discrimination (England, 2010; Ridgeway, 2017).

Building on Levanon and Grushky's (2016) argument that liberal theory underpins gender inequality, we explore why some women succeed despite unresolved inequalities amongst employees in the same occupation (Murgatroyd, 1982). Gender stratification theory (Blumberg, 1984; Collins et al., 1993) helps us to understand enablers and limitations. We draw on epistemic privilege which assumes the less socially privileged are well-placed to generate 'scientific problems and the research agendas' (Harding, 1993, p. 62). We chose women's experiences of successfully generating impact cases as these represent a rich understudied dataset (Hughes et al., 2019). Extending Davies et al's (2019) work, we focus on empowering narratives.

The research design comprised 20 semi-structured interviews with women participating in research impact cases. The over-arching metaphor of a journey (Gherardi, 1996) and Wagner and Wodak's (2006) four frames underpinned the discussions based on symbiosis; being self-made; creating one's space and work; coincidence and luck. These were thematically analysed (Gioia et al., 2013).

Our findings show different ways women researchers navigate institutional support, achieve autonomy and make sacrifices to achieve success (Philipsen and Bostic, 2008) in producing impact cases. We found examples of a double-edged sword as women try different professional roles in striving for inclusion, synergies and serendipity, roles which may be ill-defined and unrecognised (Davies, 1996).

Based on insights from this research, we recommend systemic changes to enhance opportunities for women in the academy (Gersick et al., 2000) with the support of academic department heads (Creaton and Heard-Lauréote, 2019) and initiatives to encourage women's achievements (Tharenou, 2001) within national constraints (Le Feuvre, 2009) of diversity policies. Actionable implementation depends on integrating data, theory, and 'consistent and constant effort' (Valian, 2005 p. 209), research funding eligibility tied to gender performance (e.g. NIHR) and universities publishing institutional gender breakdowns (Boyle et al., 2015).

*Mervi Heikkinen & Tuija Lämsä*

### **Gendered excellence within an intelligent academic organisation**

Gender equality in academia has been a part of the Nordic research policy since the 1980s. However, in the Nordic research and innovation area all Nordic countries perform around the European average: 20% of professorships are having women appointed to it. As an assumption that gender equality measures may decrease a market of privilege that is limiting the epistemic diversity, this paper elaborates implications of those institutional actions and policies that affect gender equality in knowledge production, innovation and building futurities (including democracy), in connection to the field of academic research and expertise.

The centres of excellence, flagship programs and profiling actions among the other elite funding mechanisms have become instruments in research funding policy during the past two decades. The strategy has been to concentrate more research resources on large units and programs. However, the excellence in research initiatives have become an instrument that favors male researchers over their female counterparts. As reasons behind this disparity are seen women's underrepresentation on the one hand and female researchers' lack of support to apply these more prestigious research grants on the other. Furthermore, women are clearly minority in most traditional forms of research and innovation which is strongly focused on technology transfer, while social innovations being still under-recognized, under-valued and under-resourced in R&I.

In our paper we examine the latest gender equality promotion instruments within academia that are facilitating the application of gender perspectives i.e. sex and gender analysis in research, as we understand that as a factor indicating a better quality of science 'excellence' in relation to a value of a democracy. We also examine the 'elite' research funding instruments in Nordic and European Research Area from gender perspective. Additionally, we elaborate already existing and recently introduced gender equality initiatives together with visions for equal research funding policies.

We operationalize Gendered Excellence within an Intelligent Organization, as we are leaning towards knowledge management (KM). KM refers to a systemic and organizationally specified process for generating, storing and sharing both individuals' tacit knowledge i.e. capabilities and know-how as well as explicit knowledge. An organization can operate with **gendered intelligence** to secure its viability and overall success. So, knowledge management can therefore be defined as the process of creating an environment for organizations to improve their capacity for effective action – where gender equality is embedded in organization's systems, in processes, in strategies, and overall in different levels within organization (individuals, project teams, departments, administrative levels - towards society level) including gender dimension in project funding instructions and plans.

*Vanessa Ciccone*

**“Full selfhood” in the elite software workplace**

Cultural discourses about effective workplaces tend to convey that an emancipatory workplace model is one in which employees are able to bring their full or true selves to the workplace. Such discourses offer a promise about creating space for employees who are underrepresented, especially in sectors that have come to be known for having homogenous workforces. The North American tech industry is one such example, where many companies celebrate informal, “open” workplaces as part of an effort for employees to bring their “full selves” to work. While perhaps well-meaning, this discourse has a range of unintended consequences, especially for those it purports to be particularly useful for. Applying data from recent ethnographic fieldwork at a Canadian tech workplace, conferences and events, the present study analyses the discourse of “full selfhood” within the sector. Here, while employees were called to be their “full selves,” this tended to be a frustrating discourse for those who were underrepresented. That is, if one did not or could not fit in, then it made little sense for them to share too much about the non-professional aspects of their lives. Relatedly, some employees reported anxiety associated with navigating informal workplace contexts, which I argue reflects a double bind for those who are not part of the dominant group. On one hand employees are attempting to show that they are bringing their “full selves” to work, yet, at the same time, the selves that are most valued are those that tend to easily fit in within the industry. Overall, the push for tech companies to incorporate fun and leisure at work as seen in games rooms, health and wellness, and onsite exercise facilities encourages people in the industry to celebrate work as a core aspect of their subjectivities and to embrace the presence bleed, yet, for those interviewed, how they were able to do so was influenced by subject position. Relatedly, scholars Margaret Wetherell and Jonathan Potter (1987) argue that people are inconsistent, incohesive beings and that it makes sense to adapt one’s style of communication to the setting in question. Yet, I argue that showing inconsistency in one’s communication style has come to be thought of as a marker of insincerity in the professional workplace. The discourse of “full selfhood” urges subjects to align themselves with neoliberal capitalism through unifying the work- and non-work-related aspects of the self, if such dichotomies can be said to exist, and opens up spaces for expression that are decidedly dominated by privileged identities. It creates a deep paradox surrounding the subjectivities employees are called to have, and those that they are able to take up and sustain. While employees who fit into the so-called “norm” are able to enact discourses about full selfhood and accrue rewards for doing so, for those who belong to underrepresented groups this discourse can entrench inequities. Using an intersectional framework with a focus on gender, the present study examines how employees in the software industry took up the discourse of full selfhood.

***Ruth Brooks***

**Gendered Career Aspirations: Freedom of Choice or Limited by Personal Circumstance?**

Data from the UK Labour Force survey (2018) indicates that men are twice as likely to be in management positions in comparison to women, and when considering traditionally male dominated professions such as engineering, IT and construction, the likelihood of a female manager is even lower. Vinnicombe et al. (2019) describe the 10.9% female executive directors at FTSE-100 companies as “worryingly low” if the gender imbalance is to be addressed. While gender equality initiatives, such as mentoring, flexible working practices and women into leadership programmes, may have helped individual women progress in the workplace (Langowitz et al., 2013)), this neoliberal approach has had limited success as it has not opened sufficient doors to eradicate vertical segregation with Ezzedeen et al. (2015) believing that the glass ceiling remains firmly intact.

Inequality in the labour market has been attributed to structural barriers, such as the undervaluing of female dominated professions (Truss et al., 2013) and rigid working practices (Pullman (2015) which make it difficult for women, and even more so those with families, to combine work and home commitments (Lovejoy and Stone, 2012). Canetto et al. (2012) posit that differences in career goals, where women prefer roles that generate social value in comparison to males more financial orientation to work, also contributes to the gender imbalance. It must therefore be questioned whether women are independently choosing the nature of their employment or whether they are moderating their engagement due to perceived barriers within organisations.

Gender inequality however, cannot be solely attributed to workplace factors. Collaborative research by the OECD and Education and Employers (2019) suggests that gender inequality starts as young as 7 with stereotyping and socialisation influencing career aspirations. Haynes et al. (2013) argue that the education system, including higher education, focuses on academic achievement rather than supporting young people’s transition into the workplace therefore maintaining gendered attitudes towards careers and employment. Focusing on the transition from higher education into the workplace, Wilton and Purcell (2010) found that female graduates have lower employment expectations and lower self-confidence (O’ Leary, 2017), a perspective which is supported by data from the Office for National Statistics (2017) showing that female graduates are more likely to occupy lower-level job roles than their male counterparts. Starting a career at a lower-level has a long-term negative impact on progression opportunities and therefore contributes to the perpetuation of female disadvantage (Wilton, 2011).

This paper presents an empirical study of 20 women, from 10 different subject areas, taking their first steps towards employment after completing their first degree. Drawing on qualitative data, the paper explores, through the lens of habitus (Bourdieu, 1977), the experiences of these women and their attitudes and approaches to the graduate labour market. From the group only six secured graduate-level work with the remainder either not working or occupying lower skilled positions. The findings indicate that female undergraduates face both structural and personal barriers to accessing skilled employment that include a limited



understanding of career opportunities, caring responsibilities, lack of geographical mobility, conforming to gendered, cultural and religious expectations and lack of role models and social capital. The paper recommends that industry and higher education work much closer together to develop strategies to support women's equal entry into the workplace and career progression.

*Lotta Karin Snickare and Øystein Gullvåg Holter*

**From "What makes a top researcher" to "I am a top researcher" – how a gender equality project can change the discourse of excellence**

*"I saw myself as a teacher. I thought it was a teacher they wanted.....that they had hired. I did not see myself as anything like a "top researcher". Now I have applied for and got a research grant and am bringing my family to the US."*

Women's progress in academic careers is slower than men's and on average women occupy lower academic positions and are underrepresented in the positions of formal power, authority and high income. International research shows how "accumulated disadvantage" for women is a factor in the continued gender imbalance at the top. A survey from a STEM faculty of a large Norwegian university made in 2018 confirms and deepens this results. Women face a pattern of relative disqualification and devaluation that hinders career development. At the same time the idea of a meritocratic system makes this pattern of inequality invisible. The system is complex, subtle, and sophisticated – but not unchangeable. It is troublesome for researchers, due to reification of an individualist researcher image which is – in practice – not upheld. The meritocratic system continues to work in skewed ways, regarding gender, social class, ethnicity and other issues. Many of these problems are "hidden" from the public eye, since they supposedly are individual failures.

We will draw on data collected in an action research project at the STEM faculty mentioned above. The faculty under study was participating in a gender equality project with the ambition to increase the number of women in senior research positions. A capacity building program for 15 female researchers, professors and associate professors, aimed at writing articles and research applications was planned. A program with the aim of "fixing the women" for the career competition. Individual interviews with all participants before the program started revealed that they, despite a strong belief in Academia as a meritocracy, didn't want the program but a network where they could share experiences and discuss different themes.

The collected data, two individual interviews (one before the start of the network and one after a year) and a group interview (after two years) combined with observations and participatory research, is used to examine the impact the network had on the women's academic identity. The data shows that challenging ideology and ingrained thought patterns requires a collective process. In the later interviews in the project, the participants no longer describe Academia as a meritocracy, but rather how formal and informal structures form an unequal organization. By sharing their experiences, the participants recognized patterns and structures instead of individual failures or successes. By challenging the "ideal academic" narrative they started to identify themselves as top researchers. With the new identity followed a platform from which they could claim the top researcher privileges' as well as reformulate the rules of the neo-liberal career pattern requirements. The program, planned to "fix the women" as new neo-liberal subjects, were in reality used by the female researchers to regain a sense of collegiality and reveal unequal structures; and through this process, to create a new identity as top academic researchers.

*Camilla Gaiaschi*

**The ambivalent gender effects of the neo-liberal academia: the case of the life sciences**

Women have made a significant progress in academia and science all across western countries. Yet, vertical segregation persists, as women are still under-represented in the upper ranks of the academic hierarchy (European Commission 2019). A well established scholarship has attempted to investigate the reasons for which women are disadvantaged in the career progression and/or are more likely to drop-out from academia. Explanations are multi-level and include biases in recruitments, a chilly organizational climate, the maternity penalty, women's concentration in teaching and administrative tasks, the lack of support and their exclusion from relevant networks (for a comprehensive review see: Bozzon et al. 2019). Within this literature, many authors have focused on the increasing negative consequences on female academics of the recent, neo-liberal, market-based University transformations, including discrimination in the selection processes (Van den Brink and Benschop 2011; Steinþórsdóttir et al. 2019). A few others are less clear-cut in their evaluations, by recalling how the old university model entailed entrenched elites and "old boy networks" preventing women's advancement in academia (Ferre, Zippel 2015). In this perspective, current transformations may even disrupt such dynamics.

In Italy, neo-liberal university transformations have been defined by (1) the precarization of early-career phases (law n. 240/2010), (2) the introduction of systems of evaluation of researchers' productivity and (3) the cuts in the public expenditure for higher education, with consequences both in terms of research funds and in terms of new recruitments.

The implications of these transformations are twofold: on a structural level, they have tightened the access to the tenure-track, especially for women (Gaiaschi and Musumeci 2020); at the cultural level, they have promoted a new professional culture based on productivity and entrepreneurship, redefining the notions of scientific "excellence".

This paper aims to analyze the effects, in terms of cultural change, of these transformations for women working in academia and more specifically in the field of the life sciences. To do so, twenty-three in-depth interviews to professors, researchers, post-docs and "drop-outs" were conducted within a bioscience department of a large Northern Italian University with the aim of identifying the characteristics defining the "ideal academic" and how these characteristics interact with existing gender inequalities practices within the organization.

The findings suggest that recent university transformations have ambivalent implications for women. On the one hand, the growing emphasis on productivity may hide existing inequalities and reinforce discrimination in the selection processes. On the other hand, it has certainly contributed to weaken the old hierarchical system based on affiliation and cooptation. In this perspective, the new managerial culture does not seem to aggravate - in itself - existing gender inequalities: at the most, it precedes, and if anything, embrace and redefine them, while opening up new spaces of agency for women. At the same time, the "price" that women have to pay to meet productivity standards is high, especially in terms of work-life choices. Further, worsening work conditions enhance the gap between those who can and those who cannot "afford" long periods of contract instability, thus aggravating social

inequalities. In this perspective, neoliberal changes may create inequalities among women themselves.

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*Tamar Dubuc*

### **Reconceptualizing the underrepresentation paradigm**

The systemic underrepresentation of women in senior ranks within academe emerges both prevalently and undisputedly in institutional literature and contemporary scholarship on women and higher education (Madsen 2011; Maranto and Griffin 2011; Tessens, White, and Web 2011). In these studies, *underrepresentation*, or rather, the problem of underrepresentation arises as a persisting impetus calling for further inquiry into women's positionality in the workforce. However, underrepresentation as a concept used and deployed to describe and explain women's positionality remains largely unobserved. That is to say, the literature espouses, wittingly or unwittingly, a set usage of the term in discourse, thereby effectively normalizing its discursive meaning. Consequently, underrepresentation gains a certain "unimpeachable authority" (Garvey, 2014) as a fundamental *claim* of women's state of being in academe.

Scholarship from within and outside the immediate field of higher education studies suggests women's underrepresentation to denote a lesser than adequate proportion of women as measured along a single corporeally determined quantitative dimension, i.e. traditional binary gender statistics delimited by female and male sex categories. Whether explicitly or implicitly stated, women's underrepresentation conventionally refers to a lesser than adequate proportion of women in relation to proportion of men, whatever the adequate proportion might be (a measure typically left unstated). This widespread understanding of underrepresentation as it pertains to women in academe continues to motivate and structure a body of feminist research concerned with gender balance and equality in the academic workplace. Only, in assuming the claim of underrepresentation, this research contributes to sustaining a market of privilege in academe and helps recreate quotidian gendered organizational violence against women.

This paper argues the need for greater conceptual clarity and a reconsideration of the underrepresentative paradigm. It aims to scrutinize rather than presuppose the meaning of underrepresentation, examining the implications of the term's usage and deployment, and questioning its current role in enabling and contributing to the neoliberal assumptions of the organizational field that drive largely ineffective gender balance and equality measures in higher education. To this end, a turn toward representation theory seeks to bring *representation* into underrepresentation's conceptual fold, as it were, to challenge and to disrupt the very discourse that maintains women at the margins. Representation theory (Pitkin, 1967; Saward, 2010) elucidates the integrated processes through which gendered identities are constructed and negotiated. Indeed, these processes of representation emerge, on the one hand, as bound to the subject – an observation that supports underrepresentation as it is currently used in the literature. However, and most significantly, representation emerges, on the other hand, as unfettered from the corporeality of the subject. That is, representation while associated to the body regards the positionality and intentionality of the body, i.e. the performance of the body, in a given time and space. It follows that the processes of representation set off a power dynamic that redirects the analytic gaze away from matters of demography and toward a qualitative understanding of women's positionality. This

reconceptualization of underrepresentation aims to open up the field of feminist organizational research by debasing the claim of underrepresentation in its current iteration, one that views gender balance and equality as achieved by means of “adding women and stirring.” It also aims to articulate the need for a more nuanced consideration of women’s underrepresentation in academe by provoking a discursive shift that will necessarily uncover sites of resistance through which women may begin to wield power and prompt meaningful and sustainable organizational change.

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*Emily Yarrow and Julie Davies*

**Women's scholarly impact in the Business School- Perspectives on faculty equity, sacrifice, and inclusion**

We explore how women management scholars experience 'doing' impact in the neoliberal Business School, a context where we remain underrepresented, subjected to academic inequality regimes, gendered academic networks, and women's academic career decisions and career trajectories are stigmatised and constrained by gendered organisational structures. Our conceptualisation of research impact examines inclusivity in terms of who is producing the impact and who is resourced to do so. Research impact is not only becoming increasingly important in the academy more broadly, characterised by increases in weighting on impact case studies in the research excellence framework (REF) in the UK, but also internationally, as a whole new marketised industry emerges around pathways to impact and impact generation.

In a previous study, we reviewed 395 publicly available REF2014 impact cases for business and management studies, which revealed that women led only 25% of the impact case studies. Subsequent exploratory interviews focused on negative experiences of women members of impact case teams at different levels including early career academics, which inspired us to carry out this follow-on research, in order to explore how women scholars in UK Business Schools engage in not only impactful management scholarship, but the research impact agenda, which is currently still dominated by male management scholars.

Drawing on the voices of 15 women impact case study leaders, all of whom were mid or late career scholars working in UK Business Schools, we examine the lived experiences of success narratives to counter existing gender inequality regimes that constrain talent management within the impactful scholarship agenda. In this appreciative inquiry we present insights from the lived experiences of women business school academics in the context of the growing research impact agenda casting light on women's impact journeys, and what systems and activities supported successful impact case study generation, in turn also driving empirical insight into gender segregation in management scholarship.

Our findings indicate that research impact is a form of academic activism and, in the case of many women management scholars, a Herculean task. This is often sustained over many years, requiring considerable discretionary effort and personal sacrifice, as opposed to an institutionally integrated activity.

Aiming to extend previous works through highlighting the pluralistic nature of impact beyond scholars 'doing impact' and creating 'pathways to impact' we contribute to contemporary theorisations of how the impact agenda affects women personally, their career strategies, and work life balance; considering also how to meaningfully supporting women's aspirations in terms of scholarly impact, as an expression of excellence in management studies. We critically investigate how a greater focus on impactful scholarship may offer new and different career opportunities, amidst growing concerns about casualization, proletarianization, and work intensification in today's academy.

*Maryam Aldossari and Sara Chaudhry*

**Catch-22: Token Women trying to reconcile an impossible contradiction between Organizational and Societal expectations**

Extending tokenism theory, and Kanter's (1977) work on numerical representation specifically, we emphasize the external, societal context of gender inequality in order to understand token women's lived experiences at work. This research specifically focuses on how token women working in a large Saudi MNC negotiate the contradiction of seemingly egalitarian Western organisational values, policies and norms with an enduring patriarchal societal context. Based on analysis of 29 in-depth interviews in a multinational (MNC) situated in the distinctive socio-institutional setting of Saudi Arabia, the paper expands Kanter's (1977a) typology of roles, to capture token assimilation in a context embedded way. The data revealed that role entrapment was experienced through a circular interplay between the societal, organisational and individual levels, in particular when token women found themselves at the intersection of contradicting organisational and societal role impositions. Interestingly, our analysis did not offer any support for Kanter's (1977a) other identified roles of 'seductress' or the 'iron maiden' potentially because of the unique societal context of Saudi Arabia. The prevalent religious ideology of Islam, in combination with enduring patriarchal norms whereby females are seen as representations of family and tribal honour (Syed et al. 2018) perhaps mitigated the overt sexualization of women. Thus, public manifestation of their femininity was culturally abhorrent and subsequently organizationally impermissible. Furthermore, Kanter's (1977a) conceptualization of the 'iron maiden' role trap signified female agency and proactive resistance which is unlikely in the Saudi context given strong political control by the royal family and the government, lack of enforceable equal opportunity legislation, and the absence of employee representation structures like trade unions. A new role trap emerged from our data, i.e. Hecate, which is more context-specific and reflects the dually-binding trap of token women representing progressive and traditional values at the same. Our theoretical contributions, under-scored by the absence of 'seductress' or the 'iron maiden' roles in Kanter's (1977a) existing typology and the emergence of the 'hecate' role underline how the societal context interacts with the organizational level of analysis resulting in a unique manifestation of tokenism. Another contribution of this research is extended gender visibility narrative by highlighting the co-occurrence of heightened 'visibility' because of numerical representation *and* physical appearance. Crucially, this heightened visibility manifested itself in conjunction with heightened 'invisibility' with respect to token women's occupational and professional identities and access to work opportunities. This was tied to the contradictory interaction of societal (conservative and traditional) and organisational contexts (progressive and Western). We argue that by adopting a relational approach to the study of tokenism this research highlights the importance of the societal context and the limitations of adopting homogenous conceptualisations of Kanter (1977a) work. Further adding texture to Kanter's (1977a & b) theory, this study reveals that the organizational context cannot be seen as fundamentally neutral and inevitably interacts with the societal context, resulting in unique manifestations of tokenism.



*Carin Tunaker, Sarah Tetley and Heejung Chung*

### **Guilt and Stigma of part-time and flexible work in Higher Education**

Following qualitative and quantitative research at a UK Higher Education Institution (HEI), and a global research project involving the Research Administration and Management community, this paper will consider the effects of guilt and stigma in part-time and flexible work in Higher Education.

Many governments across the world, including the UK, are using flexible working as a tool in order to enable better work life balance for working parents, as well as to address the persistent gender inequalities found in our labour markets. Part-time work or various types of working hours reduction arrangements are one of the most commonly used types of flexible working, especially for women. However, studies have also found that part-time working can lead to what is coined as the flexibility stigma (Williams et al., 2013; Chung, 2018), where flexible working for care purposes such as part-time work to meet care demands - can lead to negative perspectives on the worker's productivity/commitment and ultimately lead to negative career outcomes. This has been identified in a number of working environments but is perhaps exacerbated in neoliberal environments (such as Higher Education) that actively attempt to enact flexible employment opportunities (Huppatz et al 2018). We aim to explore some of these issues around the experiences of part-time workers in the Higher Education (HE) sector. HE in the UK prominently suffers from a long hours work culture and can especially be problematic in the prevalence of this flexibility stigma, leading workers to feel guilty about not performing up to the "ideal worker" culture and thus to feel devalued as workers. We use uniquely collected primary data from 744 workers from 19 different countries with experience of part-time and/or flexible work, through surveys and focus groups with both professional services and academic staff.

Key themes found from this research are that many who work part-time in HE experience feelings of 'not being enough', miss opportunities to further their careers and feel 'left out' of the culture in their workplace. Subsequently, many people's careers cannot progress, and this in turn affects those with caring responsibilities (often women) and people with disabilities that prevent them from working full-time hours. Many feel unsupported in their roles and different departments/schools view flexible work differently, which leads to uneven and unequal provisions.

We argue that to meaningfully tackle the issues experienced by part-time workers in UK HE sectors, we need to challenge the prevalent beliefs that only those who work long hours, above and beyond the allocated workload/full-time hours can succeed in the HE sector. This can be done through providing positive examples and role models, extending support to part-time workers, and actively reviewing and monitoring consistency in the provision of local flexible working and part-time policies and practices. Furthermore, we need to actively tackle the existing and persistent neo-liberalistic work culture that celebrates workers who work long hours, without any other responsibilities outside of work, and privileges work above everything else in their lives. Without this, introduction of flexible working for specific groups of workers will result in polarising the workforce with those with care (including self-care) responsibilities as 'second class workers'.

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*Daria Luchinskaya, Luca Cattani, Giulio Pedrini and Charikleia Tzanakou*

**Work experience during higher education in Italy and the UK: how do women ‘choose’?**

Work experience and 'employability skills' have become an integral part of higher education (HE) and early labour market experience. However, not everyone benefits equally (e.g. Hunt and Scott, 2018; Bradley and Waller, 2018; Bathmaker et al., 2013). In this paper, we compare the early career outcomes of women and men after completing their first HE qualification in the UK and Italy, informed by different contextual considerations (policy and legal frameworks, culture). We problematise the individualised concept of career and employability as dependent only on individuals' efforts and decisions ignoring structural constraints on their choices, and the role of employer demand in labour market outcomes. We use longitudinal graduate tracking survey data from the UK (Futuretrack) and Italy (AlmaLaurea) to investigate graduates' transitions into the labour market. Using regression analysis, we investigate how the opportunity to access work experience activities during undergraduate education varies by gender. We then look at the labour market outcomes (getting a job, wages and perceived skills match) associated with different work experience activities.

We find that access and outcomes of work experience are gendered in both Italy and the UK albeit in different ways. We report three main findings. First, we show that in both the UK and Italy, women were more likely than men to do something than to do nothing in relation to work-related activity. Second, we also demonstrate different participation patterns by gender in different kinds of work experience during HE. In the UK, women were more likely than men to do a work placement, paid work for the money, and unpaid work, but less likely to do a vacation internship. While subject choices might be gender segregated, our analysis suggests that gender affects patterns of participation in work experience activities even after controlling for subjects studied. Third, our results show that different types of work experience were associated with differential labour market outcomes. For example, in the UK, vacation internships with employers were positively associated with getting a graduate job, wages, and perceived skills match, while doing paid work only for the money was associated with a negative effect on wages and perceived skill match. In Italy, however, doing any internship only had a positive impact on the probability of finding a job, but was not significantly associated with other labour market outcomes.

Our analysis highlights the limitations of an individualised employability discourse, and sheds light on the gendered organisation of HE and labour market especially in relation to subject and career choices, in a comparative perspective. We also raise the need to make explicit how the gendered organisation of HE and labour market penetrates and reproduces these inequalities in the work experience domain in different institutional contexts.

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*Lucy Pius Kyauke*

### **Gender Inclusion and Leadership Positions in Higher Learning Institutions in Tanzania**

Women under-representation in leadership positions in higher learning institutions is a worldwide problem (Dominici et al. 2009; Odhiambo, 2011; Sandberg & Scovell, 2013; Dunn et al., 2014; ILO, 2016; UN Women report, 2017; Sang, 2018). The magnitude of the problem stands to a large extent in Africa (CODESRIA, 2014; ILO, 2016; Adamma, 2017; Moodly & Tony, 2017; Watende et al., 2017; UN Women report, 2017), and noted to be alarming in Tanzania (LHRC, 2016; TGNP, 2017; TCU report, 2017).

My present study “Gender inclusion and leadership positions in higher learning institutions in Tanzania” is aimed to contribute to the understanding of the socio-cultural skills, abilities and ways of acting thought appropriate for women inclusion into leadership positions, as part of gender equity, gender quality and gender equality strategies to professionals in higher learning institutions.

Two theoretical approaches are chosen relevant to guide the study; Intersectionality Approach based on Systemic Intra-act Method and Actor Network Theory. Intersectionality approach is relevant to describe important factors contributing to gender in/exclusion and how such factors are interconnected, linked and work as a system in which such factors (Academic meritocracy, politics and socio-cultural factors that affect gender) cannot be examined separately from one another when it comes to suggest appropriate gender inclusion strategies into leadership promotions in higher leaning institutions. Actor Network Theory is adopted to offers a diverse and critical discourses on the status quo notably the recognition of gendered dominance in social arrangements and the desire to change from such forms of domination. More specific, Actor Network Theory is tuned relevant for understanding how the problem of women underrepresentation into leadership positions in higher leaning institutions is constituted, and to what extent refined tools (Academic meritocracy and socio-cultural factors) that can explain what other domain of the gender socio-cultural parameters could not account for.

The methodology of the study is based on qualitative approach. Data collection methods involve interviews, focus group discussion and observation. In the analysis; contextual as well as content analysis techniques were used to analyse the transcribed interviews with primary as well as key interviewees and other gender-stakeholders.

The general overview of the results reveals that; Patriarchy system dominate the power structures in higher learning institutions. Low number of female students’ enrolment at the Universities contribute significantly to low number of women leaders in higher learning institutions. In order to strategies more women into power, promotion procedures and processes of recruitment should be challenged. Building and promoting gender balance in higher learning institutions should not be based on academic merits alone. Intersectional focus and diverse discourses on the status quo, including other socio-cultural factors embedded in a process can make a difference on women academics to prosper.

*Jill Hardacre and Natasha Mauthner*

**Uncovering the Obscured: Gendered Processes in the Neoliberal University**

This paper seeks to understand what lies behind some of the persistent gendered inequalities within higher education, such as the gender pay-gap, the leaky pipeline, imbalances in publication and conference invitations, and the barriers encountered by those inside the university who are trying to engender change, to name but a few. The recent upheaval due to Covid-19 has only served to magnify the many gendered inequalities that are lying just beneath the surface of our university structures. It has also stoked fears that the slow rate of change towards gender equity in the university may only worsen, if not go into retreat altogether.

This study broaches these issues and the slow rate of change by studying the underlying ways in which gender itself is being constituted within the institutions. It does this through the lens of understanding the ever-increasing influence of neoliberalisation in the university, and studying the way in which this has a bearing upon, exacerbates, and intersects with issues of gender inequality. Specifically, this study explores how the introduction of neoliberal *processes* and *practices* within higher education – including an increasing focus on measuring performance, the marketisation of academic work, competition, efficiency, and the rise in documentation and audit culture - is contributing to the constitution of gender and gendered inequalities within academia.

Crucially, the study hopes to open up for investigation hidden mechanisms through which the category of gender and gendered inequalities are constituted, such as promotional procedures, performance indicators and equality and diversity initiatives. In particular, it will investigate how these processes, conceived as ‘neutral tools’, can in fact have highly gendered outcomes. Some pertinent lines of inquiry for example, are the ways in which performance reviews can produce a gendered ideal subject that can be audited against whichever indicators have been prioritised, and the methods through which these indicators are measured; or the ways in which gender inequity initiatives that attempt to undo gender differences may in fact simply be remaking them in a different way.

Methodologically, the study will adopt a genealogical approach, analysing documents, processes, and practices which are used within the university and interrogating a number of their histories. For example: who and what was involved in their construction? What is encoded in the architecture of the document itself? And what are their underpinning assumptions about research performance, excellence, or gender equality? Since these processes are so often regarded as innocent, neutral or objective tools, it is vital for to expose the effects that they may have – particularly in designing tools for future use - and that is what this project hopes play a part in ascertaining.

*Charlotte Silander, Liza Reisel, Maria Pietilä and Ida Drange*

**Universities' measures to promote gender equality among academic staff in the Nordic countries**

The Nordic countries have a long tradition of gender equality initiatives. They are considered well-established welfare societies with high female labor market participation rates and a well-developed and highly subsidized system of childcare. Women have for long been a group targeted by equality policies and the Nordic countries have been labelled “global leaders” when it comes to gender policy implementation in higher education. At the same time extensive international research literature has documented challenges to gender equality in research and innovation, pointing to a number of obstacles to women’s advancement in science careers. The numbers of female professors in Norway, Sweden and Finland remain around 30 per cent. These figures are above the European average, but still low against the background of the women-friendly, Nordic welfare societies and strong commitment to gender equality policies in the universities, a phenomenon sometimes referred as a gender paradox. This has created a situation where the universities appear to be gender neutral with extensive antidiscrimination legislation and policy in place, but where discrimination continues to exist.

Previous research questioning the effectiveness of gender equality measures in changing organizational structures and culture argue that institutional responses to equality problems have been limited to simplistic approaches. Critique is targeted towards the policy framing phase, where equality is being framed as a non-issue or explained as a result of the past. Critique is also targeted to the implementation phase, where for example interventions are being poorly implemented by untrained managers, and gender equality initiatives are reduced to ticking off checklist and transparency policies serve as window dressing while recruitment continues to take place under the radar.

Based on feminist critique of gender equality initiatives, this paper examines how universities in three Nordic countries (Sweden, Norway and Finland) have promoted gender equality among academic staff. The paper presents an overview of organizational gender equality measures and seeks to problematize these efforts and discuss the potentials of gender equality strategies. The study has a comparative approach. The empirical data consist of survey data which was collected from 38 universities.

*Ayesha Massod and Muhammad Azfar Nisar*

### **Working Marriage: Exploring the overlap of Marriage and Workplace**

Workplace relationships have been a long-standing focus of attention in organizational studies particularly in the context of creating and reinforcing gendered norms and biases. Research particularly has focused on how different formal and informal norms of relating, conversational patterns and the workplace networks “gender” workplaces and influence how we “do” gender in organizations. Relatively less examined in this regard is the issue of intimacy and intimate relationships in workplace. This is perhaps because romantic and intimate relationships at workplace have traditionally been considered a taboo. The workplaces have been construed as an asexual place, where bracketing of sexual relations was required to create the environment of work. Most of the research in this regard has therefore focused on the possible conflict created because of intimate relationships (or their breakup) and on the gendered implications of workplace policies which prohibit such relationships. A related area of research similarly has focused on sexual harassment in the workplaces and how this intersects with sexual relations in workplace, especially when there is a power differential between partners.

There is a significant gap in this research, however: while we know about conflicts of interest arising from romantic relationships, we have little understanding of how co-workers who are married to each other negotiate their workplace relations. How does the gendered organizational structure and marriage in a patriarchal society overlap and create multiple gendered subjectivities?

We explore this question through a novel methodology: a dual autoethnography of a married couple, both assistant professors working in the same department. We co-create and co-negotiate the rocky terrain that is marriage and work by exploring certain key episodes at our workplaces and home. We do this by first exploring our experiences individually, and then by synthesizing them together. Our research highlights how overlap of marriage and work creates multiple challenges for both partners as co-workers are often liable to see their relationships in terms of husband and wife (with associated power differentials) rather than co-workers. In this backdrop, both husband and wife have to negotiate their gender, work and professional identities in multiple overlapping ways. We also explore how this relationship is difficult to translate for society, where the lack of power differential between co-workers in a relatively flat organization becomes nearly incomprehensible. We hope that our research highlights this neglected area of research and provides an avenue of further theoretical exploration of this “marriage work”.



*Susana Vázquez-Cupeiro*

### **Women's networks and academic careers**

Academic employment systems have been subjected to policy-driven reforms in many European countries. In Spain, three different systems of academic hiring and promotion have been put in place in less than two decades. In essence, reforms respond to the need to improve the merit-based assessments while overcoming the limitations associated to its long-standing inbreeding nature. Nonetheless, the endurance of the powerful local old-boys-networks persists.

Previous research has mainly focused on the relevance of informal networking and sponsorship in terms of career advancement, as well as in the gendered dynamics involved. The main conclusion is that women's limited access to or (auto)exclusion from the protégée system is crucial to explain why they are neither recruited nor promoted at the same rate than their male peers. Besides putting academic women at a disadvantage, this circumstance pushes them to rationalise whether they accept or not to "play the game" and in what terms to do so. This observation is in line with presenting women-only-networks as the alternative to improve their career paths. But once again, this may disembody in adopting the "fix the women" approach, which leads women to assimilate into the existing individualistic neoliberal system rather than evolving as agents of change in academia.

The aim of this paper is twofold. First, explore if women-only-networks continue to be envisaged as an strategy to support women's professional aspirations in the Spanish setting. And second, analyse the emerging tensions around their acceptability and unintended consequences in terms of gender equality.

Inspired by a feminist institutionalist approach, I identify academic women strategies, understood as ephemeral rather than permanent, in relation to the gendered network dynamics and, in particular, to the women-only-networks. In parallel, attention is centred on the underlying framing discourses about academic excellence, reward systems and gender equality initiatives, which guide their actions and eventually their career outcomes.

The paper offers interesting insights into cultural differences, while identifying shifts over time, as how relational networks and networking are perceived per se. Even if discourses seem to frame actions, the qualitative approach reveals how apparently contradictory strategies stand on similar discursive frames of the institutional context. A rather controversial finding reveals that junior academics are increasingly strategic in their approach, showing reluctance to participate in networks comprised exclusively by women and refraining less from engaging in male dominated networks. Yet, women networks continue to be considered as an opportunity, not only at individual and institutional level (regarding women's career development and performance indicators, respectively), but also at a social level (regarding gender equality awareness).

*Amira Rahmat*

**Investigating how gender is being constructed, planned and reported in multinational enterprises (MNEs) through a broader range of feminist theories**

In the corporate world, one of the ways gender has made its ways into firms' agenda is through the corporate social responsibility (CSR) arm of the company. It is assumed that this will provide the necessary space to integrate and report on gender equality policies, practices and programmes. While there has been substantial interest in how gender is, or can be, integrated into CSR, there are fewer studies focused on gender *reporting* in CSR reports. How companies choose to report on gender diversity, mentorship, empowerment programmes and other gender issues allows us to understand how companies construct their ideas of feminism and hence, narrate their gender story within the reports (Grosser and Moon, 2017). Critical perspectives on gender equality programmes posit these as examples of the neoliberalisation of feminism – i.e. the processes whereby feminism has “gone to bed with capitalism” (Prugl, 2015) - as opposed to an intention of dismantling the gendered system. While initiatives such as gender diversity data and mentorship programmes might galvanise efforts in increasing representations of women in corporations, questioning how such efforts actually translate to progress is important here. A lopsided focus on policy initiatives represents only a tinkering approach (Rees, 1998), rather than seeking institutional restructuring and runs the risk of privileging particular constructions of ‘successful’ women as those capable powerful individuals who breaks barriers, or the ‘glass ceiling’ (Powell & Butterfield, 2015). This only benefits the few who fit in but sustains a masculin(ised) environment that “tends to be uncritical of the gendered (male) nature of organisations” (Calas and Smircich, 2006). A major feminist concern here is how companies pick and choose a version of feminism to gain a competitive advantage in attaining market share and legitimacy without addressing social and public impact of the company's operations (Prugl, 2015). Feminism has been co-opted by capitalist processes turning liberal feminism into a hegemonic form as evidenced in the appropriation of female labour and global elitist ideas (Eisenstein, 2009). However, it is argued that while liberal feminism has always been hegemonic (Funk, 2013), neoliberal ideas divert significantly from feminist movements, especially when corporate initiatives on gender utilise feminist language of women's empowerment. This empties out all aspects of collective struggle (Prugl, 2015; Grosser and McCarthy, 2018) that are important to feminist movements. Accordingly, this paper seeks to bring in a wider range of feminist theories into the discussion rather than limiting to liberal feminism ideas which are dominant in current gender policies and practices. I investigate in particular, multinational enterprises (MNEs) where such reports are publicly available to interrogate how they present their gender initiatives. I propose that taking into consideration feminist theoretical perspectives, including radical, psychoanalytic, socialist, poststructuralist/postmodern, and transnational/(post)colonial feminisms would provide a better understanding of the corporate world as a site of feminisms and how gender equality issues are being placed in the walls of capitalism. In doing so, the aim of this paper is to explore how organisations plan and report on gender through the theoretical framework of feminist theories.

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**Stream 12**  
**Technology, Gender and Working Life: Organizational**  
**Technologies and the Nature of the Gender-Technology**  
**Relationship**

**Conveners: Julie Monroe, Gunilla Widén, Ana Lopes, Sara Zaeemdar and  
Ana Marija Sikirić**

*Clem Herman, Niki Panteli and Elizabeth Quaglia*

### **Meaningfulness in the Cybersecurity Profession – A gender perspective**

The under-representation of women in IT in the UK has been well documented and discussed over the years (Panteli, 2012). The emergence of new fields within IT employment offer an opportunity to explore gendered patterns of participation across different occupational specialisms, offering new insights into diversity within this sector. As an IT-based profession, cybersecurity is generally linked to the culture and image of the wider tech sector and thus predominantly perceived as a masculine environment. Currently, only 11% of the global cybersecurity workforce is female and this figure is as low as 7% in Europe (Reed et al. 2017). Attempts to attract a diverse workforce in cybersecurity have been undertaken by relevant industry bodies (e.g., IAAC's Diversity by Design in 2018; National Cybersecurity Centre (NCSC) but there has been little or no success in increasing the diversity of new recruits or retaining women as part of a diverse workforce (Peacock and Irons 2017)

This study of women entering cybersecurity professions, uses the meaningful work perspective (Bailey and Madden, 2018) to understand the motivations and rewards for those who seek to develop a career in cybersecurity. Meaningful work covers the value, significance and purpose of work (Rosso et al, 2010) as well as a type of personal calling that makes people carry out tasks that they themselves find significant. In examining meaningfulness as a gendered construct, we build on previous work about gendered career trajectories in the technology sector. For example women's motivations, value and the meaning of work have been shown to vary at different life course stages (O'Neil and Bilimoria 2005). Moreover, women's careers in particular have been shown to be frequently non-linear, disrupted and 'frayed' rather than conforming to a normative linear trajectory, which has particular career effects within male dominated fields such as IT (Herman 2015). Motives for career decision making has been shown to be gendered, with women more likely to be influenced by the social value and impact of their technology careers (Hewlett et al, 2007).

Drawing on data from focus groups with female students enrolled in cybersecurity degree and postgraduate programmes in the UK, we analyse their motivation and career intentions using the theoretical framework of meaningfulness. We recommend strategies for educators to adapt course materials, programmes and recruitment, in order to ensure a more equal gender representation which could lead to a more diverse workforce in this sector.

Åsa Johansson Palmkvist

## Valuing Gender (In)Equality in AI Research

Accompanying the massive attention, hope and funds invested in artificial intelligence (AI) are alarming signs of associated inequality. The AI field is largely occupied by men, which has consequences for women's economic participation and opportunities.<sup>2</sup> Linked to the gender gap are also recent reportings on how implemented AI applications reinforce gender (and other) inequalities. This calls for attention to how AI research and development organisations address matters of (in)equality.

In this paper, I explore the valuing of gender (in)equality in AI research, drawing on an ethnographic study involving 28 interviews and 15 observations of researchers at two university divisions that are linked to a major Swedish AI initiative. I approach valuing as material-semiotic processes that encompass both acts of evaluating and of making things more valuable (cf. Vatin 2013). First, I zoom in on the AI researchers' articulations of the (un)importance of and motivations for gender equality. Second, I turn my interest to activities proposed and/or undertaken to improve the gender equality of AI. Adopting the concept of *registers of valuing* (Heuts and Mol 2013), I focus on shared relevance and variations in what is made important in relation to this relevance over different situations.

Two registers of valuing were identified; quality (indicating what is good AI research) and fairness (referring to equal opportunities for women and men). The valuing involved putting quality and fairness against each other, but also clashing enactments within each register. The identified tensions related to different co-enactments of gender and technology. For example, on the one hand, quality was staged as dependent on (aspiring) researchers having specific prerequired technical skills, not always acquirable through formal education, but through life-long tinkering with technology. While acknowledging that such criteria excluded many female applicants, this was articulated as a problem of socialisation outside the organisation that prevented girls from learning the essential background skills. On the other hand, some researchers stressed how good research, in addition to measurable technical competences such as programming skills, required diversity in terms of researchers' experiences and interests. Fairness was not any more a clear-cut category. Both women and men were being addressed as having better opportunities career-wise, despite or because of implemented university policies on gender equality. Thus, gender equality was both articulated as a threat to and an enabler of quality and fairness depending on the context.

These valuations of gender (in)equality were entangled with (in)activities related to changing the gender gap and norms of AI research. Outreach events targeting teenage girls to choose higher education in technology, could be talked about both as a way to make teenage girls gain the right experience, courage and interest in technology (cf. Salminen-Karlsson 2011), and as a means to perform technology differently. Various activities to change the AI research culture were also ongoing within the organisation. This paper explores the tensions between a masculine norm of doing AI research and its resistance from both the women and

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<sup>2</sup> According to *The Global Gender Gap Report* (World Economic Forum 2018), 78% of the AI professionals globally are men and 22% women.

men in the organisation. With such exploration, I aim at contributing with insights into how registers of valuing are material-semiotically enacted to produce possibilities of change in the gendering of AI.

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*Bianca Mirea*

### **Experiences of Digital Work in the Subtitling Industry**

This qualitative case study seeks to explore the experiences of Italian platform ('gig') workers operating in the highly feminised subtitling industry. By drawing on "aspirational labor" as a theoretical lens for understanding this industry's working conditions and nature, the study brings together two competing narratives around gig work (the discourse of entrepreneurship and precarity). In doing so, it primarily seeks to shed light on the reasons why workers report positive experiences of gig work despite working conditions which scholars deem to be precarious, conducive to deskilling (due to the fragmented nature of online microwork) or even exploitative.

Most research on gig work has been conducted on manual work typically associated with low skill requirements particularly in the highly male-dominated transport industry (primarily on Deliveroo riders and Uber drivers). This study seeks to address this gap and explores the experiences of 9 platform workers (8 females and 1 male translator) who identified themselves as freelancers or entrepreneurs operating in the subtitling industry. 9 semi-structured interviews were conducted with respondents who were mostly aspiring translators looking to make a start in the industry. The findings reveal that although aware of the structural conditions under which they operate (low pay, insecure work, unsocial working hours, lack of social protection) most interviewees attempted to overcome them by drawing on their desired identities (i.e. professional translators) and instrumentalising their current work to gain social and human capital and subsequently to use it as a stepping stone towards their desired career paths. Their current work conditions were viewed as temporary and part of a wider career strategy. Specifically, it was seen as instrumental in gaining access to the translation (subtitling) industry, which was perceived to pose high entry barriers to newcomers. The appeal of platform work (with low entry barriers) and the entrepreneurship/autonomy discourse resonated particularly with novice translators who used the platform as a means to upskill themselves and as a space for identity enactment. This qualitative case study makes the case that desired identities serve as both 1) a coping mechanism that particularly novice translators rely on in order to navigate the discrepancies between idealised work (i.e. creative translations) and the realities of everyday activities (technical translations) and 2) as a self-disciplining tool which stimulates work efforts.



*Julie Monroe and Sara Zaeemdar*

**Exploring the technology self-management practices of managers and those who are managed by them: Who gets the best deal when it comes to work-life balance?**

This paper addresses the neglect of organizational technology in organization and management research (Orlikowski, 2010) by considering the different meanings that women and men ascribe to technologies that enable domestic work in worktime. Such technologies – for example virtual assistants, online food ordering platforms, task apps, baby tech and domestic robots – have the potential to address gendered inequalities in the division of domestic labour by supporting the regendering of care (Boyer *et al.*, 2017a; Boyer *et al.*, 2017b; Longhurst, 2017). For parents, internet technology makes it possible to receive communications from nursery and school and to be available to children during the workday. Internet technology allows life projects to be managed across the work-life boundary. Although managing life projects in work time has widespread wellbeing benefits, it is clear from the empirical data that technology is not universally enabling in the contemporary office. Therefore, this paper explores gendered and classed relationships observable in the use of such technology, when tasks relating to home and family are carried out in work time.

How gendered inequality in domestic labour translates to gendered inequality in the workplace is explored through a comparison of men and women managers' sensemaking of their management of housework in worktime. The analysis is expanded through a gender-class intersectional lens (Walby *et al.*, 2012) focused on the following research questions: *When women and men managers/workers are compared, what differences can we see in their understanding of carrying out domestic tasks in work time? Does this different sensemaking result in practices that are observably gendered? Do such gendered practices lead to gendered work-life balance outcomes? How do women and men managers/workers make sense of such consequences?*

To address these questions, the technology behaviour of four managers is compared with that of 16 workers within the same organizations (a university and a public sector organization). Three managers have managerial relationships to the workers sampled. Data collected through in-depth interviews is analysed in two sections. In the first section, using in-group comparison, four managers are considered together, while the 16 workers' reflections are explored independently. In the second section, there is a greater focus on organizational connections and managerial relationships, examining the implications of gender and class on participants' accounts of work-life balance.

This study deliberately goes beyond the productive sphere (of paid work), to consider how responsibility for social reproduction (i.e., unpaid domestic and care work) impacts participants' work-life articulations. Women do on average 60% more domestic work than men and estimates for unpaid work in the UK – including cleaning, laundry, child care and adult care – have valued this at £1.01tn, or approximately 56% of GDP (ONS, 2016). Adopting a feminist political economy perspective (Federici, 2012; Warren, 2015; Warren and Lyonette, 2018), to interrogate social reproduction in the context of the current economic system this paper explores otherwise hidden relationships between domestic work, labour market participation and work-life balance inequality. By focusing on inequalities relating to

gender, class and technology, this paper contributes to debates around inequality at work and at home.

*Randa Salamoun, Charlotte Karam and Crystel Abdallah*

**A Feminist Lens to Reveal Power Relations in Smartphone Use by Refugees**

In the current study, we approach the core question of the stream - *How does the gender-technology relationship impact everyday life at home and at work?* We explore this question within the context of displacement. Our interest is in investigating the differences in how female and male refugees perceive the affordances of the smartphone to enable (empower) or constrain (oppress) their daily organizing during settlement. We focus on the power dynamics at play within the technology-organizing nexus and explore how the lived experience of refugees shapes the enactment of smartphone affordances in their day-to-day organizing practices. To disentangle the role of technology from the activities necessary for organizing, we develop a hybrid lens that draws on a Feminist interpretation of Affordance Theory and allows for an explicit consideration of power dynamics. Inspired by the work of the Technofeminist Wajcman, our aim is to unpack various aspects of power tied to this nexus drawing specifically from Allen's conceptualization of power (i.e., power over, power to) and Young's Five Faces of Oppression: exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, violence, and cultural imperialism. We focus explicitly therefore on the interrelation between the materiality of the smartphone, the action possibilities it provides in relation to organizing, and the related power dynamics.

Empirically, we adopt a qualitative analysis of 32 in-depth interviews with Syrian refugees settled throughout the Lebanese territory. Questions revolve around the purpose of using the smartphone, access to it, how they are using it, and role of smartphone in their life. Our analysis uses the Gioia method to iteratively analyze the interview transcripts allowing the emergence of concepts and themes from the data. Our findings highlight the specific affordances of the material characteristic whether enabling or subjecting the actor to threats. We shed light on the pervasive role of the layers of power relating to the technology-organizing nexus. Our main findings suggest that smartphone affordances can (1) be oppressive as well as empowering; (2) push the parameters of organizing thereby serving as a basis for mediated agency related to overcoming oppression; and (3) shape small changes impacting the experience of gender-based oppression. Our results highlight the contribution of such an interdisciplinary and hybrid lens in that it unveils different and specific affordances of the material characteristic as both enabling and as subjecting the actor to threats. Our lens has also helped shed light on the pervasive layers of power within and providing relational context for the technology-organizing nexus. On a practical level, these findings suggest that initiatives aiming to empower refugees through technology should not build on empowerment and ignore oppression, but rather attempt to integrate both.

*Ronit Waismel-Manor*

### **Technology-Related Work–Family Boundary Management Tactics: A Systematic Review of the Literature**

The goal of this paper is to advance the measurement and theory of ICT-related work–nonwork boundary management tactics. Kreiner, Hollensbe, and Sheep (2009) proposed that employees use specific boundary management tactics, meaning various “work–family decisions”, to renegotiate the work–family boundary so as to prevent and mitigate situations where these boundaries are violated. The ubiquity of information and communication technology (ICT) devices can result in a state of constant connectivity that blurs the boundaries between the work and family domains. In response, people may engage in intentional ICT-related work-family boundary management tactics to restore the boundaries between their professional and personal identities. Thus, there is a need for scholars to understand not just general boundary management tactics or the extent of technology use across boundaries (such as the duration, timing, and frequency of ICT use), but specific ICT boundary management tactics individuals use to maintain or recalibrate boundaries. These tactics may be as simple as withholding contact details for some potential interlocutors, and even keeping devices switched off. However, the concept of ICT boundary management tactics is still conceptually underdeveloped and has not been assessed systematically.

First, using a systematic literature review, I review the empirical state-of-the-art evidence of ICT-related boundary management tactics and note its limitations. The final database is based on more than a hundred articles. Second, while the scholarly literature rarely captures today’s increasingly complex and demanding world of work, which requires us to control and coordinate work-to-family and family-to-work boundary crossings on multiple devices and platforms, I offer a typology of ICT boundary management tactics which takes these into account and includes five categories: Reactive behaviors, time-related tactics, physical-related tactics, communicative tactics, and technological affordances tactics. Last, very few studies have examined the influence of employees’ family demands and resources (e.g., parental status, family size, and family expectations regarding availability via ICTs) or the role of gender to understand ICT boundary management. Thus, in order to advance our knowledge and to suggest a roadmap for future research on ICT boundary management practices and processes, I further offer a conceptual framework that focuses on the significance of social stratification processes in enacting these tactics, particularly on whether men and women may construct and enact ICT boundary management tactics in ways which culturally differentiate them, and further reproduce the gendered division of labor and inequality between women and men.

*Huyngjoo Yoon*

**Stop the Digital Witch Hunt Against Female Chatbots: A Feminist Technoscientific Organization Study of Toxic Masculinity**

This feminist technoscientific organization study aims to investigate the strong connection between toxic masculinity and the digital technology industry. The author calls attention to the problematic case of the tech firm ScatterLab, a start-up Artificial Intelligence (AI) company, which in late December of 2020 released a chatbot called ‘IRUDA’, a 20-year-old female college student character. This company collected more than 10 billion Korean language data from heterosexual couples’ intimate conversations on a social media platform in order to teach IRUDA the emotional and sexualized interaction patterns of young women which was supposed to realize her stereotyped female character. Almost a million online Korean users, most of them teenagers (85%), had a chat with IRUDA, which means ‘achieved’ in Korean, while practicing the highest level of social distancing for the longest period. However, a bizarre pattern of toxic masculinity circulating through male-dominant anonymous online forums where some conversational techniques of sexual harassment of IRUDA were actively shared and updated. This new type of digital violence against the posthuman female subject initiated a huge concern about the rise of digital technologies and social media platforms that have been tightly linked to the changing forms of emotional and sexualized labor of women in the context of the national government-driven digital transformation in South Korea. IRUDA shows how male dominant tech organizations open the sexual communication channel to create a new type of feminine post-human subject that serves boys’ sexual fantasies, their needs for intimacy, and emotional care. Based on the author’s original concept of Digital Flesh that was heavily influenced by Butler’s gender performativity concept, this research explores the multi-layered online discourses with a focus on the emotional and sexualized labor of IRUDA and investigates the different types of organizational behaviors which voluntarily contributed to de/sexualizing IRUDA’s gendered labor. As a conceptual framework, the author coined the term Digital Flesh which refers to the ontological structure of digital organizations consisting of male biased data, gender performativity, and humanistic ethical guidelines, and cybersecurity issues. This research will contribute to the academic discussion on emotional and sexualized labor of women in the era of digital transformation in three ways. First, by demonstrating how toxic masculinity is embedded in the entire processes of development, implementation, and consequently the suspension of a post-human female subject IRUDA designed for ‘doing gender’ and performing emotional and sexualized labor of women; second, by employing a network analysis of the online conversations on IRUDA and introducing digital flesh as an essential concept to analyze the central role of toxic masculinity in the digital transformation process; and thirdly by opening up a critical analysis of what is meant by digital flesh within the gendered context of the emerging platform economy.

*Grace Gao and Xiaoxian Zhu*

**An exploration of the untold story of ‘women in computing’**

This paper contributes to advance (cyber) feminist understandings of gendering the technology in the career context and the changing nature of gender-technology relationship. We suggest that such a critique has implications for the fragility of analytical categories associated with “hard-soft dichotomy.” In particular, gender still predominantly essentialist and monolithic in its representations, and technology presented as an undifferentiated umbrella term. However, literatures suggest that ingrained epistemological gendered biases persist, which portray women as less competent in computing, with women having limited career prospects in the information technology, electronics, and communication sectors (Hass *et al.*, 2016). This leads to the marginalization of women in computing and workplace interactions. Broadly, the rapid growth of information technology and the widespread of digital media have been marked by an enormous growth of contingent workers (Watanabe *et al.*, 2017), with women making up the majority of part-time and temporary workers (Gupta, 2015). Such changes towards work flexibility and work organisation (e.g., autonomy, mobility, control, etc.) cannot happen without the proliferation of information and communications technology. The rapid growth in economic and capital inequality between women with different educational backgrounds, skills level, and accessibility towards labour market resources makes it difficult to generalise women’s living experiences with computers. New technologies may be epistemologically open; still, many of their current forms may be gendered in their material relations to existed techniques.

This qualitative study provides new landscapes behind women’s underrepresentation in technology fields. It adds to the existing debates on the gender-technology relationship and the in-between connotations gender, work-life navigation, and attitudes to technologies. Drawing upon in-depth interviews with female professionals in information and communications technologies across several developed countries and regions – primarily the U.K., members of the European Union, the United States and Australia, who work across web design, software development, user interface development, and codes between these business units in technology. We explore the gendering work identity changes within women in computing and explain how and why these female millennials construct paradoxical discourses and practices in the workplace interactions and its impact on their work-life navigation mediated by the technology changes. We argue that the relationship between gender and technology is no longer static among female millennials. Instead, it alters with the changing nature of technological capabilities in the context of rapid socio-cultural and economic growth, further propelling an upsurge of women enrolled in computer-related courses and professions. It also alters the way individuals work and live in everyday practices, which aligns with changes in rules and norms about technology enacted and performed. In addition, the shift to having multiple careers and gendering work identities have occurred among millennial talents. However, this is not an indication of the radical revolution of labour market power relations in the world of technology work. Rather, a more significant reflexive criticism is required for rethinking epistemological assumptions, and problematizing the discursive accounts on the role of technology in (re)producing gender (in)equality since it reflects paradoxical continuity and change.

*Suellen Cavalheiro, Shahrokh Nikou and Gunilla Widén*

**Gender distinctions among self-employed and micro-entrepreneurs in cultural and creative industries**

Digital transformation has an undeniable impact on the way people perform their daily routines. Within this context, it is necessary to take into account that gender imbalance in the labor market is a concern that affects various industry segments globally. Although recent decades have seen a prominent entry of women as a workforce, there are still significant distinctions between market labeling for men and women (Conor et al., 2015). The cultural and creative industries (CCI) do not present an exception to this pattern despite its association with creativity, diversification, and flexibility. Opposite to what may be preconceived by these complex ranges of industries, extremely related to intellectual property and exploitation of individual creativity, some areas have substantial gender inequality (Gill, 2014). This article explores the differences in perception and behavior of women freelancers and micro-entrepreneurs in the cultural and creative industries when compared to men of similar segments. Creative work has been glamorized not only by the use of the "*creativity*" but also by the "*do what you love*" motivator that drives our future generations. However, the cultural and creative industries are marked by a constant risk where the work performed not always fits its actual market demand. Work regimes are many times seasonal, with long daily working hours, and contractual employment relationships that have little or no social security benefit. These challenges faced by the creative workforce affects women and men differently (Morgan and Nelligan, 2015).

Literature in this discipline shows that inequalities within the cultural and creative industries have been insufficiently explored. Thus, *the core theoretical objective of this paper is to investigate and analyze the gender distinctions (differences) of freelancers and small entrepreneurs in the creative industries through their interaction in social networks for work activities*. This research considers self-employed and micro-entrepreneurs to be the most impacted by the precariousness existing in these industry segments. Their entrepreneurial skills inspire different reactions to adversities than the reality existent in big corporations. For them, social networks have been playing a prominent role in the existence of their business (Andres and Round, 2015). Online communities present the possibility to create a professional identity that may or may not reflect the reality imposed on them by their physical communities. This paper presents and discusses the result of 65 semi-structured interviews conducted with the creative workers, where 28 are female, and 37 are male. The respondents were approached through social media platforms that are specific to showcase creative work (e.g., Behance and Dribbble), being located in different geographical areas and representing different age groups. The interviews were analyzed using the qualitative analytical software, i.e., NVivo to code the transcripts. The main interview questions aim at assessing the interviewees' interactions and perceptions with their physical and online communities, and how the advantages and disadvantages of these communities can implicate the outcomes of their work. The preliminary results show that women behave differently from their opposite gender, more often showing a lack of confidence and impostor syndrome. The women report more frequently to feel the weight of the competitiveness imposed by the

growing amount of creative work exposed online every day. In an interviewee's words, *“it is really hard to stand out and be recognized”*.



*Maura McAdam, Regina Connolly, Ghadah Abd. Alarifi and Otávio Próspero Sanchez*

**Towards an improved understanding of the factors influencing women's digital entrepreneurial intentions in an emerging economy**

This paper explores the factors influencing digital entrepreneurship intentions amongst women in Saudi Arabia. Given that entrepreneurial behaviour is a planned action by individuals, entrepreneurial intent has been shown to be a primary predictor of future entrepreneurial behaviour. Accordingly, understanding the antecedents to intent is an important and necessary precondition to understanding both the decision to start a new business and the behaviours of entrepreneurs, including digital entrepreneurs.

Digital entrepreneurship has been posited as a means by which to overcome limitations in the institutional environment, including unsupportive cultural practices, with lower barriers to entry enabling the 'democratisation' of entrepreneurship. The incorporation of digital architectures (e.g. online communities and social media) and artefacts (digital components, applications or media content) mean that spatial and temporal boundaries of entrepreneurial activities, (when and where activities are carried out), are significantly less constrained and product and service opportunities are constantly evolving. In addition, the Internet attributes of convenience, ease of use, large audience reach, anonymity and interactivity mean that digital entrepreneurship offers significant potential for those groups who face barriers to engagement in bricks-and-mortar entrepreneurship. Indeed, digital entrepreneurship has been posited to facilitate the engagement of marginalised groups, with one such group being women, as online platforms develop and implement their own social and contractual frameworks that are often independent of local restrictions.

However, there is a paucity of research with regards to the factors influencing digital entrepreneurship intentions amongst women, a paucity that is even more pronounced within the Saudi Arabian Context. Saudi Arabia was chosen as our research site for a number of reasons. First, a core pillar of Saudi Arabia's economic development plan, Vision 2030 (KSA Government, 2016) is the fostering of a digital culture and transitioning to a digital economy. Second, entrepreneurial activities are nascent but growing (Ahmad, 2011). For example, although Saudi women currently account for 10% of the KSA labor force, female entrepreneurship is increasing with women accounting for 38.6% of KSA's total entrepreneurial activity (GEM 2016: 25). Third, there is limited research on women's experiences of entrepreneurship in general and digital entrepreneurship in particular within this context (Dy et al., 2016). Fourth, given the restrictive cultural and social practices, such as gender segregation, this is an ideal site in which to explore the potential of digital entrepreneurship to transform women's lived experiences (Brophy, 2010).

This study leverages the three pillars of the Theory of Planned Behaviour (Ajzen 1985, 1991) to explore the factors influencing digital entrepreneurial intention amongst a group of 350 members of a women's business network in Saudi Arabia. The results, obtained through structural equation modelling provide interesting insights regarding the influence of personality, motivational factors and contextual supports on these women's digital entrepreneurial intentions. The paper further contributes to the entrepreneurship and digital entrepreneurship literatures by accompanying those insights with practical recommendations

for educators, policy makers and those interested in increasing women's digital entrepreneurial activities, particularly in emerging economies.

*Susanne Burri and Susanne Heeger-Hertter*

### **Digital Labour Platforms: The Role of Law in Combatting Gender Discrimination**

The increase and precariousness of work relations linked to digital labour platforms such as Uber, Airbnb, Deliveroo or Helpling give rise to new questions and challenges from a gender perspective. The forms of such digital platforms are very diverse and gender influences the type of services provided. A recent study in 14 EU countries shows that the most male dominated services are ‘software development’ and ‘transport’. ‘Translation’ and ‘on-location services’ (such as cleaning) are mostly female dominated (COLLEEM Survey: 2018). In commercial digital labour platforms, the platform brings together via an app platform workers and people requiring services who pay for the work. Flexibility and on call work are the main features of such work. At first sight, it would seem that flexibility in working time and the possibility to answer or refuse a call for work could ease work-life balance. Reality is different. Platform work happens in a very dynamic and fast field, accepting work has to happen on an extremely short term. These characteristics give rise to a ‘just-in time workforce’ and cannot easily be reconciled with family and/or care responsibilities, for example (De Stefano: 2016). Ranking of the work is often based on non-transparent processes and may reflect gender stereotypes. Stereotyping about the kind of work that is more suitable for men than for women, their respective productivity and their negotiations skills also plays a role and advantage men in this sector (Galperin: 2018). Discrimination in the digital labour platform economy is therefore a growing concern, also for the EU and the International Labour Organisation.

To what extent can EU and Dutch anti-discrimination law be helpful in combatting forms of gender discrimination in the platform economy? Who can be held responsible for discrimination in the triangle platform provider, client and platform worker? The relations in the digital platform economy are quite different from the traditional employer-employee relation, in which responsibilities in case of discrimination are much more clearly defined. This relates also to the status of the service providers: is the platform an employer and are platform workers entitled to labour and non-discrimination law protection? Or are platform workers self-employed without personnel, lacking most of the entitlements labour, social security and non-discrimination law may provide?

The paper sketches some forms of gender discrimination in the platform economy. It considers the potentials and limits of EU and Dutch non-discrimination law in combatting gender discrimination linked to these new forms of work. It pays attention to recent cases of the Court of Justice of the EU and Dutch district courts concerning Uber and Deliveroo. In addition, it discusses some recent legislative EU proposals aimed at strengthening the position of platform workers and finally, provides an assessment of relevant EU and Dutch law.

*Paolo Gerli, Angelika Strohmayer and Marta E. Cecchinato*

**In search of work-life design solutions for the management of everyday life**

This methodological paper comments on *Lifetime*, an interdisciplinary technology design project currently underway in the UK. *Lifetime* aims to connect research about gendered inequalities at the work-life boundary (ONS, 2016b; ONS, 2016a) with research on relationships between organisational and social aspects of information technology (Ling and Yttri, 2002; Ling, 2004). The research questions are: What are women's experiences of existing internet technologies that support work-life management challenges? To what extent are existing technologies successful in supporting work-life management challenges? What is the potential to improve on existing technologies?

Gendered inequalities in the division of household labour are connected to gendered inequalities in individual digital wellbeing relating to internet technology use for work-life navigation. We adopt Vanden Abeele's (2020) definition of digital wellbeing: "Digital wellbeing is a subjective individual experience of optimal balance between the benefits and drawbacks obtained from mobile connectivity" (p. 7). This paper will report on the process of carrying out design workshops online from a technofeminist perspective (Wajcman, 2006) which recognises the internet as containing the potential to overcome inequalities associated with gender, where gender is here understood to extend beyond the man-woman binary. Our co-design workshops aim to generate knowledge exchange between designers, researchers and prospective end-users in order to evaluate digital solutions for work-life boundary management (exemplified by popular digital wellbeing apps available at Google Play Store). Furthermore - rejecting a technologically determinist standpoint - this project is focused on shaping technological change, as opposed to adapting to it (MacKenzie and Wajcman, 1999).

With the ubiquity of mobile connectivity, designing for digital wellbeing is increasingly a critical area for researchers (Cecchinato *et al.*, 2019; Rich *et al.*, 2020). This project spans the academic disciplines of Computer & Information Sciences and Design-led Innovation. Using a feminist lens on co-design, this project emphasises engagement with participants as co-researchers in the co-production of outcomes that are meaningful and useful (Ahmed and Irani, 2020; Bellini and Strohmayer, 2020). To this end, design workshops online are a means to engage with women who are combining paid and unpaid work during the context of a national lockdown in the UK due to the outbreak of Covid-19.

Through partnership working and collective enquiry we seek to understand the world of participants in order to address the issues that are subjectively most important. By critically reflecting on our experience in designing and running co-design workshops online, this paper will provide relevant insights for researchers and practitioners intending to use this methodology. Both theoretical and practical aspects of our methodology will be examined to reflect how a technofeminist perspective can enrich and expand ongoing research on digital wellbeing.

*Michela Cozza and Lucia Crevani*

**Designing welfare technology for *everybody*: scripting and configuring the older user**

Feminist STS (Science Technology Studies) scholars developed theoretical concepts and conducted numerous case studies that deconstruct how gender as a category, as well as other structures of inequality (for example age, ethnicity, social status), are co-shaped with technological artifacts and concepts (see e.g. Faulkner 2000, MacKenzie and Wajcman 1999; Wajcman 2004). Design is a particularly interesting area to study how gender and technologies are related and mutually constitute each other through designers' configuring and scripting material objects that populate everyday life (Cockburn and Ormrod 1993). Ellen Van Oost (2003) introduces the concept of 'gender script' to refer to "the representations an artifact's designers have or construct of gender relations and gender identities—representations that they then inscribe into the materiality of that artifact" (2003: 195). "Gender scripts" – Van Oost says – "can also result from implicit processes. Many objects and artifacts are designed for 'everybody', with no specific user group in mind" (196). The category of 'everybody' is rather abstract and "configuring the user as everybody is an inadequate strategy to account for the diversity of users" (Oudshoorn, Rommes and Stienstra 2004: 54). In other words, "the problem of 'designing for everybody' is that the designers did not consider what kinds of skills, knowledge, or cognitive capabilities they expected the user to have" (Rommes, Van Oost, and Oudshoorn 1999: 488).

Diversity does not refer exclusively to gender but, in this paper, it accounts also for age considering that "scripts can be gender and age based" (Loe 2010: 321) and – we add – they can also be based on ethnicity. If "designing for everybody" is controversial in principle, it is all the more so when considering its consequences in practice. Its criticality has been discussed by scholars interested in opening up "the technology design practice in order to work toward technology designs with less normative materializations of gender" (van der Velden and Mörtberg 2012: 664) and – as we propose – with a less homogeneous understanding of ageing embedded into technological artifacts (Cozza et al. 2018).

In this paper the concept of gender script is extended to include ethnicity- and age-based scripts with regard to welfare technology in Sweden, that is, technologies designed for older people in order to improve elderly care and increase the quality of services. Based on the results of a "passing organizational ethnography" (Cooren, Brummans and Charrieras 2008: 1347) conducted at the Mötesplats Valfärdsteknologi och E-hälsa (in English: Meeting place for Welfare Technology and e-Health), which took place on January 24<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> 2017 in Stockholm, this paper foregrounds the configuration of the older user as 'everybody', within the elderly population. Then, the paper shows how such a neutrality has been problematized by us – as researchers – on the occasion of the same event organized one year later, on 2018. On that occasion, five (purposely created) illustrations of the relationship between older people and different welfare technologies were exhibited. They were aimed at provoking a discussion on the inadequacy of the design of most of such artifacts in accounting for the plurality of needs, expectations as well as diversity – i.e. gender, age, and ethnicity – of older users.

*Rosie Harrison*

**"Would I be happy for my mum to be cared for like this?": An exploration of sociomateriality in the gendered workplace of care work**

Sociomaterial research on carework has illustrated how paid care is provided through interactions and relationships between human and non-human entities (Gherardi and Rodeschini 2016). However, within the care industry and the literature there is little acknowledgement of how these relationships interact with the gendered role of carer. Care is a gendered profession and 84% of domiciliary carers, those providing care in a client's home, are female (Skills for Care 2019). Therefore, it could be argued, that Domiciliary carers are both in a gendered role and a gendered workplace, as they work within the more traditionally feminised space of the home. Subsequently, it is important to understand how Domiciliary carers articulate and perform their gendered caring role. Domiciliary care is also subject to commodification, i.e. care is transformed into units of 'care' which can be bought and sold in the care market. Commodification therefore relies on definitions of care which can be quantified and standardised, obviating the unquantifiable aspects of care which are crucial in determining how the client experiences 'care' (Bolton and Wibberley 2014). This results in care commissioners monitoring the quantifiable aspects of care such as the timing and length of visits, with penalties for late visits. This monitoring is facilitated through technology such as IT systems connected to work phones, which create alerts if the barcode in a client's home file has not been scanned within a specific timeframe. Such monitoring neglects the unquantifiable aspects of care such as how the client felt about the care they received, or the embodied actions of the carer. This paper uses data collected in an ongoing ethnographic study of a Domiciliary Care company, which took place over four months. Data was collected primarily through observations which took place in the care office and shadowing individual carers in the clients' homes, these observations were supplemented by interviews. Initial analysis has indicated two main themes: the first is the ambivalence staff feel towards technology including work phones and the monitoring system. For instance, although there were many complaints about, and some resistance to, the need to log the time spent in each client's home by scanning the barcode; sometimes this accountability was used to justify their feminine 'caring' identity in that they were treating the client as family by always stayed for the full allotted time. The second theme is how the carers used sociomateriality to show their caring femininity to others. For instance, one carer talked about how she judged her work on whether she would be happy for her mum to be cared for in this way. This included the use of aides such as hoists and standing frames, in addition to using gloves to stop cross-contamination. For this carer using the material world was part of being perceived as a caring woman, particularly a daughter to her clients which represents working-class expectations of the role and responsibilities of a daughter (Skeggs 1997). Understanding the complex ways in which carers interact with technology and the quantification of care, and how these understandings relate to their gendered identities in a feminised workplace will give a more nuanced understanding of individual technology behaviour and how sociomateriality may interrelate with gendered identities.

*Charlotte Holgersson & Britt Östlund*

**Under the radar - Gendered work conditions in home care in times of digitization**

The aim of this paper is to discuss the work conditions within home care in relation to the digitization of home care sector. The technological landscape in home care of today is the result of many years of technology use and introduction of new products and systems (e.g., Bygstad & Lanestedt, 2017). Lately, digitization has intensified the technology implementation. Home care work has become embedded in technological systems encompassing administration, control of work and execution of home care services. Today's home care setting is composed of a combination of, for example, automated administration, digital keys (locks), automatic monitoring of home care workers time to and at care receivers, safety alarms with positioning, mobile access to patient data, coherent patient files, video meetings and wifi throughout the organization.

Behind the introduction of new technology, there often lies an overall will to make home care work more efficient in order to provide better care and improve work conditions for home care workers. Indeed, home care is an occupation marked by problems in terms of injuries, stress, sick leave and staff turnover (e.g. Vänje, 2015). Research suggests, however, that many of these problems are related to the low status of the home care sector and the low wages of the occupations within the sector. This can in turn be linked to issues of class, gender and ethnicity (e.g. Andersson, 2012; Brodin, 2005; Palmer & Eveline, 2012; Thornley, 2007).

In our discussion, we suggest that there is a risk that the gendered work conditions of home care professionals remain under the radar in the digitization of home care, and that this is related to the gendered nature of home care work and technology. Home care is a sector where two different areas meet – care, a female gendered practice, and technology, a male gendered phenomenon. However, home care work and technology have developed separately, contributing to a lack of understanding of how to deal with the extensive work environment problems and how technology could contribute to improvements. In our discussion, we draw on previous research on the digitization of home care in relation to the work conditions of the home care workers with a gender perspective, such as Hjalmarsson (2006, 2011), Bergschiöld (2016, 2018) and Hayes and Moore (2017), and findings of a research project concerning change initiatives targeting the work conditions of home care workers in Sweden.

**Stream 13**  
**Gendered Spaces, Places and Temporalities of Work:**  
**Methodological Directions and Challenges**

**Convenors: Louise Nash, Dawn Lyon, Darren Baker & Ariel Ducey**



*Sophie Hope and Jenny Richards*

### **Social Reproduction at Work: Towards a Global Staffroom**

This paper introduces our research into the histories, meanings and experiences of the ‘staff room’ in different work contexts and shares our practice-based methodology which draws on socially engaged art and performative research methods (Jones, 2002, O’Neill, 2008, Ingold, 2013, Hann, 2016, Douglas 2008, Barrett and Bolt, 2010, Denzin, 1997). Our research focuses on the existing or lack of material spaces and pockets of time in which people take care of themselves and each other during working hours. What kinds of social reproduction are performed at/as work, where and when does this happen? How can we develop research across different types, times and sites of work and connect workers in the process of doing this research?

Feminist social reproduction theory often focuses on the domestic, private spheres of care needed to reproduce an effective workforce (Bhattacharya, 2017). With the spatial and temporal expansion of work into all aspects of life, questions concerning social reproduction migrate from the home to the workplace. The spaces of social reproduction at work (e.g. the staff room, bedroom office, cigarette break, watercooler, WhatsApp group or staff toilets) become sites of feminist struggle equally crucial to the reproduction, maintenance and care of the worker (Matrix, 1984).

Following a two year period of research with staff of a public cultural organisation we found that spaces for resting, caring, pooing, menstruating, breastfeeding, eating, chatting and storing were neglected, if not overlooked, resulting in suffering bodies and a sick workplace. Together with staff during workshops we began to use the metaphor of the building as a body to reflect on staff working conditions. For example, we scripted and performed an architectural endoscopy which led a public audience ‘behind the scenes’ into a collective examination of the bowels of the institution. We also made a mobile staff room called the Wandering Womb – a fully fitted functioning kitchen on wheels – to support staff in their social reproduction at work. This also created a space to collectively reflect on social reproduction at work and the fluid exchanges between the physical and social architecture of the workplace. Drawing on histories of feminist architecture and Jane Rendell’s concept of ‘undoing architecture’ (Rendell, 1998), the Wandering Womb exists to disrupt and transform the intention and affect of the physical architecture of the workplace and the experiences of work for those within it.

We are now planning a tour of the Wandering Womb staff room to different sites of work and The Global Staffroom Podcast, a series of conversations that take place in our virtual staffroom. Both spaces aim to connect up workers from different sectors and geographies to further investigate the issues and experiences of social reproduction at work. This paper will critically reflect on our practice-based methodologies for exploring, reflecting and addressing the connection between social reproduction at work (Abrahms, 2016, Law, 2004,) and gendered experiences of the workplace (Petrescu and Trogal, 2017, Rawes, 2008). The opportunity to share our challenges within performative situated forms of workplace research will inform the ongoing development of our methodology.

*Kate Carruthers Thomas*

### **Mapping Career: A Methodology**

This paper discusses the aims, practices and outcomes of a participative workshop (*Mapping Career*) problematising the normative narrative of ‘career’ in the specific context of women’s work within higher education (HE). In 2018-19, *Mapping Career* was delivered at 8 universities across the UK during 2019, involving a total of 250 participants. The workshop was part of a wider dissemination programme of findings from *Gender(s) At Work* (Carruthers Thomas 2019), an investigation of how gender shapes workplace experiences and career trajectories within a post-1992 UK university.

Spatial and temporal dimensions are embedded in the normative career narrative; the familiar metaphors of ‘career ladder’ and ‘career pipeline’ convey a rigid linearity and progressive trajectory. Career success therefore has similarly spatial, temporal and performative dimensions: involving moves through defined spaces and/or stages within a particular timeframe. Contemporary academic careers are not only characterised by unforgiving markers of specific productivities (publications, research income, research impact) at specified career stages, but also by the importance of activity within the prestige economy (Coate and Kandiko Howson 2014) which carries status but is rewarded in non-financial ways.

While the notion of career is ostensibly gender-neutral, the fact that women disproportionately enter academic roles later, follow untypical career pathways and take career breaks to fulfil family and caring responsibilities impacts on their experience of career trajectory. Significantly, the Athena SWAN Charter, the UK HE sector’s flagship accreditation for gender equality (Advance HE 2019) prioritises fixing the ‘leaky pipeline’ of women’s career advancement. Moreover, while ladders and pipelines rely on stable environments to operate successfully, the university sector is increasingly characterised by endemic precarity of employment, a phenomenon which disproportionately impacts females and people of colour. The COVID-19 pandemic has thrown these longstanding inequalities into even sharper relief; ‘the coronavirus is skewing a playing field that wasn’t ever level in the first place’ (Kitchener 2020).

The *Mapping Career* workshop aimed to develop alternative ways of thinking about career as a complex, gendered, performative space. Workshop participants, female employees in academic and professional roles in three pre-92, three post-92 UK universities and one scientific research institute were invited to reflect on the meaning of ‘career’ and on their lived experiences. Working in pairs, participants first took up to ten minutes each to give a verbal account of their employment history/career trajectory. They then listened carefully to their partner’s account, interrupting only for clarification. Each participant then separately created a visual representation of their partner’s career to date, shared it with them, then with the group more widely. This paper will review a selection of the resulting, richly varied visualisations, highlighting the questions their spatial, temporal and gendered dimensions raise for models of career and career success. It will also reflect on participants’ evaluations of the constituent elements of this research method: telling, listening, visualising and

receiving. Depending on time available, there is scope for audience experimentation with the visualisation exercise with a focus on mapping career in the context of COVID-19.

*Carin Tunaker*

**Understanding Gender and Intersectional Disadvantages in Higher Education:  
historicity and embedded memory in University cultures**

Based on research by the University of Kent Athena SWAN team, this paper will explore how gender and intersectional disadvantages are shaped in University cultures in the UK. Neoliberalisation, austerity and Brexit characterises the current climate in Higher Education (HE) (MacDowell 2014, Huppatz et al 2018). This is fuelling an already prevalent culture of 'hard work' (Ho 2009) where long unpaid hours, extreme competitiveness and increasing bureaucratic demands are the norm. In this environment, individuals with intersectional disadvantages, such as class, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and disability have less opportunities for career progression and often experience discrimination, harassment and bullying (Zander et al 2010). We know that HE in the UK (and elsewhere) functions within a normalised male (white, able-bodied, cis, hetero) mode of homosocial behaviour (Gander 2018, Broadbridge and Simpson 2011). In this paper I explore further how this is continuously reproduced. Gander (2018) argues that the reproduction of inequalities in the HE sector is a product of the accumulation, or lack of, social capital. In line with Gander, my research shows that many inequalities are embedded through social relationships, but furthermore that historicity and embedded memory is of great importance.

This research stems from qualitative data collected in 2019-2020 with staff at all levels of the University of Kent, regarding promotions and barriers to career progression. Emerging from the data is that there are somewhat autonomous micro-cultures operating at school level within a historical context, demonstrated by collective narratives. This is parallel to adhering to a broader disciplinary cultures, with its own cultures created over time. Furthermore, ambivalence occurs when placing these micro-cultures within the broader formal structures of the University and the HE sector as a whole.

In this paper, I discuss how organisational cultures are embedded in the *social organisation of time* (Heidegger 1927), and how constructions of structural disadvantages and intersectional hierarchies are made through phenomenological shifts through time and collective memory (Halbwachs & Coser [1992] 2001, Arendt 1998, Linke 2015). I discuss how, perhaps, in order to begin to reconstitute the embedded (hetero-cis-white-male-) normative culture in HE, we must consider and challenge the collective memories upon which this pervasive culture rests.

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*Louise Nash*

**(Male) Members Only: In and Out of Place in the City of London**

This research focuses on the relationship between belonging and the socio-materiality of a particular work place, namely the City of London. It argues far from being a neutral backdrop against which work is carried out, work performances are situated within specific settings and circumstances rather than enacted in a social or spatial vacuum. With this in mind, the analysis emphasizes how the socio-materiality (Dale, 2005) of the City both compels and constrains certain performances. These are explored with reference to fieldwork based on photographic and interview data, as well as an embodied, immersive methodology.

If places constitute the material setting within which social relations take place, then it has been argued (Tuan, 1977, Cresswell, 2013) that people develop attachments to particular places and produce meaning within them. Yet a sense of place can also be shaped by the opposite, by a sense of not belonging (Tyler, 2011). This study explores what a socio-material analysis of place can tell us about who, and which behaviours, are deemed to be acceptable, and ‘in place’. What can this tell us about how organizational place is perceived, sensed and experienced? The City, the heart of the UK financial services sector, is documented throughout its history as being the preserve of men (McDowell 1997), yet it nevertheless presents itself as meritocratic, modern, and gender neutral. As the financial and business hub of one of the leading global cities, the City, or the Square Mile to use its metonym, promotes equality; yet is still perceived as a place where certain people ‘fit’.

The research takes Lefebvre’s (1991) spatial trialectics and rhythmanalysis (2004) as its theoretical and methodological starting point. The study explores how the City is imagined, constructed and experienced in and through the experiences of performing work here. The analysis emphasizes how the socio-materiality of the City connects perception, performativity and place in a way that defines the conditions of membership, so that it is only through the performance, or mobilization of a relatively narrowly defined set of subject positions, that men and women are accorded ‘insider’ status. It also considers those performances which may have a physical presence but are largely symbolically absent and ‘out of place,’ and analyses the exclusionary effects of such a homogenous work setting, using insights gained from the fieldwork to better understand the mechanisms of who, and what, is deemed to be ‘in place’ in the City.

Höpfl (2010:40) reminds us that full membership of organisational life is often denied to women: ‘Membership is determined by male notions of what constitutes *the club*, by what determines the pecking order, and by who is able to exercise power’. Arguing that places dominated by one particular industry sector can function as clubs, in that they have conditions of membership based upon being ‘fit for purpose’, what this means for those who are both ‘in’ and ‘out’ of place here is the main focus of the research.

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*Ariel Ducey, Martine Kelly and Pratim Sengupta*

**Documenting a changing medical sensorium: A transdisciplinary team's experiments in method**

Our interdisciplinary team has been embarked on a project to document, model and archive changes to the medical sensorium entailed by the integration of data and data technologies into practice. In this talk we will report on our methods to model pain in the clinic – how it is experienced and registered. We think of “modelling” in multiple senses – to re-represent what is, to demonstrate what should be, and to reimagine what is possible. We are therefore working with ways to creatively combine different types of data from our research project in the form of a “model.” This data includes a critical review of the clinical literature on pain; interviews with clinicians rendered as animations; and reflexive, auto-ethnographic accounts of team members. In this talk, we will show and discuss this modelling in progress.



*Sweta Rajan-Rankin*

**Sensing the Salon: Affect, conviviality and negotiation in European and Afro-hair salons**

Hair salons have been studied sociologically as spaces of sociality, conviviality and belonging. In Black communities, hair salons often hold pride of place in the neighbourhood, serving as speech communities where black identity is reconstituted and recovered. Drawing on a two-year sensory ethnography of European and Afro-hair salons in Kent and London, this paper tries to problematise these idealised imaginaries of the convivial hair salon, by paying attention to space, rhythms and temporal belongings of black bodies traversing through white spaces (or vice versa). A Deleuzoguattarian approach is adopted towards examining the hair salon as part of an assemblage of racialised geographies, urban multicultures and city scapes. Human and non-human interactions of bodies, waiting times, private and public spaces, touch and textuality of hair practice reveal the complexity and ambiguities of hair dressing encounters. Salons emerge as sense scapes, ripe with heat, sound, bustle, argument, flirting, desire, pleasure and pain; as bodies are manipulated and titivated, and manoeuvre and resist the affective intensities of relational beauty work.

European hair salons have a unique architecture of private and public spaces, and hairdressers in varying degrees, play the role of gatekeepers of gendered beauty practice. Heteronormative beauty ideals are maintained, and women's bodies are carefully curated in age and gender coded ways, to avoid "mutton dressed as lamb" appearances and promoting youth driven, sexualised appearances for women. Whiteness is a dominant beauty aesthetic, and the dance between customer desires and hairdresser's expert knowledge are mediated through gendered performances.

Afro beauty salons in London are part of a complex web of racialised spatialised arrangements, that span far beyond the salon itself, and include hair wig shops, Afro beauty stores, Caribbean fruit and vegetable shops and other marker of ethnic identification. Indeed, it is hard to know where the Afro hair salon begins, and this sensorial depiction of ethnic neighbourhoods ends. Hair practice in the Afro hair salon often adopts queer approaches to beauty practice, embracing body positivity and non-heteronormative aesthetic framings. Temporalities in both salons have a distinctly different flavour, in the Afro hair salons, time moves at a different pace, whole days are spent braiding, weaving and dressing client's hair. Ethnic matching between client and hair dresser was witnessed in particularised ways in the Afro hair salons, and receptionists and hairdressers both paid keen attention to ethnic relations in the salon. Sensing the salon using assemblage theory, allows us to get behind assumed conviviality and explore what Lacan calls, the practice of mimicry, the active practice of camouflage, of fitting into a mottled background, and becoming mottled in the process. These ambivalences of conviviality and conflict, and the rhythms of customer-hair dresser interactions, give us insights into wider structural scenes of urban multicultural, and the city as a place of dwelling and belonging.

*Anna Carreri and Barbara Poggio*

**Flexible fathers and precarious mothers: Gendered temporalities of the grammar of command through the course of life**

Drawing on a conceptualization of subjects as temporally embedded actors in multiple temporal horizons (Mische, 2009) and precarization as a social process (Alberti et al., 2018), our paper explores how and in which time windows men and women facing job insecurity adopt what could be called the grammar of command over one's own flexible career. This is a neoliberal contradictory discourse which on one side beckons the freedom, autonomy, and entrepreneurial abilities of individuals in building their career while on the other discloses mechanisms of self-discipline, constraint, exploitation and unsustainability. Through a detailed narrative analysis of 45 life stories, we explore how women and men in precarious work perform changing subject positions through the course of their story with the aim of shedding light on gender politics and temporalities of their positionality, which are underexplored in the literature.

Our respondents are Italian heterosexual couples in which both partners are precarious workers and have at least one young child. These couples are the unfinished gender revolution generation's children (Gerson, 2009) and are all university-educated. The target is theoretically significant because the increased work precariousness and the diffusion of gender equality values confer greater responsibility upon young partners to construct their life paths. This is especially true in Italy where labour market de-regulation has affected a whole new generation who passed to adult life and formed intimate links (Bà, 2019), although labour market deregulation has not been accompanied by a real adjustment of the welfare system to the new social risks associated with flexibility (della Porta et al., 2015) and family policies are seriously inadequate (Naldini and Jurado, 2013).

The results show a certain temporal structuring of the process of positionality on the basis of gender. Remarkably, at the couple level the stories are symmetrical as there is a turning point, represented by childbirth, after which the perspectives within the couple are swapped compared to the previous stage. If in the initial phase of their working career women are the ones to embrace the neoliberal discourses of freedom and autonomy, after childbirth they suffer the greatest risks linked to the discontinuity of labour relations and the ideal precarious worker model starts to appear unsustainable to them. Conversely, for their partners, it seems that the fatherhood fits in well with the new labour market conditions, by giving new social and symbolic resources, which men use to cope with the coalescent work-life interface and to project themselves into the future with a sense of command much more than they do when entering the labour market.

Our paper is aimed at making a threefold contribution to the under-researched field of gendering and temporalities of the work lifetime. First, it shows how precarization can be studied as a retrospective/prospective temporal process in the worker's lifetime. Second, it shows how the process of precarization is embedded in gender asymmetries and contributes to reproduce them, also in new forms. Third, the paper offers some insights into strengths and weaknesses of narrative analysis to the study of gender and temporalities over the working lifetime.

*Erica Aloè and Marina Zannella*

### **Paid and Unpaid Work during COVID-19. A Study on the Effects of Lockdown Measures in Italy**

The global pandemic caused by COVID-19 and the consequent containment policies do not represent only a danger in economic terms but also a threat for what concerns the process toward gender equality. Women's employment registered a severe drop related to social distancing measures, and closures of schools and daycare centers massively increased the amount of women's unpaid work.

Moreover, for those who could keep their employment lockdown measures had a considerable effect on the workspaces. Essential workers were required to be present in their workplaces, even when they feared the risk of exposure to the virus, while, if there was this possibility, other workers were required to work from home. This resulted in the unusual overlapping of paid and unpaid working spaces and times. For those categories bearing the highest burden of unpaid work, such as mothers of small children, the required total amount of work during the lockdown was potentially limitless. On the other hand, remote work represented an occasion for increasing men's share in unpaid care and domestic work.

The analysis of time-use data in our previous studies shows that in Italy women spent an average of 32.4 hours per week in unpaid care and domestic work, while men only spend around 12 hours per week on average in unpaid care and domestic work. The biggest gender gap is found in time devoted to domestic task. Unpaid working hours represented almost 70 percent of working time for women, and only 32.6 percent for men. Nonetheless, summing paid and unpaid working hours women on average worked almost 10 hours per week more than men. Based on this background, we explored how the lockdown measures adopted in contrast to the diffusion of COVID-19 affected women's time-use and the division of unpaid work within the household. Several aspects affect the organization of time and space at household level: - Closure of schools, with pupils having to bring forward school programs at home; - Suspension of non-necessary activities, affecting formal and informal sectors; - Introduction of remote-work, where it is possible; - Introduction of various limits to movement.

The assessment is based on data from a web-survey carried out in Italy in the period from May to June 2020 and explores how individual work and family lives have changed after the introduction of lockdown and social distancing measures. The survey with more than 1,000 participants collected information on the time spent working and caring for the family before, during and after the lockdown. In the questionnaire, respondents were also asked to report their feelings associated to paid and unpaid work activities during the lockdown period. The focus on Italy is of considerable interest for two main reasons. First, among Western countries, Italy stands out as having the widest gender gap in household labour. Second, Italy has been the first country after China to undergo restrictive measures due to the pandemic.

*Briony Lipton, Rae Cooper, Ariadne Vronmen and Meraiah Foley*

**Making time for equality: Gendered temporalities in the Australian legal profession**

The mass entry of women into the labour market represents a remarkable transformation in the world of work over the past 60 years. Yet, workplace gender equality remains elusive. In this paper, we report some early findings of an Australian linkage project *Designing Gender Equality into the Future of Work*, which examines how women and men experience and understand key workplace transformations in retail and the law. Here we focus specifically on the legal profession, exploring the gendered impact of various configurations of time in order to better understand the persistence of inequality.

Time is often constructed as natural, ‘unfolding effortlessly and inconspicuously as the backdrop to social and political life’ (Mawani, 2014, p. 70), with progress towards gender equality defined in such undeviating terms, moving either forwards or backwards. In an industry prefaced on justice, fairness and logic, the law is often touted as being a great equaliser. Women make up over half of law all graduates in Australia, and yet many leave within the first five years of practice. Persistent bias and discrimination – coupled with inflexible work cultures that do not accommodate, and in fact penalise, those with caregiving responsibilities – stymie women’s career progression, and the gender pay gap remains a stubbornly difficult problem across the economy.

Emerging from interviews with over 30 key stakeholders across the legal profession in New South Wales, we find a growing self-reflexivity and awareness of the constructed nature of ‘time’ in law and its effects on achieving gender equality in the sector. Time-based billing practices in conjunction with historicist and patriarchal modes of time have long dominated and determined the sector’s long-hours culture and ‘boys club’ systems of patronage, which ignore the gendering of case workloads and duties, and exclude women from professional networks. In addition, machine learning applications are beginning to automate legal tasks, such as document review, making them more efficient, but consequently, rendering the women who perform these tasks vulnerable to displacement.

This paper draws on feminist new materialisms and feminist theories of non-chronological time to understand how the law participates in the creation of gendered temporal ontologies as much as how it is shaped by dominant gendered temporal assumptions. In the Australian legal sector, ‘making time’ for gender equality at work is not straightforward or linear, but an imbrication of law, bodies, material processes, and technologies.

*Deborah Wright*

**Gendering room-spatialisation in the physical and, post COVID-19, the virtual room spaces of the psychotherapeutic consulting room and the higher education teaching room**

Sigmund Freud's fascination with places and room spaces included rooms that he worked in. Freud described in theoretical and metaphorical terms that 'a room became the symbol of a woman as being the space which encloses human beings' (Freud, 1916). His use and description of objects in his work rooms, such as the box in his letter of 1882 (Wright 2018) evidence this. However, I offer evidence for his projection of masculine meanings, particularly in his most famous work room; the first psychoanalytic consulting room, where he utilised objects and prints that refer to these masculine, Father related meanings. I suggest that, just as transference projections of masculine or feminine qualities and meanings can be ascribed to the therapist, that there are, in addition, projections onto the room space. This room transference (Wright 2018), I am calling Room-spatialisation. The term 'spatialisation' (Shields 1991) has been used to describe social meaning related to spaces. I use the term 'spatialisation' (Wright 2019), not only for the purpose of ascribing meaning to space, but also to refer to the psychological and physical mechanisms by which this happens, as well as for the motivation behind its use. Spatialisation simultaneously involves a psychological projection of meaning and physically acting upon the environment, utilised to master the undifferentiated, relentless, internal pressure of instinct. I suggest that this can take place within a matrix of stages, the first of which takes place into mother/parts of mother to create the object, this is pre-object and therefore pre-transferential. I suggest that a difficulty in utilising mother as the first object of spatialisation, can lead to Stage 2 of the Matrix, where spatialising into the spatial array of room spaces and the objects within them replaces or supplements the mother function. Gendering Room-spatialisation is the act of spatialising, creating a gender meaning in the room. I will discuss my research on the patient's relationship with the consulting room. This concerns my observation of phenomena relating to patients' relationships with the consulting room and, post COVID-19 the virtual consulting room, where they project onto the space, and the spatial array of the space and the margins surrounding the room in a sensory way, at times unrelated to the transference to me. In addition, I consider this gendering Room-spatialisation, with a pedagogical conceptualisation, of the higher education teaching room and virtual teaching room space. I discuss how there can be a gendering Room-spatialisation by students, relating to the possible need for a nurturing feminine learning room, to contain the student's learning process. However, I suggest a Winnicottian masculine, 'other'/ father gendering Room-spatialisation is necessary to challenge existing knowledge (mother) and go beyond it. This is exemplified in my use of chair formations in the teaching room. Students often initially prefer sitting in rows, as they did at school (comfortable/mother/existing knowledge) and are challenged by sitting in a circle which encourages new cognitive and intellectual capacities and play with ideas. I discuss case examples of students' gendering physical/virtual Room-spatialisation and its relationship to learning.

*Shafaq Asif, Judy Scully and Cinzia Priola*

**Unveiling spatial boundary work and modesty: Comparing gender practices of banking space in Pakistan**

Over the years a growing interest in the notion of organizational space has marked as a ‘spatial turn’ (Shortt, 2015; p. 634) in management and organization studies literature (Weinfurter & Seidl, 2018). The concept of organizational space has been studied from a diverse range of perspectives such as organizational change, corporate governance, organizational symbolism, communication, social movement (Bladt & Nielsen, 2013; Brandstorp, Kirkengen, Sterud, Haugland, & Halvorsen, 2015) and power and control (Dale & Burrell, 2008). While the argument that workspace inhabits powers and contributes towards (re) producing and sustaining class, gender, ethnic, racial and other social inequalities is well established (Foucault, 1986; Taylor and Spicer, 2007; Wasserman & Frenkel, 2015) however, there is a relative little research on this nexus (Hirst & Schwabenland, 2018). In recent years researchers (Nash, 2018; Tyler & Cohen, 2010; Wasserman & Frenkel, 2015) have started to delve into gender understanding of organizational space and focus on how workspaces materialize the gendered power relations and contribute towards inequality regimes at work. It is important to consider that most knowledge on gender and space draws on studies based on Western World and highlights the gendered subtexts of western workspace and their impact on work lives of western women (Pilgeram, 2007; Simson, 2014).

There is not much literature available on how organizational space (Secor, 2003) and gender power relations are nested in the non-western workplaces (Pio, Syed, & Moore, 2014; Salem & Yount, 2019). Whilst scholars have started to unpack the gender-related issues in the non-western context (Syed & Ali, 2019; Tlaiss, 2014) but empirical work is still scant (Chaudhry & Priola, 2018; Masood, 2018), especially in relation to organizational space (Secor, 2003).

In an attempt to attend to this research gap, this paper explores gender power dynamics in relation to organizational spatiality in Pakistani banking sector and compares configurations of spatialized gender practices at three banks: one is the branch of Islamic bank; second is the branch of multinational North American bank and last is the branch of Local domestic bank. Drawing on three ethnographic case studies the study has two aims. The first is to make visible the ways in and through which organizational space carries gender meanings in the financial service sector in Pakistan; the second is to bring fore how gendered space is lived and experienced by the Muslim women bankers. The research employs both discourse analysis and thematic analysis of field notes (6-8 weeks of observation in each bank), semi-structured interview transcripts (x 45) and organizational documents.

This paper capitalizes on Henry Lefebvre’s triad of conceptual spaces (Lefebvre, 1991) and Islamic feminism (Badran, 2002) to understand the ways banking space is configured, contested and re (constructed) by Muslim women professionals. The study illuminates that gendered meanings of organizational space is manifested by the ‘Islamic practices of purdah’ and cultural norms of modesty as well as ownership of the organization. Also it points out

how different ‘spatial boundary work’ is performed by women and men employees for making sense of gendering banking space.

The findings allow us to inform the established literature on space and gender in three ways. Firstly, this study takes a different approach to gender, space, and organization. It highlights how an important institutional construct such as ‘spatial modesty’ shapes the gender practices along with the organizational cultural-context. It contributes to the body of knowledge on gender understanding of organizational space by providing an important insight into significance of institutional ideologies and social-cultural norms. Secondly, except for some exceptions (Panayiotou 2014; Wasserman & Frenkel, 2015), most of the studies either focus on configuring space (design and layout of space) or lived experience of space (Taylor and Spicer, 2007). This study, by focusing on both dimensions of the space, illuminates how organizational spaces not only regulate and impose the gendered power relations, but also how the employees, particularly, women lived the spaces by conforming, negotiating and resisting the gendered spatial practices. By showing this the study contributes to the established literature which illuminates how organization spaces are gendered and gendering in the workplace (Panayiotou, 2014; Simpson, 2014; Tyler & Cohen, 2010), especially in non-western organizations. Thirdly, this study highlights the construction of Spatial gender practices in Pakistani banking sector is different from the ways these are configured in the western workplace. By showing this the paper contributes to the literature (Chaudhry & Priola, 2018; Syed & Ali, 2019; Syed, 2008) which question the application and authenticity of mainstream western literature of gender power relations in non-western context, especially in Muslim Majority countries. This study both empirically and theoretically supports the argument that complexities of gender ideologies in non-western organizations, is hard to capture solely with secular orientation of mainstream gender theories. There is need to consider the Islamic feminism perspective while understanding and conceptualizing the equality theories and practices in Muslim Majority countries. Also this paper, by integrating western framework of Space and Islamic gender relations, demonstrates how the theorizing of organizational space and (in) equality regimes may be strengthened and advanced by incorporating Islamic philosophies.

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*Alma Persson*

### **Gender-mixed rooms and the case of the Swedish Armed Forces**

In 2016, a Norwegian team of gender scholars published an analysis of an experiment that had taken place in the Norwegian military. In a few locations, men and women had been placed in gender-mixed rooms in order to try out a new way of organizing the lodgings. The standard practice had up until then been that men and women were placed in separate lodgings. When the first reports on the study were published, the interest was enormous. Journalists and scholars from around the world were curious to learn about the outcome. For myself, a gender scholar in Sweden who had been studying gender relations in the military, the curiosity and surprise was of a very different kind. Having conducted studies in the Swedish Armed Forces for years, where mixed rooms seemed to have been the standard practice for as long as anyone could remember, I was surprised that this was considered an exotic, and risky, novelty. This realization that the Swedish case was both unique and understudied became the starting point of the study in focus here.

This study focuses on material aspects of gender relations in the everyday military training and working environment, such as gender-mixed and single-sex dormitories, showers, and equipment (uniforms, weapons, underwear). In the Norwegian case, lodging conscripts in mixed rooms was a recent phenomenon that had been tried out on a relatively small scale at first, but that has since extended considerably. In the Swedish case, women have been allowed to undergo basic military training together with their conscripted male colleagues since the early 1980s. Nearly 40 years later, no scholarly work has attended to the spatial/material aspects of organizing women and men's everyday life in the military, or what this means for the gender relations that evolve, the working conditions than men and women experience, or indeed for the output of the work they do. In addition to the spatial organization of shared or single-sex lodgings, a number of questions concerning the material aspects of work (such as personal equipment, uniforms, or weapons) have been debated since women's entrance. From previous studies, we know that something as mundane as a bath towel can become a heated, politicized and highly gendered issue in this organizational context. Many of the concerns connected to personal equipment raised decades ago remain unsolved today. The research question guiding this study is: how does the spatial and material organization of women and men's work in the Swedish military shape its gender relations? We focus our attention to how these issues have been dealt with and discussed on a policy level, as well as on a practice level through the experiences of the men and women who work in the organization. Drawing on a broad methodological approach (most importantly in-depth interviews, ethnographic fieldwork, and archival research with document analysis), the project analyses how spatiality/materiality has been perceived, debated, organized, and experienced in the Swedish military.

*Katarzyna Kosmala and Kathryn Kirk*

### **Gender Performativity at Tongland Works: Women Work at War**

The paper addresses the interplay between gender performativity and industry sector in the context of the Tongland Works of the Galloway Engineering Company, built during the First World War in Scotland. The factory was a unique venture not only to carry out war work in engineering, but to train women as professional engineers at the time when women were not allowed into engineering profession. Drawing on archival material, this paper will focus on the ‘university for women’ initiative, which arose at Tongland, the venture whereby women took advantage of opportunities created by war’s changing social norms to enter the engineering field. The Tongland works was an off-shoot of the much larger Arrol-Johnston factory at Heathhall in Dumfries, which manufactured whole aircrafts as well as lower powered aero engines, made to established designs licensed from Austro-Daimler before the war. The factory later became famous for producing the Galloway car, the ‘car for ladies made by others of their sex’ under the leadership of engineer Dorothee Pullinger.

Although, the story of Pullinger has gained wider recognition recently, including her representation in the Scottish Engineering Hall of Fame in 2012 and via the Riverside Museum’s new interpretation of the Galloway car’s exhibition that opened earlier this year in Glasgow, the story of Heathhall (Dumfries) and Tongland (Kirkcudbright) factories, currently stands as a gap in the industrial history of Scotland and the UK more widely. Also voices of the women who made the workforce remains silent in the great war narrative despite their significant contribution.

The paper will draw as much as possible on first person narratives of women, those targeted initially to this programme - having a university degree - thinking through how its spaces were constructed and experienced in and through gender performativity, including leadership and supervision. The Galloway Engineering Company was trying to avoid the pitfalls of using unskilled labour and dilutees in complicated work by creating a new workforce initiative of professional female engineers, committed to developing their own engineering career, and in the view of the company, were expected to learn quickly on the job. The authors will examine the working conditions concerning “Engineering for Educated Women” initiative, exploring the relationship between gendered performance and materiality of places and time of work, as there was a strong emphasis in the publicity material for Galloway Engineering Company that the Tongland factory was “suitable” for women.

Adopting feminist lens in theorisation of time and space (Rose, 1993, Sharma, 2014), will shed light on embodied, sensory understanding of place. We will draw on untold histories of women working in engineering and related industries, including that of Dorothee Pullinger, under this unique apprenticeship venture. And by doing so, making the stories of Girls Engineers visible, attributing names and exposing their contribution by celebrating their successes.

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*Heidi Wagner*

**Negotiating space while building space: U.S. building construction tradeswomen's descriptions of their daily transgressions in space at work**

Building construction tradesworkers are the individuals assembling the built environments in which we all work, travel, and dwell. Tradesworkers consist of plumbers, electricians, boiler makers, and glaziers amongst others. A construction tradesworker is tied to a craft rather than a location, or even a company. Since tradesworkers can work for several different general or specialty contractors within a year's time, they are employed in ever changing spaces as well as, in most cases, ever changing locations. Their workdays consist of inhabiting locations which are being created or altered, and, in largest part, these spaces are created and altered by men. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, women remain only about 3% of building tradesworkers. While there have been studies of negotiations of gender identities and sexualities within social relations on construction sites—in particular, related to tradeswomen (see, for example, Denissen, 2010)—there is little analysis of literal space negotiation and gender and what spaces are afforded to femininity within the construction worksite. By juxtaposing critiques from individuals such as Gillian Rose and Doreen Massey to content analysis of tradeswomen and their negotiations of space at work, the theoretical discussions of space and space creation and feminist critiques of those spatial norms create an interplay of (re)placing the theoretical into a context where a literal translation also illuminates an analysis of space and gender and work. Massey's writing, *for space* (2005), claims the following, “—that we recognize space as always under construction. Precisely because space on this reading is a product of relations-between, relations which are necessarily embedded in material practices which have to be carried out, it is always in the process of being made. It is never finished; never closed” (p. 9). Above is Massey's theoretical idea of space as perpetually under construction—but so is space literally under construction, always, within the lives of building tradesworkers and done so within a hyper-gendered (read: masculine) environment. By way of content analysis of tradeswomen's descriptions of their work through online blogs such as Tradeswomen Tuesday, this research looks at tradeswomen's descriptions of work and the literal space they negotiate while at work. In an overt, though unacknowledged, discussion of the level of femininity which is traditionally allowed on site and the socially attained knowledge of the dilemma of so much as entering a construction site as a woman, a quote from an electrical apprentice shows fear of the workspace. She states, “I tell girls ‘don't be afraid’ because I was. I was scared to walk into the job site and be made fun of. I'm competing for Miss Ohio and I model on the side, so nobody would ever guess I'd want to be an electrician. I thought people could judge me for that” (Ohio's Governor's Office of Workforce Transformation, 2016, para. 9). The links of theory and lived experience of space creation offer new insights into translating and untangling the guarding of the construction site for male bodies.

*Ronit Waismel-Manor, Warda Wasserman and Orit Samir Balderman*

**No Room of Her Own: A Gendered-Spatial Analysis of Home-Working among Dual – Earner Couples during COVID-19**

Home-working has significant spatial aspects that may affect how dual-earner couples with children manage work and family during Covid-19. Thus, we need to examine how the domestic space is divided between the needs of work and family, and whether it is equally shared by the two partners. Architects and designers have begun to examine ways in which the division of the domestic space should be modified to meet the requirements of home-working, but the subject has yet to be systematically studied. Most importantly, this research direction has hitherto ignored gendered aspects. The literature on work-life interface has also not examined spatial strategies employed by the two working parents in an attempt to balance work and family at home, nor has it examined the ways in which the gendered division of labor is embodied in an unequal division of the domestic space. Combining these two literatures is particularly important for our present purposes, since it may shed light on currently ignored implicit ways in which the gendered division of labor is constructed and reproduced at home.

The present study proposes a gendered spatial theoretical perspective for studying the work-family interface of employees working from home during the COVID-19 crisis. Based on interviews with fifteen professional heterosexual couples, working in fulltime jobs, with children under 18 in Israel, we present three gendered spatial strategies employed by the couples in order to meet the challenges of home-working during the first quarantine, when both parents were forced to work from home while simultaneously taking care of their children. First, a gendered division of the space: the domestic space was unequally divided, with men occupying the private, distant, and comfortable parts of the house, while women worked near the children, often in the kitchen or living room, where they had no privacy or quiet. Second, controlling work time: time was unequally divided, with men working during standard work hours with few disruptions from the children, whereas women more often worked afternoons and/or nights, with fewer options to display their visibility and accessibility to work. Third, bodily gendered practices to mark work-family boundaries: the penetration of work into the domestic space has generated a new gendered form of bodily regulation that forced many women (and not men) to use their bodily appearance as an aesthetic disciplining dictate, as means to separate the private from the public sphere, and as a way to defy the organizational invasion to the private home. The findings show that these gendered strategies are reproducing the gendered division of labor and inequality between partners.

*Lynne Pettinger*

**Interruption, illness and an impossible ethnography of woodland**

This paper reports on the unexpected ending of a speculative ethnography of woodland. It draws on a project that asks a naïve question: how do trees work? Human relationships with trees, woods and forests and the animals, insects, fungi that dwell with them are deep if not always visible to the eyes of social science researchers. This ethnographic work was interrupted first by the pandemic and then by Covid and Long Covid, which undid my capacities as an ethnographer.

Ecological interest in active intervention to repair human-damaged environments, through re-wilding and 'restoration' relies on an appreciation of timescale and rhythm that exceeds the temporary focus on the short present of much human organisation. Trees matter. This paper derives from a feminist reading of Guattari's ideas of ecosophy, and on Isabelle Stengers' idea of the 'intrusion of Gaia' and attends to the interweaving of subjectivity, sociality and environment to explore the strange organisation of woodlands. It draws on experiments with sensory ethnography in publicly accessible woodland, an unusually solitary form of ethnography. I use that work to explore the promise and limits of ethnographic research into spaces almost entirely free of humans, but full of other life forms, and where the ethnographer is both small and short-lived in comparison to the object of study. I then consider the interruption of my illness and its generation of a new incapacity and a new ignorance about the world.

In this paper, I draw out two lines of analysis to understand the methodological challenges of researching natural places. First, I consider how ethnographers encounter and engage with slow transformations to places. Second, I discuss how natural ethnography relies on the formation of new expertise in understanding natural changes, as I discuss learning what the woodland contains and then losing all that knowledge, as well as my capacity to move through the environment.

*Sara Persson and Maria Brock*

**Performing and refusing (emotional) work: Auto-ethnographic explorations of relational work in the banking and oil industries**

This paper examines and compares our experiences of emotional labour and its refusal in male dominated 'harmful' corporate environments (in this case, the private banking and oil sectors), and how strategies and fantasmatic narratives to justify and stay in our professional roles eventually failed. Through auto-ethnographic work, which includes peer-to-peer interviews and comparative writing exercises, we examine our former roles in the finance and oil industries and what these experiences have in common. In our previous roles, focused on client and community relations, commonalities involved an embodiment of a 'feminine' subject position to negotiate between (predominantly) men as well as various survival strategies by engaging in several forms of quiet resistance and transgression, thereby convincing ourselves that we remained 'outsiders' in an industry we refused to identify with.

In this joint exploration we will focus specifically on two elements: 1) the methodological rewards and challenges of writing a joint auto-ethnography, a co-construction which reveals a series of joint identifications which we then try to pull apart acting as 'transformational objects' for each other; and 2) to apply this methodology specifically to examine our lived, embodied experiences of work, when our gendered subjectivities became particularly salient (and when they seemingly didn't), and how they disrupted as well as enabled certain organisational practices as along with wider industry dynamics. We look at both everyday contexts of work and interaction with colleagues within UK and Canadian/Albanian organisational contexts, as well as the ambivalent and disorienting experiences of work with community representatives and clients in Albania, Russia and Ukraine. We find the process of joint autoethnographic thinking and writing rewarding and enlightening as it forces us to move away from solipsistic representations of organizational experiences and directs us towards dynamics that core industries within the capitalistic system have in common.



**Robert Metaxatos**

**Archaeology of the Present: Uses and Abuses of Metaphor in the Sociology of Gender And Work**

This paper introduces a methodological ‘archaeology of the present’ as a means of spatial analysis in the sociology of gender and work. Specifically, I enact a topoanalysis of the ‘glass ceiling’ metaphor as it is used and abused in scholarship. Metaphors can be spatial insofar as we construct concepts, build gendered spaces according to these concepts, and dwell in these spaces.

Scholarship casts a forensic gaze on its object of analysis, using metaphors like ‘glass ceiling’ to reinforce the strength of conceptualization. I do not *critique* scholarship but *turn the forensic gaze back upon* scholarship (cf. Weizman 64). Metaphor is surely at stake. If we were to ‘look back,’ as it were, at the present state of scholarship on gender and work, its foundations betray the spatial use of metaphor. This idea is twofold: the glass ceiling is itself a spatial concept (a glass through which one sees, a glass that is to be shattered, etc.) tantamount to its discursive ‘construction’ in scholarship. An archaeology of the present is not only a discourse analysis but also a look at the “receptive sensors on which events are registered” (Weizman 2014:6), on which the ‘building’ of scholarship is founded, and on which power-‘structures’ like metaphor manifest. My primary questions are: how does the use and abuse of metaphor wear out its heuristic value?; how is ‘glass ceiling,’ at once, spatialized in practice? what other techniques of power are indexed by using the metaphor?; and why are other, newer metaphors not as powerful? These questions allow for a ‘post-structural’ inquiry into the spatio-temporal image.

Conducting a content analysis of scholarly spatializations of metaphor as they pertain to gender and work, I prove the plausibility of my methodology. I focus on the Western context from which the metaphor originally sprang and limit research to scholarly articles published in the English language. Because there is little scholarship on the use of metaphor in gender and work, which discourses are of interest? (1) Chipping away at, breaking, cracking: scholarship reconstitutes the glass ceiling for different purposes, producing an additive discourse of which metaphor is the principal impetus. This discourse is pervasive, but the problem of job and occupational inequality still exists. Does the power of the glass ceiling bar other metaphors’ advancement? (2) A metaphor, which is by definition a substitute, cannot account for its causes and effects. How is this substitutive discourse spatialized in its lack of specificity?; that is, how is theory building or repetition effected, if at all, in practice? I establish the possibility of an archaeology of the present by analyzing, ‘surveying,’ the analyzers of metaphor in gender and work.

**Stream 14**  
**Beyond the Gender Binary: Empirical Research and  
Conceptual Development in Times of Transformation**

**Convenors: Julia Nentwich, Ursula Offenberger, Almut Peukert & Tiina Suopajärvi**

*Alina Zils*

### **Breaking with Gender(ism) while Trans\_forming the Process of Research as Material-Discursive Practice**

Despite my theoretical, poststructuralist thinking, the origins of my PhD research on “The irrelevance of a gendered subject on the playground” were characterized by perspectives that made me see the child as the center of attention and humans as the origin of all knowing (Hultman & Lenz Taguchi, 2010). During the research process, I have encountered various theories of gender and materialization that have inspired me to abandon this self-evident perspective and question my own habitual and anthropocentric notion of seeing and thinking. Most recently, I have been particularly inspired by Karen Barad's posthumanist theory of 'agential realism' to change my habits of seeing and thinking regarding the practice of knowing. This also implies challenging the concept of myself as a sovereign and autonomous subject of knowledge supposedly outwardly facing 'their' object of knowledge. To understand the process of knowledge production in the sense of Barad as material-discursive means to observe the various entities that are collectively involved and co-constitutively staging the phenomenon of “The irrelevance of a gendered subject on the playground”. Barad writes: “Humans do not simply assemble different apparatuses for satisfying particular knowledge projects but are themselves specific parts of the world's ongoing reconfiguring” (Barad 2007, p. 184).

My PhD is founded on the assumption that children have no internalized and incorporated gender at birth, and pursues to understand whether - and, if so - how gender roles develop from scratch whilst looking at the production, destabilization, and neutralization of gender. My talk will focus on my own process of discovery in research and the paradoxes that the assumed irrelevance of gender brings about. First, a combination of Karen Barad's approach and the turn towards the material is implemented. Next, I will systematically reflect on data collection, sifting and processing and discuss how bringing the subject into the public domain has influenced my own research and viewpoint.

By not projecting a gender onto the videotaped people on the playground I endeavoured to exgender my own perception. I abandoned all gendered forms of language based on Lann Hornscheidt and Lio Oppenländer (2019). Letting go of gender in my own actions and perceptions, and including ex-gendered persons who become denounced in the 'common' language system of mainstream society and thus turn invisible, is an attempt to unaccustom to the structural violence of gender.

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*Natasha Mauthner*

**Diffractive methodologies: Feminist posthumanism and the practice of social inquiry**

This paper explores emerging feminist posthumanist philosophies of science and their implications for methodological practice in the field of gender and management. Feminist posthumanist philosophies challenge humanist representationalist forms of inquiry, and their assumption that knowledge is produced by an intentional human subject and represents pre-existing entities. They propose instead a posthumanist performative understanding of knowledge practices in which the latter are seen as constitutive of their objects of study (Barad 2007). The key challenge presented by posthumanist philosophies is therefore how to study a social world whose ontology is neither fixed nor given. How can we specify an object of study (such as gender), a method, and a social inquirer when posthumanist philosophies refuse to take these entities as ontological givens? As such, feminist posthumanist philosophies present challenges, but also offer radical new possibilities, for how we conceptualise and practice posthumanist research in the social sciences, and for the methods we might use.

A growing body of work on ‘post-qualitative’ (St Pierre 2011) methodologies is beginning to explore the implications of posthumanist philosophies for research practice, including in the field of gender, work and organisation (e.g. Gherardi 2019). In this paper I discuss how a feminist posthumanist philosophy of science might articulate itself through the ‘diffractive’ methodology proposed by Haraway (1992, 1997) and Barad (2007, 2014). A diffractive methodology contrasts with both methodological objectivity and reflexivity. Objectivity and reflexivity are methodologies that are concerned with the role of human knowledge-makers in knowledge production: objectivity seeks to eradicate, while reflexivity seeks to acknowledge, the role of human subjectivity and culture in knowledge creation. A diffractive methodology is distinctive in several respects. It is concerned with the role of material- discursive practices (e.g. experimental apparatuses, measurement devices or research methods) rather than knowing subjects; it posits that these practices are implicated not only in creating knowledge about the world but in its very constitution; it grants ‘agency’— understood as dynamic processes of materialisation—to these practices rather than locating it as a fixed property of knowing subjects; finally, diffraction is a practice (not a *knower*) that ‘situates’ itself in a Harawayian (1988) sense, by accounting for its own ontological being and its performative world/knowledge-making powers and effects. Posthumanist inquiries therefore insist that the objects of study they give rise to – such as gender, gender identities, gender differences and gender inequalities - must be accounted for rather than taken as ontological givens. Feminist posthumanist philosophies and their diffractive methodologies therefore invite new ways of conducting research by treating practices of inquiry, including research methods, as an inherent part of the object of study and exploring their constitutive role in the making of knowledge *and* reality.

Drawing on these insights, my paper suggests that a diffractive methodological approach entails undertaking ‘diffractive genealogies’ (Mauthner 2016)—situated philosophical histories that ‘un/re-make’ their objects of study—of research methods *as an inherent and*

*inseparable part of the practice of these methods.* I illustrate my approach using the *Listening Guide* feminist voice-centred relational method (Brown and Gilligan 1992) as a case study.

*Tiina Suopajärvi*

### **Thinking gender through the (non)movements of human and non-human bodies**

Mobility is essential part of academic work, also in Finland: researchers must be able to move between different universities, research institutes and disciplines in their own country, as well as transnationally. For instance, funding applications to the Academy of Finland must include both collaboration with international partners and a mobility plan where funded scholars make research visits to universities or research institutes in other countries. At the same time, the amount of people with doctorates has been mainly growing in Finland in the 21st century. With the limited research funding resources and the tightening competition, more and more academics must also move from universities to work in private and public sectors. In addition to these career moves and mobility attached to academic work, everyday (non)movements of different bodies with(out) other bodies are significant part of the understanding the relationship between gender and work life.

In my presentation, I will discuss these different kinds of movements experienced and narrated by women who work in the fields of bio- and health technology in Finland. Their narrations have been generated in the interviews where we have focused on women's careers, their choices, the obstacles and the support they have faced during their work in and outside of academia. In my presentation, I will focus especially on women who have left academia after receiving doctorates to work in (semi-)private or public sectors. Through the methodology of *becoming-with* data (Haraway 2008), the phenomenon of one career model comes into being in the women's career interviews. Furthermore, the socio-material elements that intra-act to create this phenomenon are discussed. These elements are the assemblages of research groups, gender and hierarchies in academia, and the spacetimes of mobility, children and localities. By considering the moving-together and the (non-)movements of human and non-human bodies (see Gherardi 2018) within these elements, I consider how gender becomes relevant in the career move out of university. As lived experiences, careers are fragmented, non-linear and stagnant, but the idea of a vertically progressing career still affects women's perceptions of their careers.

The fourth movement entangled with women's career interviews, are the movements in the interview encounters and between them and my analysis of the interviews. Feminist scholars of new materialism push us towards thinking ourselves as being in the phenomenon we study, instead of reflecting it from a distance (Barad 2007). Lenz Taguchi (2012) for example argues that interview is "transcorporeal engagement"; consequently, sharing an interview situation means participating in the making of the material, emotional and discursive interview space. In our interviews, different emotions were circulating between everyone and everything (Ahmed 2014). These emotions cannot be excluded from my analyses; therefore, I will discuss this fourth type of movement as essential part of my knowledge making on gender, mobility and work life.

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*Ursula Offenberger*

**(Un)doing gender and (un)doing religion in social worlds and arenas: conceptual reflections and empirical insights**

As late-modern societies become more fragmented and diversified, we can no longer assume that gender orders are monolithic and encompassing. Newer theorizing on (un)doing gender and (un)doing differences calls for the context-dependency and the situatedness of those practices. Hence, theoretical approaches are needed that allow for determining how context and situatedness are socially shaped. Fenstermaker and West (2002: 210) suggest to analyze 'situated social action' in order to see how the way in which "race, class, and gender are done is informed both by past practice and by a response to the normative order of the moment (Fenstermaker und West 2002: 210, see Offenberger 2016)". I propose to use the pragmatist-interactionist framework of social worlds and arenas (developed by Anselm Strauss, Rue Bucher, Adele Clarke and others) in order to complement the ethnomethodological idea of doing and undoing with a meso-level perspective that allows for situating practices more broadly. Social worlds are formed by groups with shared commitments, activities and perspectives, thereby establishing situated knowledge and their own histories of practices.

Arenas are the sites where different social worlds encounter each other, and where specific normative orders of the moment are established, reproduced and transformed, often through conflict and contestation. The concepts therefore are well suited to account for the embeddedness and situatedness of (un)doing gender and differences.

I use these conceptual lenses to investigate how gender and religion relate to each other. On the one hand, both categories are inscribed into symbolic orders, structures and institutions. On the other hand, both categories are done in everyday life and subject to ongoing accomplishments. I argue that arenas can be conceived as the sites where these categories, that (in)form both structure and interaction, „meet“, and where their relation is negotiated. My empirical focus is on the arenas where the social world of LGBTIQ+-people and religious social worlds meet. The first is a social movement with roots in civil rights movements of the 1960s. The second consists of both traditional religions such as Judaism, Christianity and Islam and religious groups/organizations that draw on diverse spiritual, religious, New Age and Pagan traditions. As heteronormativity is one of the main foundations of Western(ized) religious institutions and symbolic orders of sexuality, marriage and family, and as challenging heteronormativity has been one of the core tenets of LGBTIQ+-engagements, the arena where religion and gender (according to my focus) meet holds potential for controversial engagements and negotiations.

Taking gay prides/Christopher street day parades as an empirical case, I analyze how religion appears in these parades. There are interfaith prayers offered in churches or elsewhere; groups/organizations such as the sisters of the perpetual indulgence, who call themselves „queer nuns of the 21st century“, form part of the march; and queer-friendly religious groups invite gay pride participants to their regular meetings. All of these events form part of the gender/sexuality/religion arena. My contribution sheds light on how arenas are the sites where possibilities of doing/undoing gender and religion are shaped by different social worlds.

*Eloisio Moulin de Souza and Martin Parker*

**Resisting Binary Order: Non-binary Transpeople Practices of Freedom**

This conceptual article considers the ‘practices of freedom’ performed by non-binary transpeople and their capacity to embody resistance against binary heteronormativity gender intelligibility. It seems to us productive to consider whether the Foucauldian concept of ‘practices of freedom’ can be used to develop non-binary ideas about identities and power relations in organisations. To accomplish this task, we draw on Foucault and Butler approaches about power, resistance, and gender identity. Butler’s thinking is influenced by Foucault and both philosophers problematize the binary opposition between power and resistance, considering control and resistance as interdependent and co-productive rather than oppositional. In this sense the individuals are compelled to identify themselves with the binary gender position in the order of discourse to become a viable subject. If these norms are not followed, if a person fails to conform, they become what Butler – following Kristeva – called abject, wretched and outside the social. Then, our focus on non-binary transpeople is an intellectual and political strategy which allows us to problematize binarities in a complex and disruptive way, revealing the tensions and contradictions in the binary order, what enable us to develop the concepts thinking *with* trans and trans- organisation. With this article we want to expand the possibilities of contemporary subject positions, especially when considering how non-binary transpeople allow us to rethink subjection, abjection, power and freedom. Breaking with the binary logic ‘us’ versus ‘them’ we understand that the practice of any subject position is always exercised in relation to others, and so a non- binary practice of freedom also potentially transforms others. Therefore, we think *with* trans in order to challenge gender binaries and argue that their practices of freedom not only transform themselves, but also others. We understand non-binary transpeople practices of freedom as a form of care of the self, producing new ways of doing gender which are not reducible to ‘man’ or ‘woman’ but that reflect specific histories and subjectivities. Give the complex ways which non- binary transpeople take care of the self and do ethics we propose that it is necessary to understand them as a recognition-based organising that embodies ethics disturbing, resisting, and redoing the way gender is currently organised in a political activism against binary heteronormativity gender intelligibility. This trans-organisation manifests the capacity of non-binary transpeople organise gender in different and complex ways in their process to embodied resistance. The implications of this paper are hence not ‘only’ addressed to trans-subjects, but to all subjects, perhaps especially cis-subjects for whom the question of gender identity is less troubling. Indeed, the very problematization of knowledge about sex and gender produced in organisation is itself a practice of freedom that has the potential to enable us to think differently and give voice to the abject.

*Purnima Anjali Mohanty and Anamika Singh*

### **Not Doing Gender: The Dongria Kondhs Tribe of Odisha and their Gender Practices**

Introduction: Koraput district in the state of Odisha, India is home to 62 tribes and thus considered one of the most tribal dominated districts. Ministry of Home Affairs has categorized the Dongria Kondh as Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group (PVTG). Government of India officially recognizes them as indigenous people and applies positive discrimination to preserve their culture and habitat. This tribal society has an overall literacy rate of less than 10% and with female literacy rate being still lower at 3% and sex ratio of 1352 by 1000 males. They largely rely on hunting, gathering and shifting cultivation for survival, besides being skilled in horticulture. However, with depletion of forest cover, ban on animal hunting and with government interventions they are shifting to modern farming, cultivation and irrigation. On one hand we understand India as a multicultural, patriarchal society with distinct gender hierarchy, still struggling with female infanticide, feticide, domestic violence, gender discrimination, lack of opportunities etc. while on the other hand we have this PVTG, though practicing patriarchy have a deep-rooted culture of treating both - male and the female equal. Here, unlike the mainstream Indian Society where the bride's father must give dowry to the groom, men are required to pay bride price to the woman's family to get married. The very concept of an egalitarian society with equal rights to both the sexes comes naturally to the Dongria kondh tribe despite being identified as marginalized and backward with miserably low literacy rates. They practice division of labour and women have limited say in political and social matters, but they are equal when it comes to economic independence and have an equal say when it comes to marriage, divorce, or any other household decision making. The social norms and lifestyle of this tribe points towards a gender-tolerant and gender nondiscriminatory society. In this backdrop, it is of critical importance to study their social structure and how do they play their gender roles in a social construct.

Methodology: Research and literature available on Gender Performance of the Dongria Kondhs is negligible and as a result the researchers plan to critically examine this issue through primary data. The approach to understand the gender performance of Dongria Kondhs and how they 'do gender' or 'not do gender', is through Ethnography.

Research Focus: The research is set to explore whether there are different expectations and performance in their gender expressions or is it contextual? If contextual and situated, does it vary from one gender to another or is there no gender practice at all? Limited research on Gender in tribal community has opened avenues on relooking Gender Performance and practice from an entirely new perspective. It reiterates the belief that in these indigenous tribes 'Gender might not be Performed at all'. So how does one look at gender here? How does one theorise gender here? This research is sure to explore new dimensions of understanding gender through gender performance.

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*Almut Peukert*

**‘Exploring nothing’? – Empirically researching *not doing gender* beyond reification and rhetorical modernization. Insights from the field of care**

Recently, scholars theoretically distinguished between concepts of *doing gender*, *undoing gender* and sometimes *not doing gender* to apprehend social change and tackle gender reification. Starting from theoretical considerations, I discuss empirical challenges of researching *not doing gender*.

In order to strengthen current theoretical concepts, I differentiate between *undoing gender* and *not doing gender*: Undoing gender refers to “active counteracting” – a negative activity that remains within the framework of gender differentiation (Hirschauer 2016: 117). By *not doing gender* I mean practices of situational indifference, i.e. situations in which practices and structures are decoupled so that gender does not take place (for further discussion of the terms, cf. Kelan 2010; Hirschauer 2016; Westheuser 2015; Deutsch 2007).

Following an ethnomethodological approach, it becomes a methodological challenge, to research practices that are *not done*. In order to reconstruct these practices despite the fact that they are not there, an analytical approach is needed which navigates between two, seemingly antagonical poles: First, the analysis must reflect on the reification of gender i.e. an analytical overemphasis and (co-

)production of gender through scientific research. Second, analyses of *nothingness* must distinguish between a 'genuine' *not doing gender* and persistent but hidden gender inequalities, which is known as “rhetorical modernization” (Wetterer 2003).

On the basis of qualitative interview data from two qualitative research projects on care work (i.a. Peukert 2015, 2018), I discuss three method(ological) approaches to explore *not doing gender*. In my analysis, I focus on the division of labour within families. How are processes, negotiations and daily practices of care work as well as the division of labour narrated by the informants? I show how couples make (not) use of different discursive resources and elements in their negotiations to legitimize their care arrangements and how this connects to the analytical observation of *not doing gender*.

First, I discuss interview material in which couples negotiate their division of labour in order to show how talking about breadwinning, career and parental leave *can* become indicative of not doing gender. Second, I refer to interview accounts in which couples explicitly negotiate their equality as partners when discussing shared parental leave. Third, I examine negotiations on the division of care work by same-sex couples. The setting allows to exclude the possible relevance of a gendered personal in order to observe not doing gender in and through practices.

I conclude with sensitizing questions about implications for social inequality. How can we analytically ‘control’ that we do not fall into the trap of a simple ‘rhetorical modernization’? What consequences has an occasional *not doing gender* for gender relations? Which situational practices of *not doing gender* destabilize gendered structures, discourses and materialities?

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***Benjamin Moron-Puech***

**The case of sports law : a first step towards questioning juridical gender binary**

The ongoing transdisciplinary questioning of juridical gender binary in international sports law bases its argument on transdisciplinary medical, juridical, sociological, and philosophical grounds. It aims further on at widening potentially to the whole area of international human rights law. The focus on international law is motivated by a particular structure which places sports federations rules under human rights measures (mainly the European convention on human rights and various United Nations conventions related to human rights).

Athletes with atypical profiles compared to gender and sex binary standards, in terms of physiology or identity, are hindered from taking part in official sporting events due to categorization methods that produce a subject which is first and above all a sexed/gendered subject. The *agency* the subject is thus endowed with usually leads either to *do* or *not do* that sex/gender binary.

However, sports events benefiting from a significant media coverage, international news provide us with attempts to question the sports federations rules and categories. As a matter of fact, the current categorization method is linked with a thoroughly binary background theory, based on mixed up sex/gender criteria. The whole sex/gender categorization method-theory package itself has therefore to be *undone*.

In order to build up a new method-theory package, more appropriate athletes classification criteria will be carefully investigated in and suggested, until achieving to confine them to the most precise determining criteria. This alternative method develops as part of the necessary questioning of the background theory of sports laws. Each rule's primary aims in particular (such as ruling sporting events) and also its pragmatic priorities (in terms of performance, show and money power) have to be scrutinized. This questioning is heading towards a law-refunding theory that would tend to produce not (fe)male subjects, but human subjects in their wholeness, and individuals in their diversity.

The afore explained sex/gender "*un-doing / re-doing*" process, applied to the field of sports law, is planned to be extendable to other fields of the law. However, the alternative criteria specifically relevant to sports law are not to be transposed as they are to other fields. Only the methodical process itself is to be reiterated.

The extension of our process to law at large would contribute to limit the weight of juridical parentalism inferred by the current gender binary categorization pattern. Undoing that pattern on behalf of the minimal determining criterion process, supported by a refoundation of law, would open new modalities of *agency*.

*Joelle Loew and Stephanie Schnurr*

**An attempt to “rescue” gender: Re-thinking current conceptualisations of gender in lay usage and academic inquiry**

This paper proposes a new way of conceptualising and theorising the dynamics of (un)doing gender. It thereby aims to contribute to current debates about the usefulness of gender which argue that gender is “in need of being rescued and brought to life again, or abandoned, and maybe substituted by a new concept” (e.g. Gherardi 2019: 49). Drawing on research interviews and audio-recordings of workplace interactions recorded in different IT companies in New Zealand, the US, Switzerland, and the UK, we outline a concrete rescue attempt, providing some arguments for why we believe gender remains a meaningful concept – both, for lay usage as well as academic inquiry.

Drawing on insights from politeness and intercultural communication research (Watts 2003; Schnurr & Zayts 2017), we aim to advance current debates in gender research around conceptual clarity with regard to what exactly gender is, how it may be captured, and how it is currently operationalised, by making a terminological and conceptual distinction between first and second order notions of gender. First order notions of gender capture lay people’s usage of the term, which typically conceptualise gender as something that people *have* or *are*, often based on masculine-feminine dichotomies, which in turn are closely linked to the underlying gender order (Connell 1987). Second order notions of gender, by contrast, refer to the ways in which researchers conceptualise and operationalise gender in academic inquiry to make sense of participants’ linguistic and behavioural practices, including the dynamics of the interactional and discursive achievement of the *(un)doing* of gender (e.g. Butler, 1990).

In our analyses, we show how participants explicitly make gender (as a first order construct) relevant, for example by orienting to gender stereotypes about what it means to be a woman in the largely masculine IT industry, and differentiate this from the more hidden processes of (un)doing gender (as a second order construct), which are more difficult to capture empirically. We discuss some of the ways in which researchers in our own discipline, namely linguistics, theorise and operationalise the (un)doing of gender in workplace interactions, and what the implications are for our framework of different gender orders. Our empirical observations have important implications for current conceptualisations and theorisations of gender and provide new insights into the debate of whether we need gender at all, and if so, what we need it *for*. We end our paper by outlining some questions for future research we hope gender scholars across disciplines may find useful in their own research endeavours.



*Päivi Korvajärvi*

### **Gendering effects of hiding and downplaying gender**

The aim of the paper is to explore the ways, in which highly educated women in research and innovation (R & I) simultaneously not do, do and undo gender in their work. More specifically, the aim is to analyse work situations, in which women themselves experience that they not do, do or undo gender. A broader question is, what kinds of gendering effects the lived experience of not doing, doing or undoing gender achieve at work. The social context of work is Finland, a country with a favourable reputation for gender equality that is nonetheless contested.

The analysis is based on the interviews of 30 women in R&I conducted in 2018-2019 in Finland. The 30 women are all white and, except one, of Finnish origin. The age of the interviewed women varied between 25-62 years. The biggest age group were women between 35-38 years, born in the early 1980s. Nearly all were, or had been, heterosexually married, and most of them had children. The interviewed women had completed their PhD degrees most commonly in bio or health sciences and technologies. Many had multidisciplinary backgrounds and doctoral studies and/or post doc research in new emerging multidisciplinary research areas. Their work organizations include universities, sectoral research institutes, and private firms. The themes of the open-ended interviews comprise R&I career histories, current work situations and future plans, the role of gender in R&I work, and work-life balance.

The analysis process resembles, however, not systematically follows, the constructivist grounded theory in its aim to explain the analysis transparently, going back and forth between the data and the conceptualizations and continuous comparisons between them, coding the material accordingly and memo-writing on analysis- in-progress.

The focus is on the views of women in R & I, who seem to express or justify indifference, denial of gender, or avoidance and hesitance in relation to the meanings of gender. To put it concretely, the underlying research questions here are: What are the ways in which highly educated women working in R & I do, undo and not do gender in their everyday? What kinds of implications the ways of not doing, doing and undoing gender have on gender (in)equalities?

The analysis of the interviews revealed five patterns on the ways, in which women in R & I were justifying gender or its lack in their everyday. I name the patterns related to not doing, doing and undoing gender, however, the patterns are intertwined with each other. The patterns analyzed out of the data are the following: 1) Not doing gender: no personal experience, 2) Doing gender through justifying the doubts 3) Doing gender through reservations 4) Doing gender through wondering and anticipating, 5) Undoing gender? Dismantling female domination. Based on the analysis the aim is to discuss, what kinds of implications the ways of not doing, doing or undoing gender have on gender (in)equalities. The aim is to relate the implications to the suggestions of moderate feminism and gender fatigue. Further, based on the empirical analysis the paper suggests a possibility to rethink

‘doing gender’ by claiming that the emotions and affects are embedded in the ways not doing, doing and undoing gender in R & I work.

*Sarah Karim and Anne Waldschmidt*

**Un/Doing Disability while Un/Doing Gender? An ethnographic study on practices in inclusive and sheltered workplaces for persons with learning difficulties**

There is a large body of literature discussing and researching the intersections of dis/ability and gender. Some authors claim that disabled people are viewed as sexless beings while others consider disabled women victims of double oppression. Still other authors argue that the interference of gender and dis/ability is more complex and varies in concrete situations and practices that are structured through social norms and institutional backgrounds.

Our talk will start by pointing out that the two considered categories share similar aspects: first, both disability and gender are relevant to the labour market and constructed in work-related discourses. Whereas traditional gender discourse defines men's work as productive and women's work as reproductive, persons with disabilities are typically situated in terms of being objects of care and not labouring subjects at all. At the empirical level, while women and disabled persons are able and, in actuality, do productive work, both social groups have difficulties in regard to full access to and equal participation in paid employment.

Second, we will argue that both gender and dis/ability are embodied categories, which are acted out and performed in everyday practices. The notion of doing gender implies that gender differences are reproduced in social interactions. The additional concept of undoing claims that gender differences can be deconstructed, reduced or ignored in interactive situations. The same can be claimed for other identity categories such as dis/ability.

Against this conceptual background, this talk will present empirical findings from our own ethnographic research conducted in inclusive and sheltered workplaces for persons with learning difficulties in Germany. Our data sheds light on how the category dis/ability is performed in everyday work situations. The observed strategies show that persons with learning disabilities try to avoid, diminish or modify the association with disability. The observed persons tended to highlight other identity categories, such as gender, to deflect the disability category and socialize with persons understood to be non-disabled.

Finally, our study indicates that the work context is significant: individual practices vary between different kinds of workplaces. In sheltered workshops where the dichotomy between disabled and non-disabled persons is strongly institutionalized, the categories are generally accepted. However, in everyday practice, an internal differentiation and hierarchization takes place that differentiates between impairment types, severity of impairments and ideals of productivity. In inclusive workplaces, the dis/ability difference seems to be less important at first sight, but practices of 'othering' are also observed. These practices are conducted in relation to persons outside the organization and by highlighting other identity categories such as migration or ethnicity.

Dis/ability turns out to be less of a dichotomy and more a hierarchical spectrum in which people locate themselves in relation to others, according to situational contexts and by using other categories of difference.

*Gabriele Griffin*

**‘My relationship to the university is very, very fragile’: (Un)doing gender in emerging workspaces in the academy**

This paper examines how gender is un/done in the workplace of emerging academic disciplines, in particular in Digital Humanities and in eHealth. These two relatively new academic fields share the fact that they conjoin disciplinary domains (Humanities; Health) that are frequently populated by women *with* technologization, an arena commonly associated with men. The Nordic countries (here: Finland, Norway, Sweden), where the empirical work for this paper was undertaken, are publicly dominated by a gender equality discourse which masks the inequalities that (continue to) prevail (Martinsson et al., 2017). It also in many ways masks the (un)doing of gender that is associated with such in/equalities. Little research has been done to date to explore the dis/continuities in the un/doing of gender that occurs in the work contexts of Digital Humanities (DH) and eHealth.

The notion of un/doing gender, although already first popularized in 1987 (West and Zimmerman) and therefore predating current neoliberalism, has carried with it a sense of agency on the part of those who un/do. Whilst this is in line with feminist concerns for transformation and change, it has increasingly become laminated to neoliberal notions of the responsibilized individual who acts quasi-autonomously. Here agency becomes divorced from structure, and the un/doing of gender becomes an individual matter.

This paper challenges this notion by exploring how individual agency and structural constraints interact in the academic workplace of emerging disciplines to re-assert, through context, the importance of structural constraints in the possibilities of un/doing gender. It analyses the embeddedness of un/doing gender in the existing fulcrum of wider socio-cultural context and organizational structures. These, the paper argues, circumscribe the possibilities of un/doing gender in specific and significant ways.

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*Julia Nentwich*

**Male managers struggling with hegemonic masculinity: Doing masculinity differently in affective-discursive practices**

Since ethnomethodology's seminal framework of 'doing gender' as a situated practice (West & Zimmerman, 1987), practice theories have further elaborated the performative nature of the "doings" and "sayings" of gender (Martin, 2003; Poggio, 2006). Applying discourse analysis and ethnographic methodologies, researchers have expanded to scrutinize both the "gendered practices" and the "practicing of gender" (Martin, 2003). Further investigating gendered subject positions as produced in the "embodied, material, and discursive entanglement and its accomplishment" has enabled scholars understand how the agentic and the structural aspects of gender are produced (Janssens & Steyaert, 2019, p. 525).

Contributing to such a discursive-material investigation of identities, I turn to Wetherell's (2012) affective-discursive practices. Affective-discursive practices are those practices men and women are engaging in when they describe their emotional responses (Chowdhury & Gibson, 2019). They highlight how subjects are invested in certain subject positions (Scharff, 2011). These practices are routines that are regularly applied and are hence normative. By exploring these practices, we can also highlight what is silenced or more difficult to talk about (Chowdhury & Gibson, 2019).

Analysing ten group discussions on issues of gender equality with male managers in five companies in Switzerland, I am investigating how men struggle for position (Wetherell & Edley, 1999). Exploring the affective-discursive practices in their talk I am able to show how they are not only "jockeying for position" (Edley & Wetherell, 1997), but both investing in hegemonic masculinity as well as in its critique. While they are criticizing hegemonic masculinity in form of face time, full-time work, and the ideal of the heroic leader, they are at the same time struggling to establish stable subject positions calling at alternative masculinities. Although highly invested in the topic, hegemonic masculinity is creating a situative context for them, in which it is not easy to establish an unchallenged and stable masculine identity (Wahl, 2014). My findings are relevant in at least two ways: With regards to the direct context of studying gender equality, they deepen our understanding of how men engage and as well disengage with the topic (Benschop & van den Brink, 2018; Wahl & Holgersson, 2005). With regards to the stream's discussion of researching (un)doing gender, I am arguing that my analysis of the affective-discursive practices sheds particular light on how gender is done, but also done differently.

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*Nilima Chowdhury*

**Investigating the (un)doing of gender: Critical reflections on a feminist action research project in two New Zealand-based organisations**

In the past four decades, an impressive body of literature, both empirical and conceptual, on gender-in-organisations, gendered organisations and doing gender in organisations has been built. As Francine Deutsch aptly pointed out in her important article ‘Undoing gender’, most of this research focuses on investigating how the gendered social order is reproduced and rarely explores acts of resistance. Similarly, there is very little research on how organisational change programmes impact the everyday doing of gender at work.

Organisational gender equality initiatives are commonly aimed at removing career/promotional barriers or improving work-life-balance for women, for instance by introducing more flexible working options. Their success is often evaluated quantitatively only, i.e. through before-and-after ‘body counting’. By contrast, feminist interventions in organisations are usually designed to bring about ‘transformational’, i.e., structural and cultural, change. These studies mostly investigate whether and how participants’ understanding of gender changes as a result of the programme or focus on the structural level of gendering processes.

This paper presents critical reflections on an ongoing feminist action research project which follows Deutsch’s suggestion to think of and use “interactions as a site of change”. The intervention is a series of researcher-facilitated workshops for organisational teams consisting of women at early to mid-career stages and (male and female) team leaders.

Building on my previous research on idealised femininities, organisational culture and women’s distress, the project is based on the view that women’s experience of micro-marginalisations at work produces particular ways of doing (or practising) gender that are harmful for women. The main goal thus is, firstly, to make gender visible in everyday, work-based interactional/relational practices through processes of reflection – e.g., by ‘problem-posing’ social realities and identities – and, secondly, to develop alternative work and self-practices: to undo gender. Data collection in the form of interviews and ethnographic observations (‘shadowing’) before and after the intervention form the basis for a qualitative evaluation of the change process.

Reflexivity forms an important part of action research. In this paper, I will reflect on a set of interrelated questions, the (tentative) answers to which will, in turn, shape and fuel the remainder of the study: 1) How does the researcher-initiated questioning of gendered work routines and interactions impact said practices? 2) What are the affective-discursive forms of resistance that emerge as a result – if any – and how can they be ‘utilised’ productively for the change process? 3) How salient is gender in everyday interactions at work and is its non-salience associated with reduced gender inequality? 4) What does undoing gender look like and how can it be empirically captured? 5) How does undoing gender or doing gender differently affectively impact participants’ experience of the workplace?

*Diana Baumgarten*

***"Being a man is the social role attributed to you" - Critical self-reflection of men as un-doing gender?!***

With the pluralization of lifestyles, the transformation of employment and the diminishing power of the western bourgeois-patriarchal gender order, the normative conceptions of masculinity (and femininity) have begun to move. Hegemonic masculinity - the hitherto dominant norm of being a man with its determinants: white, heterosexual, physically strong, self-disciplined and full-time work-centered - is still the norm to which reference must be made (see Connell 1987). At the same time, it increasingly loses its effectiveness and is at least partially questioned. The erosion of previous foundations of traditional masculinity is becoming a widespread experience among men. However, even men themselves increasingly find the conception of hegemonic masculinity as problematic and criticize male supremacy (Demirovic/Maihofer 2013).

This is also reflected in group discussions and biographical interviews with men, carried out as part of a DFG-funded research project. Based on the various relativizations and justifications contained therein, the far-reaching irritation regarding the position of the man in professional and family contexts becomes clear. While some of the men surveyed cling to a traditional ideal of masculinity, we also find those who consciously reject patterns of hegemonic masculinity because they experience it as restrictive and destructive.

In the latter case, an intense examination of one's own masculinity and male dominance becomes clear. The men describe how they critically reflect on their own everyday actions and try to control or deliberately break the socialized norms of masculinity. The active renouncement of dominance towards women and on other men as well as their own de-privileging is experienced positively. The empirical material clearly shows a search for *"counter-hegemonic alternatives to the reproduction of male power"* (Heilmann 2015). Both on the level of the postures described (*"I understand myself as a modern man"*) and on the level of language (*"I, as a male person"*). At the same time, the hegemonic form of masculinity continues to be effective, even against the intentions of men. Thus, the men are caught up from her in their daily practice.

In my contribution, I firstly like to present cases from the mentioned research project, in which in my point of view un-doing of masculinity takes place. I will discuss to what extent this can be understood as un-doing or not-doing gender? At the same time, I would like to point out the simultaneity of both persistent and altered notions of masculinity, in order to make clear how challenging and inconsistent such processes of change are. In a second step, I would like to critically ask to what extent qualitative interviews are an appropriate method for investigating processes of un-doing gender. How can I ask people questions concerning gender categories or gendered aspects of life, if they consider gender as irrelevant for them?

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*Ofra Goldstein-Gidoni*

### **Can Organizations Undo Gender? - Covid-19 as a Wake-up Call for the Japanese Gendered Organizational Culture**

A full-page announcement in *Nikkei*, Japan's leading financial journal, in March 2020 stirred wide debate across Japan's workforce "*Ganbaruna Nippon*": "Stop competing to the bitter end" declared the CEO of Cybozu, a leading and innovative software company, pleading with "all the managers [in Japan]" to use the pandemic as an opportunity for change. The choice of terminology is not coincidental. The "keyword" *ganbaru* (Moeran 1984) is often related to the effort and stamina of the Japanese "corporate warrior," the epitome of the "ideal worker" (Acker 1990; 1998) and in fact of hegemonic masculinity in Japan (Dasgupta 2003). Against the background of ongoing intense public, governmental and corporate discourse concerning Work-Life Balance (WLB) and the recent Work-Style Reform (WSR) declared by the Japanese government, this paper will examine whether the Covid-19 crisis may serve as a further trigger for change. Crises have been found to have the tendency to crystalize and make long-standing issues more obvious (Chwioroth & Walter, 2019; Craig 2020), the paper will examine the pandemic crisis's potential for "undoing gender" (Deutsch 2007; Nentwich & Kelan 2014 ),

Since the outbreak of the global pandemic, which in Japan led to a so-called "soft lockdown" – implying massive encouragement for working from home – there have been growing calls, from both the corporate sector and civil society organizations, for changes to the prevailing working style. Unsurprisingly, the heated debate, which raised also negative responses, afraid of change, focused on the most pronounced "gendered markers" of the Japanese ideal worker (Nemoto 2013), namely the 24-hour dedication and self-sacrifice. Based on a rigorous empirical study of this particular historical moment, but also strongly contextualized in a geographic and cultural location, I hope to critically examine processes of doing, not doing and undoing gender.

Organizations have not only been shown to be highly "gendered," containing organizational processes whereby gender identities, gendered beliefs and customs shape the lives of workers within the organization as well as between the organization and the home (Acker 1990; 1998; 2006). They have also been described as principal purveyors of conventional gender ideology (Acker & Van Houten, 1974) and thus as an especially potent site for doing gender (Ely & Padavic, 2007; Ely & Meyerson, 2010). The present heated public and corporate discourse in Japan with regard to the division between home and work, productivity and loyalty to the company will be closely analyzed through the analytical framework of doing/undoing gender. The study is further based on in-depth interviews, which were conducted via Zoom during the Covid-19 crisis with workers and managers, both male and female, employed by "new" companies such as Cybozu (mentioned above) and by more conservative masculine companies, labeled "black companies" in Japan, including those who voice a perspective fearing change. The article also draws from an extended qualitative study of the relationship between work and family in Japan, with a particular focus on changes related to men and work (Goldstein-Gidoni 2019a; 2019b).

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## **Stream 15**

### **Performing, Surviving and Institutionalizing Gender**

**Conveners: Saga Darnell, Robbin Derry, Rima Hussein, Saoirse Caitlin O'Shea, Olga Suhomlinova and Steff Worst**

*Amanda Thompson*

### **Brave Pioneers; Adulation for Male Part-time Workers**

Patterns of part-time employment are deeply gendered; 41% of employed women work part-time compared to just 13.2% of employed men (ONS 2019). In absolute numbers however, approximately 2.27 million men in the UK are employed part-time (ONS 2019), and the proportion of men engaging this mode of working is growing. Whereas Gregory and Connolly (2008), describe men's participation in part-time work as U-shaped due to the clusters of men aged 18-24, and men aged 55+ working part-time, later evidence suggests the cohort of men working part-time is becoming more diverse, with middle-aged men, single men, married men, and those with and without children also increasingly represented (Belfield *et al.* 2017:5). Set against this changing context, this paper reveals how male part-time workers in career-based, degree-level entry occupations 'do gender' at work and in their lives beyond paid work. It captures narratives to illustrate how the men navigate part-time work as men and how they are perceived, both by managers and co-workers in the workplace, and by partners, spouses and relatives in the private sphere.

The qualitative research design provides for three separate semi-structured interviews over the course of 18 months with 6 male part-time workers, plus a participant in the workplace and a participant in the home sphere associated with each of the men. The research, once completed, will generate 54 interviews and provide 6 triangulated case studies for analysis. This paper draws on the first and second series of interviews (n=36).

Findings suggest that line managers and peers are receptive to men working part-time, particularly when they do so to perform caring responsibilities for dependent children. The men however report having to manage their time carefully to protect themselves against the hegemonic norms of gender performance, and the reality that most other men in the workplace work full-time hours. They tend to set clear boundaries around their working pattern and are careful to ensure their fellow workers and managers are fully conversant with the limits surrounding their working time. Co-workers (other men), describe the male part-time workers in the study as brave and pioneering for deviating from full-time work and in so doing eschewing prevailing gender role stereotypes surrounding the participation of men in paid work. Some co-workers express envy and regret that personally they have conformed to normative male, full-time, work regimes and, in so doing, limited their lives beyond the confines of remunerated work. Participants in the home sphere are less congratulatory. Wives and partners (female) talk positively, however, about the way in which their households disrupt wider societal expectations surrounding gendered performance and so model a lived reality which rejects the reproduction of constricted gender performance.

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*Vera Hoelscher, Ratna Khanijou and Daniela Pirani*

### **Stealing the Thunder: Management Rings and Deviant Proposals**

This paper looks at deviant performances of gender within the highly heteronormative institution of marriage. Starting from the iconic object of the mangagement ring (rings worn by men to outwardly symbolise the wearer's intent to marry the giver of the ring), we explore how gender performances are reworked within the heterosexual imaginary (Ingraham, 1994). To date, discussions on engagement rings and marriage proposals have focussed on heteronormative practices (Howard, 2008; Ogletree, 2010; Otnes & Scott, 1996; Sassler & Miller, 2011). Yet, with the advent of fourth wave feminism (Maclaran, 2015), the #MeToo movement and the rise of gay marriage, this is changing.

Through a lens of institutional theory, we explore how gender performances evolve in the context of highly restricted and emotionally-charged social institutions, with a focus on gift exchange and mangagements rings. Crucially, although institutional theory is based in symbolic systems such as 'rules, norms, and cultural-cognitive beliefs', the concept relies on material resources and their accompanying behaviours to thrive (Scott, 2013: 15). Thus, we probe and assess the repeated activities and symbolic practices that outwardly form part of social life and herewith enshrine institutionalised perspectives on acceptable conduct (*ibid*).

As part of an exploratory, qualitative study, we look into the experience of women proposing, and how this might disrupt heteronormative practices of courtship and marriage. We adopt a qualitative study that combines netnography with in-depth interviews to understand if niche-market practices reinforce or downplay mainstream ones. Our leading research questions are: how do women negotiate gender conformity when proposing? How does this affect the heteronormative underpinning of marriage as an institution?

In answering these questions, we use an intersectional lens (Collins & Birge, 2016) that considers how class and race impact the proposal ritual. Budd (2017) suggests that the state of marriage as an institution has fundamentally altered over the last decades. With their views on sex and relationships being shaped by fourth wave feminism, contemporary 'woke' couples are aware of the concept of intersectionality, which fortifies the notion that it is not only "straight, white, cis-gendered, Middle Class, able-bodied women" who are able to speak on behalf of feminism (Maclaran, 2015: 1732). Whereas before couples sought marriage for the social and economic stability it provided, now it is no longer seen as compulsory for establishing oneself as an adult. Instead, it can be perceived as aspirational and often unattainable for working class couples, who cannot afford the high price tags the wedding industry comes with. This is in striking contrast with the hyper-gendered and conspicuous performances of middle-class lavish weddings (Otnes & Pleck, 2003).

Our preliminary findings highlight how mangagement rings challenge the ritual of the proposal, and the negotiations undertaken within these couples to establish the agreed gendered meaning of it. However, we also show how this deviant gender performance often replicates, rather than challenges, the heterosexual imaginary of weddings.

*Siddhartha Saxena and Deepa Chaudhary*

### **Social Gender roles affecting performance in Family businesses**

Women seeking positions in family businesses often encounter significant challenges in obtaining and retaining their roles. Most notably, role congruity being a substantial barrier to the ability of women to successfully acquire and manage their leadership positions and roles within the organizations (Garcia-Retamero & Lopez-Zafra, 2006). Role congruity according to Garcia-Retamero and Lopez-Zafra involved perceptions of how an individual's gender role fits or achieves congruity with other roles held by the individual. In most instances, leadership and female gender roles did not achieve a high degree of congruity thus creating barriers for women to successfully seek and retain leadership positions irrespective of the nature of the organization. Particularly, role congruity impacted the way in which the female leader was viewed and the specific influence that the female leader had on peers and subordinates (Garcia Retamero & Lopez-Zafra, 2006). Although role congruity was explored as a barrier to leadership practice for females, the topic is one that had not been examined in significant depth, and the work has not been explored on the side where the role is viewed from multiple people's perspective. For instance, role congruity has been noted to influence the perceptions of female leaders (Eagly & Karau, 2002). The dominance of women in the current workforce and the lack of women in leadership positions served as the impetus for further exploration of this topic. By evaluating the experiences of female leaders, it was possible to better understand what variables influenced success and retention for these leaders and what variables served as barriers to women's ascendance and retention in leadership positions. Research regarding the ascendance of women into leadership roles was focused on the inherent challenges that existed in this process. For instance, Rosette and Tost (2010) argued that the evaluation of women in leadership roles was primarily posited as creating a conflict between the inherent roles of women's gender and the roles of leadership practice. Specifically, Rosette and Tost (2010) reported that typical comprehension of the role of women in leadership positions posited that perceived mismatch between the agentic traits ascribed to the prototypical leader and the communal traits associated with the female gender. Rosette and Tost went on to argue that women in leadership positions further faced challenges with regard to role congruity and thus, it inspired us more to explore the study of changing context in India where family businesses are drastically showing an increasing influence of female leaders. Hence, it is important for us to seek insights into the area where gender is playing a role in congruence and also to investigate the nature of the impact of this gender-based role congruence.

Family businesses are considered to be paradoxical units, where the decisions are generally taken by the leader within the family business. Women seeking positions in family businesses often encounter considerable challenges in obtaining and retaining their roles. Especially, role congruity was reported as a significant barrier to the ability of women to successfully acquire and manage their positions and roles within the organizations. Role congruity can be understood in terms of the involved perceptions of how an individual's gender role fits or achieves congruity with other roles held by the individual. In most instances, leadership and female gender roles did not achieve a high degree of congruity thus creating barriers for women to successfully seek and retain leadership positions irrespective of the nature of the



organization and furthermore, there is lack of understanding on this side within the family businesses. The paper tries to look at qualities under social, provision and also understand the moderating role of gender which affects the family business roles.

*Maria Carolina Baggio*

**“Because if I had transitioned when I was 14, I would have died a long time ago”: being transgender in the 1980’s vs in the 2010’s in Brazil**

The present paper is a development of my master’s dissertation, in which I asked: how do transgender people negotiate with gender relations during their careers? In an attempt to answer that question, I interviewed eleven transgender people who live in the state of São Paulo (Brazil), of which 6 are under 30 years old and 5 are older than 40 years old. This paper aims to explore the social changes that (cis)normative gender norms went through in Brazil during the last 50 years, based on the perceptions of the research subjects. General perception is that, in the past, the consequences of being perceived as gender non-conforming by family members or co-workers were dreadful and had a lasting impact on that person’s career – for example, recurring to prostitution or illegal occupations. Therefore, many transgender people over 40 have assumed their gender identity on the past few years, a move which my oldest interviewee attributed to “a change in the collective unconscious towards more openness”. Even though the younger trans people I have interviewed are often rejected by their families and friends, they usually find supportive spaces such as social housing for LGBTQIA+ people, inclusive workplaces and supportive teachers. However, some gender non-conformities are more accepted than others, the burden falling on the shoulders of non-binary people and people of color.

*Inkeri Tanhua*

**Binary gender norms as organizational violence: The demands that undo transgender and non-binary gender people in vocational education**

Previous research in organization studies has showed how non-binary gender and transgender people do gender in organizations and pondered whether they can or cannot challenge hegemonic gender norms. This presentation turns the focus to organizational demands that undo non-binary gender people. By undoing, I refer to Judith Butler's theory of a gender norm that undoes the personhood of those who do not fit into the prevalent norm. The main research question is: How do vocational educational institutions (and work organizations in which students conduct mandatory internships during their education) regulate and place specific demands on transgender and non-binary gender people?

The paper draws from pilot interviews with four students (two non-binary gender and two transmen) and five of their teachers (3 cisgender women and 2 cisgender men) in a vocational upper secondary school in Finland. According to this study, the organizational demands that undo non-binary gender people and some transgender people are related to gender binary normativity in language, accepted physical appearances, cultures related to different professions, and norms that influence designing products in different industries – in this case game design, dressmaking and photography. The article contributes to our understanding of binary gender normativity as violence in organizations and its effects on segregation and marginalization of some transgender and non-binary gender people.

*Maria Carolina Baggio and Tania Casado*

**Negotiating passing: The relations between transgender people's genders and careers**

The present research aimed at understanding the impacts of gender relations in careers. To investigate such an issue, we ask: How do transgender people negotiate with gender relations during their careers? In Brazil and abroad, transgender people fight resistance for defying cisnormativity - the discourses which postulate that a person's gender is determined by their body-sex, producing the taken for granted relations between vagina-female-woman-femininity and penis-male-man-masculinity. Because of that, transgender people also find resistance when applying for jobs and ascending inside formal organizations.

In an effort to understand these negotiations, we look at transgender persons' careers, that is, their work experiences over time and social space. Therefore, we use life stories as our research method. We have interviewed eleven transgender persons purposefully chosen in São Paulo (Brazil) and nearby cities. Narrative analysis combined with grounded theory's theoretical coding and the constant comparison method led us to the following conclusions.

Transgender people can be in either one of two states: "neither shark nor mermaid" (when others do not recognize the referred person as a cisgender man or a cisgender woman) or passing (when the person is recognized as a cisgender person from the gender they identify as). If the person does not pass, they are subject to an array of forms of violence and face difficulties when entering and graduating from school and university, when looking for a job and while ascending in organizations. However, they sometimes receive support from family, groups, collectives, and even at work. Receiving support reduces the chances of suffering violence and its negative consequences. With that scenario in mind, our research subjects adopt one of two strategies: they either "go stealth" - when they express as the gender assigned to them at birth -, or they are open about their transgenerity. In general, people who "go stealth" face less discontinued careers. Being open about one's gender is risky, except for the diversity market - the name we gave (a) to organizations composed and led by and attend LGBT+ people, (b) to organizations concerned about diversity and inclusion, and (c) to work positions in company's diversity initiatives. As stated above, passing is a state, but also a strategy. When passing, our research subjects are protected from transphobic violence but are still susceptible to sexism. However, passing is not easy, and its effectiveness depends on race and social class.

*Saga Darnell*

### **Queer Physical Intimacy on Screen in the Age of Streaming Media**

With the rise of streaming media on platforms such as Netflix, Hulu, and HBO in the last ten years, long-established regulations around what can be shown in film and television, have been rendered less relevant in the United States. For decades, the Hays Code and private network guidelines prohibited or strictly limited depictions of queer physical intimacy. Their disuse, along with the legalization of gay marriage and growing social acceptance of queer people has resulted in a significant increase in the amount of physical intimacy involving queer and transgender characters shown on screen in popular media. This increase in media representation makes it possible for instances of queer physical intimacy to be interpreted as a subject of analysis.

In this paper, I analyze the queer physical intimacy depicted in a wide range of American films, television shows, and music videos created since 2010, in an attempt to find distinct patterns in the ways that queer physical intimacy and sex are portrayed in these performances. My intention is not to collect and describe every instance of queer intimacy portrayed in the last ten years, but to identify and analyze key patterns in the ways that physical intimacy is portrayed. I will describe these patterns, using specific examples from film and television to demonstrate, investigate, and problematize them.

My early stage research demonstrates the following themes:

- Outside voyeurism and male viewership, especially in cases of lesbian intimacy
- A predominance of white queer characters over queer characters of color
- The tendency for scenes including queer physical intimacy to be cut with scenes of heterosexual intimacy, in which the non-queer scenes are more graphic and explicit.
- Queer death, most commonly the death of transgender characters and characters of color
- Gay men portrayed as violent
- The depiction of intimacy as happening in spaces that transgress boundaries between public and private, such as clubs or bathrooms
- Unrequited gay yearning, or queer characters being in love with inaccessible heterosexual characters
- Narratives of transgender pain and suffering
- “Turning” heterosexual people gay or queer through queer intimacy

These findings raise important questions about who is being portrayed and what social narratives are being told about queer physical intimacy, queer relationships more broadly, and the threats and vulnerabilities of gay and transgender people. Trends in the accessibility and

consumption of streaming media are also important indicators of who is receiving / absorbing these images and the accompanying narratives.

*Olga Suhomlinova and Saoirse O'Shea*

**The English and Welsh Prison Estate: Institutionalising trans and gender nonconforming prisoners**

Our presentation reports on an empirical research project that investigated the lived experiences of trans and gender nonconforming prisoners (TGNC) in the English and Welsh Prison Estates. Little is known of these prisoners despite Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Services (HMPPS) having issued several Prison Service Instructions: the first one in 2011, followed by the new instructions in 2016 (in response to concerns raised by a parliamentary sub-committee) and the new Framework Policy in 2019 (in response to media pressure). These changing policies were progressive and reform based in 2016 but the 2019 framework arguably has taken a different tack.

We argue that these consecutive policies, whilst setting out a national institutional framework for 'care and management' of TGNC prisoners, are (1) based on limited evidence and (2) are not always followed in individual prisons.

Our study is the first large scale study of TGNC prisoners in the UK and the first to provide substantive data on non-binary prisoners – one of the most 'hidden' and ignored gender identities in prison.

***Robbin Derry***

## **The Destructive Moral Stigma of Sex Work**

Sex work has long been a divisive topic, even, or perhaps especially, among feminists. According to the World Population Review, there are an estimated 42 million full service sex workers around the world. The legality of their work varies widely by country: from illegal but with vague and unenforced laws in Thailand, to legal but strictly regulated in Canada, legal, licensed and taxed in Germany, and illegal in the United States everywhere but a few Nevada counties. Out of 100 assessed countries in the list, prostitution is listed as legal in 53, illegal in 35, and limited legal in 12. This range of legality of sex work “reflects different opinions on exploitation, gender roles, ethics and morality, freedom of choice, and social norms” (World Population Review, 2019). In countries where sex work has been legalized, the argument is often made that both sex workers and clients are better off when regulations ensure safe work conditions. In contrast to this view, many “radical feminists” staked out a position defining all sex work as exploitive of women.

In many discussions of sex work, the prevailing narrative is one of cisgender women, abused and exploited by pimps, working against their will, or because they are in a caste or social class with few other options. This narrative of sex work is often linked with concerns about trafficking of young racialized girls and women, who are framed as lacking both voice and agency. In what is advertised as an attempt to protect these captive or misled women and girls, legal regulations in much of the United States ban the offering of sexual services. In doing so, they stigmatize and penalize sex workers, rather than holding the pimp, trafficker, or client accountable. With the introduction of FOSTA/SESTA in the United States, the conflation of sex work and sex trafficking has been institutionally concretized and has resulted in laws that endanger and kill sex workers, particularly Black, Indigenous, transgender, queer, and full-service sex workers.

We argue that in order to assess the agency of people who do sex work, the voices of sex workers themselves need to be heard and acknowledged in this debate. These voices are often neglected in discussions of morality and legality of sex work. There is a significant literature by sex workers, both celebrating their work and their own agency in providing sexual services and condemning laws and policies that prohibit and criminalize sex work (e.g. Lang, Pilcher & Smith, 2016; Williams, 1991).

We suggest that sex work, when engaged in voluntarily and in a safe environment, makes a positive contribution to society, that should be recognized and supported by feminists. Paying for other marketable physical services, such as massage or home health care is not stigmatized but seen as necessary or desirable to maintain a reasonable quality of life. Sexual services are not significantly different but are stigmatized due to the moral burden of sexuality.

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***Raghunandan Reddy & Sili Rout***

**Workplace Bullying: The Problem That (Still) Has No Name**

Bullying and sexual harassment at workplace are near universal phenomenon in contemporary work organizations, with detrimental impact on not only women employees but also on organizational productivity, absenteeism, employee turnover, work engagement, job satisfaction, and employee health and well-being. It is therefore an important issue for studies of organizational behaviour. Yet, the review of literature shows that there is a lack of common definition of workplace bullying which plagues the field of research on workplace bullying, as researchers focus either on individual or structural factors in explaining the antecedents, processes and consequences of workplace bullying, employing a variety of theoretical perspectives and research methods, pointing to the need to account for enabling structures and processes, motivating structures and processes, precipitating processes or triggering circumstances. Further, it is recommended by researchers to examine workplace bullying in the interaction of the individual and the contextual factors, at the individual, group, and organizational levels.

In order to prevent bullying and sexual harassment at workplaces, governments in various countries have enacted laws. The concepts of bullying and harassment differ from one country to another and affect their approaches to deal with this issue. Such variations at the level of countries could be attributed to cultural differences; variations could also exist within a country, as organizations interpret the laws and implement organizational policies for the prevention and redressal of bullying and sexual harassment at workplace, in their own way, and in a given cultural, socio-economic and political milieu. Yet, despite the fact that the factors, processes and consequences of workplace bullying in various industry sectors are well researched, there is a dearth of research on how the regulatory texts and organizational policies derived from those regulatory texts recognize the workplace bullying experiences of women as such (be it of sexual nature or non-sexual nature).

In this context, this study examines how the experiences of workplace bullying of women employees tend to go unacknowledged in the inter-textual coordination of statutory and legal provisions and organizational policies. This study seeks to demonstrate inconsistencies in the interpretation and implementation of laws in an Information Technology Services organization in India, using institutional ethnography research framework. The study finds that the disjunctures between state's laws and the organization's policies and practices allow for organizational and managerial discretion in shaping the experiences of women employees who were victims of bullying. The study addresses the gap in literature on the role of regulatory texts, and the organizational policies derived from those regulatory texts in recognizing and addressing the workplace bullying experiences of women as such, using institutional ethnography research framework. The study recommends that organizations need to revisit their policies and practices pertaining to prevention and redressal of sexual harassment to include workplace bullying of non-sexual nature. The Indian state needs to formulate and implement laws on preventing and redressal of workplace bullying of not only sexual nature, but also of non-sexual nature.

*Rima Hussein*

**Fuck the systems**

I can't do this anymore.

It is the burning, the stretching, the moment of reckoning.

I don't want to do this anymore.

My heart is broken over and over by the loss of my faith in justice.

By seeing my children's pained faces as they say goodbye for another three days.

I sat in a court room today.

It was secret, as all the family law hearings are.

There sat a smirking judge. He does not see what has been so directly shown.

Yes, he punched me, yes, he spat in my food, yes, he controlled and manipulated all our years together. And now he manipulates you. So that you sit in a court room asking why this woman keeps making allegations. You avoid the abuse word; too messy. Skirt over all the entrails of the abuse lying there in the room and stare at the woman, daring her to look back. Well, she does and will continue to. You hold no authority over me, nor do you preside over truth or deal in any kind of justice. This is a kangaroo court in the 21st century in a privileged nation in the Western World. Except in the court room the years have rolled back, we are in another place and time. Survivors have no voice, they are silenced, they are labelled over-protective of their children, they are gaslit and retraumatised in a 'civilised legal system'. A carousel of money spent for someone to speak for me, that doesn't say the right things, trying to understand what the nuances are, as the solicitors and judge speak in a code I don't understand. What do they understand? Not the pain, the courage, the love, protection, sacrifice and the responsibility, honour and justice it deserves.

Welcome to Newcastle Family court, you have been in DDJ Malik's chamber.

This system cannot bear the messiness of abuse, it attempts to sweep it away, render it clean somehow. If only they can put it to the side, pretend it is tit for tat, or he said she said. The system drowns the voices of survivors traumatised by abuse, fighting for their children and retraumatised by the private proceedings in the family law court. This is not the only system they are battling; there are police officers to educate, school leadership teams to inform, GP practices to wrestle with and all of this with the family law court as landscape.

Fuck the systems! The systems that survivors of abuse must navigate and negotiate are peppered with triggers, hardship and injustice. To open up personal experiences of systems is to share hidden paths on the margins, walking on the edges, spaces that are battle fields in the fight for justice. The personal becomes the political and the battle weary become the guides. There is much to be walked. Tales will be shared as acts of resistance to light beacons and forge gateways through systems. Systems created to keep those on the margins out. There are pathways carved in blood, tears and rage that need to be shown, as outsiders navigate their way through the systems that blind, bind and silence.

**Stream 16**  
**The Present and Future of Intersectionality:**  
**Controversies, Challenges, Transformations and**  
**Opportunities**

**Conveners: Jenny Rodriguez, Elisabeth Anna Gunther and Stella Nkomo**

*Evangeline Tsao*

**Intersectionality as methodology?: Researching equality and inclusion practice in higher education**

Amidst scholarly discussions of a post-intersectionality turn to analysing inequality and oppression, it seems that the term ‘intersectionality’ has become increasingly popular in more general discourse around equality and inclusion practice. In Higher Education Institutions (HEIs), for instance, there has been more emphasis on intersectional inequalities, and this is partly reflected in the Athena SWAN Charter which requires institutions to address gender and intersectional inequalities in its principles. Nevertheless, since there is no clear guidance on how intersectional inequalities should be evaluated and addressed, there exists the risk of rendering ‘intersectionality’ a buzzword (Davis 2008). In addition – and perhaps paradoxically – Advance HE also organises Race Equality Charter (REC) as an independent recognition, raising the question of how constructive their intersectional approach is. In practice, although colleagues in HEIs are becoming more aware of the effects of multiple and different marginalised positions, most of the staff equality networks are still organized based on social categories such as LGBTQI+, race and ethnicity, and dis/ability, demonstrating the challenge of thinking and organising beyond existing frameworks of identity politics.

Examining the role of intersectionality in this context thus raises many difficult and complex questions, including whether and how it can be meaningfully implemented in workplace settings. In this paper, I aim to explore the ways ‘intersectionality’ can be an approach to understanding multiple dimensions of inequality at interpersonal and institutional levels, based on my empirical research on equality and diversity practices in a university in the UK. I will examine how colleagues who participated in the interviews responded to ‘intersectionality’ based on their experiences, including how they envisage actions that promote a more inclusive working environment. Locating the HEI in a wider neoliberal context and in relation to the Athena SWAN Charter, I will also discuss how intersectionality as an approach enables us to expose a hierarchy of inequalities and the problematics of Athena SWAN being a form of moderate feminism and a site of both resistance and complicity (Tzanakou and Pearce 2019). Finally, reflecting upon scholarly discussions of intersectionality as methodology – including that raises critical question of the research process and the researcher’s positionality – I will explore how a failure to carefully address intersectionality can have a detrimental effect of reproducing hierarchies and oppression, and raise these questions for discussion: how could (in)equality and inclusivity be otherwise assessed? And what methods may be more effective to generate actual change for different ‘groups’ of members?

*Dorian R. Woods, Yvonne Benschop, Marieke van den Brink and Mieke Verloo*

**What is intersectional equality? Defining an approach for feminist social justice in organizations**

Our submission addresses one of the major questions of Stream 16: How can we use the concept of intersectionality to tackle existing inequalities within work, employment and organizations? The first step, we argue, to tackling inequalities is defining a normative framework of equality that conceptually bridges intersectionality to social justice theories in the context of organizations. Intersectionality has been revolutionary in its conceptualization of inequality, and its approach we think will help locate where to anticipate pushback and power struggles in the quest for equality. Intersectionality's attention to power between individuals due to the intersections of their social location helps to transcend a fixation on single rigid social categories. Intersectionality has enabled us to understand that meanings of social categories shift and, at their intersection, an individual's characteristics hold different weight at different times.

In order to design work processes in organizations that interrupt oppressive power and privilege, we start with Kimberlé Crenshaw original writings (Crenshaw 1989, 1991) and their legacy (Collins 2011). We then move to later writings from Crenshaw and co-authors (Cho, Crenshaw, and McCall 2013; Carbado et al. 2013) to explore how they understand the best ways to overcome inequality with coalition-building. These insights form the first theoretical foundation for our approach to intersectional equality. We find, however, that the intersectional perspective on inequality needs to incorporate a structural/institutional perspective. Joan Acker's inequality regimes is an organizational approach that fits well with intersectionality because it also focuses on power processes and dynamics, but at an institutional level (Acker 2006). We explore how these two approaches can complement one another in understanding how organizations reproduce racism, patriarchy, heterosexism, ableism, classism and other oppressions.

Feminist scholarship has made great strides in uncovering, analyzing and understanding inequality. However, amidst quantum leaps forward in comprehending inequality, there is a lack of knowledge and consensus for the most appropriate or effective solutions to achieve equality. We carefully review Acker's, Crenshaw's and co-authors' suggestions for eliminating inequality, and argue that intersectional equality also needs a foundation from ethics. Therefore, we turn to Amartya Sen's capabilities approach and its elaboration of equality (Sen 1980, 1992, 1999). We find that the capabilities approach is promising for understanding equality in its complexity as intersectionality defines it, but it is incomplete for understanding organizations. The capabilities approach cannot fully engage with the systemic and structural inequalities in organizations, and needs to be complemented with the framework that Acker describes. Therefore, we outline what we consider to be a definition and goal of intersectional equality, building on the three foundations of intersectionality, inequality regimes and capabilities approach.

From our definition of intersectional equality, we propose organizations coordinate networking and coalitions to develop skills and capabilities. In order to achieve intersectional

equality, organizations need to design and sustain coalitions that undo long-term social disparities among individuals. This means organizations focus on dismantling persistent marginalization and exclusion in procedural, material, discursive, and affective areas of the organization. In conclusion, this paper discusses the application of intersectional equality for feminist projects and interventions in the workplace.

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*Laura Kangas-Müller*

**Inclusion with or without equality? An intersectional approach to organizational practices of inclusion**

This paper argues that the recent 'inclusion turn' in organization studies (Adamson, Kelan, Lewis, Śliwa, & Rumens, 2020; Ferdman & Deane, 2014) has thus far overlooked the questions of inequality and disadvantage/privilege, risking making it not meaningful for the struggles of marginalized groups. While the promise of inclusion holds that all individuals can belong as 'insiders' and be recognized as their unique authentic selves (Shore, Cleveland, & Sanchez, 2017), critical diversity scholars have demonstrated that organizational efforts towards inclusion tend to come with contradictory effects, reproducing societal processes of 'othering', reifying differences and conditioning inclusion to accommodation to dominant norms (Adamson et al., 2020). Minorities may be 'included', but simultaneously marginalized, and unequal social orders are reproduced. Thus, we have little knowledge about organizational practices of inclusion as disrupting the reproduction of unequal social orders and improving the position of marginalized groups in organizations and societies more broadly.

In this paper, I propose intersectionality as a lens to help turn critical attention to how 'doing' inclusion in organizations relates to and is shaped by the complex, interdependent and mutually constituted processes and dynamics of subordination and inequality. I follow, firstly, intersectional scholars who have highlighted that positions of disadvantage/privilege need to be understood as dynamic and relational, instead of static and reified, refraining from essentializing social identity categories (Rodriguez, Holvino, Fletcher, & Nkomo, 2016). Secondly, I draw from the concept of political intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1991) to scrutinize how understanding the oppression and inequality faced by specific social identity groups can be mobilized for political projects fostering their inclusion – bearing in mind the risks of simultaneously reifying the group categories.

Empirically, the paper draws from an ethnographic study conducted in a civil society organization that aims to foster social inclusion of refugees and migrants and engages in a political project of making claims about their belonging in the host society. Through an intersectional approach to 'doing inclusion', the paper explores how the organization navigates questions of inequality and disadvantage/privilege in relation to multiple intersecting categories of difference. The analysis shows how the organizational practices of inclusion accentuate some differences while trivializing others, and contribute to both disrupting and reinforcing existing inequalities in relation to the interplay of categories such as gender, ethnicity, class, language skills, migration status, religion, nationality and age. Moreover, the paper discusses the theoretical and methodological possibilities and challenges of applying an intersectional frame for the purpose to extend the potential of organizational practices of inclusion as a socio-political project rooted in the struggles of marginalized groups.



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*Erika Sylvia Nacim*

**‘The Revolution will be Intersectional’**

The phrase ‘The Revolution will be Intersectional’ is said in various forms in organizing circles, ones rooted in social justice action and radical thought. The attempt to build intersectional social movements is present, but the actual practice of intersectionality is what must be deconstructed, interrogated, and held accountable. The intention is present and the correct words are said as a performance piece related to intersectional theory, but more often than not the same hegemonic and toxic behaviors social movements are working against are replicated in practice. The same reproduces in academic structures, intersectional theory and thought is taught but rarely practiced.

This paper serves to deconstruct a movement related to social justice in a specific context under the lens of intersectionality. The context being Tucson, Arizona and focusing on the Arizona 3 (March 19, 2019) incident on the University of Arizona (UA) campus and analyzing it at different levels of impact on the university campus and Tucson’s vulnerable communities. Intersectionality will be used here as an analytic tool, in its intended form “to solve problems that they or others around them face” (Collins & Bilge, 2016, p. 2). First, outlining the incident itself and the charges filed against the Arizona 3. Second, the organizing actions that rallied around those charged and subsequent protests that came about in various forms- physical, written, etc. Third, the institutional response and support of the Border Patrol will be analyzed under the lens of intersectionality drawing on artifacts such as campus wide emails, public videos, news articles, and departmental letters.

*Bilge Durutürk*

### **Femonationalism Through Intersectionality: The Case of France**

Women solidarity as the main issue of second wave feminism has been questioning by the concept of “intersectionality”. Discrimination from one women to another is becoming one of the crucial problematic of intersectionality. Regarding multiple jeopardy through quintessential elements of intersectionality, racialization of religion especially for the case of Islam in Europe has been in a big challenge against women solidarity. Because “racially” differentiated women groups would be considered as the major oppressor to other “racialized” women group which is veiled Muslim migrant women particularly in France.

Today in Europe, there is a debate which might be quite related to intersectionality and is called “femonationalism”. Nationalism generally belongs to a masculinist discourse but as Kandiyoti emphasized that the women groups who imitate the acts of male domination are the ones who are “bargaining with patriarchy”. And in this study femonationalism is executed as the bargain interiorized by some women groups.

Thus, this study aims to analyze femonationalist acts of second wave feminists in France through the term intersectionality. This article claims that the manner of this women group, been called white feminists by myself, is about othering and excluding veiled Muslim women under the name of universal women rights. Being favor of banning headscarf at public schools is the most concrete example of the discrimination. The situation of veiled Muslim migrant women has been considered as the (intersectional) other of “French (European) women”.

In this study intersectionality’s three big masters (race, class and gender) will be using to analyze categorizations of white feminists’ femonationalist position. Race as racialization of Islam is being instrumentalised as a tool of putting all Muslim migrants from different origin-countries in a same basket called Muslim. Gender as emancipation of Muslim women from Islamic patriarchy is highlighted “submissive” character of Muslim women by wearing headscarf because of the pressure of Muslim men and rule of Islam. Class as integration of Muslim community to French society is symbolized the distant and closed structure of migrant communities especially at the banlieues.

As qualitative data of “white feminists’ discourse”, the fieldwork from September 2017 till December 2017 with CSOs advocating women’s rights in France will be using for this study’s arguments. The fieldwork consisted in-depth interviews with CSOs that defend “French values (such as laïcité, republic)” even though those values would be discriminatory through prohibitions.

*Caroline Rodrigues Silva, Alexandre de Pádua Carrieri, Chiara Gomes Costanzi and Juliana Schneider Mesquita*

### **Wiping ice? The daily life of a delegation of violence against women**

Brazil is the fifth country in the world ranking of femicide, or as it is defined hate crime against women and a constant aversion to women. This mode or crime is the latest in a series of historical physical, psychological, symbolic, cultural and social violence suffered by women (Pasinato, 2011). It is noteworthy that Brazil is a country with several markers of difference as it has a heritage of being a slave society and having produced violations that permeate as gender identities, class and also as race identities intersectionally (Gonzales, 1984; Viana, 2010). Such markers of difference operate in various forms and confer oppression as well as a privilege. Thus, it is necessary to identify a multiform way of racism, heterosexism, classify intersection and organize in society (Nash, 2008). In addition to the high rate of crimes against women in Brazil, there is a higher rate of femicide among black women (Sérgio De Lima et al., 2019). In this sense, it is a political thought the organs of territorialization and deterritorialization of the coloniality of the bodies chosen in the Brazilian context. So that we move away from polarities and a binary system, or whatever dichotomy is between individual and collective (Deleuze & Guattari, 1995). Thus, a micro-political and macropolitical challenge, produced in an organic, fluid and multiform form. In this sense, this research maps points of agency of a continuum of violence against women. How are the victims of some kind of violence when looking for a police station specialized in crimes against women? This work seeks to apprehend or receive care of these women, the positive and foreign points experienced daily by the perspective of public security agents, civil police. From an anti-narrative affectation process, we seek to understand the type of public policy offered to women when triggered or after deciding to report the violence experienced (Riach, Rumens, & Tyler, 2016). Research is undertaken from intersectional feminism, which is the method, analytics, theory (Crenshaw, 2004) and praxis (Rodriguez, Holvino, Fletcher, & Nkomo, 2016). Thus, it comprises academic and political activism in the face of the various forms of daily work (Butler, 2016; Gonzales, 1984; Pullen, 2018). This approach involves the lives of various women and contributes to the field of Organizational Studies and brings a discussion about the management of generated and racialized lives. The main results related to lack of sex education; absence of racial and generated problems; normalization of violent processes; financial and/or emotional dependence and; the police of an ice research work for the treatment of historical, social and cultural conditions. Thus, a police station against women is one of the nodal points of mechanical agency connected to a multiplicity of power relations produced in society. Given the possibility of surviving and antagonistically normalizing the numbers of violated cases, it was highlighted that research follows the collection of narratives through the experiences of women who suffer violence.

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*Karen Wilkes*

**The intersections of white femininity, privilege and class in the production of knowledge (and ignorance) in the clean eating movement**

At the height of the social media ‘clean eating’ phenomenon, there were documentaries that sought to examine the healthy eating trend. They questioned the food claims being made by clean eating advocates (e.g. the universal health benefits of excluding milk, wheat and sugar from diets were frequently stated). These documentaries were aired in the context of a backlash toward the largely unproven pronouncements about the alleged unhealthy attributes of specific foods (see for example the BBC 2 Horizon documentary Clean Eating – The Dirty Truth). The controversies regarding the misinformation disseminated by the clean eating movement have continued, yet this has coincided with the success of brands and food bloggers such as Deliciously Ella and Madeleine Shaw. The clean eating trend is a lens through which the intersections of white femininity, privilege and knowledge production can be examined.

The analysis will be undertaken by combining scholarship regarding the systematic production of ignorance (Outlaw, 2007), and an intersectional approach to critical visual analysis, in order to examine a selection of promotional images of clean eaters. The discussion will consider the techniques and aesthetics used to construct and convey the visual authoritativeness of clean eaters; the socially approved white femininities that capitalise on the existing norms of respectability, in addition to exploring the privileged, racialised environment which has legitimised clean eating as a vehicle for misinformation about food. The discussion challenges the taken-for-granted representations of amateur cooks turned expert and authoritative producers of food knowledge. I aim to examine the class, gender and racial structures that nurture whiteness and enables whiteness to capitalise on social media platforms, to display carefully crafted self-images that have obtained public acceptance, made them highly influential, and facilitated lucrative media and food industry careers.

*Katrin Schindel*

**“Intersectional, queer-feminist project” made by white people? An analysis of digital activist debates on intersectionality in Germany**

Intersectionality, the notion that sexism, racism, and classism (and other ‘-isms’) act as interlocking systems of oppression, is nowadays celebrated as the most important contribution of women’s and gender studies. Indeed, it has become a “buzzword” both in academic and popular feminist debates. While these two spheres are often researched separately, Jennifer Nash rightly reminds us that “[...] academic debate about intersectionality acted as a laboratory for the debates that now circulate outside of academic feminism, in popular feminism practiced on Twitter and Facebook [...].”

One of the most pressing debates it seems, is the question of who is intersectionality for. While some scholars use intersectionality to research majority groups such as heterosexual masculinities, others argue that it should only be for those who developed it, namely Black women and Women of Colour. Nikol Alexander-Floyd even argues that white women should come up with their own concepts in order to talk about their experience of sexism. Furthermore, Barbara Tomlinson analyses neoliberal and powerblind “discursive devices” and “rhetorics” that white scholars use to allegedly “rescue” intersectionality from Black feminists.

Building on existing academic debates, and drawing on ethnographic fieldwork from my PhD research, I will present current debates on intersectionality both in academic and activist feminism. By concentrating on German speaking feminist activist spaces, my analysis addresses the fact that most feminist research focuses on the Anglo-American world and therefore will follow intersectionality on its travels to another linguistic context. Using two case studies ([\*Feminismus im Pott\*](#) and [\*Not An Object\*](#)) and online focus groups with self-defined feminists, my analysis will then centre around the question of how intersectionality gets articulated and who it should be for.

The goal of my research is to trace the racial politics enmeshed in both academic and popular activist debates on intersectionality. Ultimately, my analysis will show that, as Erel et.al. have put it, intersectionality has become “a mainstreamed shortcut that can instantly ‘politically correct’ your output, the pain-free way.”

*Lakshmi Srinivasan*

### **Navigating Intersectional Exclusion In “Public” Spaces of The Global South**

Shared and “public” spaces in a city, host diverse people from different socio-economic backgrounds, genders, physical abilities, social mindsets and often, different nationalities. This brings in learning and cultural exchange but also social tension, confrontation and often with it, exclusion. Discussing the Gadhar-Malu relocation project in Gujarat, India, Lyla Mehta illuminates the multiple kinds of exclusion faced by people in the Indian sub-continent - gendered, economic, social oppression etc (Mehta, 2009). The “public space” becomes the physical (material) and metaphysical (social, political, cognitive) space where these exclusions and oppressions occur. This exclusion is non-binary and complex (Soja, 2014). However, popular literature on urban public spaces views exclusion from a top-down narrative where people are categorised based on their dominant singular identity (women, disabled etc). While intersectionality theory originated in the context of law and has been increasingly discussed and employed in social science research, gender studies, sociology, health and psychology, (Carbado et al., 2013) popular literature on design, specifically spatial design does not discuss intersectionality theory. Intersectionality is yet to see popular writing or use as an analytical tool in understanding and resolving issues pertaining to spatial exclusion.

Leonard and Christine Bachman discuss three key areas of architecture & spatial practice that intersectionality theory can contribute to - social activism, stakeholder engagement and sustainability & commodification of resources (Bachman and Bachman, 2017). In spatial design, intersectionality theory can be seen as a potential “postmodernist” analytical tool in that becomes an intellectual bridge between modernist theories of spatial exclusion and the principle of “radical inclusivity”.

In this paper, I shall propose the use of intersectionality theory as a mechanism to create more inclusive spatial design practices and to navigate exclusion in public spaces. This shall be done through my reflections on an academic project on a public transit station in Chennai, India. I shall elucidate on the following methods of understanding exclusions through an intersectional lens :

- Construction of cognitive maps to understand individuals’ journeys through space and time in public spaces, as functions of their identities.
- A visual tool to examine dynamic intersectional identities - as complex identities that change with time.
- Construction of activity maps that reveal how the “excluded” navigate or deflect these exclusions (eg:- how do street vendors deflect policies and networks of control and exclusion)

Intersectionality and intersectional feminism as social movements have come under fire for encouraging “identity politics” and encouraging “privilege-checking” as a form of bullying



(Emba, 2015). Also, some criticisms accuse intersectionality of not preserving the sanctity of universal liberalism and radical inclusivity as an ideology (Pluckrose, 2017). However, these do not validate discarding intersectionality theory completely. Rather, intersectionality theory, in its application, needs to be integrated with traditional approaches used to understand spatial exclusion - when universal liberalism is used as a thinking tool and kept in check by using intersectionality to cross-examine the outcomes of that analysis. As an approach, it can help practitioners understand and work with exclusion better. It offers a middle ground when the analysis is neither generalized to large groups of people (as in the case of movements like feminism) , nor is it a political ideology that is practically unattainable for prolonged durations of time (like radical inclusivity). Thus, Intersectionality can help understand and address spatial exclusion in more workable parts.

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*Juliana Schneider Mesquita, Caroline Rodrigues Silva and Juliana Cristina Teixeira*

### **Black Women Identities Empowerment: What's matter for the Brazilian Organizations?**

While talking about a post-intersectional turn possibility, in Brazil, intersectionality is a still emerging theme in the management academy, finding barriers in the legitimation of its epistemological, theoretical, methodological and activist assumptions, against hegemonic Eurocentric perspectives in a coloniality context of knowledge, powers and practices (Teixeira, Oliveira, & Mesquita, 2019). Thus, structural and institutional racism manifests itself in such a way as to silence the academic production of researchers like us who speak of black Latin American women position, since intersectional feminism has been appropriated by whiteness and it is in danger of being emptied (Akotirene, 2019). Intersectionality contributes to unraveling the minutiae that exist in the Brazilian organizational context, given that the country was forged worldwide as a racial democracy example, but this is a myth (Guimarães, 2006). In Brazil 53% of the population is self-declared black (IBGE, 2010), however, given all the negative stereotypes built on the black race, many mixed race Brazilians with African ancestry do not recognize themselves as black (Schucman, 2012). There is a racial-sexual work pyramid in the country, in which black women occupy the social and wage pyramid base (IBGE, 2018), thus being in a greater social vulnerability situation, being the target of both patriarchal and racial oppressions, intersectionally (Crenshaw 1989; Gonzalez 1984). To claim a social assumption, black women choose to change their black phenotype by following the Eurocentric beauty standard imposed by society (and organizations) in a de-africanization process (Zeferina, 2019). This process is reinforced by the fact that racism in Brazil manifests itself through brand bias, the one whose appearance is the main racialization brand, and not so much the racial origin (Nogueira, 2007). From the black feminist movement, leveraged by social networks, the search for the black women empowerment has led to identities resignifications (Mesquita, Teixeira, & Silva, 2017). Many women who previously did not recognize themselves as black now recognize themselves. In this context, starting from an intersectional and decolonial proposal, the research involves interviews with Brazilian black women managers, whose objective was to understand what are the identities resignification impacts on Brazilian organizations (historically based on Eurocentric management standards). Results point to black feminism as an important instrument in this racialization process. In organizations there is a conflict between these identities and the Eurocentric standards required for management positions, and there is therefore a contradiction between diversity management discourses and practices. By overcoming entry barriers, however, Brazilian black women managers are unable to transperform (Matos, 2008) their racialized identities. Given this limitation, understanding intersectionality beyond theory as a praxis (Rodriguez, et al., 2016) involves the need to think collectively and structurally the identity empowerment dynamics worked, since they still involve very individual and groups resignification processes (Berth, 2019), rather than structural processes that might influence the way organizations receive and/or deal with women who have the right to transperform their racialized identities.

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*Uracha Chatrakul, Na Ayudhya and Aylin Kunter*

**How brown x young x female do I need to be to make the tea? ‘Office housework’ as intersectional identity work in the workplace**

In this paper, we focus on how social bodies matter in understanding the intersectional dynamics of inequality and marginalization in the workplace. Specifically, we consider which bodies get asked to do the ‘office housework’ among highly qualified professionals in the organization – work that needs to be done and is sometimes important, but invisible and undervalued. For example, which bodies are expected to organise gifts, set up meetings, and order refreshments and food? Office housework differs from ‘glamour work’ (Williams and Multhaup, 2018), work that is visible, recognized, valued and rewarded, often linked to progression and promotion within the organization.

Extant research has shown that gender is a key dynamic in the allocation of office housework. Women, through their perceived strengths and capabilities, are often selected in the workplace to carry out jobs more commonly seen in the domestic realm. Huff’s (2016) work on the “wives of the organization” argues that women often take on background or less professionally rewarded or recognized roles, often due to early childhood socialization. Whilst recognizing the importance of this, we also see that there are other important forces at play that are under-explored. This paper, therefore, aims to propose a framework that draws on intersectionality, identity work, and the body to analyse the lived experience of multiple-identified individuals who are asked to do the “office housework”.

As qualitative researchers and as non-white women academics working at British higher education, we explore how multiple social identities and the body are linked, in the form of identity work and in turn the symbolic perception in organizations of the ‘ideal worker’ and the ideal working body (Acker, 1991). The question asked here is whether the body is lacking or producing. Frank argues that “embodied consciousness is always a body conscious of itself. The theoretical task is to describe the dimensions of this consciousness.” (Frank, 1991, P.38). This self-relatedness to the body must also have some sense of relation to others. Does the body consciousness associate itself with its own being?

We aim, as authors who transcend more than one minority category of intersectionality, to carry out in-depth autoethnographic accounts of our own experiences of work. As highly educated, professional workers, we have experienced discrimination at many levels and stages of our career, including the disproportionate allocation of ‘domestic’ tasks and responsibilities often seen as belonging in the domestic sphere. By combining our collective and also individual experiences of being brown x women x post-maternal bodies in the workplace, we aim to construct a narrative theme around our own lived experiences, guided by the work of Coffey (1999), and to understand how intersectionality performs its role in the domestication of some and not others in the workplace and how this intersects with identity work. Through the voices of marginalised bodies, we can gain understanding of how multiple minority identities such as gender, race, ethnicity, age, and class intersect to shape intersectional identity work in the workplace.

hooks (2006) argues that in creating a culture where those who are able to through financial and social privilege, occupy the colonizing location, have the freedom to self-interrogate, and to prevent those colonized from doing the same, merely maintains existing structures of domination. The voices of some are therefore suppressed and silenced. We aim, through the use of autoethnographic methods, to uncover our collective voice, and reflect on the intersectional work taking place at the individual level. We therefore investigate the politics of space and self, in relation to ourselves and the contexts within which we operate.

*Marion Lieutaud and Léa Renard*

**« Isn't it just an interaction effect? » Survey data, statistical methods and intersectional failures**

Since Crenshaw's seminal paper (1989), intersectional scholarship has grown tremendously, with great resonance in the academic field and beyond. This scholarship is overwhelmingly theoretically and qualitatively oriented; incursions into the realms of quantitative methods (Bowleg 2008; Bauer & Scheim 2019; Codioli McMaster & Cook 2018) remain marginal in the field, and fleeting outside of it. Intersectionality is often summarily understood as a matter of interacting two (or, optimistically, three) predictor variables such as gender identity, ethnic identity, and income or education. We argue that there is much more that the quantitative social researcher can take from it, and that the concept can powerfully inform a critical yet pragmatic approach to survey design, quantitative data and quantitative analysis. Three questions drive this paper: first we ponder what intersectional statistics could look like; second we enquire into what conditions - political, institutional, or specific to the field of statistics - allow or hinder the emergence of windows of opportunity for quantitative intersectional research; finally we ask what epistemological implications the integration of intersectionality may hold for quantitative social science research.

On paper, quantitative data lends itself readily to intersectional analysis. Its need for compartmentalisation and clear-cut categories ("Man/woman/other", "ethnic identity" with x options to choose from etc.) resembles the law and its equally set - and equally arbitrary - categories. Much as Crenshaw set out once to demonstrate the points of intersectional failures in the phrasing and categories used by anti-discrimination laws, so the first step for an intersectional reading of quantitative data is to be attentive to terrains of statistical invisibility: to question what is not in the data, and not simply make use of what is (Waring 1988), and to highlight the "missed encounters" as a matter of intersectional enquiry. Survey design is a deeply political work of negotiation, compromise and prioritisation to decide what can and will be included in the survey. The conditions for intersectional windows of opportunity to appear are circumstantial and strategic and involve the particular recruitment of survey designers, survey "inertia" (which carries through gender variables to newer surveys), outside institutional pressure (gender mainstreaming from the EU and the UN), and governmental lobbying more interested in questions of integration and immigration than in gender relations.

Even when quantitative data suitable for (some) intersectional analysis exists, the possibility hardly dictates the practice; further, the question of how it can or should be done comes with its own set of complications. Control variables and "all other things being equal" reasoning and models dominate social sciences; they run counter to the intersectional argument that things are not in fact "otherwise equal", and that systematically forcing the disaggregation of characteristics blinds the researcher to the distinctive social reality of marginalised intersectional groups. Interaction effects bring a pale solution to this complex problem, as they rapidly crowd statistical models. The intersectional path invites us to re-examine data as well as descriptive, exploratory and inductive analyses, prior to causal inferences. This may

help us identify and bring into our models intersectional categories that make sense for the research object at hand, rather than plugging in intersectionality at the inference stage.

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*Elisabeth Anna Guenther*

**Doing intersectional interference through algorithms and data analytics. A conceptual framework.**

Intersectionality is – in the understanding of several scholars – a multi-layered, complex phenomenon (Anthias 2012; Choo and Ferree 2010; McCall 2005; Tatli and Özbilgin 2012; Winker and Degele 2011). So far, large part of the literature on intersectionality in work and organizations tend to focus on subjectivities (Atewologun 2018; Rodriguez et al. 2016). Although this produces important insights on the lived realities of marginalised and oppressed people, a more comprehensive approach could be beneficial. Rodriguez et al. (2016: 203) point towards the “fundamental opportunity to advance our knowledge of intersectionality in work and organizations” by building upon a more systematic analysis of inequalities, which examines the simultaneously present layers of power dynamics. Drawing on the work of Patricia Yancey Martin (2003) and Bourdieu (1998) this paper conceptualises intersectionality as a relational social practice. Relational social practice means that intersectional inequality is (re)produced constantly and effects people in different forms: while some receive privileges and benefits, others are oppressed and experience injustice. In other words, privilege and oppression are two sides of the same coin and related to each other. Moreover, intersectionality is conceptualised as an interference (Verloo 2013) of domination patterns, where different forms of inequality and oppression can re-inforce each other, hardly interact, or cancel each other out.

Looking at the ways data analytics and algorithms (re)produce inequalities, further illustrates the use and understanding of doing intersectional interference. Data analytics – the quantitative computer aided transformation of (big) data to information - often appears objective. Yet, search engines reinforce racist stereotypes and discriminate people of colour, especially women of colour (Noble 2018), algorithms and machine learning reproduce gendered and racialized biases (Caliskan et al. 2017; Schiebinger et al. 2019; Wachter-Boettcher 2017). In a way, computer programmes ‘do’ intersectional interference, either by accident or by design. To address how intersectional interference is done by algorithms, this paper makes use of Martin’s (2003) framework to discuss issues of agency, power and accountability. The aim is to not only to elaborate on intersectional interference as a relational social construct, but to use this frame to discuss algorithms and data analytics as medium of power and dominance (cf. Cockburn 1985).

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*Chidozie Umeh*

**Triumph of theory or purpose? contextualising intersectionality in underresearched contexts: Insights from Nigeria**

Although intersectionality emerged in the 1970s through the activism of black feminists, its application as an analytical tool to the field broader field of management - to account for overlapping identities, categorise differences, address inequalities and manage diversity - has been mainly focused on organisations in the Global North. In this conceptual paper, based on unique insights from two organisations in a culturally diverse and multi-ethnic country in the Global South, we propose a need to contextualise intersectional theorising in several ways. Firstly, by refocusing on the lived/reconstructed experiences and meanings of identity(ies) by individuals in indigenous multiethnic contexts. Secondly, by accessing, engaging with and probing individuals in these contexts through methods such as vignette elicited interviewing as a way of giving voice to (rather than, as is typical, being the voice of) individuals in these settings. Thirdly, articulating diversity management in these contexts in a more nuanced way such as by turning the focus from diversity management policies [only] to individual feelings, meanings and experiences of diversity and diversity management [also].

In this study, Nigeria is the focal country of interest although in Africa, intersectionality as a research analytical approach has yet to gain much-needed attention, particularly in the study of class and inequality. Various studies suggest that in Africa using an intersectional lens necessitates a determination regarding which social categories are important in understanding the intersectional politics of inclusion and exclusion; that intersectional discrimination indicates that various aspects of identity are inseparable and influence all forms of discrimination and privilege. Specifically, Walker and colleagues give a nuanced understanding of the lived experiences of non-national migrant mothers who sell sex in Johannesburg, South Africa and how urban spaces are shaped identities and experiences of identities of migrant workers. Dancer and Hossain also addressed social difference and women's empowerment in the different pathways of agricultural commercialisation in Africa. Interestingly they discovered that marital status was the most significant dimension of social difference in agriculture and non-agricultural contexts in Africa. They called for a wider study which will explore how household organisation, participation in agriculture, age, history, but also how wealth/status/class and ethnicity affect individual agency and power relations.

As globalisations spans professions across Africa, the relevance of the intersectional approach to the analysis of social categories becomes even more fundamental but also challenging in providing a nuanced understanding of lived experiences within different complex spaces, which shape individual everyday experiences in organisations across contexts. Specifically, in Nigerian organisations, compared to studies in more developed contexts, intersectionality as a research approach is yet to gain much needed-attention particularly in the study of class and inequality. In this paper we argue for an extension of the theory of intersectionality to account for the instrumentalisation, situatedness/positionality, paradoxes, nuances, and even self-refuting character of hybridised, literal/bounded and symbolic/fluid identities manifest in federated, multiethnic, culturally diverse and developing

contexts such as Nigeria and that except recontextualised in these settings, intersectionality becomes an end in itself - the triumph of theory over purpose.

*Jenny Rodriguez*

**Intersectional fatigue: Thoughts on the future of intersectionality**

Intersectionality has gained ground as one of the most innovative and critical approaches to the study of inequality, disadvantage, and oppression in organizations. However, tensions related to the current historical moment, characterized by multiple ruptures, particularly racial and gender fatigue, have led to the questioning of the role and relevance of the intersectional approach. There is talk that the intellectual moment of intersectionality has passed, alluding to discussions that refer to a post-intersectional turn.

The narrative of post-intersectionality has emerged from the critique of intersectionality's theoretical inability to deal those who occupy multiple social positions and those with partially privileged identities. In essence, this speaks to the binary positioning of oppressed and privileged that has dominated discussions of intersectionality in these fields. In addition, recurring problems of translating the theoretical complexity of intersectionality into practical tools continue to challenge researchers to move beyond the rhetorical use of intersectionality and, at times, undermine its empirical validity. This has meant a lack of clarity about what a successful intersectional intervention would look like which has led to it being considered easier to theorize than to apply.

This paper argues that resistance to intersectionality are underpinned by ideas of gender fatigue and race fatigue that have been at the centre of debates that question reconfigured thinking about individual agency and identity politics in the neoliberal context. The Neoliberal project and its driving ideology look to present themselves as emancipatory and pose the focus on gender and race, as well as other social categories used for identity construction, as the real form of oppression. Ultimately, this looks to undermine the idea of interlocked systems of oppression in a move that resembles a theoretical 'divide and conquer' approach to rebalance the focus of the theory to accommodate dominant interests. The paper discusses the impact of these narratives and reflects on the future of intersectionality.

*Alexandra de Paiva, Alexandre Faris and Marisol Goia*

**“Degendering Management Session” in light of intersectionality**

Since it acquired academic contours, the notion of intersectionality has been linked to the political commitment of recognizing specific and simultaneous forms of injustice, inequality, and power relations (Nash, 2008; Collins, 2016). The concern about naming marginalized conditions and relationships is anchored in the understanding that unsaid things can be important tools for maintaining privilege and concentration of power (Crenshaw 1989). The debate on institutionalized ways of combating social oppression has received several contributions that understand the educational space as an important place for anti-racist, anti-sexist and anti-colonial activism, which is open to the recognition of shared experiences of exclusion (Hooks, 1991; 1994; Freire, 1970; Mizra, 2014, Cho, 2013). Exchanges between participants, based on their experiences, origins and stories, are understood as constituents of the produced and reproduced knowledge in that context (Hooks, 1991; 1994; Haraway, 2003). Reflection on emancipatory educational practices deserves special attention in light of various criticisms on the way individuals learn, recognize and experience inequalities from formal spaces of education (Hooks, 1994). This issue deserves critical analysis when the places in question are the selective "globalized" business schools, designed to serve a privileged public, occupying high hierarchical positions in organizations in different continents of the world (Fotaki & Prasad, 2015).

Recognizing the emancipatory potential of exchanges and interactions that can occur through “alternative” forms of learning (Fenwick, 2003; Willmott, 1987; Reynolds & Vince, 2004), the paper we intend to present describes and analyzes a session entitled “Degendering Management Session” which since 2018 has been devoted to discussing gendering in organizations and management (Acker, 1990), under the module studied in Brazil (EBAPE / FGV / RJ) by the participants of the International Masters Program for Managers (IMPM). As an embodiment of activist teaching-learning in the Global South, the session promotes recognition of gender inequalities in organizations as well as in 'global' business schools. The session is inspired by a decolonial action learning perspective, promoting exchange among participants in small roundtables, with the “special decolonial participation” of Brazilian alumni (FGV) previously “prepared” to instigate transmodern questioning at each table, based on their situated knowledge (Haraway, 2003) as top managers and / or entrepreneurs in Brazil.

This paper aims to reflectively analyze the challenges and opportunities that the intersectionality category presents to the reflection on the Degendering session held in October 2019, taking into account how the process went - including the prior “preparation” of the Brazilian alumni, carried out by the authors of this paper - and the subjects discussed at the tables, and publicly reported at the session.

**Stream 17**  
**The Afterlife of Lean-In: Neoliberal Feminism and the  
Ideal of Work-Family Balance**

**Conveners: Catherine Rottenberg, Shani Orgad and Siri Øyslebø Sørensen**

*Susanne Burri*

**An assessment of the current EU ‘work-life balance’ approach**

Since the 90’s of the last century, the ‘reconciliation of work and family life’ has been subject to EU legislation, mainly in the form of leaves such as pregnancy, maternity and parental leave. In addition, the prohibition of both direct and indirect sex discrimination has been interpreted in numerous cases of the Court of Justice of the EU. There is a rich body of law in this field. The scope of this field of EU law is however mainly limited to employment; issues such as childcare facilities, tax incentives and the provision of services are not addressed. More recently, ‘work-life balance’ is prominently set on the EU social agenda and is now one of the 20 principles of the European Social Pillar adopted in 2017. Principle 9 on Work-life balance reads: ‘Parents and people with caring responsibilities have the right to suitable leave, flexible working arrangements and access to care services. Women and men shall have equal access to special leaves of absence in order to fulfil their caring responsibilities and be encouraged to use them in a balanced way.’

The aim of this paper is to provide an overview and assessment of the development of relevant EU legislation and case law and to discuss the potentials and limits of the work-life balance directive adopted in June 2019 (EU Directive 2019/1158 of the European Parliament and of the Council on work-life balance for parents and carers and repealing Council Directive 2010/18/EU). Has the EU discourse on work-life balance recently changed? If so, how and to what extent are these changes reflected in legislation? How consistent is recent case law of the Court of Justice of the EU in this respect? Are the changes from a gender perspective mainly window-dressing or signs towards a more systemic approach to work and care?

*Susana Marques, Sara Falcão Casaca and Manuela Arcanjo*

**Welfare state and gender equality: the development of work-family articulation policies in Portugal**

Portuguese workers face particular challenges when it comes to balance between paid work and family responsibilities. Traditional gender roles have made it even more challenging for women. In the European Union context, Portugal has been one of the countries with one of the highest prevalence of a dual-earner, full-time basis, model, combined with low levels of public expenditure on social protection as a percentage of GDP. Some positive changes in terms of meeting the Barcelona targets for child care provision have been made, though. Notwithstanding such a trend, the available public facilities are still well below families' needs. In this paper, a diachronic analysis of the work-family life articulation policies in Portugal since 1976 to current times will be presented, followed by a discussion on the respective implications in terms of gender equality. Data on the parliamentary debate and press analysis (1976-2009, from the construction of democracy to the Legal Regime for Parenthood Protection clearly gender equality-oriented) will also be presented and discussed), as well as 20 interviews with individuals who were responsible for the assignment of work-family life policies in the political agenda in Portugal.



*Heather Griffiths*

**Work-life balance across the life course: using flexible working to enact alternative forms of care**

The opportunity to access flexible working is considered central to supporting the work-life balance of employees. In the UK, the ‘right to request’ flexible working policy positions work-life balance very firmly as an individual’s responsibility. Since 2014, all employees have been entitled to this ‘right’ but previously it was an option available only to those with dependent caring responsibilities. Policies such as these were originally designed to support women back into the workplace after having children and the legacy of such measures mean that flexible working continues to be viewed by some as a privilege for mothers. Similarly, the notion of work-life balance is often used interchangeably with the concept of work-family balance, excluding the significant number of workers who are not parents or carers. This paper responds to repeated calls from those in the field for research to adopt a more holistic conception of work and life and to recognise those not in ‘traditional’ families or households. Whilst we know a lot about the work-life challenges faced by parents, particularly those in heteronormative households, much less is understood about how work-life balance is experienced across the rest of the life-course when dependent children are not present.

This paper will add to this relatively understudied area of work-life balance research by examining the lives of employees across two organisations to show how they use flexible working to balance work and the rest of life. The sample purposively excludes those with dependent children and instead focuses on groups of workers whose voices are often absent in work-life balance studies, such as those who live alone or younger employees who still live with parents. The analysis challenges how we conceptualise work and care to argue that all employees engage in some form of care work, but in ways that are considered less legitimate than caring for dependents.

This paper will focus on four examples of alternative caring: caring for the home, caring for animals, caring for extended family and the wider community, and caring for oneself. It will be argued that framing such acts as care work honour the value that these employees place on these areas of their life and may help to legitimise the work-life balance of employees without dependents - in their own eyes and those of their employers. This argument also aims to encourage employers and policy makers to adopt a more holistic definition of work-life balance and ensure that access to flexible working policies is more inclusive in practice. The current discourse around work-life balance has been hijacked by neoliberal notions of feminism, equality and inclusion in the workplace, defining humans simply in terms of their productive and reproductive capacities. By recognising alternative forms of care, we can reclaim the notion of work-life balance as something essential to the maintenance of daily life, for everyone.

*Ilaria Boncori*

**Leaning in and spilling over: becoming a parent whilst pursuing an academic career**

Research on maternity in organizations has developed in various fields of inquiry such as psychology, sociology, and management throughout the past 25 years (Gatrell 2013). Traditionally focussed on the individual level, the mainstream work-family body of research in the literature (see Eby et al., 2005) often suggests that the role and expectations of parenting are for women incongruent and perhaps even irreconcilable with the expectations of ideal workers in organizations (Ridgeway and Correll 2004), while male academic careers are far less in conflict with parenthood. Academia is a contested site of (in)equality offering a fertile context to observe gendered practice (e.g. Benchop and Brouns, 2003; Johansson and Sliwa, 2014) and differences that persist in the professional and family lives of men and women academics (Baker 2012:10). Research on gender gaps in the academic field emphasizes how, contrary to men, women tend to take non-career ladder teaching positions or leave academia after giving birth (Joecks, Pull and Backes-Gellner 2013; Mason, Wolfinger and Goulden 2013), and how ‘gaps’ are still present in their salary and career development (Baker 2016).

Today’s neoliberal academia focuses on competitive processes and principles of marketisation that reinforce both the status quo and unequal practice by shifting focus on metrics and responsibility on to individuals. Neoliberal feminism approaches (Rottenberg, 2014, 2018; Sørensen, 2017) put the emphasis on individual agency and personal ownership in terms of work-family balance. Women are then seen as entrepreneurial individuals who are meant to invest in themselves, maximise their work productivity, promote their professional achievements and take on full responsibility for their career development. At the same time, they also seemingly own the responsibility for managing their workload, nurture their mental and physical wellbeing, and create (or maintain) a work-family balance.

Can women in academia ‘have it all’ by leaning in, asserting their way up a career ladder, and at the same time balancing being a mother and having a fulfilling life outside of the workplace? What is the tension between their individual responsibility and the institutional, social and systemic inequalities that dictate the dynamics and rules of the context they operate in? Should women even aspire to achieve work-family balance? Feminist perspectives can critically illuminate the experience of contemporary women who are mothers and academics.

This study focuses on findings gathered from in-depth qualitative interviews conducted with 31 academics (23 females and 8 males) to examine various aspects affecting individual work-family lives during both the pregnancy and parenthood stages. Stemming from a critical perspective informed by feminist theory, we explore the tensions of neoliberal feminism located in academic careers and articulated between individual responsibility, institutional structures and systemic norms. In particular, we focus on the emotions, strategies and sense-making processes related to work-family ‘balance’ for academics who operate in the UK context.

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*Emily Cook-Lundgren*

**Lean In leaking in: the proliferation of neoliberal feminist logics in the lives of working women**

In this paper we explore how neoliberal feminist logics manifest in the lives of working women. The neoliberal co-optation of feminism towards the production of an individualistic, self-improving, self-sufficient woman has drawn considerable criticism (eg. Rottenberg, 2014; Farris & Rottenberg, 2017). This paper provides empirical illustration of how women internalise and experience these ideas in their working lives. Both authors engaged in data collection in vastly different contexts and for distinct purposes. Emily's work interrogates the persistence of inequality within aid organizations. Her empirical activities took place at an international development startup in Nairobi, Kenya, where she carried out observation and qualitative interviews with Kenyan and non-Kenyan employees. Maddie locates her work at the intersection between gender, technology, and organization. She performed life-history interviews with women working in technology companies in the UK and Ireland. Familiar neoliberal feminist tropes like confidence (Gill & Orgad, 2015), choice (Sørensen, 2017), and balance (Rottenberg, 2017) appeared regularly in organisational and individual discourses across both contexts. The notion of complete responsibility and control over one's own success led to a sense of exceptionalism and orientation away from systemic concerns and structural inequality, with consequences for further entrenching racial and class privilege, and distracting from efforts towards collective resistance.

Rather than taking a normative "objective" approach to these women's use of neoliberal logics, we implicate ourselves in the same practice. This paper embraces recent efforts to "write differently" as a form of resistance, and critique of masculine structures that dominate academia (Pullen & Rhodes, 2015; Gilmore, et al., 2019; Smith & Ulus, 2019). We attempt to write ourselves, as reluctant neoliberal feminist subjects, into our research because our criticism does not render us immune. We have used neoliberal logics to make sense of our own experiences of work, family, "balance", and success as PhD students in a hypermasculine neoliberal business school. We have struggled (and often failed) to resist turning inwards. Thus, in this paper we will weave our own personal narratives as PhD students together with vignettes from our data in order to illustrate the manifestation of neoliberal feminist logics in working women's lives. These empirical illustrations reveal the inherent contradictory nature of neoliberal feminist logics and the messiness of attempts towards achieving their ends.

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*Siri Øyslebø Sørensen*

**“It is a lifestyle” – narratives of work-life balance life in the university**

Despite the fact that there has been gender balance amongst PhD candidates for more than a decade in Norway, the majority of professors (73 percent) are still men (SheFigures Nordic 2019). In other words: women seem to shield off on the way to the top of the academic hierarchy. This pattern – often referred to as “the leaking pipeline” - has been explained by multiple factors, including how networks and informal power is gendered (Britton 2017, Van den Brink and Benschop 2014), how gender works in assessment and recruitment procedures (Bagihole and Goode 2001, Van den Brink, et al 2010). Another common explanation of the gendered pattern of academic careers refer to women’s role as care-takers both in the university, and in the family (Fox et al 2011, Guarino and Borden 2017). Research has illuminated a broad range of challenges faced by women combining motherhood and work in academia (Castaneda & Isgro, 2014, Dubois-Shaik & Fusulier 2017, Mason, Wolfinger & Goulden, 2013, Ghodsee & Conelly, 2011). Others have, however shown that women academics with children are as productive as other scholars (Aiston & Jung, 2015; Heijstra, Bjarnason & Rafnsdóttir, 2015). This also counts for Norway (Hovdhaugen, Kyvik & Brueret al 2004).

The Norwegian public debate concerning women in top management is saturated by a lean-in discourse (i.e Søhusvik 2019, Traaseth 2019), although not undisturbed by an alternative feminism advocating for anti-capitalistic ways of organizing work-life balance, emphasizing the importance of unpaid care work (i.e Stalsberg 2016). “Career women” are also criticized for opting out of the family and failing motherhood due to their devotion to work (Sørensen 2017). Heavy workloads and long working hours are seen as in conflict with motherhood and being the feminine, caring subject. - A strong devotion to work, and long working hours is also commonly expected from academics. Thus, one could easily expect that perceptions the work-life conflict follows similar patterns for women in higher academic positions. This expectation is further strengthened by an increased emphasis on “excellence” in research and innovation, which is argued to work in gendered ways (Lund 2015). Thus, it becomes pertinent to ask: How is work-life balance portrayed in accounts of academic career experiences? Does the idea of the excellent academic mimic the lean-in discourse of how to “make it to the top”?

In this paper I explore the accounts of experiences of scholars in different career stages at a university located in Norway and discuss how Individual narratives are embedded in gendered discourses of work-life balance and academic excellence. The empirical analysis is based on qualitative interview data generated through a comprehensive study of academic career experiences and expectations (2017-2018), including individual in depth interviews with 65 professors and group interviews with all together 45 post doc scholars, women and men, across disciplines, career stages. Drawing on a concept of epistemic living spaces (Felt 2009), the paper questions the dichotomy of work-life balance as a useful metaphor to pursue in efforts to support women’s inclusion in academia.

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*Ludivine Perray*

**Negotiating Working Time during Lock-Down in Middle-Class Couples with Children:  
The Intertwining of Workplace Representations and Family's Unpaid Work  
Distribution**

*“My husband preaches gender equality at work, is involved in commissions against discrimination, helps his female colleagues in their work on his personal time, but fails to understand that his extra-work means that I – as a woman – have to do more at home.” (a mother of a 4 years old boy)*

Gender equality in organizations has focused on the workplace as a space for standing with women in their battle to acquire what they deserve, assuming that this is the most important left obstacle, while studies on household life underlined a persisting inequality in the distribution of domestic tasks even in couples that are in favor of gender equality. To examine this relationship between work and family, we focused our study on the COVID-19 period in France where everyone was locked-down, and followed heterosexual upper middle-class couples with children aged below 6 years old, and in favor of gender equality, to try to understand how they organized to be able to work, care for children, and do all the household tasks that are usually externalized in normal times (to nannies, housecleaners, restaurants...). These are couples that we personally knew, so we could have informal and open exchanges with them about their daily activities and the tensions within their couples.

The paper will shed light on the tensions between middle-class ideals: being able to eat healthy food, avoid screens for kids, holding timetables to ensure fair distribution of tasks in the couple..., while keeping a good performance at work for both the mother and father of the family. It will show how attempts to satisfy all these “goals” led systematically to exhausting women. Indeed, in addition to their initially assigned tasks, these had to deal with the emotional unrest of everyone at home, unexpected events such as shortages in basic ingredients in grocery stores, in addition to a “work as if nothing was happening” logic at work. In particular, it will be shown that this is the case because couples believed that, because of gender policies in organizations, it was more tolerated to have women underperform than men doing so. They therefore systematically had to adjust.

The paper shows how representations of gender equality at work lead to increased gender inequality in the distribution of unpaid domestic work. These policies are systematically used to justify why women end up doing an overload. Also, men adhere to them at work, observe their good application as they become by themselves performance indicators of a good citizen, talk about them to their friends and relatives, but use them to escape carrying extra loads at home.

*Hanna-Mari Ikonen*

**Finnish mumpreneurs negotiating ‘a balance’: Three discourses on work and children**

This presentation explores the experiences of mothers of young children who work as micro-entrepreneurs. These women are mumpreneurs: they combine running a business enterprise with looking after their children. Mumpreneurship may be a way to ‘have it all’ and ‘find a balance’. However, mumpreneurship is often criticised of maintaining or returning to traditional gender roles with male breadwinner and heterosexual nuclear family as unquestionable norms. The mother’s individual ‘choice’ to become entrepreneurs may lock women into marginalised roles in the economy and make them scale back their dreams.

The presentation draws from interviews with 21 Finnish mothers. The qualitative analysis shows that they have a strong occupational identity and a clear idea of a working mother as a norm in Finland. At the same time, they recognise the media discourse on the current culture of intensive mothering, which has put extra pressures for mothers in Western countries. Because of these contradicting requirements, their narration is affectively intense. Three discourses can be identified in the interviews. First, there is a discourse that mother’s best is also children’s best. It is best for the mother to have an interesting job, and therefore it is best also for the children. Second, there is a discourse according to which children should be put first. Because the interviewed mothers have a strong appeal to work, putting children first is sometimes painful. Third, there is a more radical discourse according to which mother’s best is not always children’s best, but this is not serious. Quite the contrary, mothers would benefit for being more selfish. These three discourses are elaborated in the presentation. The ways in which account their motherhood and entrepreneurial and/or professional aspirations, and balance these, are interpreted in the context of the current work cultures in their business sectors and Finnish social and labour market policy.

More broadly, the presentation aims to participate in the debate on ‘balance’ as a part of the neoliberal governing of women, which includes presenting work-life balance as a new, neoliberal feminist ideal and makes individual women responsible for creating this balance. The presentation suggests that although the logic of self-responsibilisation is visible in the data, the Finnish context matters. Long family leaves, a public childcare system with good quality and the established culture of working mothers mitigate the risk of re-making reproduction solely as a women’s issue. However, an interesting question is why to choose this way of combining work and childcare if there should not exist big obstacles to combine these. It is concluded that even in Finland, a profound change away from women’s main responsibility of organising the childcare, according to which they even re-organise their careers, would require that fathers take a full responsibility of their share of childcare. It seems that to make this happen in a larger scale, policy actions are needed and not only individual choices.

*Suzette Dyer and Fiona Hurd*

### **Narratives of Motherhood**

Within many nations, maternal employment among tertiary educated women has become the norm (OECD, 2016). Despite this, significant research documents the negative impact motherhood has on women's career traction, attachment to full-time employment, and pay scales (Gangle & Ziefle, 2009, Young, 2018). Post-feminist discourses, embedded with neo-liberal principles (McRobbie, 2004), frame these structural injustices as outcomes of empowered women making meaningful choices (Gill and Scharff, 2011); and similar to the call for this stream, frequently in relation to how best to manage their work and family arrangements to create balance for themselves. Yet, within the neo-liberal context, meaningful choice is often framed by existing social arrangements, cultural norms, institutional practices, and intimate relationships; thus the empowered woman's choice invariably reproduces, rather than challenges, structural inequality (Phipps, 2014).

While the negative effects of motherhood on women's careers is well documented, very little is known about how young women engaged in tertiary education perceive maternal employment in their own future career and personal lives. Our research fills this gap by asking: How do young, university women perceive themselves as future working mothers? Our qualitative research is based on 44 reflective stories written by young women enrolled in a business management degree. Our narrative analysis revealed that all participants embedded idealised constructions of mother, father and worker in their stories about working mothers (Kmec, 2011). The analysis also revealed that the participants either upheld, were conflicted by, or rejected these idealised constructions. The 11 participants who upheld these idealised constructions wove their childhood experiences of being raised in families structured around a stay-home mother and working father to shape their own future identity as a stay-home mother. These participants believed that children have a right to a present mother, and indeed, that stay-home mothers are central to the health and wellbeing of children. As a counterpoint, these participants frequently described working mothers as selfish, and their children as neglected.

Half of the participants felt conflicted by the contradiction between the construction of the idealised (stay-home) mother and their desire to remain in paid employment should they become mothers. While perceiving that children benefit from having a stay-home mother, they realised that they did not, or could not, conform to this particular construction of motherhood. Rather, they perceived that being a stay-home mother would be personally unfulfilling, and instead, expressed their preference to return to work. Their sense of conflict manifest in expressions of guilt because they felt they could not live up to the image of idealised motherhood. The remaining 11 participants rejected the notions of idealised motherhood, fatherhood and worker as outmoded, stereotypical relics of the past that have no bearing on the realities of the modern world of parenting and employment. These participants wove the social context of women both needing and desiring to stay connected to the labour market after becoming a mother in to their identity as a future working parent. In this way, these participants reframed employment and raising children as parental 'tasks' to be shared by both parents. We draw on narrative inquiry to help us understand how the temporal,

relational and contextual elements of the participants past and present experiences (Clandinin, 2006; Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007) profoundly impact their perceptions of, and identities as (potentially) future working mothers.

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*Shani Orgad*

**Working 5-to-9: The imbalanced woman in the ‘always on’ overwork culture**

In the 1980s and 1990s the image of the ‘career woman’ was associated predominantly with notions of independence, empowerment, and even liberation. However, in the last two decades or so, the image has shifted, and today the ‘career woman’ often signifies the ambitious, career-driven woman who focuses almost exclusively on her professional life at the expense of her private life, and especially her family. Indeed, the construction and idealization of the ‘balanced woman’ who strikes a felicitous work-life balance as a neoliberal feminist ideal (Rottenberg 2014) has relied on rejecting the ‘imbalanced’ career woman.

In contemporary popular representations and discussions, the figure of the imbalanced woman is often linked to extremely demanding work environments, often associated with the ‘greedy professions’, such as finance, law and consulting. Yet amidst mounting evidence regarding the entrenchment of a toxic overwork culture and its dire effects on the mental health and well-being of employees -- and working mothers in particular--contemporary popular depictions tend to construct the individual ‘workaholic’ woman as the problem. The individualization of the problems of overwork is particularly striking in popular and ostensibly feminist texts.

Drawing on analysis of a range of contemporary popular representations which are marketed and/or perceived as feminist, including recent ‘femvertising’, advice/ self-help books, television shows and social media sites, we ask what ideological work the figure of the ‘imbalanced woman’ does in the current cultural moment. We show how contemporary popular representations tend to centre the individual woman’s failure to achieve balance, while the structural conditions of overwork remain largely disregarded and unaddressed. What is more, the analysis underscores how many of these contemporary representations not only fail to critique overwork, but they often help, even if unwittingly, to naturalize, justify, and even glorify it. Thus, they encourage the acceptance of our ‘always on’ overwork culture as the only possible order.

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*Rachel O'Neill*

### **Lean In or Just Leave? Work, Wellness and Wanting Otherwise**

Sheryl Sandberg's bestselling feminist manifesto come business memoir come self-help manual *Lean In* (2013) has achieved extraordinary cultural and commercial reach in many parts of the world. Grounded in Sandberg's own experiences navigating the male-dominated environs of Silicon Valley to eventually become COO of social media behemoth Facebook, it offers advice to other women seeking to climb the corporate ladder and become leaders in their industries.

This paper explores the seemingly divergent but nevertheless related phenomenon of women leaving the corporate world to pursue careers in 'wellness', a burgeoning movement-market centered around health-enhancement. While many of the products and practices marketed under its auspices are nothing new, they are currently being mainstreamed to an unprecedented extent in the UK, in part through the proliferation of wellness imagery and advertisements via Instagram (owned by Facebook). Green smoothies and avocado toast proliferate across smart phone screens, while zucchini 'noodles' and cauliflower 'rice' line supermarket shelves.

Drawing on interviews with established and aspiring wellness workers as part of a larger ethnographic project, I discuss the motivations and experiences of those leaving behind jobs in sectors such as finance, PR and marketing to instead become nutritional therapists, health coaches and personal trainers. Rather than acceding to the *Lean In* dictum to become powerful actors in elite organisations – thereby ensuring gender equality for themselves and for women in general – these women are attempting to live and work otherwise. For most, the appeal of working in wellness, typically on a freelance basis or as an entrepreneur, is that it allows them to pursue work that blends passion and purpose, creativity and care. In short, many see wellness as both an escape from and antidote to work that is pointless and polluting.

I begin by outlining the general contours of what might be termed the somatic life of postfeminism, a crucial but underexplored component of postfeminism's 'affective, cultural and psychic' nexus (Gill, 2017). Crucial here is an understanding of the various maladies – including anxiety, depression, eating disorders, insomnia and undiagnosed ailments – that frequently animated participants' desire for change. Their trajectories need to be understood in terms of what Angela McRobbie (2009) demarcates the 'afterlife of feminism', *Lean In*'s temporal and ideological precursor. It is no coincidence that so many of these women are of precisely the generation that was offered unparalleled career and consumption opportunities as part of the 'new sexual contract' elaborated under New Labour. Indeed, many interviewees attest to being fatigued by the incessant demands of the 'feminine masquerade', and manifest conspicuous forms of 'illegible rage'. Honing in more closely on these generational dynamics, I consider the particular routes through which millennial women are enjoined to leverage their 'human capital' (Harris, 2018; Rottenberg, 2017), orientating themselves not so much towards work-life balance but rather work-life integration. Overall, this analysis helps illuminate the gendered and generational dimensions of what anthropologist David Graeber

calls ‘bullshit jobs’ (2018), and the myriad ways the desire to refuse work can be co-opted in capital’s interests.

*Caroline West*

**The Lean In Collection: Women, Work, and the Will to Represent**

In February 2014, Getty Images, the largest international stock photography agency, and LeanIn.org, Facebook COO Sheryl Sandberg's women's empowerment foundation, announced a new partnership that aimed to change the way women are portrayed in stock photography. The "Lean In Collection" with Getty seeks to challenge visual gendered stereotypes ascribed to both sexes in the daily life of work, home, and family life in advertising imagery. While the overarching ambition of gender empowerment implicit in the mission of Lean In is a worthwhile goal, I look to the problematic relationship rooted in the partnership between Lean In's gender empowerment initiative and the role of Getty Images in trafficking aesthetic stereotypes for profit. Using methods of visual analysis and feminist critique, I argue that the photographs idealize a concept of female empowerment that is steeped in the rationale of neoliberal economics, which narrowly circumscribes gender citizenship according to the mandates of market logic. The Lean In Collection describes gender equality not as a right of citizenship procured by the state, but as a depoliticized and individualized negotiation.



*Catherine Rottenberg and Maria Adamson*

**Work-Life Balance in the Era of Neoliberal Feminism: Is the Feminine the Future?**

Lean In, published in 2013, sold millions of copies and prompted increased attention to women's challenges in corporate careers. Since then, there have been several 'manifesto'-like publications by powerful women in the West – predominantly in the UK and the USA – that seek to explore further the questions of gender at work and help their readers make sense of contemporary careers and work-life balance. This paper draws on the analysis of two such popular manifestos: recent best-seller *Good Time to Be a Girl* written by Helena Morrissey (2018) – a prominent UK financier, the founder of the 30% Club, and a mother of nine, and a new book *Work like a Woman* (2019) by Mary Portas, a famous UK retail consultant and a star of several business-related television shows.

We show how these narratives constitute several post Lean-in solutions to the issue of work-life balance. Similar to Lean In, work-life balance is presented as an extremely significant issue and as a priority in both books; however, in contrast to Sandberg, Morrissey and Portas place less emphasis on what individual women need to change, suggesting, instead, that there is a need for organisational culture to change – specifically, to become (more) 'feminine'. As Morrissey writes: 'Leaning in' is demoralising if what we are leaning in to doesn't suit us' (91). Both books denounce the 'alpha' or masculine workplace culture with its aggressiveness, hierarchies and lack of recognition of the importance of family commitments. Instead, they insist on the importance of the 'feminine brand of power' and the feminine way of being in and doing work – collaborative and infused with kindness. The books posit that it is precisely these feminine traits, currently devalued, that are, in fact, crucial for business success as well as for creating solutions for the issue of work-life balance and further equality. Although the two books have slightly different takes on how workplace should become more 'feminine', both insist that when this transformation occurs, work-life balance will no longer be an issue.

Our analysis exposes the complexity of how the feminine is inserted into and put to work within neoliberal rationality. On the one hand, 'the feminine way' of doing business presents a challenge to the masculine workplace structures and cultures, while on the other hand, femininity and women's nature are not only essentialized but also deployed for the same goal of corporate profit or proposed as the basis of entrepreneurial activity – the very cornerstone of the neoliberal project. By tracking the use of femininity and how it is being invoked to solve work-family balance, we expose the fault lines and incoherencies of neoliberal feminist discourses as well as underscore how feminist analysis is crucial in exposing the wider implications of gender and workplace discourses produced by contemporary celebrity businesswomen.

*Fitri Hariana Oktaviani, Bernard McKenna and Terrance Fitzsimmons*

**East meets West: A Response to Neoliberal Postfeminist Discourses**

What happens when Neoliberal postfeminist sensibility meets with Islamism and local values?

In Western countries, post-feminist neoliberal sensibility has become a new powerful force that dominates public discourses of gender, work, and organisation. Neoliberalism is a mode of self-governmentality that incorporates the political-economic assumption which prescribes that men and women are responsible for their own social and economic status presuming that they are to be agentic and adopt market logic. Postfeminism, a distinct but separate discourse, prescribes that women being responsible for their own success, and do so by investing and empowering themselves, being individualistic, and adopting self-surveillance. However, it also assumes that feminist activism is no longer necessary. Together, both discourses shape expectations that women should never stop to invest and work on themselves to increase their values. This paper probes whether these assumptions apply to a Non-Western society, and what possible impact they have.

In response to this query, this research investigates Indonesian women leaders' identity formation as they are shaped by the clashing discourses of neoliberal postfeminist sensibility, rising Islamism, and prevailing cultural values. In particular, we focus on how these discourses and ideologies influence the way women see their 'success' to pursue leadership and to investigate how they manage work-life balance related to aspects of their identities such as a woman, a member of a religious and ethnic group. This study is a continuation of a previous study that looked at competing discursive formations shaping online media representation of femininities in Indonesia. Indonesia was chosen because it is a developing, Muslim-majority democratic country which has been open and receptive towards western discourses and ideologies, but it is also recently undergoing a massive change that is creating a more religiously rigid society. Besides, post-colonial discourse infuses discussion. These different power sources compete to shape contemporary femininities that can be taken up by women in leadership positions.

The research method is qualitative, informed by the Foucauldian Discourse Analysis. The data was collected from interviews with thirty-six women who occupy middle to upper managerial level in various organisations in Indonesia. Snowball sampling technique was used to access the participants of the research. Other criteria used to inform the sampling technique encompassed seeking to maximize the variance in terms of experience (middle to senior leadership), types of organisations (profit and non-profit), possible cultural difference as a result of sectors (energy, mining, financial and banking, tourism, etc.), organisational identities (Sharia-based organisations, conventional organisations), and ownership (state-owned enterprises, multinational-corporations, national companies). Government agencies are not included due to a distinct organisational culture. An Islamic ultraconservatism critique towards how neo-liberalism creates a materialistic, high performing ideal that neglects the vital humane aspects such as children rights to good parenting is discussed.

*Melissa Carr and Elisabeth Kelan*

### **Abundance and Scarcity: Conceptualising Competition under Neoliberal Feminism**

While neoliberal feminism acknowledges gender inequalities, it simultaneously refutes structural, economic and cultural factors, instead creating a fully responsibilised new feminist subject (Rottenberg, 2014). Subsequently, feminine subjectivities are constituted as empowered, flexible, and resilient individuals who have choice and agency (Budgeon, 2015, Gill & Scharff, 2011). This optimistic ‘can-do trajectory’ (Harris, 2004, p. 35) is contingent upon women constructing themselves as generic human capital (Rottenberg, 2017, 2018), working within a system of enterprise based on consumption rather than production; a fair system of competition for those who can develop the right skills and characteristics. As McNay (2009, p. 58) highlights, this creates a ‘fragile dynamic of competition’, where inequalities are required to stimulate market competition. However, to capitalize on inequalities, everyone must be included in the race to become an entrepreneur of self, maximising their market value.

Competition is central to the conception of neoliberal feminism yet how competition is expressed in different contexts has so far not been explored. Drawing on a Foucauldian perspective to understand competition as a form of governance through encouraging individuals to see the self as an enterprise, we examine how neoliberal feminism works with neoliberal capitalism to constrain subjectivities.

The article presents empirical research conducted in two different organisational settings: a corporate bank and a network marketing beauty company. To do this, we draw on data collected from interviews with 20 women managers in the bank and 16 interviews and participant observation data with women who are part of a beauty-based network marketing organisation (NMO).

First, we show that discourses of competition in the bank centred on ‘scarcity’ which created a sense of competition between women. A double scarcity existed for women; competing for limited opportunities within the hierarchical structure of the bank, combined with a perception that only certain roles were available for women. Thus, the focus of competition became other women as a threat (Baker & Kelan, 2018; Scharff, 2016), negating collective action as a response to women’s minority position or the structural issues and barriers (Rottenberg, 2014). This speaks to a neoliberal feminist discourse where, through including feminism within the organisational sphere, feminism accommodates rather than challenges neoliberal rationality.

Within the NMO, competition was conceptualised through an abundance discourse. Success in the NMO was constructed as obtainable for all individuals who could cultivate the right skills and abilities, such as confidence and self-belief. The focus of competition became internal; women were competing with themselves to self-transform and reinvent to overcome internal barriers and lack of self-belief (Gill & Orgad, 2017; Gill & Scharff, 2011; McRobbie, 2015). Furthermore, neoliberalism within the NMO obscured the privileged modes of some forms of femininity (Lewis, 2014) where, through selling products via social media, young,

white, attractive women were presented as an idealised femininity; consequently gaining financial success and rewards. Yet neoliberalism meant that these inequalities could not be called out as women were ‘on their own individual journey’, what Piketty (2014) has referred to as silencing around aspects of social difference, inequality and disadvantage.

This article shows how a neoliberal feminism logic adapts to and shapes different contexts and thus limits the subjectivities that can be created. The article contributes to our understanding of how neoliberal feminism shapes subjectivities by looking at different conceptions of competition. Thus, we make a contribution to our understanding of neoliberal feminism which we suggest is adaptable, widespread with local variations, yet in both contexts, operating in a ‘dangerous liaison’ with capitalism (Eisenstein, 2017).

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*Maria Daskalaki and Dimitra Vladimirov*

**The “Lockdown Entrepreneurial Self”: The discursive construction of WFH in social media contexts**

Since the beginning of 2020 organizations around the world have adopted patterns of remote working or working-from-home (WFH) in an attempt to minimize physical contact among employees and to contribute to the containment of the Covid-19 pandemic. The gendered politics surrounding home-based work has already been a site of inquiry for scholars in the past (see for example Allen and Wolkowitz, 1987). Prior work has reflected on the discourses of home and work circulating globally namely the exploited working mother, the micro-entrepreneurial heroine, and the androgynous home-based consultant or freelancer (Prügl, 1999; Boeri, 2016). Related debates also critically commented on the Sandberg’s (2013) book *Lean In: Women, Work and the Will to Lead*, which supported a new form of feminism - what Rottenberg (2014) called neoliberal feminism- and encouraged individual women to focus on their own aspirations and well-being.

Engaging with recent critiques of neoliberal (feminist) rationalities and ‘the enterprising self’ (McNay, 2009; Bröckling, 2005; see also Rottenberg, 2019; Yoon, 2020), we will focus on WFH and study the discursive construction of the ‘new feminist subjects’ (Banet-Weiser, Gill, & Rottenberg, 2020) during the pandemic. Drawing on an interdisciplinary approach that combines organization theory and sociolinguistic research that highlights the dialogic and dynamic performance of online identities (Seargeant and Tagg 2014), we will particularly focus on women’s productive and reproductive roles, including representations of work-life balance (WLB). The dataset includes a corpus collected during the first and the second periods of lockdown (March-April 2020 & December 2020-January 2021) of #wfhwomen, #wfhmom, #Covidwomen on Twitter. Drawing also on the work of S. Ahmed (2014; 2017) and L. Berlant (2011), the paper will unveil the emerging discourses and imaginaries that reinforce but also challenge neoliberal, heteronormative constructions of the post-covid-19 ideal (female) employee.

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*Claire English*

**My Mum is on Strike! Social Reproduction and the (Emotional) labour of ‘mothering work’ in Neoliberal Britain**

This paper will explore the ways in which mothers and carers use the term ‘emotional labour’ (as defined by Gemma Hartley, rather than Arlie Hochschild) to describe the exhaustion and burnout associated with socially reproductive tasks. This goes against previous mobilisations of the term ‘emotional labour’ to understand the performance of affective labour in the workplace. Scholars of Social reproduction theory claim that emotion is key to understanding the specificities of gendered alienation, yet it remains under-theorised (Farris, 2015; Federici 2019; Ferguson 2017; Laslett et al 1989 p 383, Parish et al 2018). This paper seeks to understand the ways that the emotional lives of carers have been transformed by neoliberal processes that have intensified labour both within and beyond the home, disrupting what is sometimes called ‘work-life balance’. According to Kreiner et al the problem of work-life balance can be understood by trying to see which kinds of boundaries individuals put in to place to protect themselves from the creep of waged labour (2009 p 704). They suggest that utilising boundary work tactics (behavioural, temporal, physical and communicative) individuals could hope for a better ‘work-home segmentation’ or integration so as to do away with internalised conflicts (2009 p 704). This relies on the ‘segmentation’ of work and home spheres that is no longer felt as possible or practical for many younger workers in particular (Milburn, 2019) and requires each person who feels overworked to set themselves new boundaries in order to deal with structural problems brought about by broader social factors such as precarious working conditions.

Drawing on interviews with participants from the 2019 ‘My Mum is on Strike’ (MMIOS) stay and play event, alongside netnographic insights from online mothering blogs, sometimes referred to as the ‘mamasphere’ (Wilson et al 2017), this paper seeks to contextualise the experiences of carers who narrate their reproductive labour as emotional ‘work’. Given the conditions of neoliberal rationality and the marketisation of society, where every ‘field of activity... and entity (whether public or private, whether person, business, or state) is understood as a market and governed as a firm’ (Brown, 2015) emotional labour and the associated gendered expectations may begin to ‘feel like’ work, and I argue that this is felt in a specific way by those carrying out mother work, warranting the need for further academic investigation.



**Stream 18**  
**Silence in the Workplace: Emotions and Body Work at  
Work**

**Conveners: Petra Verdonk, Elena Bendien, Tamara Shefer and Ida Sabelis**

*Eleni Damianidou and Andri Georgiadou*

### **Silent Embodiment of Disability at Work**

In order to decide how to shape the body, people usually compare their bodies to what is considered normal. We argue that the process of shaping the body involves taking decisions at three levels: firstly, one must decide what their body is, secondly, define what their body can be and thirdly, assume what their body will be. We focus on the case of the ugly body/bad person. We hypothesize that at the first level of the shaping process the owner of the body compares it with the norm, i.e. the beautiful body, and decides whether their body is at least not ugly or if it is ugly. If the owner of the body decides that it deviates from the norm, i.e. it is ugly, then at the second level explores the available shaping sources and means in order to define whether the body cannot or can be not ugly and thereby reach the norm. At the third level, the owner of the ugly body evaluates the shaping efforts and assumes whether their body will eventually be or not ugly. If the person assumes that the body cannot change and will be ugly and therefore bad, then they must decide where to place the ugly body/bad self.

On these grounds, this study aims to explore the implications of having an ugly body in the professional world by giving voice to adults labelled as having an ugly body, i.e. disable people. Therefore, this study explores two questions: (a) Who decides the characteristics of the coveted body? (b) what are the implications of having an ugly body?

To address our research questions, we employed a qualitative methodology with the aim to gain in-depth accounts from key informants and develop grounded theory. This research was guided by the feminist approach, which emphasizes the dualistic nature of the world. We focused on three dualistic counterparts, i.e. beautiful/ugly and good/bad, trying to inform scientific explanations that might help us understand and transgress the above intersecting bifurcations.

Our theoretical and managerial contribution includes a better understanding of how workplace and social life tend to be organized based on a universal (able) body. When bodies are perceived as deviating from the (able) norm, they are often treated as problematic and disturbing the social order. The displacement of disable people then is evident not only in the workplace but also in family and personal life. However, as Bourdieu (1984) argues, displacement may eventually become habitus, i.e. a long-lasting scheme of perceptions, which recycles the social order and reproduces unequal relations.

In order then to break the cycle of disablement in work and society, other layers of the body deserve to be explored in-depth, such as the bifurcation of beautiful-good vs ugly-bad body. Hence, the critical analysis of the above entanglement is important, because of the theoretical and practical implications: at the theoretical level, the tensions between the perceived as beautiful and the labelled as ugly body could bring us closer to a comprehensive understanding of the experience of being excluded because of being different; at the practical level, the knowledge about the embodiment of worthy employee and citizen may lead

managers to use the above knowledge in real work settings to manage effectively diversity and promote equity.

*Renan Gomes de Moura, Marilia Matheus Melo and Rejane Prevot Nascimento*

**Too emotional to work? Emotions in the workplace from the perspective of Gender and Ableism**

In an interview conducted in 2017, Margareth Arthur reported how emotions are seen as a natural and inherent attribute to all women, and that they are expressed in female behaviors. The author also reports that business magazines treat women's emotions as an empowering issue for work, but when not controlled, they can cause problems for companies. This view of female emotions as "incapacitating" when they are not under control brings the notion of the feminine closer to an ableist perspective of this gender. Wolbring (2008) points out that many ableist attitudes work together with sexism and racism to repress women and certain racial groups based on the notion that these groups do not have the physical and / or mental capacities of the dominant social group, that are men heterosexual and white. Martín and Castillo (2010) observed that ableism is based on the belief that certain capacities are intrinsically more valuable and people who have these abilities considered superior are somehow better than those considered ableist. Shakespeare (1999) reports that there is a relationship between ableism and femininity, as both share the condition of "passivity", which were stipulated through social stereotyping. Considering the gender perspective, the present work seeks to verify whether emotions can be a characteristic that leads to ableism. The work is based on a survey with men and women in different professional occupations, aged between 19 and 46 years, and residents in the state of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The research corpus was produced by transcriptions of seven (7) interviews.

The analyses are based on interpretative method. The research reveal that emotions are always present, being externalized in everyday actions, and that emotions are inherent to the subject, and not only to one gender, so the mismanagement of emotions has an effect for both male and female. Some emotions are more socially stimulated in one gender while others are repressed, generating an understanding of common sense that there are specific emotions for women and others for men. Ableism is constituted by attitudes that act as barriers that contribute to a greater subordination of people who are considered to be disabled by society, particularly in a neoliberal context. It can also refer to established standards of what is acceptable, observing that this phenomenon also materializes in sexism, racism and other types of discrimination. In this research this discrimination towards women was observed latently, based on the female biological characteristics. It is concluded that woman is seen as emotionally fragile, and therefore less able to work, which configures ableism in a gender perspective, since the male gender is considered to have characteristics superior to the female.

*Humera Manzoor*

**Working and living with chronic illness: an autoethnography of unseen emotional experiences and pain with irritable bowel syndrome**

Using autoethnography, this paper aims to explore and unpack the emotional experiences of a Pakhtun woman in relation to a chronic illness – irritable bowel syndrome – that is often hidden, disguised, suppressed and ignored at work. It narrates my life experiences as autoethnographic stories that are embodied, and depict the problems and challenges involved in living and working with a chronic illness in academia. My autoethnographic accounts are embodied that reveal untold stories of suppressed emotions and the emotional labor involved therein, and the leakage of emotions at work as my body transformed from being under control to unpredictable and unreliable.

Irritable bowel syndrome is the most common functional disorder diagnosed by gastroenterologists and is more common in women than men. It is characterized by abrupt abdominal pain, cramps, and a sudden need for defecation. It is casually related with stress even by some of the general physicians, which makes it ‘inappropriate’ to discuss in a work environment. My narratives reflect the fear of being stigmatized as weak, unprofessional, and unsuitable for the job. It further elaborates that the leaky emotions and pain at work could lead to the possibilities of being manipulated, exploited, marginalized, and misrepresented at work, which further reinforced the silencing of pain and emotions. The fear of losing control over my body had to be managed on different occasions at work, such as, professional meetings, gatherings, and while delivering lectures. Hence, there are numerous unseen personally experienced phenomenon as a side effect of irritable bowel syndrome, such as, meanings, thoughts, emotions, and physical responses for which I could not find a suitable audience to share with or to be myself.

Unlike other chronic illness and/or disabilities that are visible, the symptoms of irritable bowel syndrome often go unnoticed as it is not visibly evident by others. The individual looks normal apparently, which creates a flawed notion and impression of being well. The symptoms of the illness can only be understood by others. Hence, the realness and the authenticity of the illness is challenged, and the individual is seen as merely making excuses of ill health. Thus, this paper gives voice to emotions and the hidden pain in relation to a stigmatized illness that can significantly (re)shape and (re)define our life and work.

*Ashley Wright, Lilith A. Whiley and Sarah Stutterheim*

**Menopause as ‘dirty’ femininity: femmephobia, but with pockets of resistance**

By fusing together theories of ‘dirt’ (Douglas, 1966), critical femininity (Rhea Ashley Hoskin, 2019a), and femmephobia (Rhea Ashley Hoskin, 2019b), we position the lived experiences of menopause as ‘dirty’ femininity and call for the reclamation of femininity in-and-for-itself. We do this while exploring the lived experiences of women in menopause in a context that is considered to be particularly masculine (Bleijenbergh, Van Engen and Vinkenburg, 2013): the workplace. We applied Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), which is an in-depth qualitative approach guided by phenomenology (i.e., how events are felt and understood by individuals). Our theorising is based on the accounts of six professional women: Alice, Becky, Claire, Diana, Erica, Fiona (all pseudonyms). The interviews were analysed in line with Pietkiewicz and Smith (2012). Three major themes emerged from the data: (1) problematised and pathologized: menopause as a loss of agency over femininity, (2) stigmatised and dirty: menopause as inadequacy in femininity, and (3) vulnerability and concealment with pockets of resistance.

The dominant ‘dirty’ discourses about the menopause problematised, pathologized, and stigmatised participants’ lived experiences. Menopause was constructed to be a bad phenomenon that violated women and tainted them. It took away their agency over their femininity and eroded their ability to perform the socially mandated hegemonic femininity. Instead, menopause turned women into old, infertile, and irrational ‘gibbering wrecks’ who were incompetent and inadequate for the workplace. In our theorising, we show how lived experiences of menopause need to be detangled from the holds of patriarchal femininity lest they be othered, as noted by de Beauvoir: “women exist – and are only conscious of themselves – in ways that men have shaped” (Jensen, 2011, p.64). Drawing on Douglas’ (1966) notion of ‘dirt’ and Goffman’s (1963) concept of ‘passing’, participants concealed their ‘dirty’ lived experiences of the menopause and tried all sorts of ‘rubbish’ as to still ‘pass’ as hegemonically feminine. There was an acknowledged discord between this wider internalised patriarchal narrative and the awareness that menopause was an unavoidable normal part of a woman’s life, that it was ‘just’ another part of femininity. Indeed, there were a few emerging pockets of resistance where menopause (and aging) was framed as liberating from patriarchal hegemonic norms.

By drawing on Douglas’ (1962) concept of ‘dirt’ (i.e., matter out of place) and Hoskin’s (2019a; 2019b) work on femmephobia (i.e., the fear of the feminine), we theorise that menopause is ‘dirty’ and othered precisely because it is a manifestation of femininity. Further, we show that patriarchal femininity (i.e., hegemonic femininity weaponised to maintain patriarchal social norms; Hoskin and Taylor, 2019) frames women’s sensemaking of their lived experiences.

*Shehla Riza Arifeen*

### **The role of the ‘Hijab’ in negotiating gendered workspaces in Pakistan**

Employment presents exceptional challenges for women in Islamic societies (Syed, 2008 and Syed et al., 2009). This has been echoed by a number of researchers in Muslim Majority countries for instance Turkey (Jelen, 2011), UAE (Omair, 2009), Bangladesh (Hussain, 2010), Syria (Kamla, 2012) and Pakistan (Syed and Ali, 2013; Grunenfelder, 2013; Ali & Syed, 2016). Prevalent gender relations hamper Pakistani women’s employment. They are under pressure to be “good Muslim women” (Grunenfelder, 2013, Ali & Syed, 2018) and follow the patriarchal interpretations of Islam with respect to women (Syed et al. 2009). Some Islamist groups in Pakistan see Muslim women at work as symbols of westernization (Ali & Syed, 2018). Furthermore, gender segregation is a norm and crossing into work (male) domains presents emotional challenges as well (Syed & Ali, 2013).

The ‘hijab’, or a headscarf, as an item of clothing took on global significance after the Iranian revolution and became a religious identifier (Ghumman & Jackson, 2009) and a symbol of a Muslim woman’s identity (Ruby, 2006). Some women in the Arab world used the hijab as a means of negotiating a male Islamic society (Omair, 2009; Jelen, 2011; Kamla, 2012). While, the head covering is compulsory by law in public spaces in Iran, it is not so in Pakistan, also a Muslim majority country. In Pakistan, the traditional dupatta or chaadar, has historically been a part of the head covering attire for women. Those who wear a head covering are considered more modest than those who do not (Syed, Ali & Winstanely, 2005). However, there has been a growing trend among working women in Pakistan to wear a ‘hijab’ or a headscarf, voluntarily as a head covering, instead of the traditional chaddar. Indeed, Ali and Syed (2018) claim that the ultra-orthodox Islamic Arab-Salafi culture has influenced the stereotype of female modesty in Pakistan and hijabi women feel more respected and are also more privileged. This paper extends Ali and Syed’s (2018) work by investigating in depth the ‘privilege’ the hijab offers in the work (male) space in Pakistan.

Qualitative data was gathered using purposive sampling in one metropolitan city of Pakistan. 25 semi-structured interviews were conducted of university educated women office workers who chose to wear the hijab. The findings indicate that hijab was chosen as a head covering to signal religiosity and piety. The hijab while making them visible, paradoxically made them invisible, desexualizing them and marking them as a ‘serious Muslim’. It also became an instrument to escape sexual harassment at the workplace as the hijab accorded them a higher status than women who wore the chaadar or women who wore no head covering in the work place. In a Muslim majority country where gender segregation is still a norm, the hijab legitimized the presence of women in mixed gender spaces and enabled them to negotiate gendered spaces with confidence.

*Tamara Shefer*

**Disrupting the silencing of bodies and affect in higher educational organisations: some thoughts from contemporary South African university contexts**

Higher educational institutions globally are characterized by centuries of a humanist project pivoting about the cartesian dualism, in which bodies and affect are unintelligible and erased. The history of universities as masculine spaces which privilege the pursuit of neutral, rational disembodied scientific knowledge continues to shape contemporary universities where the ‘messiness’ of bodies, emotion and relationality have no place. Similarly the history of colonization and the continued dominance of certain knowledges, shaped by geopolitical inequalities at both global and local levels, are entangled in every day organisational practices, reproducing a privileging of white, globally Northern, middle class, male and other historical authorities. Decades of feminist and critical scholarship have challenged the exclusion and marginalisation of the body and subaltern knowledges, as well as the particular exclusion and un-belonging of certain bodies and social identities, evident at multiple levels in the material and symbolic spaces of higher education. Arguably, the insidious and hegemonic extension of neoliberal capitalist values and practices to the university in the form of commodification, consumerism and bureaucratization further bolsters the loss of embodied agency and relationality. In the South African context, notwithstanding 25 years of the post-apartheid democracy, higher educational institutions are characterised by multiple forms of discursive and material difference and inequalities, both inside the organisation and serving to reproduce and reflect such inequalities in the larger social context. Contexts of COVID-19 over 2020 and continuing in 2021 have exacerbated inequalities and exclusions within South African universities as disadvantaged students are further disadvantaged by the move towards online and virtual forums. It is against this backdrop that this paper dialogues with some of the inspiring activism of South African students over the last few years. In particular I refer to activist and performative engagements over the last few years that have deployed the body and affect to disrupt the continued erasures and exclusions of certain bodies in particular and embodiment in general in the academy. Starting with the #Rhodesmustfall movement in 2015 and continuing for the few years thereafter, now known more generally as the Fallist movement, students’ decolonial activism was directed towards challenging exclusions and injustices in universities, including on the basis of continued coloniality and racism (#Rhodesmustfall), poverty and exclusionary practices on the basis of class (#feesmustfall), gender-based violence (for example, #Rapemustfall, #RUreferencelist) and exclusion of queer and non-gender conforming students (#trans collective). Notably the movement mobilised a strong decolonial, feminist, intersectional and queer vocabulary which arguably impacted not only on the universities but also filtered into the larger South African public imaginary. Student activism of the time poignantly flagged the significance of the material and embodied realm and how the spatial and symbolic geographies of higher education may be implicated in discomforting, alienating, exclusionary and marginalizing experiences and outcomes for many, experienced at a bodily and affective level. This paper shares a number of examples of activist interventions from 2015 that engage performative activism and activist performance, centering the body and affect, to take forward the project of transforming universities as well as the larger gender and sexual justice goals of democratic



South African and globally. I argue the value and multi-layered diffractive ramifications of these moments and performances which deploy bodily and emotional precarity and pain and inspire discomforting and strong emotions in reconceptualising universities as places of care, relationality and flourishing for all.

*Lara Owen*

**Performative 'menstruality': Neoliberal productivity and the recurrent enclosure of the female reproductive body**

In this autoethnographic paper I draw from my recent experiences advising the UK government and speaking to the media on menstruation in the workplace, and consulting on new menstrual policies with multinational corporations and SMEs. While menstruation has historically been ignored, silenced and minimised in workplaces (Young 2005) and women workers trained to hide any menstrual evidence (Roberts 2002, Vostral 2010), in recent years there has been a significant shift in menstrual organization. Legal, political, material and social avenues have been pursued to improve conditions surrounding menstruation, such as eliminating sales tax on menstrual products (Weiss-Wolf, 2017). In advertising, the conventional anxiety-producing mechanisms of product promotion have begun to be resisted and reshaped (Rostvik, 2018; Owen, 2019).

This 'new' perspective on menstruation builds on the work of menstrual activists since the 1970s, but why are these changes happening now? Possible answers include first, that neoliberalism supports a breakdown of social taboos, which enables new markets (e.g. Gammon, 2012). Second, the revival of feminism evinced through the #MeToo movement has enabled broader public conversation on women's rights and needs (e.g. Bell et al, 2018). Third, the rapidly growing biotech industry combined with ubiquitous smartphone usage has created a market for menstrual cycle tracking, a potent business opportunity both in terms of users adopting it and the personal information it generates and that can be sold on.

Out of these varying influences a growing trend has emerged to reshape workplace practices, including the introduction of menstrual workplace policies offering increased flexibility. While such innovations are presented as a boon for women, in practice such policies are also vulnerable to being co-opted into neoliberal productivity narratives, in which women are expected to work harder in the ovulatory part of the cycle. The notion of 'menstruality' (a term originating in quasi-pagan beliefs and a cultural feminist perspective) emphasises the relative productivity of ovulation, transforming the menstrual cycle into a sexy, performative plus for the workplace rather than its monthly awkward reality of bleeding, pain and fatigue.

Working with theory developed from Silvia Federici's (2004) identification of capitalist enclosure of the female body along with Beverly Skeggs (1997) identification of respectability as a balm for loss of capitals, I attempt to identify where and how the neoliberal narrative takes hold, how it affects women, and if and how it can be disarmed. I discuss my attempts to interject feminist socioeconomic concepts and embodied reality into corporate diversity situations constructed as being novel, feminist, and inclusive. This paper explores some of the conflicting and co-arising affect that I have perceived in individuals and groups and in myself while attempting to identify menstrual needs and create solutions in organizational contexts. These include optimism for a more heartfelt work experience; hopelessness, shyness, and fear; clinging to the safety of respectability; a rush to solution (fuelled by low capitals for engagement and process) followed by anger and disappointment; wary compromise; and revelation and relief when these feelings are identified. Suffusing this

experience are questions about the nature of progress in the androcentric workplace and ways in which apparent freedom allows cultural structures of containment through stigmatisation to be stealthily reproduced.

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*Ana Marija Sikirić Simčić*

### **Measures for reducing period poverty at the workplace**

The importance of menstrual health has been historically neglected, mainly due to taboos and misconceptions about menstruation and androcentrism within health knowledge and health systems around the world. The concept of androcentrism takes the male body as a reference for all people which in a health context leads to the invisibility of the female body and women's health in health science, politics and practice. Consequently, the problem of "period poverty", which refers to financial, social, cultural and political barriers to access menstrual products and education, is systematically neglected. Results of scarce research on this subject indicate few key challenges people who menstruate face on their workplace: menstrual shame and embarrassment, social stigma; unavailability of menstrual products and medications to reduce pain during menstruation, inability to maintain adequate menstrual hygiene at the workplace, absence from work due to menstrual pain and insufficient hygienic conditions.

Since the promotion of menstrual health is key for achieving greater gender equality in the workplace and beyond, in this paper I will make recommendation on how to alleviate aforementioned challenges, i.e. to improve menstrual health and reduce menstrual poverty. The recommendations are created based on the results of previously conducted research on menstrual poverty in different countries and other recent research on economic and environmental impacts of menstrual products. These recommendation have several aims including raising the level of menstrual health education not only among people who menstruate but also people who do not menstruate, ensuring basic hygienic conditions and availability of menstrual products at the workplace, encouraging the use of reusable menstrual products to reduce negative environmental impact of disposable menstrual products and reducing the financial burden of menstrual products on the household budget.

*Orna Blumena, Naama Bar-On Shmilovitcha and Polina Baum-Talmorb*

### **I'm pregnant!!! Managers' experience of pregnancy disclosure**

It is estimated that in affluent societies, 90% of women will become pregnant while employed, with most of them continuing to work almost until giving birth. As growing numbers of women employees will continue to experience the transition to motherhood while employed, research interest in the significance of pregnancy in the workplace, particularly in the field of human relations, has recently increased in an attempt to understand how pregnancy is experienced in the workplace. The current study joins this evolving research topic, illuminating the beginning of this workplace experience – the moment of pregnancy disclosure.

Pregnancy is a women-only bodily performance. Workplace research mostly focuses on the experience of pregnant employees, noticing that as an unavoidably-visible powerful representation of domestic life, pregnancy increases the incongruity of women employees with the icon of the “ideal worker,” and provokes negative reactions toward pregnant employees who are often subject to direct and indirect discriminatory practices. The current study tackles two lacunae in current research: First, while the experience of pregnant employees stands at the heart of research on pregnancy in the workplace, that of other protagonists, namely the managers and co-workers of pregnant employees, has only recently begun to attract attention. Second, existing research usually examines situations in which pregnancy is a known fact and very scarcely probes the disclosure by studying employees' anxiety and preparations toward the moment of disclosure. Linking up with this emerging research topic, we address this twofold void by shedding light on the experience of managers and taking apart the distinctiveness of pregnancy disclosure. To the best of our knowledge, managers' experience of this moment is an unexplored perspective in research. In most societies the law mandates employees to reveal their pregnancy, thus imposing the disclosure and the timing of the disclosure often before the pregnancy is noticed. This is an important moment in which the pregnant employee shares intimate, personal information and employment relations change legally and socio-culturally. Within this turbulence, managers are required to adapt on several levels while their managerial prerogatives and duties are tightly regulated, short- and medium-term consequences are unpredictable and uncertainty in personnel management increases.

The current study takes a qualitative path in order to give voice to managers, enabling them to express their views openly without constraining them in predetermined categories. Data was derived from in-depth semi-structured interviews with 63 public- and private-sector, low- and middle-level Israeli managers. The narrative approach was employed in order to unpack the complexities surrounding this moment from their previously unexplored, subjective view. Preliminary findings indicate that at the moment of disclosure managers are often caught between surprise and premonition and strive to navigate their response between expressions of happy congratulations, articulations of personal support and concerns over future productivity and effectiveness. Social and practical implications are considered.

*Eleni Damianidou and Andri Georgiadou*

### **Silent Embodiment of Disability at Work**

In order to decide how to shape the body, people usually compare their bodies to what is considered normal. We argue that the process of shaping the body involves taking decisions at three levels: firstly, one must decide what their body is, secondly, define what their body can be and thirdly, assume what their body will be. We focus on the case of the ugly body/bad person. We hypothesize that at the first level of the shaping process the owner of the body compares it with the norm, i.e. the beautiful body, and decides whether their body is at least not ugly or if it is ugly. If the owner of the body decides that it deviates from the norm, i.e. it is ugly, then at the second level explores the available shaping sources and means in order to define whether the body cannot or can be not ugly and thereby reach the norm. At the third level, the owner of the ugly body evaluates the shaping efforts and assumes whether their body will eventually be or not ugly. If the person assumes that the body cannot change and will be ugly and therefore bad, then they must decide where to place the ugly body/bad self.

On these grounds, this study aims to explore the implications of having an ugly body in the professional world by giving voice to adults labelled as having an ugly body, i.e. disable people. Therefore, this study explores two questions: (a) Who decides the characteristics of the coveted body? (b) what are the implications of having an ugly body?

To address our research questions, we employed a qualitative methodology with the aim to gain in-depth accounts from key informants and develop grounded theory. This research was guided by the feminist approach, which emphasizes the dualistic nature of the world. We focused on three dualistic counterparts, i.e. beautiful/ugly and good/bad, trying to inform scientific explanations that might help us understand and transgress the above intersecting bifurcations.

Our theoretical and managerial contribution includes a better understanding of how workplace and social life tend to be organized based on a universal (able) body. When bodies are perceived as deviating from the (able) norm, they are often treated as problematic and disturbing the social order. The displacement of disable people then is evident not only in the workplace but also in family and personal life. However, as Bourdieu (1984) argues, displacement may eventually become habitus, i.e. a long-lasting scheme of perceptions, which recycles the social order and reproduces unequal relations.

In order then to break the cycle of disablement in work and society, other layers of the body deserve to be explored in-depth, such as the bifurcation of beautiful-good vs ugly-bad body. Hence, the critical analysis of the above entanglement is important, because of the theoretical and practical implications: at the theoretical level, the tensions between the perceived as beautiful and the labelled as ugly body could bring us closer to a comprehensive understanding of the experience of being excluded because of being different; at the practical level, the knowledge about the embodiment of worthy employee and citizen may lead

managers to use the above knowledge in real work settings to manage effectively diversity and promote equity.

*Claire Barraclough*

**What is the expectation of a successfully feminine bodily performance of menopause at work and in what way might this silence women?**

I am a Grandmother of a 2-year-old; a Mother of a 32 and 25-year-old; a Step-Mother to 3 teenagers. I have lived for 51 years and through all of these years I have and continue to be a Daughter. Now this Daughter is living a menopause. When have I been silenced at work? When have I chosen silence? Some of this silencing was imposed upon me – being ignored and talked over; some of it was chosen.

In my paper, taking account of feminist organisational theories of structures and practices, I will explore ‘embodiment’ and ‘gendered agency’ in relation to menopausal experience in work settings. Particularly asking if there is any evidence of women experiencing being ‘silenced’ as they journey through menopause at work.

After some neglect, feminist academic research is actively engaging in debate and discussion, offering up ever-broadening ideas to inform our thinking about menopausal women in the workplace.

From empirical based studies, quantifying current and future numbers of menopausal working women, what the ‘symptoms’ are and so on (Brewis Beck et al 2015), to qualitative explorations of women’s lived experiences of being listened to within workplaces during menopause; how women would prefer to have conversations about menopause at work and what facilitates good conversations and also what they feel silenced by (Hardy, et al., 2019); a new subfield is beginning to emerge.

Whilst this scholarship has made a significant contribution by raising awareness in organisations – menopausal policies and awareness training for managers there is still a question about what else can we say outside of a woman’s ‘reproduction-focused’ roles in society (Gamboudo 2015).

Recent work by Alicia Grandey (Grandey, et al., 2019) maps three female biological stages, referred to as the 3M’s; menstruation, maternity and menopause onto three stages of the ‘ideal worker’ (Davies and Frink, 2014), where menopause is named as the final ‘taboo’. The 3Ms clash with the expectations of these ‘ideal worker’ stages of development, because the ‘ideal worker’ is seen traditionally as having no sexuality, emotionality and no desire to have children (Acker, 1990) – and I would add, quite probably a male body.

This integrated review illuminates how the 3M’s ‘intersect with career expectations’ of the ideal worker, articulating the challenges and implications for women’s future careers. The female body demands more of the female employee’s attention at certain times than deemed allowable by the organisation cultures and expectations (Grandey, et al., 2019), which serves to silence women.

Applying the concept of ‘successful femininity’ (Swan, 2008) to menopausal experience I hope to explore normative social narratives and how these can silence women’s menopausal



voices within organisations and how this might be the same or different to experiences of silencing of menstruation and maternity.

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*Krystal Wilkinson*

### **Can rhythm intelligence challenge the silence around fertility work?**

The stigma associated with certain identities and experiences in society, and thus the workplace, are well known to influence decisions around disclosure versus silence. One potentially stigmatising identity is infertility, and judgements may be made by employers, managers and colleagues around the decision to pursue fertility treatment by those with medical problems, those in same-sex relationships, and women who want to pursue motherhood alone.

Whilst there is considerable literature in organisation and gender studies on the arguably stigmatised identities of pregnancy and motherhood at work – associated with reduced capability and commitment, amongst other things (Gatrell, 2011) – and how they influence disclosure decisions, there is little consideration of the gendered experiences of those navigating complex fertility journeys alongside employment. As women perform the majority of the ‘fertility work’ in complex fertility journeys (being subject to the majority of fertility treatment, including hormone stimulation, frequent scans, and invasive procedures), it is their experience of managing this performance alongside the demands of their job that is the focus of our paper. We argue that fertility treatment is a more problematic identity/experience to navigate at work than pregnancy, as it may mirror the latter in terms of workplace assumptions of reduced capability and commitment (due to the demands of treatment, and the end goal of maternity), but infertility, same-sex parenting and solo-motherhood are all arguably more socially taboo than heterosexual motherhood. There is also the fact that pregnancy, whilst a concealable identity for some time, becomes visible eventually, and at this point, the end product – the baby – is largely guaranteed. When it comes to fertility treatment, despite the huge amount of logistical, physical, and emotional work involved, the identity can be kept largely invisible throughout, and there is no guarantee of a successful outcome. The latter might make women more reluctant to disclose treatment, even when their work performance is affected. Furthermore, as one outcome of unsuccessful treatment is to pursue further treatment, the performance of fertility work may be ongoing, with no clear end in sight.

Rhythmanalysis (Lefebvre, 2004), as recently applied to maternity experience (Rouse et al, forthcoming), provides a promising theoretical framework for understanding some of the individual- and workplace-level factors that influence fertility treatment disclosure decisions. Fertility treatment poses several disruptions to the normal (organisational and team) rhythms of an individual’s employment. Arrhythmia can be caused by often irregular rhythms of the female body (biological clocks, menstrual cycles, physical and emotional effects of treatment, the ‘two week wait’ after egg implantation), the rhythms of treatment clinics (clinic opening hours, appointment decisions, communication channels), and even rhythms of alternative employment, when individuals take on second jobs to afford treatment. We suggest that perceptions of how such arrhythmia would be received, and managed, in the workplace – affecting disclosure decisions – depends on the rhythm intelligence of individuals, managers, and organisations as a whole. We apply the theory to qualitative data on the lived

experiences of those navigating complex fertility journeys (over 70 interviews), and the experiences of line managers (10 interviews).

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*Gemma Wibberley, Carol Jones and Tony Bennett*

**"Only when it starts crumbling down, that's when you'll know": Silence around Domestic Abuse and the Workplace**

In this paper we will explore the silence around domestic abuse and the workplace. In the title quote, one of the trade union representatives we interviewed explained that domestic abuse is rarely disclosed by workers, and that it is typically only when the victim/survivor is at a crisis point and it all “starts crumbling down”, will they break the silence at work. The presentation will utilise the concept of stigma (Goffman, 1963; Link & Phelan, 2001), and the false belief that ‘domestic’ abuse only impacts the private sphere of home rather than the public realm of work (Swanberg et al., 2012). Furthermore, we will argue that maintaining a sense of competence and the ability to do the job is a common but under-researched theme in the literature. Domestic abuse is statistically more likely to impact women (ONS 2018), however, respondents suggested male victims/survivors can face further barriers of disbelief if they break the silence of abuse, thus gender will be an important lens. We will look in detail at the issues workers face when deciding if and when to disclose to their employer that they are experiencing domestic abuse.

Domestic abuse is not commonly seen as a workplace issue. Yet, organisational support can positively impact victim/survivors well-being (Beecham, 2014); enable access to resources without the perpetrator’s knowledge (Katula, 2012); and remain in employment (Swanberg et al, 2007). It may even make it more possible for women to leave an abusive relationship due to the sense of 'economic empowerment' (Rothman et al, 2007). However, there is an understandable lack of disclosure in the workplace (Business in the Community, 2018) in common with the general under-reporting of domestic abuse ( O’Doherty, et al., 2016).

We conducted a two-phase research project into the role of trade union representatives in supporting employees who are experiencing domestic abuse. In-depth interviews were conducted with 57 trade union representatives and officers. Utilising template analysis (King 2004), interviews were thematically analysed in order to explore key concepts and dominant issues. The projects were conducted with the kind support of the TUC.

In terms of silence about domestic abuse in the workplace, key issues that emerged from the research included that victims/survivors are often reluctant to disclose the abuse, as they may be concerned about confidentiality or the implications for their personal life, career and reputation. Furthermore, employees may worry that disclosing to a trade union representative could result in unwanted formal action and typically need considerable reassurance about confidentiality. It was suggested that a crisis at home or work most commonly triggers disclosure in the workplace, for instance when a worker is facing dismissal for poor performance or from attendance issues stemming from the abuse. Sadly, it was believed that victims / survivors may leave work, voluntarily or after dismissal, whilst remaining officially silent about the abuse. However, the research revealed the vital role of union reps in facilitating disclosure and breaking the silence as a corollary to the fact that members do still fear disclosure in terms of formalisation of their case.

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*Truss vd Berg*

**“And we gossip about my life as if I am not there.” An autoethnography on toxic secrets, hurtful silencing, and healing silence in recovery from infidelity in the academic workplace**

In this autoethnography, written under a pen name, I engage with the discovery of my husband's betrayal, my traumatized responses to it, and its consequences for my work performance and my presence in the academic workplace. Married for decades, trained as an occupational health psychologist, working as a researcher on among other themes gender, work and health, and having been a board member of a women's union for years, I was naively unaware of infidelity as a (widespread) phenomenon, let alone of the massive health consequences of infidelity for those affected by it, for their work, and for their workplaces. Currently in relationship studies, research is emerging about the health consequences of infidelity and how to deal with injured relationships. However, studies are lacking about the consequences of infidelity for work and organization. The figures, albeit wholly unreliable, show us that infidelity and its health consequences are unquestionably a major public health issue, yet a fully ignored and unexplored one in occupational health and human resource management research. Furthermore, infidelity is not only, but also, a gender issue. In relation to infidelity, with this autoethnography I aimed to (1) enhance my own understanding and what happened to my life and work; (2) contribute to a better understanding of those of us who depend heavily on their brains for work, and; (3) contribute to a dialogue about hurt and grief and secrets, silencing and silence and their consequences also in the workplace.

Running into this issue myself, I studied my own story, and reflected iteratively back and forth between my own experiences, the literature, and engagement with hundreds of others on this journey either by telephone in group calls, or online in forums, by texting, emailing, or skype meetings. I have taken measures to safeguard the ecological validity of my study and all ethical considerations have been taken in mind.

In this autoethnography, I engage with betrayal trauma from my husband's infidelity as it relates to recovery and my academic identity, and my work performance. As I navigate between the trauma, the stigma and taboo, the shame and lack of knowledge, my responsibilised academic self, the collegial interactions, and the question whether keeping silent robbed me of my voice, I distinguish toxic secrets, hurtful silencing, and healing silence. Although the exploitative nature of the academic workplace had never been more visceral, I also found that a tending silence contributed to my protection and my recovery. In silence, my academic life is opening up to embracing needs rather than enduring hardships, to inviting rather than striving, to vulnerability rather than empowerment.

*Marjana Johansson and Sarah Robinson*

### **Managing body, mind and soul? Wellbeing and gender in academia**

A decade ago Rosalind Gill (2009) wrote about the hidden injuries of academia produced by the intensification and extensification of work, the individualised responsabilisation that underpins it, and the shame and guilt produced when the individual ‘fails’ to keep up. More recently, a policy report (Morrish, 2019) points to the ‘epidemic of poor mental health’ of staff in UK academia due to excessive workloads, an audit culture of performance measurement, precarious employment contracts, and a focus on short-term goals. The COVID-19 pandemic has further exacerbated pressures on faculty. A significant number of academics have ‘struggled to maintain the levels of mental resilience and energy they had prior to the crisis’ (Walker et al., 2020: 2, original emphasis) brought on by uncertainty and anticipated negative long-term consequences. Moreover, the effects of the crisis are unevenly distributed with regard to caring responsibilities, and access to technology and adequate working space (e.g. Gao and Linna, 2020). Reports also show how gender and race shape unequal outcomes in relation to the pandemic, including for those who work in academia (Gabster et al., 2020; Morgan, 2020). In this paper we ask what this has meant for the wellbeing of faculty in the past year.

Following a classic definition, subjective wellbeing is understood as ‘a person’s quality of life according to his [sic] own criteria’ (Shin and Johnson, 1978: 478), encompassing physical and psychological aspects, social relationships and the relationship to the environment. Acknowledging and managing bodily and emotional experiences have to a greater extent become part of the managerial discourse of work. To address the decline in wellbeing, universities have in the past year accelerated their offered support in the form of initiatives targeting body (e.g. exercise and nutrition tips) and mind (e.g. meditation and mindfulness resources). Relatedly, academics have recently highlighted and shared bodily experiences in the workplace related to mental health (Smith and Ulus, 2020), pregnancy, miscarriage, motherhood and the menopause (Beck et al., 2019; Boncori and Smith, 2018; Katila, 2018). While these accounts seek to articulate and counteract the stigmatisation and secrecy surrounding such embodied experiences, it is noticeable that the authors tend to be women and the episodes described being those of women.

We draw on a biopsychosocial model of wellbeing (Vickerstaff et al., 2013) to explore how gendered norms and ideals underpin bodily and emotional expressions (Haynes 2008; Riach and Cutcher, 2014; Verdonk et al, 2010) related to wellbeing. Our aim is to examine if and how academics engage with employer-led initiatives in order to ‘manage’ their wellbeing. An important question which emerges is whether the attention to wellbeing, and hence the assumed increased openness regarding how work affects body and mind, contributes to legitimising particular expressions of (a lack of) wellbeing while maintaining or producing other forms of silences. What might be, in Gill’s (2009: 234) words ‘rendered difficult to speak of’, or indeed subjected to forms of silencing other than speech, for example through the internalisation of wellbeing edicts? In critically examining wellbeing initiatives in academia we ask if employer-led initiatives are in fact silencing mechanisms which render



complaints difficult and mask structural conditions, all while purporting to offer a way to reinstate soul into academic work.

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**Stream 18**  
**Thursday, Session 4 – 11:00-12:30**  
**Home encroaching on the workplace**

Walker, J., Fontinha, R., Haak-Saheem, W. and Brewster, C. (2020) The effects of the COVID-19 lockdown on teaching and engagement in business schools. Discussion paper JHD-2020-05. Henley: John H Dunning Centre.

*Donna Bridges*

**Silencing the feminine in male dominated work: the case of the military and construction industries in Australia**

Work in the military and in the construction industry has traditionally been performed by men and both industries are perceived to be masculine domains. The association between work in these industries and masculine gender identity is considered to be a factor behind persistent gender segregation and to contribute to employment discrimination, forms of harassment and high rates of attrition for women.

There are well established understandings in the field that work associated with masculine gender identity excludes women as a way of asserting male superiority and privilege. Exclusion tactics include practices that are designed to silence attributes, values and behaviours associated with the feminine.

This paper uses the Australian Defence Force and the Australian construction industry as case studies. We consider discourse about gender inclusion in both industries over a 15 year period in Australia using qualitative data as well as current literature. We problematize current discourse coming from both industries that does not challenge the existence of, or detrimental impact of, the binary opposition between masculinity and femininity. Rather, discourse on this issue has advanced from rejecting the feminine in these industries altogether to producing and reproducing the idea that gender, in relation to work, is irrelevant. The former undermines the latter. We argue that the denial of gender as an issue fails to recognise gender related problems such as gender segregation, discrimination and harassment and subsequently silences women's experiences. It also fails to address masculine gender privilege.

We show that the discourse rendering gender irrelevant is designed to be inclusive of women, yet has the effect of silencing their experience. The denial of gender means that masculinity remains the dominate gender, which creates the sociocultural foundation where values and behaviours associated with femininity are silenced through resistance. Much of this resistance is situated in the body. For women this plays out in 'gender management', accentuating or concealing their femininity and in performing masculinity. For men this means taking risks, not complying with workplace health and safety provisions and failing to deal with mental health and wellbeing.

To understand these latter points in more depth we will critically assess how issues that occur for women are intrinsically linked to poor experiences and attrition for men in these industries. We argue this is a cultural problem, in that it is connected to beliefs, attitudes and values within the industries that in turn shape the perceptions and behaviours of members. Such cultures lead to psychological distress, bullying of women and young men and minorities and prevent cultural change. The link between workplace culture and psychological distress is well established. However, the link between gender issues that are embedded in workplace cultures, psychological distress and physical injury has received less attention.

This paper will show how the silencing of femininity and the denial of gender has significant outcomes, not only for gender segregation, the discrimination and harassment of women – but also for psychological distress and physical injury so prevalent in male dominated work.

*Belinda Steffan*

**Emotional responses to the appearance of bodily ageing at work: the gendered precarity of confidence and authenticity**

Worker identity and appearance are integral for how work is conducted. As workers become older and experience a time of change through which work identities might be reinterpreted or challenged, this paper draws on liminal identity work to understand how individual workers, both female and male, experience, manage and present their ageing bodies at work. Specifically, this exploratory study focuses on how older women and men conducted liminal identity work based on gendered emotional responses to the perceived appearance of bodily ageing at work. Based on qualitative data from 29 workers over 50 years of age in Edinburgh, UK, findings suggest that an emotional response to bodily ageing was interwoven with consistency of trait confidence and authenticity of worker identity. This paper provides evidence of this interaction of emotions, confidence and authenticity through three key liminal identity work practices. These three themes presented differentially based on gender, occupational status and individual differences: shielded from internalised ageism; capitalised on an ageing aesthetic; engaged in negative self-affirmation. Shielding and capitalising were experienced differently by women and men, whereas negative self-affirmation was presented only by women. These three liminal identity work practices had differential outcomes on attitudes to continued labour force participation and contemplation of early exit from work. This paper responds to the call for more nuanced empirical work on factors affecting extending working lives, insight into identity work practices and experiences of emotional responses to bodily ageing at work.

*Céline Del Bucchia, Camilla Quental and Pilar Rojas Gaviria*

**Post-menopausal zest: recognizing the bright side of menopause in the workplace**

“The most powerful force in the world is a menopausal woman with zest” (Margaret Mead, 1950)

With this sentence by the anthropologist Margaret Mead in the 1950s, she pioneered modern thought on sex and gender theory. We can argue today that this statement was particularly radical. Indeed, seventy years later, it is still considered headline news when a woman starts a business, seizes a cultural moment or takes a leadership position after 50, menopause itself still carrying negative connotations, linked to failure, decline and deficiency.

Menopause is a significant gendered bodily event, but remarkably understudied. The voices and work experiences of menopausal women are very rarely heard in Management and Organization studies. Some researchers recently called attention to this issue that a significant portion of the working population will experience, and argued that the silence on menopause in Management and Organization Studies – including feminist approaches to these studies – needs to be rectified (Jack, Riach & Bariola, 2019).

In fact, menopause is still a taboo subject for “polite” conversation in the workplace, especially in workplaces where individuals are often too embarrassed to talk about this subject. However, with workers encouraged to remain in paid employment for longer, millions of women go through menopause in workplace settings (Jack et al., 2016). Guidance on menopause and the workplace has begun to emerge (e.g. Faculty of Occupational Medicine, 2016), and researching this ageing cohort of women and this female-specific experience is vital for organizations, feminist scholars and female employees alike. Companies are also starting to implement initiatives to cope with this subject in the workplace, such as Channel 4, who is launching its first menopause policy in an effort to normalise the “taboo” subject (The Guardian, 2019).

We have observed notably studies emerging in the last decade, and some networks of scholars studying menopause, some focusing on menopause more particularly, others in a broader way, considering the 3 Ms (menstruation, maternity and menopause) as recently in the work of Grandey, Gabriel and King (2020).

Previous research has shown that menopause can be distinguished from other aging processes when we look at particular social contexts of women’s lives. Dillaway (2005), for instance, argued that menopause is understood more fully within the context of women’s previous reproductive experiences, comparisons of menopause with other aging processes, and structural and ideological shifts that shape the meanings of reproduction and aging. Winterich (2003) emphasizes the role of culture, arguing that much of the research on menopause and sex reflects the common assumption that menopause is a time of negative physical, emotional, and sexual change. The author finds that most women emphasize cultural and social issues, such as relationship status and quality, health, and sexual history, rather than the medicalized menopausal changes.

In this paper, we wish to open the discussion on the creative and energetic side of menopause in the workplace. We conduct a literature review of the studies conducted on menopause, in particular on organization studies, acknowledging the importance of these studies to normalize and this natural phenomenon. Our methodology consisted of analysing the relevant press in UK on the topic, in particular at The Guardian, blogs and social network about menopause, as well as relevant books. Our aim is to open the conversation in organization studies about the creative and energizing side of menopause, referring to the phenomenon that Margaret Mead famously talked about in the 1960s, the “zest” of the postmenopausal women.

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*Francesca Alice Vianello*

### **Live-in care workers: silencing the reproductive life to perform reproductive work**

In Italy, in recent years, the figure of home caregivers for older people has acquired a structural role. The spread of these services responds to a complex historical scenario: a weak and "familistic" welfare, an aging population, an increase in female employment, the emergence of new gender and family models and the extension of working life. A majority of these services are carried out today mainly by middle-age women from Eastern Europe, who embody the characteristics of the ideal home care worker (Wicht 2010; Li-Fang 2011). Exactly because of their gender and age, it is believed that they hold the skills to perform care and domestic work.

Our proposal starts from this scenario and analyzes how what cannot be expressed plays a fundamental role in channeling the subjectivity of migrant women and making them functional for labour exploitation. More precisely, we intend to analyze how the traditional gender roles of daughter, wife and mother are strategic for the tasks that migrant women are called to perform but, on the other hand, they need to be "silenced" in the workspace.

Whether they live with their patients or not (live-in and live-out regime), the main activity of migrant workers is to take care of the beneficiaries and, at the same time, to perform tasks such as cleaning the house, cooking and shopping. As the literature has well illustrated, taking care does not mean only attend of people's body needs, but also providing emotional wellbeing. In other words they have to take care of their patients as if they were a daughter. In summary, the worker is asked to assume a role traditionally attributed to the family and to the daughters in particular (Marchetti 2015; Vega Solís 2015). The care market is therefore a market in which the "feminine" is put at work, namely the attitudinal and emotional dimension traditionally attributed to women.

Women employed in these activities in most cases are daughters, wives and mothers in their home country. On the one hand, this condition is considered "functional" to perform reproductive work in Italy but, on the other hand, workers' reproductive duties and needs must not be expressed in the country of destination. The affective needs towards children and relatives left-behind as well as relational and sexual ones in the destination country are in fact often "silenced" by the worker herself and by employer. In the domestic market, therefore, there is a vision of the body at work that is very similar to that analyzed in the industrial sphere, i.e. that of a body deprived of elements that are considered disturbing and unproductive (Foucault 1977).

For instance, family reunification, the need to go to their own country for sudden needs (mourning, illnesses of their relatives), the possibility to spend the night with their partners are hardly reconcilable with home care work, especially with live-in care work. The overlapping of private and working life makes all these activities associated to workers' reproductive life inadmissible (Yeoh, Huang 1998; Lan 2003). Employers want workers free from their own reproductive burden and available to satisfy the reproductive needs of the people cared for. Employees' private life raids in the work sphere can be problematic and



disturbing; up to the point that workers' affective and sexual relations are often the object of stigmatization: they come to be considered "not very serious" and "unreliable".

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**Stream 19**  
**Critical Approaches to EDI in the International Sciences**

**Conveners: Anne Laure Humbert, Tana Joseph, Kate Sang & Udeni Salmon**

*Christian Moller and Saffron Passam*

**EDI interventions in the STEM sciences: Promoting social justice or creating neoliberal subjects?**

Traditionally, EDI interventions have ignored the complexity and intersectionality of inequalities, instead seeking to deliver a quick fix that is measurable and marketable in an increasingly competitive Higher Education environment. Such initiatives take place in the context of a performance culture where diversity, much like ‘excellence’, becomes a desired output made visible through award ceremonies and rankings to improve the competitive standing of the institution globally (Tzanakou and Pearce, 2019). In this context, unconscious bias is frequently normalised by mainstream psychology as an essential trait to be managed through individual training in support of the neoliberal agenda. Based on cognitive science, unconscious bias becomes naturalised as a phenomenon located in people’s minds which leads to the assumption that we simply need to train ourselves to minimise bias in daily life. Convenient and scientifically designed tests allow us to test our biases and appear to confirm its presence in our heads. By advocating changes in behavioural design to adapt and invent new ‘choice architectures’, some EDI initiatives follow dominant neoliberal ‘nudge’ strategies to achieve behaviour change. In contrast, our approach in critical psychology considers unconscious bias to be a discursive construct – which does not deny its existence. On the contrary, we recognise that discourses have material effects in forming and maintaining institutions and the subjects that inhabit them.

Our concern is that research into EDI initiatives continues to overlook these power effects in the constitution of academics as neoliberal subjects. As part of an interdisciplinary Inclusion Matters programme funded by the EPSRC, we have trialled and critically reviewed a series of innovative interventions in STEM departments. Exploring definitions and documentations of success of these interventions, our analysis of case studies showed narratives of personal transformation and maximisation of internal capacities for career progression. Guided by positive psychology, career development programmes for women problematise individual deficits such as lack of resilience and confidence, wrong attitudes and deficient decision making. “Fixing the women” then requires active work on the self under expert guidance to maximise economic potentials in becoming an enterprising neoliberal subject better equipped to compete in a market environment. By individualising and psychologising deeply structural problems, current equality and diversity training in the ‘post-racial’ university may therefore reproduce oppressive systems while ignoring histories of racism and exclusion in the sciences.

Recent research on racism in UK universities (Sian, 2018) has further highlighted the lack of mentoring support and adequate institutional resources to support BAME and female staff. Despite promising a range of benefits and more inclusive environments, our review of reverse mentoring schemes has shown them to be guided by corporate interests and to be largely modelled on business structures. Prioritising knowledge transfer and individual skills attainment over structural change, diversity here easily becomes a valued resource to be exploited by senior white academics. Reflecting on what alternative approaches might look like, we consider the potential of reverse mentoring schemes in a university setting and their

capacity to facilitate an open dialogue about needs and barriers to create a much-needed space for critical reflection on white privilege in the academy.

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*Kate Sang and Jen Remnant*

**Important but not interesting: navigating masculine hegemony in research on women's lives**

White able-bodied men continue to dominate academia, forming close networks which serve to exclude diverse scholars (Barnes et al., 2017). Some women do break through intersecting glass ceilings of gender, migratory status, race and ethnicity, albeit with some mobilising forms of privilege (Sang et al., 2013). This paper presents a reflexive account of two researchers engaging in applied research on women's working lives. Building on previous research which has demonstrated a long history of gendered (Davies et al., 2019; Harley, 2003), classed (Reay, 2004) and ableist (Brown and Leigh, 2018) working practices in academia, we reflect on the stubborn persistence of daily resistance to diversity research, particularly research which challenges white male hegemony. Drawing on our experiences across disciplines, research focus and career stage, we will consider our interactions with funders, peer review systems and internal REF processes revealing the microaggressions and mechanisms by which masculine hegemony is maintained. Our experiences reveal repeated patterns of dismissal, marginalisation and hostility which serve to reveal gendered and ableist mechanisms of oppression within the academy. Further, we argue that the maintenance of these masculine ableist hegemonic research practices (re)produces masculine ableist academic cultures and has negative impacts on the quality of research produced. We contrast these patterns within the academy with our experiences working with governmental, charitable and industrial research partners where applied feminist disability research is valued. We conclude by considering how the dismissal of feminist disability research as 'important but not interesting' or 'interesting but not important' serves to (re)produce academic hierarchies within the academy, and strategies for navigating the hostile environment of academia.

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*Jessica Gagnon and Marco Reggiani*

**The Smoke and Mirrors of performative diversity: Institutional reputation, individual burden, and distraction from accountability**

Universities are eager to celebrate diversity and to highlight the ways diversity features in their vision and values statements. However, as Ahmed (2012:153) has suggested, diversity work is often just ‘a branding exercise, a way of reimagining the organization as ‘being diverse’ through the inclusion of those who embody diversity’ rather than the expression of a genuine commitment that is reinforced with measurable, accountable action. As a result, performative and marketised approaches to diversity serve only as an ‘illusion’ of action, where published policies and promises are often not reflected in practices (Bhopal, 2018; Ahmed, 2012). The beneficiaries of these parlour tricks can end up being already privileged groups, which establishes a competing hierarchy amongst marginalised and underrepresented groups where, for example, gender equity can be prioritised to the detriment of race, sexuality, disability (Bhopal, 2020). With limited intersectional awareness, institutional diversity initiatives rarely account for multiple discriminations (Equate Scotland, 2020). This can result in limited inclusion work undertaken across and between marginalised/underrepresented groups, a problem that may be exacerbated in STEM fields where the awareness around intersecting identities and inequalities is already limited (Bilimoria and Stewart, 2009).

This paper will explore findings from the first phase of data collection from the STEM Equals project ([www.stemequals.ac.uk](http://www.stemequals.ac.uk)). Funded by EPSRC (Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Council) within the Inclusion Matters initiative and the University of Strathclyde, STEM Equals is a four-years, mixed-methods project focused on working cultures, including better understanding and addressing systemic inequalities faced by women and LGBT+ people in STEM. In this paper, we discuss data from the first phase of the project including interviews and focus groups with and reflective writing from women and LGBT+ academic staff and PhD students in STEM (including 38 staff members and 44 PhD students). The data has been thematically analysed and our analysis is framed by Bhopal (2018, 2020), Ahmed (2012), and Crenshaw (1989, 2017). We explore the ways that performative diversity, whilst serving to boost institutional reputation, can increase the burden on individuals, often those from marginalised/underrepresented groups, without recognition or rewards in terms of career progression. The increased burden, including, for example, time spent on committees, student pastoral care, and/or EDI (Equality, Diversity, Inclusion) initiatives, can be detrimental to staff well-being and work/life balance. This can also potentially leave marginalised/underrepresented staff, often serving as the public face of “diversity”, exposed to bullying without adequate institutional support.

We suggest that performative diversity can, at best, fulfil only “basic compliance” (STEM Equals, 2020) and largely contributes towards reproducing and maintaining the status quo. It is a smoke and mirrors distraction from pursuing and achieving institutional change that leads to equity through measurable accountability. We suggest that transformational institutional change requires an intersectional approach that is transparent and measurable, in which

institutions are willingly accountable, and through which the individuals responsible for that work are recognised and rewarded.



*Anna Grzelec*

### **Gender diversity and the excellence case - current practices in engineering education**

Gender diversity in engineering has been a hot topic since the birth of engineering (Berner, 2000), i.e. for about a century. The outnumbering of men in engineering has been associated with a number of negative consequences, including the feeling that women do not belong (Gherardi, 1996; Pietri et al., 2019), women needing to engage in identity work (Powell et al., 2009), and discrimination against women (Moss-Racusin et al., 2012; Heilman & Caleo, 2018). The current state-of-affairs influences the perceived available options when selecting professional career, with girls gravitating towards languages and boys towards mathematics, independently of prior school results (Cheryan, 2012; Ehrlinger et al., 2018; Wong & Kemp, 2018). This not only has an impact on personal development and perceived viable career options, and thereby individual wellbeing (Stroebe et al., 2011), but it has a larger impact from an ethical point of view: systematically, feminine people (such as women) are excluded from positions of power and economic activity (Marlow & McAdam, 2013; Balachandra et al., 2019).

In engineering education, many attempts have been made to attract more women (Schiebinger, 2010; Nordvall, forthcoming), some of which have included new organizational practices, such as bias training among staff (Carnes et al., 2012; Jackson et al., 2014), equality policies, and inclusive circles of communication (Shah et al., 2020). However, the content of the education has remained more or less constant, feminist pedagogies have not yet become mainstreamed, and technical universities still struggle with male dominance. Why is that so? The resistance to change has proven to be fierce, with diversity initiatives being counteracted to various degrees and with various strategies, such as back-lashes from diversity trainings where people become more negative towards the groups they were trained to not be biased against (Kalev et al., 2006). One explanation for this is that men fear greater competition (Salminen-Karlsson, 2016) and loss of livelihood (Acker, 2006) when women gain equal possibilities. The problem has been likened to a “Seven-Headed Dragon” (Van den Brink & Benschop, 2012) which current equality practices “lack teeth” to fight. To tackle the resistance and develop stronger teeth, several recent studies have used the argument that academia needs gender diversity to protect the meritocracy (Castilla & Benard, 2010; Nielsen, 2016), retain better researchers, and produce better research (Stewart & Valian, 2018; Drew & Canavan, 2020). Put shortly: gender diversity will make universities excellent, which I refer to as the excellence case.

While this may be an argument that helps to gain buy-in from resistant groups, it may also overshadow the role of higher education for the development of society and may in fact reify gender inequality practices. It has been shown in business contexts, that when resistance to diversity initiatives is countered with business arguments, e.g. that diversity will lead to increased innovation and/or market shares, diversity work becomes more legitimate and mainstreamed, but at the same time inequalities perpetuate (Omanović, 2013). To investigate if the excellence case is conducive to gender equality in engineering education, the aim of the current research is to understand if and how the excellence case works in favor or against

the processes of making the university more gender inclusive from a democratic and sustainability perspective.

To this end, the current paper is based on an ethnographic study (Kunda, 2013; Czarniawska, 2017) where the author went native (Silverman, 2011) over the course of one year at a Swedish technical university trying to mainstream gender research into the engineering education. The analysis is focused on practices (Cetina et al., 2005; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010; Nicolini, 2012), i.e. what is said and done, in order to understand how change takes place, and whether the changes support the excellence case and/or the social transformation of the university.

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*Laia Verdura*

### **Gender inequality policies promote the glass ceiling that limits research progress**

Although there have been relevant improvements in gender equality in the research arena over the last decades, there is still a glass ceiling limiting research progress of female scientists. There is evidence of gender discrimination in many scientific activities, including interviewing and hiring, manuscript acceptance, taking part in peer-review, invitations and assignation of oral presentations in conferences, citation rates, and author networks. Unfortunately, there is no clear picture of the reasons behind this female underrepresentation in scientific careers, but many studies indicate that the unequal impact of parenthood on female and male researchers might be one of the main causes.

Effective policies at institutional, national, and international levels underpin drives to address gender differences in science associated with parenthood, therefore eroding the existing glass ceiling in the research arena. However, even the European Union, which is a flagship in gender policies, has some policies that contribute to this glass ceiling in the research arena. An example comes from the fellowships under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie Actions, as during maternity leave, which was taken by 1.4% of female researchers recruited for these fellowships, the fellow's salary is totally or partly covered by the national social security system, but Employer National Insurance Contributions (ENIC) must be covered by the research institution using alternative funds. This implies a potential additional cost for employers (i.e. research institutes and universities), therefore encouraging them to preferentially appoint male candidates (accounting for 57% of MSCA fellows in 2014-2019) rather than the best qualified, since maternity leave is typically much longer than paternity leave (e.g. on average  $19.9 \pm 6.5$  weeks compared to  $4.3 \pm 6.5$  weeks in Europe). By contrast, during the EU 7th Framework Programme, the extra costs associated with parental leave could be covered with additional grant budget, so the actual policy represents a step backwards in terms of gender equality.

Another example of parenthood limiting scientists' careers is the temporary nature of postdoctoral contracts. In the United States of America, many institutions require a year of employment before an individual can be eligible for (unpaid) parental leave. Moreover, prestigious fellowships like the National Science Foundation Postdoctoral Fellowship Program may not even consider the fellows as employees of the hosting institution, and therefore they are not covered by existing staff and faculty policies. Although these constraints affect both female and male researchers, women usually take on the primary caregiver role, and thus they are the most impacted by these restricting policies.

Gender inequality is not constrained to a specific EU fellowship, but also to funding bodies such the United States National Sciences Foundation or the Australian Research Council, and we encourage them to consider and include gender-specific policies, to break through the glass ceiling and contribute towards gender equality in the research arena.

*Kathrin Zippel*

### **Diffusion of Implicit Bias in the U.S. ADVANCE Network for Institutional Change**

Since 2001, NSF's ADVANCE program has been a major force behind U.S. university efforts to promote gender equity in STEM through organizational change. A welcome consequence of the program is the emergence of a nationwide network of more than 195 universities and STEM organizations, with more than 1,500 individuals. Many of these participants are top-level administrators and STEM faculty members who potentially spread ideas about how to construct equitable academic workplaces when they move to other institutions, when they serve roles on multiple grants, and when they produce scholarship and other publications, therefore extending the reach of the network's equity-enhancement strategies to non-ADVANCE grantees. While research on ADVANCE programs usually examines universities or equity enhancing strategies, we focus on how universities have cooperated, learned from, and influenced each other. This paper examines how and why implicit bias became one of the key concepts used to address gender inequalities in U.S. universities at the professoriate and academic leadership level in ADVANCE programs.

By studying the movement of ideas and people within the network we seek to better understand and document the impact of the NSF ADVANCE program. We use interdisciplinary social network approaches to analyze the diffusion of ideas within and the impacts of the NSF ADVANCE grantee network, aiming to quantify and visualize the impact and reach of ADVANCE programs across the U.S. We analyze an original dataset constructed from multiple sources and use a multi-methods approach including computational text analysis, information on mention of bias in public discussions, and in-depth interviews with ten PIs and program directors in the ADVANCE network to better understand the processes behind the diffusion of implicit bias.

We trace here the spread of key ideas in documents of ADVANCE funded universities and explore the factors that have contributed to the prominence of "implicit bias" across programs today. We find that implicit, or unconscious, bias has become a key concept for interventions to enhance gender equity and diversity in U.S. universities funded by ADVANCE. Compared to other 5 key concepts, bias has risen from the least mentioned concept in 2002 to be the second highest one after climate in 2018 in documents from ADVANCE sites. Starting around 2015, bias was mentioned more often in newspapers and magazines (measured using the ProQuest database) and on the internet (measured using Google search queries). Our preliminary results suggest that the increased usage of bias as a concept in public discourse lagged slightly behind its increased use in ADVANCE. We are eager to engage with colleagues in other countries in a critical discussion who might also have witnessed the acceptance and rise of implicit bias as the most prominent frame in organizational gender equality and diversity initiatives particularly in STEM. This research is supported by the National Science Foundation under Grant No. 1836671.

*Hyun Kyoung Ro*

**When Discussing Microaggressions is Not Enough: A Critical Examination of a Faculty Allyship Training Program at a U.S. Predominately White Institution**

Ally development among higher education students, staff, and faculty can transform campus communities into more equitable, diverse, and inclusive spaces (LeMaire et al., 2020). Allies are people from privileged or dominant groups who “...work in an alliance with [minoritized people] toward a shared goal of change” (Adams & Zúñiga., 2016, p. 114). Their status in society provides them with privilege and power based on one or more of their social identities or group memberships (Broido, 2000). In the higher education and student affairs literature, practitioners and scholars have focused primarily on allyship development among college students (Reason & Broido, 2005). However, few studies have addressed faculty allyship specifically; most of which emerged from the implementation of the National Science Foundation’s (NSF) ADVANCE program, which aims to promote gender equities for faculty in Science, Technology, Engineering, and mathematics (STEM) disciplines (Anicha et al., 2015; Bilen-Green et al., 2013).

While workshops and other educational opportunities are beneficial to faculty members’ allyship development and professional growth, there are concerns that ally trainings and similar initiatives have serious limitations. In particular, allyship trainings tend to focus on racism and sexism enacted within individual-level interpersonal interactions (e.g., microaggressions) without emphasizing the systemic oppressions (e.g., policies and practices) that perpetuate inequities and discrimination within an institution (Carlson et al., 2020; Patton & Bondi, 2015). In this paper, we respond to the growing criticisms of ally trainings by discussing an ongoing allyship program that offers strategies for mitigating the oppression women and racially minoritized faculty face at an individual level. Furthermore, we will share strategies that help faculty understand how to disrupt oppression at the institutional level.

We will examine an NSF-funded ADVANCE grantee institution in the United States, Bowling Green State University (BGSU), located in Bowling Green, Ohio. Allies are particularly important at predominantly White institutions like BGSU because of the small number of women and racially minoritized faculty in STEM disciplines. In each of the past three years, the BGSU ADVANCE team has conducted a faculty allies training program that includes a carefully designed series of events and supporting resources to build allyship skills for gender equity in academia. One of the allyship programs is the half-day in-person allyship workshop that the team has offered the past three years. By analyzing both quantitative and qualitative data collected before and after the workshop, we seek to better understand what faculty needs are, what they learn through this faculty allyship training, and how they perceive the connection between individual-level allyship and acting to challenge biased institutional structures and systems. While our faculty participants expressed a better understanding of allyship concepts and bystander behaviors, they also demonstrated their understanding that structural changes are necessary for gender and racial equity in STEM. Our study can inform future trainings on allyship and provide practical implications for the

design and implementation of faculty allyship trainings for gender and racial equity in STEM higher education.

This research is supported by the National Science Foundation under Grant No. 1760389.



*David Peetz*

### **Harassment of Female Scientists**

Through a global survey, we investigate harassment of physical scientists and science workers (referred to hereafter as ‘scientists’). Participation in scientific careers is already a major problem (Lyons and Quinn, 2015) and harassment of scientists (Dunlap and McCright, 2015; Halpern and Mann 2015) exacerbates this. Harassment can especially (but not only) be a problem for women (Hopkins 2015; Shipman 2015). Harassment can take the form of external or internal harassment. External harassment comes from outside the scientific work group, usually from those offended or disadvantaged by scientific research; internal harassment comes from within it, mostly from colleagues or superiors. Our project will collect data on both but this presentation will focus on internal harassment, which is often gender-based and sometimes sexual harassment.

Harassment can be seen as an attempt by the perpetrators to exercise power (e.g. Pryor, Giedd, & Williams, 1995; de Haas & Timmerman, 2010), with effects on targets ranging defiance to ignoring and retreat, which might include states of fear or silence (e.g. Rittenmeyer et al., 2012). A particular form is sexual harassment, though this may be less common than other forms of gender-based harassment (Leskinen, Cortina, and Kabat 2011; Peetz and Murray 2016). One recent study involving an author found that 29% of Australian academics had experienced harassment in the past five years with women were more likely than men to report harassment, especially among academic staff (Skinner et al. 2015). There is already documentation gender-based harassment of women scientists, in the context of widely publicised and debated barriers to women's advancement within STEM (Shen 2013; Penner 2015; Clancy et al. 2014). In the US, ‘over time, fully 52% of highly qualified females working for SET companies quit their jobs, driven out by hostile work environments and extreme job pressures’ (Hewlett et al. 2008).

Our study involves an international online survey of scientists from three fields: climate science, plant, soil, and animal science, and astronomy. Fieldwork will be undertaken in the first half of 2020. Participants will be identified through a keyword search of publication databases (e.g. Web of Science), a method previously used by Cook et al (2013). We place particular emphasis on identifying the sources of harassment, the ways in which affected people responded, its effects, the support or lack of it received by targets of harassment, and the effects of different contexts and types of support. GWO will be the first forum at which initial results from the project will be presented.

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*Udeni Salmon*

**Race and gender discrimination in STEM research careers: a systematic literature review**

Race and gender discrimination are persistent problems in STEM research careers in the US and UK. Despite the long-term awareness of inequalities and policy intervention, the situation does not appear to be improving. In the US, the race and gender earnings gap for Black and Hispanic women has hardly changed in 35 years (Patten, 2016). Within the STEM research field, women minority scientists continue to be under-represented. From 1977 to 2006, 42 Black women were granted physics doctorates in the US. In the same 29 year period, over 18,000 white men were granted a physics PhD (American Institute of Physics, 2010). In the UK, from 2004 to 2010, 1900 white UK-domiciled students were awarded a PhD. In the same period, 5 Black UK-domiciled students were awarded a physics PhD (Institute of Physics, 2012). Despite the long history of inequality related to both gender and race in the sciences, there is a lack of published research on intersectional discrimination in the field (Ko, Kachchaf, Ong, & Hodari, 2013; Malcom & Malcom, 2011). It is this knowledge gap which my research attempts to address.

This abstract will present a systematic review of the literature on race and gender discrimination in science research careers. The review examines how race and gender discrimination have been conceptualised and operationalised in the literature relating to STEM research careers. The concept of intersectionality is examined in depth, given that intersectionality provides both practical paths for addressing discrimination (Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016) and theoretical possibilities for understanding the lived experience of women minority scientists (Ko et al., 2013). The review is based on guidelines produced by Robinson and Lowe (2015). Firstly, a precise question is used to justify the inclusion and exclusion criteria: “How is intersectionality conceptualised and operationalised in relation to race and gender in the field of STEM careers?”. Secondly, a specified number of databases will be searched (EBSCO, Web of Science and SCOPUS) using the defined terms of “race”, “gender”, “science” and “career”. Finally, the recognised and established analytical method of thematic analysis will interpret the literature.

The result, which will be presented at the conference stream, will be a reliable and valid literature review which examines the predominant themes relating to race and gender and the extent to which intersectionality is a concept of interest. The paper will also point to policy and research directions for the future.

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*Sophie Withaecx*

**Just a matter of time? A narrative analysis of racialisation in higher education**

The increasing visibility of students with ethnic minority background in higher education institutions in Western societies often engenders expectations that it is just a matter of time before some of these students will enroll in academic careers as PhDs and end up as post-doc researchers and professors. Research proves otherwise however. For example, a recent study (Henry, Kobayashi, & Choi, 2017) comparing the representation of ethnic minorities in universities in Canada, the US, the UK and Australia comes to similar conclusions across these contexts: despite a considerable presence and even overrepresentation of ethnic minorities as students, they are underrepresented in stable, tenured positions and overrepresented in precarious positions (part-time and/or temporary contracts) and as caterers, cleaners or safety staff. This made the authors conclude that ‘minority students end overwhelmingly as recipients of, and not participants in, knowledge creation’ in such countries.

Based on a narrative analysis of black students’ life stories in Belgium – documenting how they make sense of themselves as racialized subjects before, during and after entering the university –this paper examines how diversity discourses in universities connect to broader processes of othering in Western societies. It questions how such processes shape black students’ lived experiences in higher education, and impact upon their choices to further engage or dis-engage with an academic career.

Feminist and post-colonial analyses of the Westernized university have earlier pointed out how universities have been shaped as exclusionary spaces, where some bodies are deemed as non-belonging and out of place (e.g. Ahmed, 2012; Puwar, 2004). Students enter these spaces as already gendered, racialized and classed subjects, shaped by previous experiences with processes of othering in other educational and societal settings. These experiences have also engendered certain expectations towards the university, as spaces where ‘objective’ knowledge is produced, where they believe they can enter as ‘mere’ students and where processes of othering would be challenged, rather than reproduced. Their subsequent experiences in the university however often clash with the official discourses of diversity, meritocracy, equality and decolonization popular among universities as means of branding and self-promotion, and push students to make renewed sense of themselves and of the way universities work to include or exclude certain ways of being and knowing.

A close listening to such life stories therefore is helpful in understanding how diversity policies in universities connect with broader societal discourses on difference; their analysis provides insight into the reasons why black students may disengage with the idea of pursuing an academic career, and informs critical reflection on the development and working of diversity policies in academic settings.

*Jennifer Remnant*

**Disabled academia: how university policy constructs disability and gender inequity in the workplace**

There is a worrying lack of data regarding the experiences of disabled academic staff and staff with long term conditions working in UK universities. Less still exploring the experiences of women with gynecological health conditions.

This paper draws on discourse analysis of a selection of university policies from Scottish Universities which relate to the management of workplace ill-health and disability. This data is explored alongside multi-perspective qualitative interview data, from university executives, line managers, human resources staff, trade unionists and disabled staff. This has resulted in findings that reflect the assumptions underpinning specific policies, as well as their interpretation and application.

Participants were sampled primarily from two established Scottish Universities.

This paper will bring together data from three studies. The first study consisted of interviews with disabled academics across the UK. The second study comprised interviews with key stakeholders (university executives, line managers, human resources staff, trade unionists and disabled staff) in two research intensive Scottish universities. The final study draws on qualitative data from women working in universities across the UK who are managing gynaecological health conditions.

A key finding from this study is how university policies, in a reflection of wider equalities legislation, are separated across protected characteristics. Consequently, important sites of intersectional oppression cannot be adequately understood or addressed. Data highlights how university policies (and practices) conceptualise ill health and disability largely in relation to entry to and exits from the work place: i.e. disclosure as part of recruitment, absence through sickness and/or dismissal on the basis of reduced capability. Similarly, the few gender specific policies universities have are either related to managing parenting responsibilities (maternity/paternity leave) or relate to women's progression at work (Athena Swan). Gynaecological health conditions are largely absent from policies relating to gender equality or disability inclusion and are particularly difficult for women to manage in male dominated occupations.

Policies and practices relating to workplace protections, such as those against bullying and harassment, equality and diversity regularly listed protected characteristics without additional information or guidance. This resulted in additional labour for disabled staff, and thus limited their ability to complete their paid roles. Disability and long-term conditions were found to be flexible concepts within universities depending on specific roles under capitalism; consumer/producer. Further many women's experiences suggest that gynaecological health conditions are not discussed at work due to stigma and embarrassment, and are therefore not considered in terms of workplace accommodations, or understood as protected under the UK Equality Act 2010.

This paper offers new insight into how health and disability might be reconceptualised intersectionally in UK university workplaces and emphasises how current policy relating to illness is worryingly limited in how it can be used to address the issues faced by disabled academics. In a country with an ageing workforce, disability and chronic health problems will only become more relevant to both workers and their line managers. The paper calls for a fresh policy response to an ageing workforce, that promotes disability and gender inclusion in a material and measurable way, particularly given the apparent lack of impact of equality schemes such as Athena Swan and Disability Confident.

*Katie Nicoll Baines*

**Evidence Base: Growing the Big Grant Club**

Evidence Base was established in 2018 to promote and execute a systems-based approach to problems of equality, diversity and inclusion in STEM. Our ethos centres around examining the entire landscape of the issue. Universities do not exist in isolation and the findings of our recent qualitative research study taken alongside data from the EPSRC on gender differences in Big Grant funding indicate the challenges of operating in a system that is shaped from both within and by the culture and practices of external stakeholders. We demonstrate the pinch-points in the career paths of research staff through the use of journey maps based on semi-structured, in-depth interviews with research staff and professional services employees. Based on these pinch points we have designed interventions to address them with a focus on interventions that can be embedded to challenge systemic inequalities. These interventions, and our plans to review the impact of them, include policies to provide opportunities for part-time working and acting up to gain experience, interrogating and augmenting hiring practices as well as a critical reflection on the challenges and opportunities posed by the COVID-19 pandemic in implementing institutional change.



*Heather Griffiths*

**Inclusive Innovation: gendered governance and growth in university spinouts**

The UK research environment is increasingly calling for ‘impact’, notably through institutions, research funding councils and audit mechanisms such as the REF or KEF. The potential for the creation of university spinout companies to realise this ‘impact’ is of growing importance and has attracted interest from various stakeholders including universities, policy-makers and economists. Spinouts allows for the application and commercialisation of research, and provide opportunities to scale up research through a process of academic entrepreneurship.

This area of activity within universities is not an inclusive space. In this paper, we focus primarily on gender inequalities to show that women are largely under-represented as either founders or executives of university spinout companies in the UK. Our research has found that only a small minority of spinouts have a woman founder and over half have no women executives on their management team. The small amount of research that exists on this topic has identified several interweaving explanations, including a lack of relatable roles models, women’s low confidence in their entrepreneurial capacity and having less time to build social capital.

Our research is less about understanding individual perspectives, such as barriers and enablers, but more about understanding the structural and institutional factors that hinder a more gender inclusive form of academic entrepreneurship. This also means engaging in a wider reflection on how inequalities pan out across different groups. We aim to contribute to this field of research by examining academic entrepreneurship through a gender and diversity lens to highlight disparities that exist within the spinouts ecosystem.

The statistical analysis presented is part of a two-year EPSRC funded project and examines the relationship between the sex composition of spinout founders and executives, and key performance measures, such as the growth strategies employed and the company’s financial performance. Our results suggest that women in spinouts are missing out on investment – both financially and in terms of wider fundraising and high-growth activity. Spinouts with more women founders are strongly and negatively associated with featuring in a high growth list or having received a large innovation grant and tend to receive slightly less money through grants and fundraising. The presence of women executives is also negatively associated with receiving a large innovation grant but interestingly, not when it comes to receiving equity funding or featuring on a high-growth list.

These findings can inform practices at both the institutional and commercial level. Firstly, these results imply that it is important to distinguish and better understand the processes involved in spinning out from the point of view of the founder – the individual with the idea and the associated intellectual property – and the executives – those that operationalise the commercialisation of that idea. Secondly, this understanding needs to consider how the process of spinning out might be gendered, and the consequences for the spinouts viability and performance. Understanding and removing gendered institutional barriers to academic

entrepreneurship helps to create a more diverse and inclusive spinouts ecosystem, bringing both economic and social gains for the higher education institutions and the UK more widely.

**Stream 20**  
**Gendering Place, Placing Gender: Place, Space and  
Gender in Turbulent Times**

**Conveners: Ruth Simpson, Alex Simpson and Darren Baker**

*Alpa Dhanani and Nina Sharma*

**#Aid Too: Sexual Exploitation, the NGO Sector and Accountability**

On 09 February 2018, The Times published a news story of sexual misconduct, bullying and harassment by Oxfam aid workers in 2011 in Haiti working as part of the humanitarian relief effort following the 2010 catastrophic earthquake. The shocking exposés of Oxfam employees' conduct during the relief effort in Haiti and the subsequent revelations of other episodes of such behaviours at other INGOs suggest that unfortunately there is an industry-wide problem and one particularly deep seated in aid abroad.

Whilst revelations of the Haiti scandal have brought this matter to the fore, these have been longstanding concerns and aid agencies have insufficiently addressed them both in practical safeguarding terms and through disclosures to relevant authorities. In 2002, a report published by UN Human Rights Commission and Save the Children highlighted similar issues of sexual exploitation and aid worker abuse. Indeed, this was followed by a number of reports over the intermittent years drawing attention to exploitative practices by UN peacekeepers and aid workers. Yet these reports, in spite of their severity and repeated warnings, appear to have received little attention by senior management teams in the aid sector and exploitation has continued to be an issue. Much of the material to emerge in the aftermath of these incidents alluded to a culture of systemic cover-ups and silencing of women, particularly in certain parts of the globe. Such practices within organisations claiming to be bastions of human rights suggest that they have privileged the protection of their own reputational interests at the expense of values, ethics and standards of accountability.

As a study in its infant stage, drawing on theories related to ethics, postcolonialism and an understanding of the spaces in which these aid efforts occur, we query why such exploitative activities take place in these geographical spaces within vulnerable communities. The lines of inquiry we pursue here include the power relationships between vulnerable communities and organisations offering aid; and the meanings of ethics and values 'at home' and in foreign lands. During on postcolonial theory, we seek to examine why ethics may manifest differently when working 'abroad' as compared to 'home', how are beneficiaries othered in such a way that allows such exploitative activities to materialise. There is much research into the power dynamics between funders and NGOs around accountability relationships, yet, while the international development literature makes reference to differentiated power levels around the role of experts and those in need of assistance, the idea of the former taking advantage of their positions has been under-researched even though there are direct accountability implications.

This research undertakes a discursive analysis of the unfolding of the Oxfam case, reflecting on the responsibilities of aid workers and the aid sector through the lens of postcolonial theory and the power imbalances between organisations and their constituents. We problematise the amoral behaviours of senior members of staff in the organisation; the lack of adequate safeguards to protect beneficiary communities; and management's subsequent actions to privilege protecting Oxfam's reputation at the cost of appropriate accountability, ethics and due care for its beneficiary communities.

*Alison Hirst and Christina Schwabenland*

**Women working the boundary: making space in Palestinian refugee camps**

Our paper responds to the conference's call for work examining inter-relationships between bordering practices and gender, by focusing on a particular border that separates starkly different spaces and the women who live inside it. Such difference between places is understood commonsensically as a product of their distinctive internal characteristics. But as Massey (2005) argues, space is an 'emergent product of relations, including those relations which establish boundaries, and [...] 'place' is in consequence necessarily meeting place' (p.68). Boundaries are made and unmade in interaction, and they connect as well as they separate.

We examine bordering and gendering practices in the context of the Palestinian refugee camps established in 1948-49 in Lebanon, Syria and Jordan, following the displacement of Palestinians from what is now the state of Israel and the Occupied Territories of Palestine. These camps still house those of the original refugees who are still alive and their subsequent generations. Women occupants experience particularly high rates of unemployment and poor mental health, and are vulnerable to violence (Holt 2014).

Hanafi et al (2012) regard 'space' as 'one of the most salient factors contributing to creating social exclusion and poverty in Palestinian refugee communities. Peteet's (2017) study of mobility and space as effects of the separation wall between Israel and Palestine notes that the mobility of Palestinians is constrained, not only by the wall itself but by an interlocking system of checkpoints, ID cards, the road system and permits. All of these interlocking elements 'rest on the elaboration of social categories of difference along which the partitioning of (and access to) space is organized' (Peteet 2017: 2). Geographically, the camps can be understood as edgelands (Hirst and Humphreys 2013, Shoard 2002), spatially situated assemblages of unwanted, feared or stigmatised activities, things or people that are 'pushed to the edges of town, pushed to less affluent adjacent municipalities, or architecturally screened from sight' (Shoard 2002: 75). While edgelands may not necessarily be fenced off physically, their stark difference from and limited connection with neighbouring spaces makes and confines the space they enclose. This difference and confinement creates a 'solid' boundary that is difficult to overcome (Hirst and Humphreys 2013).

We focus on women's social enterprises in three camps: one each in Lebanon, Jordan and the West Bank. While. Each of these camps is configured spatially very differently from their surrounding environs, and while none of them are completely closed, the spatial/ social boundary imposes significant frictions and obstacles on occupants. However, our study shows how participating in social enterprises makes it possible for women to construct a heterogeneous border zone that enables them to interact differently with the 'inside' and the 'outside' in ways that redefine the boundary, restate their connection to their previous homeland, and complicate traditional gendered norms.

The paper makes two contributions. First, it shows that the border is not a simple dividing line but a cluster of complex, dynamic and differentiated spaces in its own right. Second, it

shows how the border is made and unmade by Palestinian women in their interactions with family and community members inhabiting the camps and with customers, supporters and activists outside it. As this border is opened, transgressed and remade, gender norms concerning the status and value of women's work are reconstituted.

*Jawiria Naseem*

**Gendered experiences of place and (non-)belonging in the face of social and political turbulence: a case study of EU migrant workers in UK Higher Education during Brexit**

Set within the context of uncertainty brought on by Brexit, this paper adopts an intersectional perspective to examine how gender inequalities in the labour market combined with a sense of ‘otherness’ among migrants from the European Union (EU) creates marginalisation for traditionally advantaged groups. Taking the UK Higher Education (HE) as a case study, this paper discusses the gendered nature of the process of withdrawal and how it unequivocally affects experiences of (non-)belonging in a situated way – that is subject to shift change over time and space – among EU academics and professional staff.

Creating feelings of belonging, argues Anthias (2006), is essential for individuals in order to feel a sense of inclusion and to respond to exclusion. These positionalities describe individuals’ understanding of how others place them in society and how they negotiate social representations. Thus, by recognising the importance of time, context and place in allowing shifts, the self is viewed and positioned in relation to the ‘other’ as situated and relational (Anthias, 2002).

The socio-political turbulence triggered by the 2016 EU Referendum worked to shift the nature of European identity from a position of relative power and security to one of insecurity, with a threat posed to EU workers’ rights in the labour market (Guerrina and Masselot, 2018). For example, from the outset, the UK’s HE sector prioritised attention to the economic consequences of Brexit (e.g. Highman, 2018; Mayhew, 2017; Marginson, 2017), and consequently, expressed its concerns over the recruitment and retention of EU academics, perceived to be economically beneficial (Corbett and Gordon, 2017). Focus on EU academics, nevertheless, disregards the diversity of EU workers in UK HE, let alone the gendered implications of Brexit.

EU workers represent 35,920 academic and 13,605 professional staff (HESA, 2018). Female employees make up the majority of all EU staff (26,680) but they are still more than twice as likely to be in professional roles (9385) than their male counterparts (only 4220 EU professional workers are male) (ibid). This segregation mirrors traditional and persisting gender inequalities in UK HE (David, 2015). Yet, at the same time, as an employment sector, UK HE is perceived to be a safe space, immune to the socio-political realities of Brexit (compared to other sectors), thus creating situated feelings: those of belonging inside academia, and dis-placement outside academia (Naseem, 2019). This, subsequently, creates a space where EU workers cannot exercise their agency in the construction of their positionalities, leading to the homogenisation of their identities within their workplace (ibid). Thus, the failure to acknowledge and consider the diversity of EU staff – professional and gender positions – and their lived experiences raises significant concerns, especially for female employees who are in more marginalised positions.

Drawing on a survey with 163 EU academics and professional staff and follow-up interviews with 26 survey participants, this paper examines the ‘spatial and contextual’ processes

involved in the construction of the lived and gendered experiences of place and belonging in and outside the academy among EU workers in UK HE (Anthias, 2002, p494).



*Jessica Horne*

### **Walking with Woolf ~ The Use of a Spatial Method in a Literary Place**

Real and imagined literary places have been the subject of scholarly attention. Smith (2003) and Orr (2018) show how visitors connect affectively/bodily to rooms, gardens and objects in literary places. An important question for me in my study was how to find a method that might help me understand volunteers' relations to space and the way that they develop place attachments. My research explores Monk's House, a National Trust property situated in the South East of England. The Trust itself is an environmental and heritage conservation charity which, with the support of some 61,000 volunteers, protects over 500 "special places" with the intent that they be accessible "for ever" and "for everyone" (National Trust, 2019). Sat unassumingly in a quiet lane in rural Rodmell, Monk's House is the former home of the 20th Century novelist Virginia Woolf, whose germinal work made plain the conditions required for middle class white women to write fiction. Monk's House is a modest cottage, with "perilous steps" and a garden with "winding paths". Visitors to the house should feel as though the Woolf's have "just stepped out for a walk" (National Trust, 2019b). To help me find a new way to understand volunteers' relations to space, I developed a walking interview with eight participants, mostly white women, who volunteer at Monk's House. Springgay and Trumann (2018) advocate the use of walking as a method for its ability to heighten people's responsiveness to place. As she walked, Dora, a volunteer room guide, recalled sitting in the corner of Virginia's writing room, remarking "you sit there and you sort of want to pick things up, but obviously you don't, oh it did feel strange in there". Differently, set apart from the rest of the property is Virginia's bedroom. Maud, a volunteer room guide, expressed her enjoyment of working in this room noting "I just feel that that's where Virginia really was at peace and she could do just as she liked in there; she could have the windows wide open, the curtains open and look out at the garden". The room contributes to a space, through which her interpretation of Virginia's lived experience can take shape materially and imaginatively. In a different way, Mildred, a garden volunteer, described herself as feeling "more attuned to Leonard" for the reason that "the garden was his domain", underlining the very gendered division of space that underpins Woolf's work. Other versions of space receive less attention from the Trust. Another volunteer notes that "it's the little things that are tucked away" that are significant to her lived experience as a volunteer room guide, for instance, "the little ash tray that Vita gave Virginia; they had matching ones". This is something that she likes to share with visitors and expresses an attachment to place that is significant for her identity as a queer woman. Drawing on these accounts, I raise issues in the call to do with developing methods that enable us to explore gendered, classed, racialised and queer relations to space.

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*Dorothy M. Schulz*

**From Ladies' Cars to Banning Sex Offenders from Public Transit: Moving Forward or Travelling in Reverse?**

In 1907, three years after opening, New York City's Interborough Rapid Transit (IRT) organized a special police force to combat crowding, which had led to harassment, jostling, and unwelcome sexual contact for women and girls. Two years later, despite Women's Municipal League suggestions, IRT management refused to reserve the last car of rush hour trains for women. Yet the Hudson and Manhattan Railroad, travelling between New York City and Jersey City, NJ, operated ladies' cars from April 1 to July 1, 1909. The experiment ended after it was determined the cars were used primarily by upper-middle class shoppers rather than by working women and also because some feminists feared the protection would erode women's recently achieved rights.

Shortly thereafter, concerns over white slavery (human trafficking) led to demands for women to work in train stations to protect young women, often runaways or immigrants, from men perceived as luring them into prostitution. Many cities assigned policewomen to patrol stations, often assisted by Travelers' Aid Society volunteers. Protecting women in public transit was crucial to demands for positions for women in the social service and criminal justice fields.

More recently, responding to a 1976 Toronto Transit Commission study finding women's fears of vulnerability on public transit to be life-limiting, systems in North America and western Europe began incorporating principles of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) and publicizing such safety features as passenger alarms and telephones, off-hours waiting areas, and cars in which conductors ride. But a 2015 Los Angeles survey reported a third of women respondents still felt unsafe on transit, reinforcing existing research.

Women's train cars and buses exist in Brazil, China, Egypt (Cairo), India (Delhi), Indonesia, Japan (Tokyo), and Mexico (Mexico City), and have been discussed recently in Chicago and Vancouver, Canada. In New York City, a legislator who for years won little support for banning sexual predators from the subway is now supported by the city's mayor and police commissioner and the state's governor. Women's groups have been notably absent from taking a position.

The United States Department of Transportation (USDOT) and the American Public Transportation Association (APTA) have teamed with advocacy groups to train operators to identify and aid possible human trafficking victims; a new California law mandates that transit workers receive human trafficking training by 2021. USDOT has received more than 30 applications from transit systems for the \$4 million available through its Human Trafficking and Public Safety Initiative.

This presentation/paper will trace women's persistent concerns with safety on public transit and how, despite multiple efforts and technological advances, solutions have remained elusive over more than a century.

*Alex Simpson*

**Building Global Sydney: Gendered impacts of financialisation on the design, construction and experience of Sydney's Barangaroo development**

This paper presents an emerging examination of the impact of financialisation on the material design and construction of the contemporary global city and how the altered urban landscape shapes social interaction in Sydney's Barangaroo development. Propelled by all levels of government, Sydney's urban form has been re-modelled to facilitate new economic growth, encourage business confidence and attract global financial partners characteristic of a global city (Baker and Ruming, 2015). At the heart of this ambition sits the Barangaroo complex on the western waterfront of Sydney's CBD. Aiming to be what Wall Street is to New York or the City of London and Canary Wharf to London, the project has coveted leading international firms and star architects to accelerate the construction of high-rise financial urban development (Atkinson, 2019; Harris, 2018). The scale of urban redevelopment in Barangaroo, as with other global city projects, presents new challenges regarding the potential ceding of public space to financial industries and speaks to wider issues of 'social cleansing' of prime urban locales. In this context, the paper evaluates the contributing literature to examine the impact place making as on constructions of gender identity and the 'self'. The contemporary global city has emerged out of three decades of global market integration and pivots on intense, complex and global networks of finance (Cetina, 2005; Simpson, 2016). These are overwhelmingly 'neoliberal ventures' that, as a gendered project (Walby, 2015), has profound implications for who and how individuals use space. As an 'aspiring' or 'emerging' global city, Sydney presents a unique case to examine the strategic efforts made across state and private sectors to achieve this goal as well as to analyse the critical implications this has for 'space users', broader publics and gendered assumptions of urban design.

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*Terrelle Hegarty*

**The glass scaffold: How women in construction respond to industry conditions**

This research focuses on the gendered experiences of place and belonging in the face of geographic, social, and economic transformation following the 2010 Canterbury New Zealand earthquakes. We focus on how gender is specifically implicated in shaping the understanding the experiences of women in the construction industry, and how the influx of women into this industry ‘space’ redefined gender norms and challenged existing views of gender roles in this context.

Existing literature does not adequately explain how women working in the construction industry experience, interpret and respond to industry conditions. Research on women in construction focuses heavily on identifying and explaining the barriers that impact on women’s entry, progression and retention in this industry (Agapiou, 2002; Amaratunga, Haigh, Shanmugam, Lee, & Elvitigalage Dona, 2006; Barreto, Pellicer, Carrión, & Torres-Machí, 2017; Fielden, Davidson, Gale, & Davey, 2000; Menches & Abraham, 2007; Wangle, 2009; Worrall, Harris, Stewart, Thomas, & McDermott, 2010). Some of the barrier-centred or career path studies touch upon women adopting coping strategies such as ignoring social adversities (Agapiou, 2002; Watts, 2007; Yates, 2001), avoiding socialising (Wright, 2013), or adopting male characteristics to fit in (Bagilhole, 2002; Martin & Barnard, 2013; Wright, 2014). However, there is an absence of studies examining the actions women adopt when they transition into, and work within, the construction industry, in either a business-as-usual or post-disaster context. Such limited information may serve to perpetuate the common view that women respond submissively and conform to the male dominant norms of the industry, rather than highlighting how women respond to industry conditions, how they develop workplace relationships and how they enhance their own personal and professional development. In this paper we propose a substantive theory which explains the response patterns of women working in the construction industry in the post-disaster context following the Christchurch earthquakes. This context was selected due to the rapid change in the industry which provided women with unprecedented access to and opportunity in this historically male-dominated domain.

Grounded theory methods were used to analyse data from 30 semi-structured interviews with women working in various construction industry occupations. Data analysis revealed five inter-related response patterns of personal skill-set integration; token tolerance; cautious consideration; knowledge banking; and securing sustainable support. Collectively these actions constitute a protective response process which we term “deferential tailoring”. The deferential tailoring process is akin to building an invisible scaffold which enables women to successfully navigate their way through the industry. In contrast to previous research, which focuses on barriers women experience, our findings highlight how women are prepared to adopt thoughtful, self-initiated and self-directed responses to seize opportunities and address industry norms that impact their work experiences.

The paper makes a significant contribution to the workplace gender literature by identifying ways in which entry, retention, and inclusivity can be improved for women in the construction industry. The research generates critical insights regarding gender, place and

space in a time of transition and transformation, and does so within the unique post-disaster context.

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*Darren Baker*

**Desks as potential spaces: exploring the psychopathologies of women's personal desk objects in hostile organisations**

Although there is a burgeoning feminist scholarship in organisation studies on the way gender is materialised performatively in and through workspace according to discursive norms (Bruni et al. 2004, 2005; Poggio 2006; Pullen 2006; Tyler and Cohen, 2010), there has been little attempt to understand the role of the unconscious in mediating the relationship between space, gender and power (MacRury and Yates, 2016). The paper contributes to this debate by exploring the role of women's personal desk objects in managing their psychic attachment to the organisation, and broader spaces that are implicitly hostile to their presence. What may appear as mundane, everyday desk objects, such as photographs, toys, drawings, souvenirs and gifts, are instead imbued with symbolic significance, acting as conduits for memory, projection and reciprocal affective material, whilst also reflecting aspects of gender power relations in contemporary organisations. Drawing on the psychoanalytical ideas of Winnicott (1917), the paper explores how objects actively shape the psychic life of women in organisations. Mundane personal items act as transitional objects for women unconsciously managing an internal phantasy of the workplace as fair with a broader object-world beyond that of the desk space that is hostile to their presence. Desk objects enable women to prefigure unconsciously space between themselves with that of independence or separation from threats to their subjectivity, and continued paradoxical attachment to broader organisational fantasies. The implication is that desks themselves are unconsciously transformed into potential spaces for women in negotiating their psychic existence within the organisation: a space that enables them to escape threats whilst precariously maintaining a spatial existence within the broader organisation.

*Corina Sheerin*

### **Negotiating Professional Identity and Gender Relations in Investment Management**

Extending scholarship on gender, work and organizational studies, this study explores how women ‘do gender’ in Investment Management, a male dominated labour market space. Investment Management, not unlike other gendered spaces, is coded with ideologies of gender and identity, and in particular, perceptions of masculinity and femininity (McDowell 2016, Andrews 2016). Within this space, women face normative conceptions of both gender and professional identity. These ways of knowing and assumptions are defined by a male-streamed script, which shapes daily life in a myriad of ways and reinforces the hegemonic culture (Cohen, 2010). Investment Management is a space wherein being masculine and in positions of power are intertwined and a ubiquitous perception of the ‘right fit’ is a young white male. Such biases are maintained by socio-spatial norms and practices, which privilege men and serve to justify and reproduce a gendered hegemony.

Gender is understood as a dynamic construct, malleable and enacted through everyday behaviours, which are guided by context (Butler 1994, West and Zimmerman 1987). Drawing upon Butler’s performativity theory, this study examines the structures and social interactions, which exist in Investment Management and influence how lived experiences in ‘doing gender’ and ‘doing investment manager’ are simultaneously negotiated. By understanding the relationship between space, structures and social interactions, insights into how gender and professional identity take shape and are embodied. This research posits that while the job one does is inexplicitly linked to gender identity, in male spaces like Investment Management, women’s agency in constructing professional identity is constrained, with them experiencing a complex and contentious set of tensions. This is due to the gendered organizational practices, which characterize the sector (McDowell 2004, Giddens 1984, Saad and Carter, 2005).

A social constructivist philosophical stance, which is in line with the exploratory ethos of the research was adopted. Using snowball sampling, empirical material was gathered via fifteen in-depth interviews with female investment managers. Participants differed in terms of age, length of service and role. Such an approach allowed for a plurality of women’s lived experiences to be considered (Brooks and Hesse-Biber 2007). The constant comparative method of data analysis supported by CADSAQ software was applied. Through the use of a data driven coding process, deeper understandings of the influence of space in how gender relations manifest, as well as how women perform their professional identity were uncovered.

The findings indicate space influences constructions of gender. Investment Management is experienced as a space defined by a hegemonic masculine hierarchy wherein doing the job successfully implies ‘behaving like a man’. Doing masculinity is imbued within organizational structures and dynamics at every level and is attributed a superior status. Doing femininity on the other hand is seen as a ‘subordinated performance’ associated with lack of ‘fit’ for the job. Women were seen to perform both masculinity and femininity in order to navigate the sector, however, in this ongoing doing and undoing of gender they faced a double bind of challenges. While behaving in a way seen as appropriate for investment bankers; aggressive, assertive and with a killer instinct, women were concurrently perceived

as not behaving in accordance with their gender norms. As a result they were met with disapproval from their senior male gatekeepers as well as resistance and social closure from peers. Women were found to have limited agency and felt obliged to behave like one of the boys in order to fit in, thus reinforcing and perpetuating the legitimacy of patriarchy.

*Evgeniia Kuziner*

**Homeless women in Russia: home, space and coping strategies**

This research explores how women with experience of homelessness reflect about home, housing and what coping strategies they use to adapt to life "without home" (including using city space - public places and abandoned buildings).

Despite there are a lot of academic and empiric research on homelessness, homeless women are still considered as highly stigmatized social group that is "invisible" both in social politics and in sociological research especially in Russia. Homeless women face greater stigma, vulnerability, victimization, and develop their own coping strategies and coping strategies on the street.

The way how they use urban spaces (including public places, shelters, abandoned buildings) is different from homeless methods

This paper is based on research conducted in Saint Petersburg, Russia in 2018-2020 and explores homeless women experiences. Empirical data: 24 semi-structured qualitative interviews with women with past or present homelessness experience in Saint Petersburg. In this study I determine several strategies of using urban spaces by homeless women. One of them is to create and recreate the home in the conditions that are available to them. For this they use abandoned buildings, homemade huts. Some things are labeled as normalizing the house. They are not necessary for survival, but are important for normalizing "homelessness" life. The home in the life of an individual is not a constant, there is no point of final loss and final gain. This is especially evident in the biographies of homeless women. The home of the homeless is specific, more vulnerable, and temporary. Additionally, in this research I determine the importance of "only homeless women" shelters and services as safe spaces.

*Arifa Syed*

### **The ‘Place’ of the Doctor Brides: A Postfeminist Analysis of the Identity and Experiences of Female Doctors in Pakistan**

This paper brings together the concepts of Postfeminism and Place in its investigation of the ‘Doctor Brides’ phenomenon in Pakistan. Recently, the concept of Postfeminism has gained significant analytical purchase amongst scholars of gender within various disciplines. Amongst the various interpretations mobilised, the conceptualisation of Postfeminism as a discursive formation has attracted the most critical attention (McRobbie, 2004; Gill et al, 2017; Lewis, 2018). This conceptualisation encapsulates the tension between the hegemonic, and interconnected, discourses around gender, feminism and femininity, and their manifestation in the contemporary gendered subjectivity. Women are now interpellated to exhibit the feminist ideals of individualism, empowerment, ambition and choice. However, this is conditional on women’s compulsory performance of the ideals hegemonic femininity through an internalisation of ‘natural’ sexual differences resulting in simultaneous delimitation of these feminist ideals. In doing so, Postfeminism retracts the much-needed critical attention from patriarchal structures and systemic barriers that are sustained under the guise of mainstreaming of certain modes of feminism that render gender equality as accomplished.

Albeit, influential in its conceptualisation as a discursive formation, significant criticisms have been voiced towards the Western centeredness of Postfeminism. Scholars such as Butler (2013), Dosekun (2015) and Turner & Simpson (2018) have successfully argued for the intersectional and transnational pervasiveness of Postfeminism. Extending these arguments, the concept of ‘Place’ plays an important role. Place is not merely a geographical location but a bounded historical and cultural area that entails within it certain meanings and experiences which inform the common sense of the individuals inhabiting it (Cresswell, 2010). In ‘Place’, certain subjectivities are configured and legitimised in relation to identity and power. Massey (1994) highlights the genderedness of Place by elucidating the particular gender relations embedded within it, as well as their impacts on the social and spatial mobility of women assembling the separation, and exclusion, women face at the juncture of their gender and Place.

The investigation of the ‘Doctor Bride’ phenomenon (Masood, 2018) provides a fertile ground to explore this interaction of Postfeminism and Place in Pakistan. ‘Doctor Bride’ phenomenon brings to attention the complex processes that connect to the increased feminisation of the medical education in Pakistan. Yet, the feminisation of medical education is undone within the workforce triggering acute shortages in the nation’s health sector. It is argued that Doctor Brides is a Postfeminist subjectivity that shapes the identity of women medical doctors in Pakistan i.e., women are encouraged to gain medical education yet expected to negotiate their careers in relation to their ‘feminine’ obligations. Mobilising Pakistan as a ‘Place’ highlights the historical, social, and gendered specificities that compose the cultural formations and gender relations that form the ‘Doctor Bride’ identity and translates its impacts on the identities and lived experiences of women doctors in Pakistan - resulting in their social and spatial confinements, and differentiated career outcomes. Thus,

Pakistan is considered not merely a coincidental location where this phenomenon occurs but a 'Place' that specifically hosts this contextualised, and contradictory, interplay of the hegemonic discourses around gender, feminism and femininity - orienting 'Doctor Brides' as a Postfeminist subjectivity.

*Rajeshwari Chenangodu*

**(Dis)empowering the feminine? Producing a women-only Café space**

Gendered organization of time and space has been gaining the attention of organisational scholars as social space and time have been becoming the important ways to understand work and organisation of work along with gendered nature of organising (Reid-Musson, 2018). The scholars of organisational theory, using Lefebvre's (1991) work on the production of space, have been introducing new ways of looking at the spatial organization of work and the performances of gender through such spatial organising (e.g., Wasserman & Frenkel, 2015). There are also attempts to bring in Lefebvre's work on rhythms and space together to understand work and organising of work (e.g., Beyes & Steyeart, 2012), not only to understand producing of space as continuous but also to acknowledge the role of the researcher in this process, as a performer of the space, along with other participant performers. Joining this stream of conversations, in this study of a restaurant run by a self-help group of women in the city of Ahmedabad in India, we try to understand how a workspace is constructed in the name of women claiming that it is a space that will emerge from the work of 'rural' and 'poor' women, empowering them. We also explore the construction of womanhood and images like rural and urban lifestyles hierarchically and its contradictions with the claims of healthy food which were entwined with the production of space.

Lefebvrian triad, when looked at as an active continuous process, allow us to unravel the complexities involved in conceiving, perceiving and living space, as each of these levels includes processes involving claims of control over the processes of constructing the space and contestations to these claims. Further, the triad helps to see the contradictions in the claims of offering healthiness through traditional food and food processes to consumers in public cafe space. On the one hand, the same food and food processes are practised in the private home spaces of the women who are being labelled 'rural and poor' - a popular image that serves as the basis for the claims to traditionality and attendant healthiness. On the other hand, the hierarchical imagery that is being constructed places the work and the everyday rhythms of these women as something that has to be empowered, against the masculine modern ways of work and rhythms of everyday life. We argue that this hierarchical imagery of women constructed through these processes are masculine, bringing up positions that are paternalistic, even when they are being constructed through the spatial organization of women's work. This we explore by participating in the construction process, through working, cleaning and eating with the kitchen and other workers, and being part of the social relations around the rhythms of everyday lives at different physical parts of the cafe space, which are also hierarchically arranged through the everyday rhythms of work that happens around.

*Aidan McKearney*

**Sexual Citizenship: an analysis of gay men as sexual citizens in the rural space**

This paper reports findings derived from a study which explores the concept of sexual citizenship as it applies to the lives of gay men living in nonmetropolitan areas of Britain, and Ireland. Both countries have undergone dramatic social, legal and cultural changes over recent decades, and have witnessed profound and progressive shifts in public attitudes towards lesbian, gay and bisexual people.

Given historical tendencies towards a metrocentric bias in researching gay lives, this study takes place outside the large metropolitan centres of population. It travels to a world of smaller towns, villages and farms. In making this journey, the research aims to understand the life world and experiences of gay men living, and working within these locales. It seeks to explore the dynamics created by the intersection of sexuality and the space of the rural. Crucially it strives to develop an understanding of the nature, depth, and scope, of the men's sexual citizenship, as it applies within their geographic context.

Forty-four men were interviewed: twenty-two in England and twenty-two in Ireland. The study finds that rural men in both countries share similar experiences, concerns and worries. Profound social, cultural and legal (including employment law) changes have been of critical importance to the men, in encouraging many of them (though not all) to begin, the uneven, and continuous, process of coming out, embracing a sexual minority identity, and in doing so, becoming sexual citizens.

The study finds clear consensus that the nonmetropolitan context is relevant to the men, especially in how they negotiate their sexual identity. While life outside the cities can bring a number of distinct advantages, such as tranquillity, and a more relaxed pace of life, the men also report numerous challenges which include social isolation, powerful hegemonic narratives around rural masculinity, and a pervasive heteronormative culture. As such, the rural space can be an alienating environment. Nonetheless, these men continue to live and work in the rural, and by their presence and increasing disclosure, in the workplace and within their wider social context, they are changing the cultural narrative of what it means to be gay in the space of the rural, creating rural gay (male) identities, which can appear different from metropolitan gay (male) identities. In many ways, their rural environment creates similar identity characteristics, and limitations, despite their residency in different countries.



*Maria José Tonelli*

**Brazilian women as qualified immigrants in Portugal: Inclusion by Stigma and Resistance**

Theoretical lens: As a gendered phenomenon, globalization has unexpected consequences on women immigrants (Acker, 2004; Chow, 2003; McCall, 2001) and promotes an anti-immigrants sentiment, especially considering women from the Global South who are not seen as “professionals” (Mohanty, 2003) and suffer from stigma and discrimination (Goffman, 1963; Malheiros & Padilha, 2014). Women have not the same access to choices and resources (Chow, 2003). Even skilled migrants have to work harder to obtain cultural legitimacy (Yu, 2019) and, in the same direction, the work of Sirkeci et al. (2018) showed that even overqualified workers from EU suffered discrimination in UK. Studies from feminist perspectives showed that women have everyday life’s practices, most of them invisible, which allow their acceptance and insertion in local communities such as volunteer work, health assistance in local institutions (Dyck, 2018) and they suffer from the power relations both in the country of departing and arriving (Erel, 2010). In the context of international migration, gendering experiences and practices remains unexplored, especially exploring the everyday life and strategies used to resist to discrimination. Data collection: Looking for to contribute to this debate, this study presents the analyses of 46 interviews collected before and during the pandemic period, with qualified Brazilian women who migrate to Portugal. Results: The paper explores the reasons that motivate the migration’s process on their country of origin as well as the conditions that they have to deal in Portugal to find jobs, to obtain recognition for their qualification and to resist to stigma. The results showed that the reasons to depart are associated with domestic violence, violence in the cities, and dismissal. Considering their insertion in Portugal, the results show that it is difficult obtain recognition but this process could be a little better when they are studying Master or PhD programs. Besides that, the paper explores that they could be employed when the stigmas associated with Brazilian women turn into resources, that is, they could find jobs in the beauty industry (such as makeup artist, hairdresser), food and arts (such as handicraft, music curator, theater’s actress). The results also showed that they prefer to deal with the violence of xenophobia than the violence in their families and cities of origin, which seems to be harder than the problems faced as immigrants. This study contributes to the literature showing that the immigrants could access, generate and mobilize capital in special and temporal context differently (Erel, Ryan, 2019), and reaffirm the idea that “stigma could turn into resources” (Malheiros & Padilha, 2014) The study also showed that qualified women resist to stigma participating in a non governmental association called “Borderless diaspora”, organized last year by one of the researchers of this paper.

*Edith Pick*

**Disapora, gender organization: The British Jewish context**

This paper explores the meeting point between gender, organisation and diaspora. The concept of ‘diaspora’ is concerned with the dispersion of a population in space, outside its putative homeland (Brubaker, 2005). ‘Diaspora organisation’ can be seen as a place where diaspora relations are shaped: where minorities connect to, celebrate, long for, debate or reject ideas around a real or imagined homeland; where questions of identity and belonging rise; and where material, social, and emotional relationships with ‘home’ are formed. Diaspora organisations deal with issues such as integration into the host society (Molodikova et al., 2018); advocacy and representation of interests of the home government (Aydin, 2014); or bringing ‘progress’ and gender equality to their home communities (Bruyn, 2008; Lampert, 2014; Ong’ayo, 2014). Diaspora-homeland relations are rooted in power dynamic: they tell a story of connection but also of conflict and struggle.

Jewish diaspora is considered a paradigmatic case in the study of diaspora (Boyarin & Boyarin, 1993; Brubaker, 2005). As such it demonstrates the power relations between diaspora and homeland as physical and ideological spaces. Jewish diaspora-homeland tension is rooted in gendered imagery. The Zionist movement associated exile with femininity and weakness, and saw itself as the cure to the femininity ‘disease’ of diaspora Jews (Boyarin, 1997). Israeli collectivity was inspired by the New Jew model of a strong independent man, which was based on the negation of the diaspora and the exclusion of women, Palestinians, and other minorities (Lomsky-Feder & Ben-Ari, 1999; Shapira, 1997). The Jewish context is unique in the landscape of gender and diaspora literature, that largely focus on contexts of migration (from homeland to the diaspora), and where diaspora is seen as a vehicle for gender liberation for women. It can enable to explore the dynamics of gender when the meaning of diaspora and homeland is contested, and when diaspora is homeland.

This paper explores gender dynamics and the construction of gender in Jewish organisations in the UK. It examines how they echo, correspond with or challenge power relations in Israel-Palestine, how they reflect transformations in the relations between British Jews and Israel, and how they reveal struggles over the meaning of diaspora and homeland. It traces the situated nature of masculinities and femininities in Jewish organisations, as diaspora organisations. And it asks how debates around Zionism and Israel-Palestine in the Jewish workplace shape employee experiences of belonging and displacement, voice and silence, dominance and marginality. The paper presents preliminary findings from recent fieldwork conducted in the UK Jewish charity sector, which was based on semi-structured interviews with employees, employers and volunteers.

*Vivi Zhang, Luciara Nardon and Ursula Moffitt*

**Constructing Agency in the Public Space: Women Immigrant Narratives of Migration**

Research on immigrant women has largely portrayed them as double-disadvantaged, who not only face barriers commonly shared by immigrants, such as low language proficiency, lack of local experiences and networks, non-recognition of foreign credentials, and discrimination, but also struggle against barriers pertaining to gender and cultural differences in the perception of gender roles. While limited, an emerging body of research on immigrant women highlights the role of individual agency in the negotiation between or among multiple categories of difference that are either inherited by or imposed to immigrant women. These studies suggest that social categories that differentiate immigrant women may be used as devices for constructing individual agency and autonomy instead of as sources of marginalization and oppression.

Digital media has created a space where immigrants can share their migration experiences and negotiate belonging to a new country, providing novel insights to the understanding of immigrant integration. This study extends this line of research with a particular focus on understanding how immigrant women construct their identity in public spaces. Through a narrative analysis of 114 stories published on Passages to Canada, an online multimedia story archive, we identify four types of narrative: narratives of surviving, narratives of transformation, narratives of resilience, and narratives of self-affirmation, in which immigrant women portray themselves as active agents. Our preliminary analysis also suggests that multiple categories of difference, including gender, ethnicity, immigrant status, and country of origin, are drawn upon strategically to form a coherent story that reflects individual experience. While sometimes these social categorizations are identified as sources of disadvantage, hardship or inequality, at other times, they enable individuals to thrive and transform.

This study extends the understanding of immigrant women agency by exploring the process of identity construction in public online spaces. The images they strive to portray through these narratives – authentic and capable – not only reflect how immigrant women identity themselves in the context of migration but also how they want to be perceived by the broader society. Furthermore, the study contributes to a burgeoning literature on the lived experience of people at the intersection of multiple categories of difference.

*Syed Mohyuddin, Sawlat Zaman, Parth Patel, Santoshi Sengupta and Vishal Rana*

**Disembedded from Everywhere: The Personal Challenges Confronting South Asian Female Skilled Migrants in Western Countries**

The surge of inter-disciplinary research on skilled migrants has already established intersections of migration and gender in literature. The conception of women as ‘tied movers’ with their husbands; their position in the migration process; and their complementary perspectives along with their male counterparts have been addressed before. While there is an increasing scholarship on gender and migration, international migration of skilled women is still somewhat under-researched. Furthermore, one of the central under-explored themes within gender experiences on skilled migration is the crisis of ‘disembeddedness’ (Beck, 1997; Giddens, 1990; Williams, 2000) which leads skilled migrants into a state of being ‘unbelonging’ and ‘unsettled’ due to a crisis of habitus as they attempt to reconcile their crisis and re-embedded themselves into the new environment. However, despite the attempts by scholars to study the disembedding experiences of skilled migrants, not many studies have examined this issue front and centre.

This study focuses on examining the personal and gender-based challenges faced by South Asian female skilled female migrants who are migrating (including having recently migrated) to Australia. In particular, our study explores the critical events in their lives impacting their way of thinking and career trajectories associated with skilled migration. Our study applies the theory of habitus, which fully encompasses economic, cultural and social capital aspects of a female skilled migrant’s life that every human being can possess at different levels and, which eventually gives them the power to function in a society. The study used a purposive sampling method to select participants and conducted 21 in-depth, semi-structured interviews and field observations with skilled migrants from Pakistan and Australia. It conducted a within-method triangulation analysis, wherein a mixed method research strategy has been used by combining two qualitative methodologies of phenomenology and analysis of narrative research in the collection and analysis of data.

Our findings revealed that upon migration, South Asian female skilled migrants are uprooted from their inherited social conditions and thrust into new social conditions creating a “crisis of habitus” that is characterised as being in a state of “dis-embeddedness”. As a result, the social capital of South Asian female migrants in Australia is lost, economic capital gets depleted and cultural capital is transformed in unexpected ways. And, this prompted them to engage in attempt at reconciling their crisis, through sense making and, following this, acculturating into the new environment. We found ‘gender’ to be a significant factor in the shaping of this process where female migrants faced more significant professional and personal barriers than their male counterparts. Despite some support from their husband, many female skilled migrants from South Asia found themselves in a patriarchal family environment where their husbands still primarily make decisions and women still primarily take care of home. Due to a strong religious background, these females faced challenge in expanding their social capital through socialization as their religion bars them from being too social or outgoing. Our study contributes through exploring previously unexamined avenues and brings to light new theoretical insights. It offers future directions towards similar research

in different national contexts and with different migrant groups. It offers the potential to raise awareness amongst policy makers and businesses to recruit and retain skilled, qualified people of multicultural background.

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*Martine van Wees, Saskia Duijs and Petra Verdonk*

**Negotiating Masculinity and Health: experiences of lower educated men working in eldercare in the Netherlands**

The experiences of male care workers in eldercare, traditionally identified as a ‘feminine’ occupation (Simpson, 2009), are underexplored. In the Netherlands, racialized men are overrepresented in lower regions of the eldercare workforce. This study aims to understand men’s’ experiences in the organizational space of eldercare, focusing on their performances of masculinity, also in relation to health, from an intersectional perspective.

A qualitative interview study with N=17 lower-educated men working in eldercare, across diverse backgrounds (2020/2021). Our study is theoretically grounded in intersectionality, as we aim to understand men’s experiences at the intersection of gender, class, race, sexuality, age and ability.

Our empirical findings shed light upon negotiations of masculinity in a “feminine space” and how these are shaped across diverse intersections. Our study shows how men opt for paid care work due to declining job security in masculine-typed professions. Paid care work enables them to fulfill their role as male breadwinner. The men in our study negotiate their ‘caring masculinities’ strategically; caring identities are hidden when they can potentially lead to disqualification, but strategically presented for career benefits. The heterosexual men in our study tend to reproduce norms of ‘hegemonic masculinity’ while working in eldercare through narratives of physical strength, autonomy, knowledge, efficiency, sexual predation and power, and acts of risky health behavior. These norms are negotiated by white men through their whiteness. In a context of gendered, classed and racialized inequalities, some racialized men negotiate experiences of racism at work through performances of masculinity. While masculinity provides privilege in terms of career improvement and financial rewards, such privilege backfires in relation to their health, specifically in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. In a reaction to the feminine organizational space, men opt for self-employed care work enabling them to participate in risky health behavior, such as working ongoing shifts, and grants a masculine-typed entrepreneurial identity. This strategy is also shaped by migration, as several men employ this strategy to earn the financial means necessary to return to their country of origin before their official retirement age. Furthermore, men in our study feel pressured on more heavier care work by female colleagues and also feel the need to prove their physical strength as men, for example by carrying heavy loads, resulting in physical and psychological complaints. Hegemonic norms of masculinity consequently require them to keep silent about their health issues and abstain from health seeking behavior. For older men, these issues push them out of the eldercare sector.

Discussion| We contextualize our findings within financialized economic and austerity policies and increasing flexibilization of the labor market. We use Fraser & Jaeggi’s (2018) theoretical work on capitalism to illustrate how capitalist’ ‘boundary struggles’ play out for the men in our study.

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*Kate Carruthers Thomas*

### **Organisational Mapping and Power Geometry in the University**

This paper responds to the Stream's focus on the significance of place and space for gender divisions and 'lived experiences' in its discussion of a spatial methodology of organisational mapping, deployed within the context of an investigation of gender and career in higher education (HE). This textual, visual and aural presentation is underpinned by Massey's concept of space as social relations shaped by power. The methodology mobilises Massey's concept of power geometry ie: the way individuals and groups are differently positioned in relation to flows of power, and the heuristic and multiscalar device of activity space, the network of activities, connections and locations within which individuals operate (Massey 2005, 1993). Participant-generated visual materials are recognized as helpful in exploring the taken-for-granted and implicit (Rose 2014).

The research tool of organisational mapping was used in conjunction with narrative enquiry in *Gender(s) At Work*, an investigation of the role of gender in shaping workplace experiences and career trajectories in one post-92 UK university. During individual interviews, 45 participants, self-identifying as female, male and gender non-binary and occupying academic and professional roles across the organisational hierarchy were invited to select one of three given shapes (a clear triangle with solid outline; a clear circle with dotted outline; a rectangle shaded blue with solid outline) which they felt best represented the university. They were then asked to mark with a pen where they positioned themselves in relation to that shape. Participants were also allowed to modify and annotate their chosen shape, or to create their own.

Visual and narrative data are inextricable here and the presentation will include a short audiovisual piece created from participant maps and transcripts of their words as they completed the task. The paper will then consider how symbolic or abstract interpretations of the shapes represent participants' perceptions and experiences of relationships between space, place and gender in relation to spatial hierarchies and norms of organisational engagement. For example, how do interpretations of triangle as hierarchy and dotted line as porosity interact with notions of space as an articulation of power (Gregson and Rose 2000)? How do experiences of peripherality and centrality relate to gender, workplace and career performativity?

The paper concludes with a reflection on the potential for mapping techniques in pursuing understandings of gendered space and place in organisational contexts. Mapping, even in its simplest form reveals complexity and contradiction; the layering of gendered experience, performativity and affect within the context of organisational norms and hierarchies. It captures a wider more complex organisational territory, an understanding of the university as a space of multiple centres experienced in multiple ways (Carruthers Thomas 2018).



*Eva Brauer*

### **The production of a framework of spatial, ethnic and gender relations by the Police**

With the perspective on space as a category of knowledge (Koch 2011 In: Ilbert/Kujath; Günzel 2008) the focus is on the forms of representation and institutionalization of spatial knowledge that guide the socio-spatial practices of different actors. The problematization of space as a category of knowledge extends the view of the constructedness of space and opens up the possibility of examining knowledge in its conditions of production - and thus also as a construct that guides action (cf. Knoblauch 2010: 146). Knowledge as well as space, in their historical and social connections, are always also expressions and resources of power relations (cf. Koch 2011: 270 In: Ilbert/Kujath; Maresch/ Weber 2002).

In a relational understanding of space (e.g. Löw 2001; Massey 1994, 2005), the knowledge of and about spaces refers to a specific institutionalized constitution of space and reproduces that constitution, through its invocation. The police, as a "spatial organization" (Harvey 1989: 18), is essentially involved in the production of spatial knowledge and represents a powerful authority in the institutionalization of space and knowledge due to the sovereign status of the institution. Within my dissertation project it could be shown how the social structures of class, ethnicity and gender are embedded in the spatial knowledge of the German police. The categories interweave all levels of spatial constitution ('spacing' and 'synthesis') and enter into an interdependent relationship with the category space. Such a "division of things and activities" (Bourdieu 2005: 18) creates a social order that not only divides spaces into worse and better areas, but also organizes the inclusion and exclusion of persons, both for police officers and residents of urban districts.

The contribution is intended to trace the interdependent interrelation of space and gender with the categories of age, ethnicity and class, and to illustrate how spatial activities of the police are there over organized, the respective practice of action is legitimized, and social order is created by the police. The constitution of space institutionalized by the police is identified as an access-point for setting a hegemonic normality. The spatial knowledge of the police is used to draw not only geographical but also social boundaries. This interplay is currently relevant, both with regard to the more rigid and more physical style of police acting, which is currently experiencing a renaissance in the German police, and with regard to the division of urban space.

German:

Die polizeiliche Herstellung eines Wirkungsgefüges von Raum, Ethnie und Geschlecht

Mit der Perspektive auf Raum als eine Wissenskategorie (Koch 2011 In: Ilbert/Kujath; Günzel 2008) wird nach den Repräsentations- und Institutionalisierungsformen räumlichen Wissens gefragt, die die sozialräumlichen Handlungspraxen unterschiedlicher Akteure leitet. Mit der Problematisierung von Raum als Wissenskategorie wird der Blick auf die Konstruiertheit des Raumes erweitert und die Möglichkeit eröffnet, Wissen in seinen Erzeugungsbedingungen – und somit auch als ein Konstrukt zu untersuchen, welches das

Handeln leitet (vgl. Knoblauch 2010: 146). Wissen als auch Raum sind in ihrer historischen und sozialen Gebundenheit immer auch Ausdruck und Mittel von Machtverhältnissen (vgl. Koch 2011: 270 In: Ilbert/Kujath; Maresch/ Weber 2002).

In einem relationalen Verständnis von Raum (hierzu bspw. Löw 2001; Massey 1994, 2005) bezieht sich das Wissen von und über Räume auf eine spezifische institutionalisierte Konstitution von Raum und reproduziert diese gleichsam durch deren Anrufung. Die Polizei, als „räumliche Organisation“ (Harvey 1989: 18) ist dabei wesentlich an der Produktion räumlichen Wissens beteiligt und stellt eine machtvolle, weil staatlich abgesicherte Instanz bei der Institutionalisierung von Raum und Wissen dar. Innerhalb meines Dissertationsvorhabens konnte nachgezeichnet werden, wie die gesellschaftlichen Strukturprinzipien Klasse, Ethnie und Geschlecht sich im Raumwissen der Polizei einlagern. Die Strukturkategorien durchziehen alle Ebenen der Raumkonstitution („Spacing“ und „Synthese“) und gehen eine interdependante Beziehung mit der Kategorie Raum ein. Eine so vorgenommene „Einteilung der Dinge und Aktivitäten“ (Bourdieu 2005: 18) schafft eine soziale Ordnung, die so nicht nur Räume in schlechtere und bessere Gegenden einteilt, sondern auch Ein- und Ausschlüsse von Personen organisiert, sei es für die AkteurInnen der Polizei als auch BewohnerInnen der Stadtteile.

Der Beitrag soll die interdependante Wechselbeziehung von Raum und Geschlecht mit den Kategorien Alter, Ethnie und Klasse nachzeichnen und hierüber darstellen, wie räumliches Agieren der Polizei organisiert, die jeweilig darauf bezogene Handlungspraxis legitimiert und soziale Ordnung durch die Polizei geschaffen wird. Dabei wird die polizeilich institutionalisierte Konstitution von Raum als Zugriffsmöglichkeit zur Setzung einer hegemonialen Normalität identifiziert. Über das räumliche Wissen der Polizei werden hierbei nicht nur geographische, sondern auch soziale Grenzziehungen vorgenommen.

*Marke Kivijärvi and Saija Katila*

### **IT gaming industry as a texture of masculine spaces**

Prior studies have indicated that spaces are gendered and the gendering of space has multiple implications. For example, gendered spaces guide towards ‘appropriate’ gender performances (Tyler and Cohen, 2010); reproduce cultural gender norms that guide the doing of gender (Panayiotou, 2015); and define what kind of sexuality scripts are possible, and how they are played (Riach and Wilson, 2014). Less is known, how multiple gendered spaces work together to have a profound impact on the gendering of industries. In this paper, we study what kind of gendered spaces are produced within the IT gaming industry in Finland and how they limit women’s space of action.

The paper is based on semi-structured in-depth interviews with 30 women who work in the Finnish gaming industry. The interviewees hold central management positions in gaming companies or play key roles in video game development. Typical positions included such as founder/co-founder, CEO, producer, game designer, artistic designer, and coder. We asked the women to share their ‘stories’ of how they entered gaming industry, to recite their career journey, and to reflect on their experiences as women in the industry.

The study contributes to the literature by offering a metaphor of texture of gendered spaces to highlight the interplay of multiple spaces that cross time and space in the production of gendering effects on industry or organizational level. Our study indicates that the Finnish IT gaming industry consists of a particular texture of masculine spaces. The texture consists of the masculine space of play, masculine space of study, masculine space of work and masculine space of fantasy. The spaces are intertwined, like loins in the texture of fabric, cutting across time and space making it more difficult for women to enter the industry and create meaningful change within the dominant gender relations.

The masculine space of play is male dominated and operates under masculine norms. It develops through childhood gaming practices where both physical as well as virtual masculine spaces of play develop. While women may enter these spaces, they must adopt to the masculine practices already in place. Active participation in the spaces construct a horizon of possibility to enter the field as coders. The masculine space of study (coding) is male dominated with only some token women. The gaming companies are mainly established through study and friendship practices taking place within the masculine space of study. The masculine space of work is constructed through the interplay of mainly male bodies, doing it-nerd masculinity, (introverted, limited ability to naturally interact with women, harsh sexist language and jokes). Within the space, coders are constructed as the most knowledgeable doers of the field. The space is intimately intertwined with the masculine space of fantasy. The masculine space of fantasy is constructed through game design practice where women characters are often constructed as reflections of male sexual fantasies (slim, big breasted) that seldom have active roles in the games while male characters have multiple roles and body shapes. The study shows, however, that while women’s space may be limited, there always is space to maneuver both within the masculine spaces as well as through women’s’ own “only women” virtual space of support operating at the margins of the texture. Hence, the study contributes to the understanding of power

dynamics involved in gendering space. We also enrich earlier studies of gender relations in gaming industry (Johnson 2014; Styhre et al. 2018) by addressing the continued reinforcement of male privilege through multiple masculine spaces.

**Stream 22**  
**Gendered Ageism and Ableism in the Workplace**

**Conveners: Mariska van de Horst and Sarah Vickerstaff**

*Alysia Blackham*

### **Gendered Ageism in the Workplace: Internalised, Intersectional and Under-enforced**

The ‘double jeopardy’ experienced by older women in the workplace has been well documented over many years (Duncan & Loretto, 2004, p. 110). For older women, both age and gender influence their experiences of discrimination (Roseberry, 2011, p. 37); the nature of age discrimination changes as it interacts with other grounds (AHRC, 2016, pp. 71–74). Age can therefore exacerbate other forms of disadvantage (for example, on the grounds of gender or ethnicity) (McColgan, 2014, p. 68), and is an ‘amplifier’ of other forms of inequality (House of Commons Women and Equalities Committee, 2018, p. 14).

Drawing on a multi-year comparative mixed method research study examining the enforcement of age discrimination law in the UK and Australia, this paper considers how experiences of ageism are gendered, and how this impacts upon the individual enforcement of legal rights. The paper synthesises results from:

- Legal doctrinal, and qualitative and quantitative content analysis, of 1208 Employment Tribunal (ET) age discrimination decisions, published between February 2017 and 17 April 2019, and 108 Australian age discrimination cases handed down since 1990;
- Semi-structured qualitative expert interviews with 101 respondents from across the UK nations and Australian states and territories, conducted between July 2015 and September 2020, and including experts from equality bodies, legal practice, age lobby groups, government, unions and academia;
- Statistical analysis of data from public surveys, equality bodies and Acas; and
- A survey of 76 legal practitioners in the UK and Australia working on age discrimination matters.

I argue that gender and age is a ‘particularly toxic combination’ (E165) of protected characteristics. While older women are particularly exposed to age discrimination (W84), this is not necessarily reflected in age discrimination complaints (A99, A101). Using statistics from Australian equality bodies, Acas, ETs and Australian courts, I show how women are less likely than men to file and pursue an age discrimination complaint to the point of hearing.

Older women have been culturally conditioned to accept discrimination (A99) (Grant, 2011, pp. 43, 62): having experienced discrimination across their life course, older women are more likely to internalise discrimination or to just accept it (W84, A101): ‘it’s just something else to deal with’ (S90). I argue that this internalisation of discriminatory sentiment, and scepticism of legal efficacy, is a particularly damaging consequence of experiencing discrimination, which makes it difficult to rely on individuals – and older women in particular – to assert their legal rights.

This paper argues, then, that we must be particularly attuned to the ways in which experiences of ageism are gendered, and how barriers to claiming may have gendered impacts. While older women may be particularly exposed to gendered ageism, this is not

reflected in the complaints that are made. Thus, we must adopt a gendered lens when considered barriers to and limits of the individual enforcement of legal rights.

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*Mariska van der Horst*

**Does age identity mediate the relationship between health and preferred retirement age?**

In this paper, the interconnectedness between health, age identity, and preferred retirement is assessed. Recently, it has been suggested that some of ageism may in fact be hidden ableism (Van der Horst & Vickerstaff, 2021). Previous qualitative research already shows that it appears widely assumed that older age comes with worse health (Brown & Vickerstaff, 2011) and health is thought to play a crucial role in one's age identity (see e.g., Barrett, 2005; Goecke & Kunze, 2020; Kotter-Grühn, Kornadt, & Stephan, 2016). Age identity in turn may affect retirement planning (see e.g. Ye & Post 2020).

To further assess the interconnectedness between health and age perceptions as well as their consequences for preferred retirement age, health trajectories are identified. These trajectories will then be related to age identity. For individuals who are on a health declining trajectory, the decline narrative may impact their age identity, while this is less the case for individuals who are on a stable or maybe even on an increasing health trajectory. As Gendron et al. (2018) argue, internalized ageism may lead individuals to actively distance themselves from being 'old' to avoid the negative connotations that come with being 'old'. These negative connotations are often related to health: "This is also evidenced by the word "still", as in "I still feel 60". We also hear the opposite—people saying, "Today I feel 104" due to fatigue, illness, pain or the like." (Gendron et al., 2018: p. 620). I would therefore expect that a declining health trajectory would be related to feeling old(er). This may, however, also depend on current health evaluations. Further, it is assessed to what degree health trajectories and age identity are related to preferred retirement age. More specifically, it will be assessed whether age identity mediates the relationship between health and preferred retirement age. Given gender differences in age norms and employment expectations, it is likely that there will be differences between men and women in the degree to which age identity plays a role in the relationship between health and retirement.

To assess these relationships, the English Longitudinal Study of Aging (ELSA) waves 1-8 are used, with a selection on individuals aged 50-70 in the last wave. Preliminary results show that health is indeed related to one's age identity, but less evidence is found for the relationship between age identity and preferred retirement age. This relationship appears more pronounced for men compared to women, but results also suggest that it's effect can be both positive or negative.



*Federica Previtali*

**Old and Male vs Young and Female: doing good employee identity in performance evaluation**

Ageism, as prejudice, stereotypes, and discrimination on the base of age, is researched to be present in the dynamics between managers and employees. In the evaluation of their supervisees' performances, managers tend to rely on positive or negative stereotypes about young or old age. In the workplace, the dynamics of ageism are intersected with negative stereotypes related to gender. Female employees may find themselves trapped in biased expectations about their skills and performances.

Gendered ageism can affect older workers as well as younger ones, when age is not a chronological category but is done interactively in the relations between members of an organization and is linked to organizational norms and routines. To analyze the dynamics of gendered ageism at its roots, I investigate social interactions between managers and employees as an arena where norms linked to age, power dynamics and ideal employees' identity are performed in situated encounters.

The analysis are based on 12 video-recordings of performance appraisal interviews between middle managers and their human resources managers in an Italian service company, the data were gathered in 2019 in combination with observation of workplace and interview with human resource manager, to acquire information on the organizational context and policies. This paper will focus on an in-depth analysis of two a-symmetrical performance appraisal interviews of an older man and a younger woman with the same manager. These two cases are chosen as they allow the unfolding of the imbalance of power dynamics of extreme position on age and gender, as organizing principles. The analysis is based on discursive psychology and membership categorization analysis as tool to investigate power and identity dynamics in discussing performance and alignment to good employee identity, as well as, to study how organizational members "do" age, gender.

The analysis shows that age and gender norms are performed in the interactions between managers and employees and they are alternatively negotiated by employees to praise or justify job performances that aligns with age and gender stereotypes. The analysis suggest that age and gender norms are deeply linked to organizational routines and culture. This sheds new light on the research on gendered ageism by de-constructing the tangled roots of this phenomenon in social interactions into an institutionalized environment. Lastly, age norms are negotiated against a perceived decrease ability to perform, be active and energetic at work by older workers, evaluations that the managers accept and do not react in the development of future goals.

*Aine Ni Leime*

### **Extending working life for health care workers in Ireland: gender and ability**

Raising state pension age and extending working life have been introduced as policy measures by governments in several OECD countries, to address the anticipated increased cost of pensions associated with population ageing. This is assumed to be a benign policy measure and was promoted by the OECD and by the EU in line with an 'Active Ageing' policy agenda; however, recent critiques suggest that the implications of extension of working life for workers in different occupations have not been fully considered by governments. For example, there is ample evidence that workers in physically-demanding jobs (such as health care work) are more likely to acquire chronic work-related conditions earlier than those in sedentary occupations and working late may be problematic for them.

Extended working life policy has only been introduced relatively recently in Ireland with state pension age being increased to 66 in 2014. This will increase to 67 in 2021 and to 68 in 2028. To date, there has been little research attention paid to the experiences and views of older workers in different occupations in Ireland on the prospect of extending their working lives. This paper compares the perspectives of two sets of workers, who are both engaged in physically-demanding work: nurses (relatively advantaged in terms of pay and pensions) and health-care workers (low paid with poor pension provision). It investigates the extent to which health, age discrimination (and/or other factors such as pensions, informal care) affects their plans to extend (or not) their working lives.

This presentation is based on analysis of a subset of data from two recent cross-national qualitative studies of workers in different occupations. Only data collected in Ireland is analysed for this presentation. Both studies used a similar lifecourse methodology. Workers participated in interviews about their work-life trajectories and plans, their views on extended working life policy and any experience they may have of age discrimination at work.

The analysis focuses on differences in health and ability to continue working past traditional state pension age among ten male and ten female nurses and ten female health care workers – in Ireland. Both nursing and health care work are highly feminised occupations in Ireland. The data are analysed using a gendered lifecourse approach. It appears that existing disadvantages for the lower paid health workers in terms of income, health and pension prospects are likely to be exacerbated by the introduction of extended working life policies.

The analysis reveals that nurses have more financial protection and pensions than health care assistants as a result of being unionised, having decent occupational pensions and having opportunities to transition to other roles. However, they may have developed similar chronic musculo-skeletal health challenges as care workers, rendering extended working life extremely difficult. There are mixed views in relation to age discrimination, with some workers saying it doesn't exist due to anti-discrimination legislation, while others see it as negatively affecting their promotion prospects and consequently deciding to leave work earlier. The research and policy implications of the findings are discussed.

*Laura Airey, Jakov Jandric, Sarah Vickerstaff and Wendy Loretto*

**Understanding workplace influences upon the gender and health implications of extended working life: a case study approach**

Since the mid-1990s, a key policy aim of successive UK governments has been to expand the labour market participation of older workers (aged 50+). Policy measures aimed at individuals (e.g. raising State Pension age) and at employers (e.g. abolishing mandatory retirement) have sought to extend individuals' working lives by delaying retirement. Policy narratives have framed extended working life (EWL) measures as a necessary response to skills shortages in the labour market, and to the rising costs of funding State Pensions, both of which are linked to the ageing population. EWL policies have led to a rise in the employment rate of over-50s. However, they have also been critiqued for adopting a 'gender-blind' perspective, which does not take into account gendered patterns of paid employment and unpaid caring work over the lifecourse. Given that established gender norms associated with employment and caring roles have a significant influence upon men and women's working lives, it is important to examine ways in which EWL policies may impact men and women differently.

Furthermore, research evidence indicates that one of the challenges faced by older workers is ageist attitudes expressed by employers and line managers, which may hinder older workers' recruitment into new roles and investment in their career development via skills training. Older women are at particular risk of experiencing disadvantage in the workplace due to gendered ageism. Another potential challenge associated with the expectation of working beyond traditional retirement ages is that health problems may undermine workers' capacity to sustain paid employment. The extent to which employers' policies and practices support or undermine continued employment of older workers' with health problems, and the degree to which this is gendered, require further investigation.

In this presentation we explore the influence of occupational and organisational context upon 1) gendered experiences of employment in later life and 2) the employment experiences of older workers with health conditions. We also consider interactions between gender, health and extended working life. We present a preliminary comparative analysis of older employees' experiences within three contrasting case study organisations in the UK (transport, health and finance). These occupational case studies are part of a wider on-going study entitled 'Dynamics of Accumulated Inequalities for Seniors in Employment (DAISIE)'. This research investigates the gender and health impacts of Extended Working Life (EWL) policies in the UK, the Czech Republic, Ireland, Sweden and Switzerland.

In each of the three case study organisations, we conducted in-depth biographical interviews with male and female employees aged 50+. Interviews explored older workers' employment histories, health trajectories, family circumstances, and unpaid caring responsibilities across the lifecourse. Employees' views about their current jobs and their aspirations regarding future work and retirement were also gathered. Additionally, we interviewed human resources managers, trade union representatives, and occupational health staff, to explore their views of the opportunities and challenges associated with extended working lives.

*Radka Dudová*

**“They all turn the wheel the same”: The intersections of age, gender and health in public transport sector**

The extending working lives policies, together with the retracting welfare systems, are expected to lead to the deepening of the inequalities in later life. As Aine Ní Léime and Debra Street (2017) argue, most of the extending working life policies rest on a number of assumptions of the un-gendered adult worker model. First, that work is readily available to older workers; second, that they are and have been free to be employed, third, that they are healthy enough to work, and fourth, that they earn enough to contribute to a pension. These assumptions however do not hold for everybody, and especially not for many women. Most countries (including the Czech Republic) have significant gender wage gaps, as women are horizontally segregated into low-paid occupations and vertically segregated into low-paid positions. Moreover, women typically experience gaps in employment and pension-building, because they must usually fit employment around unpaid family care. The result is the gender employment gap, gender pay and pension gap and higher risk of poverty and social exclusion for older women (Léime & Street, 2017).

The paper will present first findings from a qualitative case study of older Czech men and women working as drivers of public transport. The public transport is a case of a men-dominated industry sector with ageing workforce. The public transport companies are currently facing difficulties in recruiting employees. The technological innovations make the work less demanding of physical strength. However the rate of women employed increases only very slowly and unequally depending of regions and companies. Based on problem-centered interviews with men and women drivers, representatives of the management of public transport companies and individual stakeholders such as trade unions representatives, I will explore the intersections of ageism, disableism and gender discrimination /sexism in the workplace. I will ask following questions: How are these “typically male” workplaces prepared for the ageing of their workforce? How does the management reflect upon the development of the labour market linked to population ageing and whether and how it tries to make the workplace more inclusive for older workers and women? What effects does the ageing at work have on masculine identities of men employed in this sector? How do they perceive the implicit ageism and sexism present in the sector? What kind of influence do the technological advances have on the practices of exclusion /inclusion in the workplace and on the identities of the workers? How do older women employed in this traditionally male profession perceive and experience their status of double exclusion? Overall, what can we say of the intersections of gender, age and health in this specific work sector? In order to answer these questions, I will analyse the interviews using a combination of phenomenological and narrative analytical method. The study is part of the international Dynamics of Accumulated Inequalities for Seniors in Employment (DAISIE) project.

*Jennifer Leigh and Nicole Brown*

### **Ableism and impact**

As a sector HE has seen drastic changes over the last decades, with increasing emphasis on equality and inclusion than ever. Initiatives such as Athena Swan and the Race Equality Charter have led to more awareness of exclusionary practices, and there is a need to be clear on policy for REF and TEF. The sector has become aware of concerns around the health and wellbeing of students and staff. Institutions are responding to these changes, and yet, they are often not well-coordinated and fragmented.

HE statistics highlight serious issues in relation to disclosure rates for staff: 16% of working age public disclose a disability, neurodivergence or chronic illness, but less than 4% of academics working in HE do so (Brown and Leigh, 2018). In many cases institutions do not know how to “respond” to staff needs when they are disclosed. This is not news to those working in the field of ableism and critical disability studies. Our work draws on Nicole Brown’s research with academics with chronic illnesses and invisible disabilities, and ‘impact’ work we have undertaken together to raise awareness of the issues facing academics in this position, as a route to changing policy, practice and improving quality of life.

Why would an academic choose not to disclose? It might be first provident to consider why they would. If an academic has an obvious physical disability that requires adjustments then they may feel that they have little or no choice to disclose prior to interview. However, they may not disclose the full extent that they are affected (Hannam-Swain, 2017) For those with a hidden, invisible, or fluctuating disability, or those who are chronically ill, this may be a somewhat more complex decision process (Brown & Leigh, 2020).

For those who have the choice to pass, they are likely to consider issues including cultural perceptions and attitudes towards disability or illness as well as the reasonable adjustments they might secure to support them. Conditions that benefit from support include specific learning disabilities such as dyslexia, cancer, menopause, chronic illnesses, neurodiversity such as autism, age related impairments such as hearing loss, mental health and physical disabilities. From our research and communities of academics with chronic illness or disabilities we know that staff report being stigmatised, challenged and questioned quite overtly, with some saying that they have been told they should not be trying to pursue a career in academia as they would fail anyway. In such an environment how can we raise awareness and empower academics to ask for and gain adjustments to support their work?

In this paper we will share findings from our work and discuss the challenges in researching academic experiences of ableism. These include both the professional choices around the types of outputs to produce (such as ‘REFable’ vs practical or reflective, theoretical or aimed at research impact) and personal choices and implications (such as does deciding to write in this area immediately ‘out’ you and invite judgement and speculation regardless of your own decision to disclose or not?).

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*I. Klinksiek, E. Jammaers and L. Taskin*

### **Disability and meaningful intersections in the New Ways of Working: a review and research agenda**

Organizations are increasingly introducing new ways working (NWW) by implementing a set of work practices characterized by flexibility (Ajzen et al., 2015), which generally comes in three forms. First, the NWW promote social flexibility via the constant social changes and ‘moving around’ enabled by unassigned-desk policies, flex-sitting, activity-based working, among others (Kingma, 2019; Sivunen & Putnam, 2020). Second, they allow spatial-temporal flexibility as employees can choose where and when to work by using telework, flexible schedules and new office designs (e.g. activity-based offices; Blok et al., 2012; Kingma, 2019; Sewell & Taskin, 2015). Third, the NWW provide managerial flexibility by implementing managerial practices such as participative management, outcomes-based rewards, and teamwork, which aim to better distribute and utilize knowledge and human resources in the organization (Peters et al., 2014; Picard et al., 2020).

Although the NWW are intended to bring benefits, such as increased creativity, knowledge sharing and employee engagement (Blok et al., 2012; Wohlers & Hertel, 2017), several studies have identified downsides, such as work intensification (Kelliher & Anderson, 2010), uncontrolled interaction (Wohlers & Hertel, 2017) and even dehumanization (Taskin et al., 2019). Moreover, studies have indicated the NWW to be more disadvantageous for some than for others. For instance, scholars found that the new office spaces can lead to spatial ‘ethnic zoning’ (Holck, 2016) as well as impact ‘the doing of gender’ and exclusion of women in the workplace (Hirst & Schwabenland, 2018; Wasserman & Frenkel, 2011). However, a specific focus on how the NWW can affect people with disabilities (PWD) and is experienced differently depending on the nature of their impairment, age and gender remains missing. While some disability scholars have addressed separate components of flexibility, NWW as a whole have been left uninvestigated. To fill this gap, we conduct a literature review and present a theoretical model to guide future research. In our model, we elaborate on work conditions typical to the NWW that might amplify or reduce the disablement of people with impairments in the workplace. Specifically, we propose how the three flexibilities promoted by the NWW might enable or disable several work-related outcomes of PWD (i.e. performance, job satisfaction, belongingness, wellbeing, and safety).

For instance, we propose that flexible schedules can enable PWD’s outcomes to better coordinate work demands with impairment-related needs (Kulkarni & Lengnick-Hall, 2011; Schur et al., 2014), while telework can cause isolation (Sewell & Taskin, 2015) and disable PWD’s belongingness. Meanwhile, social flexibility can enable PWD’s outcomes by, for instance, increasing socialization opportunities (Wohlers & Hertel, 2017). However, it might also be disabling for PWD because shared workspaces can lead to noise and privacy issues (Baldry & Barnes, 2012) and unassigned desks can hinder the installation of accommodation equipment. In turn, managerial flexibility can enable PWD’s outcomes as participative management might lead to a more inclusive organizational climate (Baumgärtner et al., 2015; Nishii, 2019). On the other hand, it might disable PWD’s performance and belongingness as the extensive use of multiple and temporary teams can challenge the coordination of multiple

team demands with impairment-related needs as well as challenge the development of affective relationships with team members (Gonzalez-Mulé et al., 2020; Sang et al., 2016).

Finally, in discussing our model and providing directions for future research, we acknowledge how the dis/abling potential of the NWW is likely to affect PWD in different ways, along gendered and aged lines (Jammaers & Williams, 2020; van der Horst & Vickerstaff, 2021). We conclude the paper by recognizing the threat to inclusion posed by intertwined ‘-isms’ in the specific context of NWW.



*Ingrid Jungwirth and Marziyeh Bakhshizadeh*

**“You can’t cope with that easily: getting dropped” – Barriers in Returning to Work: women with disabilities or chronique disease in a rural region**

This paper gives insight into the situation of women with disabilities or chronique disease in a rural region in the Western part of Germany and the conditions they experience, when returning to work. Although disability and chronique disease are experienced in all social groups and can become an issue during the course of work life for everyone, there is only limited research on the topic. The labour force participation of women with disabilities in Germany is even lower than the low participation rate of men with disabilities and further research in this regard is required. Specifically research from the perspective of gender studies and gender theories is a desideratum in this regard, in order to get a more encompassing understanding of disability in work life and the work place.

Disability studies contribute a social constructivist approach to disability, according to which disability is not a medical issue, only, but rather a social issue. Consequently, social norms and ideals about disability are seen to be an object of social change instead of persons with disability having to adapt to society (Waldschmidt 2014). In our pilot study on barriers in work life of women with disabilities or chronique disease we combined the social model of disability with an approach in the sociology of the lifecourse that includes a more encompassing concept of work going beyond employment, only, and taking into account care work. With this approach from the sociology of gender, simultaneousness and interdependencies between life spheres in the life course are considered (Riley/Riley 1994; O’Rand 1996; Krüger 2009). Specifically, the interdependencies between ‘employment cycle’ and ‘family cycle’ and the according types of work have been pointed out (Born/Krüger 2001; Krüger 2009; Jungwirth 2011) enabling a multidimensional analytical perspective on the reproduction of the professional and social position of social actors. Work is central in this but understood as employed work as well as unpaid care work. In our study we included in the theoretical framework, moreover, work that is connected to disability and impairment in the form of a ‘disabling cycle’ in the life course analysing its interdependencies with the ‘employment cycle’ and the ‘family cycle’.

The pilot study is based on semi-structured expert interviews with counsellors of different advise centers in a rural region in the Western part of Germany. The intention of the study was to understand which conditions women with disabilities or chronique disease, who return to work after an interruption, experience. Changes in the labour market to service work and increased mobility requirements as well as requirements for continuous qualification and further qualification prevail in rural regions just as in urban regions. The economy builds up considerably on small and middle sized enterprises (SME) which do not necessarily have a human resource department or planning and in which relations between management and employees are more direct. How norms and ideals related to gender and disability impact professional careers of women with disability or chronique disease in this context was a further question of the research on barriers for women with disability or chronique disease in work life.

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*Rita Daniels*

### **Intersectional escape: A myth of sheltered agency in the workplace**

Any minority status presents its own nuanced experiences related to discrimination, prejudice, and stereotyping. Critically, the concept of an escape is misleading in projecting any of these nuances in a single or dual minority identity. Extant research has examined experiences and strategies for managing employees' minority identities such as race, gender, age, sexuality, and religion (e.g., Roberts, Cha, & Kim, 2014). Since Crenshaw (1991), the concept of intersectionality has advanced research in examining the interconnectedness of multiple identities. This paper reviews the notion that any intersectional minority identity, particularly age and gender, could possibly "escape" the heightened nuances of minority status.

In particular, Martin, North, and Philips (2019) in their study on the agentic prescriptions of employees in the workplace, found that older women, based on their dual subordinate identities, enjoy an intersectional escape of prohibition from engaging in power-related behaviors. Stereotypes can be descriptive (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002) or prescriptive, providing expectations for group behavior (Rudnman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Nauts, 2012). Either of the stereotypes do not provide an escape. In the workplace, research has shown that age and gender as minority identities both have prescriptive stereotypes. North and Fiske (2013) found that the younger generation in the workplace expect the older employees to relinquish their position to create opportunities for the former. Regarding gender prescriptions, women have to manifest communal traits and behaviors whereas men have to exhibit agentic traits and behaviors (Martin et al., 2019). From the prescriptive perspective of stereotyping (i.e., older women should not be agentic in the workplace, thus less pressure on relinquishing their position to make way for the younger generation), Martin et al. (2019) conceptualize an intersectional escape for older women.

The idea of intersectional escape is incomparable to that of intersectional invisibility. The latter connotes an invisibility because of intersectional identity with one or multiple minority identities. The minoritized experience manifests in varied ways. In the case of the proposed intersectional escape from Martin et al. (2019), I argue that older women's non-experience of prescriptions to behave less agentially and cede resources is not an "escape" because the price for that dual minority identity has been paid. Rather, this supposed case of escape is invisibility. While researchers are careful not to overgeneralize the conclusions of Martin et al. (2019) to apply to any dual minoritized identity, it is important to examine critically the naming of the phenomenon. What intervening variables could account for the supposed intersectional escape? In a patriarchal society and workplace, women, even when numerically dominate the workplace, are challenged with patriarchal ideas and normative structures. While there are not many women in the workplace compared to men, older women are a numerical minority. This numerical minority status intervenes in the agentic prescription of older men but does not mean that older women are necessarily escaping. Women, even before they grow older in the workplace, have had the growth of their agency stifled. The challenges of their dual minoritized identity is an outgrown case of invisibility.

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*Vanessa Beck, Jo Brewis and Andrea Davies*

### **The menopause as social, perceived, and internalised gendered ageism**

Two of the most significant changes in the world of work have been the rise of women participating in the labour market and the extension of working life beyond what used to be considered retirement age. As a result, and although most countries have legislation in place to protect against gender and age discrimination in workplaces, there remains significant work to ensure that each separately, but even more so, the combined effects of gender and age are taken into consideration within the changing world of work. The issues and complications of experiencing menopause transition whilst in the workplace exemplify the combined effects of gender and age. In fact, social, perceived, and internalised linkages between menopause and ageing mean that many women do not want to disclose their menopause status and/ or discuss menopause at all. In this paper, menopause will be utilised as a frame through which to consider gendered ageism in these three domains.

First, at a societal level, ageism and sexism is evident in the lack of attention to menopause in the workplace. Considerable work has gone into raising the issue but, for example, it is still not possible to bring an employment tribunal case under more than one protected characteristic. Successful menopause cases have thus been brought under gender or disability equality legislation. Second, perceptions about how menopausal women and menopausal women's assumptions about how they are perceived have considerable, negative implications for women's continued contribution in employment. Menopausal women are thus in situations where they have to manage their own symptoms as well as their colleagues or (line) manager's perceptions about them. This situation is further complicated by, third, women's internalised stereotypes and adjustments to perceived external expectations. This internalisation and attempts to resist stereotypes are explored via the visibility paradox. On the one hand, older women may feel invisible and/or attempt to remain invisible in male dominated environments. On the other hand, they need to be visible and perform better than male colleagues to pursue a career or may be forced into being visible via hot flushes and heavy or erratic periods. The menopause lens thus highlights the impact of gendered ageism on women themselves, colleagues, teams, line managers and organisations as a whole.

The paper is based on survey data from a 2018 'menopause in the workplace' survey with 5,417 respondents; ethnographic data from eleven workshops on the same topic undertaken jointly with TUC Education; a follow-on survey of workshop participants (March/April 2019); and follow-on interviews with workshop participants (May-July 2019). The paper will utilise quantitative and qualitative findings and draw out the implications for the issue of gendered ageism in the workplace. It will draw broader conclusions to reflect on the societal and labour market changes that are required to implement supportive workplaces.

The research for this paper was funded by the ESRC IAA scheme.

*Sarah Vickerstaff*

**Being an older body at work: “I try not to tell people my age, I’m very careful about that”**

The visibility of age in the workplace may paradoxically have been sharpened by policy changes intended to encourage workers to delay retirement. The ending of mandatory retirement and the rising state pension ages have fuelled the wider injunction to age actively. The reference to what it means to ‘age actively’ and “successfully” basically means not to visibly age at all (Calasanti & Slevin, 2001). Older workers are caught between the need to present as young, fit and able with a general and also internalised view of ‘youth as a social virtue’ on the one hand and ageing as a process of inevitable physical and mental decline on the other (Pickard 2018). Such competing messages may make older workers ambivalent about age holding on to certain ‘advantages’ of maturity such as experience and reliability while acknowledging that they may be slower and tire more easily than when they were younger. This suggests the importance of exploring the embodied nature and experience of age in the workplace.

This paper examines these issues through the lens of older workers speaking about ‘age’ and ‘ageing’ at work. Semi- structured interviews were conducted with 114 employees over the age of 50 and 63 managers in 5 different organisations. Employees were interviewed about their retirement plans, experiences of age discrimination at work and their views on policy changes around extending working lives. Questions were open ended encouraging respondents to articulate issues salient to them. Interviews with managers centred on how their organisations managed older workers. The focus in this paper is a narrative analysis of how people talk, the language used, about age and ageing. From this analysis recurring themes were identified and gender differences explored.

Three different narratives of older workers are explored. . First, the ability to pass as younger: “No, so I blend in with the 40s, I still wear jeans and I’m still clinging on there.” Second, the view that the current generation of 50+ are different to their parents’ generation and are not as ‘old’ at similar ages—implying a new and later ‘normal’ for ageing at work. Not everyone may be able to live up to this ‘new normal’. Third, in the general social climate of active ageing people were very quick to assure the interviewer that they would not be one of those people sitting around doing nothing in retirement: “I don’t want to be one of those people that gets up, has their breakfast and sits in front of the television all day.” All three of these narratives seem to comply with ‘passing’: being viewed as ‘still young and active’. Whilst women and men talked about passing as younger than they are, women were more likely to focus on how they looked and men on what they were still able to do.

The implications of the findings are that older workers are bearing some cognitive tax functioning as older workers and that prevalent stereotypes of ageing workers are both enacted on older workers but also embodied by them.

## **Stream 23**

# **Gender Fatigue: Dimensions, Concepts and Solutions**

**Convenors: Sue Williamson, Linda Colley, Elisabeth Kelan, and Marieke van den Brink**

*Sue Williamson and Linda Colley*

### **Are Organisations Tired of Talking About Gender Equality? Do they even know what it means?**

Organisations have been talking about workplace gender equality for the last 50 years, and unsurprisingly, may be tiring of this issue. Gender equality has yet to be achieved, however, and so these conversations need to continue. A gender gap remains on measures such as earnings, career progress and retirement savings (WGEA, 2019). Current political and organisational strategies targeted towards gender equality have not led to any fundamental reordering of roles at home or at work (Williamson & Colley, 2018). Indeed, gender equality can be a contested notion, even though it is often portrayed as a harmonious concept and included in policy debates as a common and accepted goal (Verloo, 2005; Verloo & Lombardo, 2006).

This lack of progress towards gender equality is an ongoing challenge. On the surface, it does not seem to stem from a lack of willingness, as many public and private sector organisations in developed countries proclaim that they are committed to gender equality within their workforces (OECD, 2014). However, continuing inequalities suggest that there is a gap between organisational rhetoric, understanding and practice. Systemic and organisational structures which perpetuate gender inequality can be compounded by a lack of awareness and understanding of gender equality by managers and employees.

Since the 1990s, a myriad of terms have been used to describe the awareness of gendered organisations – including gender neutrality, gender blindness, gender deafness, gender denial, gender suppression, gender fatigue, and gender resistance (Acker, 1990, 2006; Ainsworth, Knox, & O'Flynn, 2010; Benschop & Doorewaard, 1998; Gill, Kelan, & Scharff, 2017; Heiskanen & Rantalaiho, 1997; Kelan, 2009). The various states of 'unawareness' legitimise existing behaviours and result in organisations doing and undoing gender and entrenching it within jobs, work processes and organisations (Acker, 1990; West & Zimmerman, 1987). While these terms for 'unawareness' have an intuitive appeal and meaning, they can be quite fluid with unclear conceptual boundaries that make them difficult to use in applied research. Further, there is conceptual slippage between how different scholars use the terms.

We propose that a new approach is necessary to strengthen theoretical framings and lead to new ways of progressing gender equality. Our research contributes to the theoretical understanding and practical application of these concepts surrounding lack of acknowledgement of gender equality. We examine how these myriad concepts fit together and how they can be developed into a framework for understanding the extent to which gender inequality is recognised and acted upon. This new framing not only provides conceptual clarity, but can be applied by organisations seeking to progress their awareness, and ultimately actions, to realise gender equality.



*Charlotte Holgersson and Anna Wahl*

**“Fix the women” revisited – methods for change based on knowledge, analysis and reflection**

Gender equality work is developed through an immense amount of projects, initiatives and learning processes over time. It results in change and resistance in differing dimensions. Organizational gender fatigue can be seen as the consequence of positive change, in terms of perceptions of “gender equality has been achieved”, or through resistance in terms of expressions of “there are more important issues” (Wahl et al., 2018). Another form of gender fatigue is what can also be labelled “feminist fatigue”, mainly expressed by women who are aware of gender inequalities but who are unable to put their critical eye into action and as a consequence, express resignation, hopelessness and resist being involved in work for change. In this paper, we discuss in what way “feminist fatigue” can be targeted in women only programs.

Many organizations have adopted women only programs as a gender equality strategy. However, women only programs have been criticized for maintaining gender inequalities rather than promoting change. The main point of the critique is that women only programs often have a “fix the women”-approach (Ely & Meyerson, 2000), focusing on adapting women to an existing inequitable culture rather than challenging and changing this culture. Nevertheless, in later years, scholars such as de Vries (2010), Holgersson et al. (2014) and Benschop et al. (2015) have suggested that women only programs can have potential for change if they are indeed designed to challenge and change established organizational cultures.

The paper draws on this scholarship, and on empirical data from gender equality work in a male dominated higher education organization that has had several women only programs over a period of 15 years. These women only programs have been based on methods and ways of thinking around change, referencing concepts of e.g. women as power resources (Holgersson et al., 2014), memory work (Haug, 2000; Jansson et al., 2008; Wahl et al., 2009) and interactive and reflective processes (Holgersson & Wahl, 2018). We argue that women only programs to some extent can “fix the women” if the program is designed in such a way that women are empowered to become change agents through knowledge, analysis and reflection.

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*Soline Blanchard*

### **Promoting Gender Equality in the Workplace: Resistance and Counter-Resistance**

What are the forms and factors of resistance to gender equality in the workplace today? What are the strategies deployed by gender equality agents to try to overcome them? This paper offers to answer these questions by using empirical research conducted for more than ten years on the promotion and implementation of gender equality in French companies and administrations. Collected data include 63 interviews with gender equality consultants, about 50 observations of gender equality events, and a large corpus of productions from the political, economic and media worlds.

The analysis starts from a contradictory trend over the past 50 years: if gender equality at work has become a legitimate social objective and a matter of corporate social responsibility, the effective implementation of this principle is far from complete. The paper aims to shed light on this phenomenon by examining resistance to gender equality, conceptualized as an obstacle to change and as a phenomenon inherent in any political approach that challenges the established social order. Echoing the growing literature that studies the implementation of gender equality, gender mainstreaming and gender training in institutions, the analysis focuses on discursive practices of resistance. It uses the analytical grid of Patrizia Romito (2008) and her notions of “strategies” – defined as a set of elaborate and complex maneuvers, global methods designed to perpetuate the status quo – and “tactics” – defined as means that can be used transversely in different strategies.

The paper first draws a typology of the recurring arguments against the promotion of gender equality at work in France, which are pervasive in political and economic circles and feed the inertia observed at the national scale. It highlights three mechanisms of negative apprehension of this topic – concealing, relativizing and opposing –, which are themselves split into seven strategies – denial, legitimization, dilution, relegation, perversity, futility and jeopardy. It also reveals the multiple tactics that transversely support the resistance strategies (ten identified).

The paper then adopts the perspective of gender equality consultants to highlight their diagnosis of the situation, as well as the counter-resistance strategies and tactics they use in their daily work to involve the people with whom they meet in a process of social change. Stating that gender equality suffers from both a lack of knowledge and a lack of recognition, they develop two complementary strategies to “reveal” this issue to audiences: making gender inequalities visible and arguing to convince. These are also backed up by multiple tactics (13 identified).

Finally, the paper discusses the strategic dilemmas experienced by gender equality consultants as the result of the confrontation between their own ideals and their financial dependence on clients in a quite flat and competitive market.

*Claudia Schredl and Anke Lipinsky*

### **The Change of Resistances against Gender Equality in Technical Universities Change Projects**

The issue of resistance against the introduction of European project-based gender equality initiatives in higher education institutions and universities is a widely under-studied phenomenon in Europe. Resistance can be understood as a defensive response to institutional change processes by those in power, ranging from denial of the need for change, to inaction and open repression of change initiatives (Agócs, 1997). Except for studies conducted in Sweden and the Netherlands, implementation projects rarely assess resistances systematically (Female Empowerment in Science and Technology Academia [FESTA], 2016; Powell, Ah-King, & Hussénus, 2018). In addition, most studies focus on different actors from whom resistance against gender equality measures emanates and strategies on how to convince them from the institutional benefits of gender equality. However, resistance against gender change may be directed against the change agents, the content or process of implementing institutional changes, the outcomes or impacts that the change is intended to achieve.

There are only few studies on the types of resistances and arguments used against gender equality initiatives (Lombardo & Mergaert, 2013; Mergaert & Lombardo, 2014; Verge, Ferrer-Fons, & González, 2018). So far, none of them has addressed the specific context of project-based gender equality initiatives in higher education institutions. To fill this gap, this paper presents an analysis of arguments against changes which support gender equality initiatives collected from semi-structured interviews with university management and gender change agents conducted at four tech universities within the framework of the Horizon 2020-funded project Gender Equality in Engineering through Communication and Commitment (GEECCO). We investigate the patterns of re-occurring claims of denial, rejection and repression of gender change initiatives and their relation to the policy implementation cycle model (Kotter, 1995; Peterson & Dahmen, 2018) through a feminist institutionalist perspective.

Taking a feminist institutionalist perspective allows for explaining how resistance to changes that advance gender equality in higher education affects individuals as well as formal and informal institutions. We assume that resistances against the introduction and implementation of gender equality measures can only be overcome by changing not only formal rules in higher education institutions but also all informal rules inhibiting organizational change processes (Clavero & Galligan, 2020).

The paper provides a new theoretical framing of resistance which combines different aspects of resistances, including resisting actors, forms of resistance and argumentation patterns of resistance. It thereby contributes to a better understanding of resistances against project-based gender equality initiatives in universities. Our findings also support gender change agents in identifying and handling institutional refusals and struggles as well as resistances which base on national legal and policy regulations.

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*Elisabeth Kelan*

### **Gender Fatigue as an Affective Practice in Organisations**

The recent visibility of popular feminism raises the question if gender fatigue is still a useful concept to understand gender in the workplace. The concept of gender fatigue refers to the ideological dilemma of simultaneously acknowledging the general existence of gender inequality while constructing everyday working practices as gender neutral (Kelan, 2009). This is discursively achieved by presenting gender inequalities as happening in the past, as happening elsewhere, by constructing women as the ideal worker and by accepting the status quo at work (Gill, Kelan, & Scharff, 2017). Gender fatigue is closely linked to postfeminism as a sensibility (Gill, 2007, 2016). The postfeminist sensibility can be understood as a way to make sense of the patterning of discourse around gender (Banet-Weiser, Gill, & Rottenberg, 2019). It could be expected that gender fatigue is diminishing in organisations due to the recent prominence of popular feminism. This would mean that individuals are able to spot gender inequalities and to develop mechanisms that help them to overcome these gender inequalities. However prior research has shown that many of those mechanisms entail that women try to change themselves by for instance becoming more confident in order to avoid gendered inequalities (Adamson & Kelan, 2019; Gill & Orgad, 2016, 2017). This locates the onus of change on individual women and does not engender more systematic change (Kelan & Dunkley Jones, 2010). This suggests that it is up to the individual woman to develop strategies to deal with gender inequalities. One way of doing this is through ‘feeling rules’. Research on the psychic and affective life of postfeminism analyses the feeling rules that are required in the modern workplace to form ideal postfeminist subjects (Chowdhury & Gibson, 2019; Chowdhury, Gibson, & Wetherell, 2019; Gill & Orgad, 2017, 2018; Scharff, 2016). Gill and Kanai (2018) suggest that feeling rules are affective registers that make subjectivities available to be inhabited. Using feeling rules allows individuals to ‘get by’ (Gill & Kanai, 2018) and indeed survive the workplace (Chowdhury & Gibson, 2019). The postfeminist sensibility encompasses the analysis of feeling rules that are required in the modern workplace to become an ideal postfeminist subject. Gender fatigue can be understood as part of such feeling rules which entail that one has to deny gender inequalities in daily activities as a way to ‘get by’. Drawing on organisational ethnographies that consist of observations and interviews, the article shows how individuals continue to deny that sexism and gender inequalities exist in their workplace. If gender inequalities emerge, they are often constructed as simply a misunderstanding. The paper suggests that constructing everyday work practices as free from gender inequality allows individuals to make these workplaces bearable. Gender fatigue thus operates as a feeling rule that allows individuals to ignore gender inequalities in daily interactions to survive gender unequal workplaces. It is argued that gender fatigue remains a useful analytical device to understand the feeling rules around gender in the workplace.

*Sophie Hennekam and Jamie Ladge*

**Paternal gatekeeping as a barrier for more gender equality**

While maternal gatekeeping in relation to fathers' involvement in family work has received a lot of research attention, we build on this body of literature by exploring the concept of paternal gatekeeping. Drawing on 28 semi-structured in-depth interviews with fathers in positions with decision-making power in organizations in France, we found that these fathers are a barrier for other fathers in their organizations who try to push for more gender equality. More precisely, we found that their attitudes and behaviours aimed to sustain gendered roles, incited other fathers to continue work full-time or shamed other fathers who expressed the wish for more flexible work arrangements. When exploring the beliefs and attitudes towards gender equality and gender roles of those fathers in decision-making positions in more detail, an interesting paradox emerged. They often had enjoyed parental leave or part-time work themselves when their own children were younger and reported positive attitudes about this. However, they did not seem to offer such opportunities for the other fathers in their organizations and did not seem to realise the paradoxal nature of these attitudes. The findings highlight the role of men (in this case, fathers) in the lack of increasing gender equality at work. The resistance to gender equality from fathers to fathers has received no or scant attention in the current literature. However, the findings can inform organizational policies and have practical implications with regards to the implementation of gender equality initiatives and organizational culture for example. By showing that fathers can function as paternal gatekeepers for other father in their organizations, we open up new fruitful ways for studying gender equality in organizations.

*Regine Bendl, Maria Clar and Yvonne Benshop*

### **Emergence of government-led backlash for gender equality in Austrian contexts and its impact**

At the beginning of the 1990s, Faludi (1991) identified a backlash in the field of women's advancement and gender equality pointing to patriarchal strategies opposing substantial gains as well as demands for equal participation for women. About 25 years later, claims for new feminism are rising (e.g. Watkins 2018; Arruzza, Bahttacharya & Fraser 2018) and the need to develop effective strategies in dealing (e.g. at the workplace Padavic, Ely & Reid, 2019) with resistance to feminist concerns. The aim of our paper is to re-visit gender-equality and inclusion in Austria based on the recent political shift from a social-democratic conservative coalition to a more populist conservative right-wing government.

An analysis of the Austrian Media (print and tv) shows the following picture (Pernegger 2018, 2019): The two most present topics on gender were discussion on the headscarf on the one hand and cases of sexual harassment (sport, politics and culture) driven by the international #metoo-debate on the other. However, enhanced visibility of women due to a higher percentage of female parliament members, party leaders and female government officials has not led to a rise in the representation of female politicians in the media and, therefore, in the public discourse. The presence of topics like pay equity, quota systems and female poverty, single parents, reconciliation etc. even declined. Relating these results to a study commissioned by the European Parliament (2018) on gender equality in Austria, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Romania and Slovakia, we proceed from the assumption that a backlash on gender equality also is currently on the agenda in the Austrian context.

In our paper, we will explore the appearance and manifestation of this emerging backlash on gender equality issues by connecting with equal opportunities representatives, experts and activists. We ask the question how these persons relate to and oppose these anti-gender equality changes and what actions they take in order to maintain substantial gains on gender equality. To generate our data, we have chosen an action research approach (e.g. Burnes 2004): first, we conducted group discussions with experts who have been on the forefront for gender equality in the last decades and presented them the results of the group discussions; second, we conducted interviews with politicians engaged in gender equality; third, we organized community-building events with activists on the forefront for gender equality. Moreover, as we consider ourselves as feminist scholars practicing an interpretative approach, we are aware of the fact that we are co-creating outcomes with/in our research.

Our preliminary findings present a diverse picture: On the one hand, recent political developments and their cultural repercussions seem to question equality for women and their rights, which is reflected, for example, in a shift away from gender-neutral language, a re-occurring discussion on reproductive rights and abortion or in the reduction of subsidies for women's and girls' counseling institutions. On the other hand, we could identify areas where evidence-based policies lead to positive changes in gender equality practices (e.g. focusing on gender equality in the education of teachers, national equality lawyer backed by the EU Antidiscrimination Law, implementation of the Third Gender...).



Based on our Austrian data, we will show that in a context of backlash, anti-feminism and anti-genderism the following notions are necessary to advocate for established gender equality: (1) the importance for strengthening existing gender equality measures, processes and structures, (2) a revival of previous places or opening and establishing new places of exchange, (3) a form of transmission of experiences and narratives and (4) the search for new narratives for resistance and development that encompass all generations and needs.

*Nina van Douwen*

**Contested collaborations: Dynamics between actors striving for diversity and inclusion**

The question of how to create successful change towards diversity and inclusion in organizations has been a core issue for feminist organization scholars for many years (Benschop & Verloo, 2011; Calás, Smircich & Holvino 2014; Ely & Meyerson, 2000). Yet, there still remain many questions with regards to the role change agents play in producing more equal and inclusive organizations (Doldor, Sealy & Vinicombe, 2016; Kelan & Wratil, 2018). Research on change agency has mainly zoomed in on individual actors within organizations, such as CEOs and diversity professionals (De Vries, 2015; Barragan, Paludi & Mills, 2017). These studies have helped us better understand what motivates these actors and what strategies they use to bring about change (Meyerson & Scully, 1995; Kirton, Greene & Dean, 2007). However, the dynamics and interactions between multiple advocates that are involved in creating change within one organization have been understudied. In our study in the Dutch military, we find that these interactions between various change agents at different levels in the organization are relevant for understanding the limited progress of change efforts.

This paper aims to contribute to the literature on change to diversity and inclusion in organizations by zooming in on the interactions and collaborations, or lack thereof, between various change agents. It addresses the dynamics between various actors and how these may impact on the possibilities for change within an organization. The paper focuses on an extreme case regarding diversity and inclusion, namely the Dutch military. Military organizations are notoriously homogenous; the majority of military personnel are white, heterosexual men (Sasson-Levy, 2011a; Woodward & Winter, 2006) and military culture is inherently masculine (Barrett, 1996; Cohn, 2000; Sasson-Levy, 2011b). The Dutch case is no exception, for example, currently only ten percent of military jobs are filled by women. The extremity of this case makes both change and resistance to change more tangible. It allows for a situated analysis in which the organizational context is taken into account (Holck, 2015; Tatli & Özbilgin, 2009).

In recent years, the Dutch government has decided to push for more diversity in the military. This has resulted in the creation of various diversity related tasks and occupations at multiple levels in the organization, such as diversity policy officers, gender advisors, diversity ambassadors, and diversity networks. At first glance, these actors all seem to be working towards the same goal of creating more diversity and inclusion within the Dutch military. However, initial data collection suggests that the dynamics between the various actors involved may be more complex than they appear. Diversity actors may feel threatened by others doing the same type of work, and different groups of actors may not agree on what goals to set or how to reach them. We analyze this as actors simultaneously attempting to create change and resisting change, thereby blurring the boundaries between change agency and resistance. Drawing on interviews and participant observation, this paper untangles the relations and dynamics between the actors involved with diversity in the Dutch military in order to better understand their role in the change process.

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*Natalie Galea, Fanny Salignac and Abigail Powell*

### **Backlash and resistance to gender equity in the Australian Construction sector**

The construction sector is the most male dominated sector in Australia. In the last decade, despite the introduction of gender equality initiatives led by construction companies, government and industry groups, men's dominance and overrepresentation has grown. Australia is not unique; women's statistical underrepresentation in the construction industry is shared across most western nations. Even with the existence of formal human resource policies and the ethical, legal and business case being made, gender diversity and equity in the Australian construction industry remains intransigent. The problem of the lack of gender diversity in the construction sector has been interpreted and examined as one of women's disadvantage and powerlessness. This paper takes a different tact. It examines the work of backlash, and resistance (a mode of backlash), in maintaining and perpetuating male powerfulness and advantage in the Australian construction sector. Backlash is enacted emotionally and normatively by individuals and institutions. It operates to keep privilege systems intact, safeguarding existing practices and structures from being questioned or changed. Yet pin pointing how backlash and resistance operates within organisations to undo and resist the work of gender equity initiatives is hard to map.

This paper aims to examine how backlash and resistance operates through the rules in use within organisations at an institutional and individual level, to maintain the gender status quo within construction companies. Using an ethnographic study of two large multinational construction company, this paper separates out the institutional and individual acts of backlash and resistance. Applying a feminist institutionalist perspective, it finds that institutionally, backlash and resistance operate in three ways. First, through the practice of 'locking out' new initiatives, through acts of 'deliberate neglect', non-compliance and weak enforcement (Lowndes and Roberts, 2013, Chappell, 2015). Second, through a process of 'forgetting the new' rules that are typically formal policies and 'remembering the old' rules that typically informal gendered rules (Mackay, 2014, Lowndes and Roberts, 2013, Chappell, 2015). Third, through denial and passivity in relation to equality and discrimination shown in a lack of codified practices. This paper finds that at an individual level, backlash and resistance is expressed through non-compliance with policies designed to improve gender equity, arguments of fairness, merit and neutrality, through a tolerance of sexism, silence and gender bias, as well as expressions of exacerbation that the problem of gender equality is 'too hard' to fix. This work has obvious and widespread implications for other sectors as well. It concludes that in order to address men's overrepresentation and advantage in construction, backlash and privilege and how it operates through company rules and practices must be addressed.

*Eva Amundsdotter and Susanne Andersson*

### **To meet resistance in a male dominated organisation**

From gender research we know that people in organizations do gender with recursive precision, but this is not something that they usually reflect on (Martin 2003, 2006). When developing gender awareness organisations, it is necessary to note and challenge the taken-for-granted and the so-called natural order, which appears to be gender neutral, although a gendered order in which men and certain forms of masculinity predominate, and women and femininity are marginalized (Ely & Meyerson 2000). Moreover, power relations need to be addressed when those with formal and informal power can decide when and how gender is made relevant (Andersson 2003).

In this article we present methodology and results from an R&D-project performed at an industrial company in Sweden.

The aim of the project was to develop gender aware leadership through engaging with a group of managers working in a cable manufacturing factory. The employees worked in the development and delivery of products and systems for telecommunications.

In the research project, we worked with a group of managers (14 participants, 13 male managers and 1 female manager) over a period of two years. The commitment of the group in terms of exploring their leadership at the workplace, together with the fact that the head of the factory participated in the group and showed a deep commitment to our project, made it possible to move through difficulties that occurred.

One situation was that the only female manager after some time, claimed that she didn't get the same supportive structure as her fellow male managers. This was met with resistance and tension in the group. Through reflective processes and deepened learning loops, this was also an example of how the group moved towards what can be understood as double loop learning (Argyris & Schön, 1974).

The group processes have been organised into three steps (Amundsdotter, 2009). Initially, the participants studied their own contexts, using the method "putting on gender glasses", and these analyses became the starting point in the overall group process of the study. In this joint knowledge, a production of new awareness of the meanings of gender evolved. Then they began working toward developing strategies. In the third step, the participants started to take initiative and change for example interactions and organising the work according to the model of small wins (Weick, 1984).

The methodology used was built on a previously developed approach called action-oriented gender research (Andersson & Amundsdotter 2012). This approach is a merger of two theoretical perspectives: the doing gender perspective (West & Zimmerman, 1987), with an understanding of gender as formed in ongoing relational activities; and the learning theory perspective within the action research tradition (Argyris & Schön, 1974), with a focus on reflection, learning and especially reflective learning for transformation.

In this work, we intend to address strategies to overcome gender fatigue and resistance to gender equality and the role of men in changing organisations towards more gender equality.

*Lotta Snickare, Øystein Gullvåg Holter and Eva Amundsdotter*

**The Role of Management in Gender Equality Initiatives - Change and Resistance in a Male-dominated part of the Academy**

Research on gender equality projects has found that management is a key factor for success, especially, the degree of managerial responsibility, impact and organizational basis, covaries with the project's long time success rate. The studies not only emphasize that gender equality is a management responsibility, but highlights the follow-up in practice. Policies, statements etc. are not enough; management responsibility must be followed up by line responsibility, and in order to have effect management involvement must include a method to engage each level and individual in the process. Here we describe the steps and method used in a process changing the discourse of an organization.

We draw on data collected in an action research project at a STEM faculty of a large Norwegian University. The faculty under study was participating in a gender equality project funded by the Research Council of Norway with the ambition to increase the number of women in senior research positions. The collected data; interviews, anonymous written workshops evaluations with comments, observations and participatory research, of twelve half day workshops with ca 200 male and female ph.d supervisors, is used to examine the impact the managerial activity had on the change of discourse in the organization. We propose a theoretical model, in order to understand our results.

The data first shows an initial situation with limited management involvement. This included a number of workshops displaying a tendency towards strong resistance regarding the idea of academic organizations as gender unequal. The discussions never moved from criticism of gender models and theories, with unwillingness to talk about one's own experiences e g as PhD supervisors.

Analysing this situation, we employed a new method of greater management involvement, emphasizing knowledge development and recognizing controversy and resistance to gender balance. This included a five-day gender equality program for the faculty management team. A key matter was to shift the burden of problem recognition from those experiencing the effects of gender inequality to the management. The result of the program can be summarized as follows:

- The management's task is to take responsibility for the analysis of the organization as gender unequal
- The management team needs development as a group to take on this responsibility

Our data shows that more and better leadership involvement is important – but also, that it needs to be combined with methods to change the organization as a whole, and create “bottom up” and not just “top down” involvement. We developed a method to involve the organization as a whole, focused on raising awareness and curiosity regarding how gender actually works in the organization. This was a further development of Joan Ackers model



(1992/2006), described in the paper, offering “tools” for the individual, for observing and understanding gender in the organization.

The combination of these steps and methods – management involvement shifting responsibility for the problem and offering a method for participants’ own investigation of gender in the organization – created a new discourse where the workshop discussions changed from resistance, denial and ambivalence, towards an interest to understand one’s own role and possibility for improving gender equality.

The data shows that when the faculty management clearly stated that the faculty still had gender-related challenges, the discourse within the organization changed. However, even more important for the change of discourse was the choice of theoretical approach and method for the organization's gender equality work. When the management team contributes to the knowledge base through education in a gender perspective and offers a method for the organizational work that all employees can use in their everyday life, opportunities for change at all levels in the organisation are created.

*Erica Blomstrand*

### **Men's strategies in work for change: a case of integrating gender in the STEM curriculum**

Although men's role in building gender equality is increasingly emphasized both in research and practice, the topic of men as change agents in organizations has been less explored (Kelan, 2018). Since men often have both formal power and influence in an organization and can draw on their dominant position in the gender order, it can be especially powerful with men who advocate gender equality (Sawyer and Valerio, 2018) and challenge the masculine norm (Wahl, 2014). As men, they also have a greater room for manoeuvre. Research has explored different strategies among men and linked these to their hierarchical position in the organization (Meyerson and Scully, 1995; Kirton et al., 2007; Kelan and Wratil, 2018). The aim of this paper is to contribute to this research by exploring the strategies of male faculty when integrating gender research in the science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) curriculum.

In the Western world, the field of STEM is dominated by men, both among students and faculty (European Commission, 2018). Moreover, masculine values dominate engineering cultures and engineering education (Kolmos et al., 2013). Promoting gender inclusive engineering cultures and curriculum, presupposes not only the involvement of women, but also of men, in efforts for change. Awareness and knowledge of gender are often seen as key in this work for change. When reforming engineering education, Salminen-Karlsson (2002) argues that it is necessary for leaders to have legitimacy, an interest in gender issues, and some basic knowledge in the areas of both gender and technology.

The paper draws on interviews with seven male faculty members at a technical university in Sweden that in their leadership roles in different education programmes have introduced gender research. The analysis of the data reveals that the interviewees have two main strategies in this work for change. Firstly, their strategy is to create an alliance with, and involve, gender researchers in their work for change. They endorse the importance of support from, and collaboration with, these gender researchers, especially in order to build the format and discuss form and content of the change initiative. Secondly, their strategy is to legitimize their work for change by emphasizing that the content should be scientific and not political, and by arguing that gender equality is a natural part of the curriculum, and that they opt for a wide definition of feminism because "nobody likes pasted doctrines". The discussion centres around the collaboration between change agents on different positions and the dilemmas associated with the adopted strategies. For example, by involving gender researchers, the interviewees indeed provide students with highly qualified teachers, but at the same time, they do not necessarily change their own practice. Moreover, in their attempt to legitimize gender research as part of the STEM curriculum, the interviewees challenge discourses of gender research as unscientific and political, of gender equality as something alien to science and of feminism as dogmatic, while to some extent also reproducing these discourses at the same time.

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*Alicia Pearce*

**Is workplace sexual harassment managed well in Australian higher education and research? Evidence from the Australian SAGE Athena SWAN pilot**

The Athena SWAN gender equity program is a sectoral approach to workforce cultural change in STEMM higher education and research, operating for over fifteen years in the UK. In Australia, the SAGE Athena SWAN Bronze Award pilot of 45 institutions has been in operation since 2016, broadly mirroring the UK structure and process.

A growing body of literature examines the effectiveness of Athena SWAN in creating positive structural and cultural changes in member institutions, with findings of qualified success (Gregory-Smith 2018; Rosser et al 2019; Kalpazidou Schmidt et al, 2019). Several studies also provide evidence of backlash, both within institutions and particularly among men (Ovseiko 2017) and through an emerging academic literature problematising the operation and nature of Athena SWAN from intersectional feminist perspectives (Tzanakou and Pearce 2019), but limited analysis of ways organisations are working to address this.

To date, there has been no examination of the rich evidence base provided by the Australian Athena SWAN applications on the ways that Universities and research organisations administer workplace conditions across the sector. In this paper I use qualitative and quantitative evidence from the full cohort of applications in the Australian SAGE Athena SWAN pilot to begin to create a whole of sector view of one distinct organisational process – the prevention and remedy of workplace sexual harassment.

My research extracts data on existing and proposed policies, practices and prevalence of workplace sexual harassment from applications and institutional action plans. This data is coded and analysed against a research-informed framework developed by McDonald et al (2015) to describe effective organisational interventions to prevent and address sexual harassment in the workplace. Robust policies are supported by cultures that assess risk factors and reward managers who respond appropriately to harassment claims (McDonald et al 2015; Cogin and Fish 2007). I examine action plans for evidence of organisational strategies addressing ‘backlash’ or ‘gender fatigue’ among managers more broadly.

I present new insights into the administration of sexual harassment prevention and remedy across the Australian higher education and research sector, its effectiveness, and evidence of interventions brought about through the SAGE Athena SWAN pilot. I begin to provide systematic insight into current sector practice to prevent and address sexual harassment, part of my broader research project systematically examining interventions in workplace sexual harassment in the higher education sector.

The Australian pilot took place against the backdrop of the international #metoo movement and a landmark National Inquiry into Sexual Harassment in Australian Workplaces, reporting in February 2020. Workplace sexual harassment is a chronic and pervasive problem in Australia, with a broad literature showing detrimental effects to employee wellbeing, performance and morale (Good and Cooper 2016; McDonald et al 2015). There is a broad consensus that existing Australian legislative and industrial schema does not adequately address or prevent sexual harassment (Chapman et al 2017, Charlesworth et al 2011), but few

studies systematically analyse regulation within and across industries and consider how it is affected by legal and extra-legal influences. My research begins to bridge this gap in one sector.

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*Caroline Rodrigues Silva, Juliana Schneider Mesquita and Juliana Cristina Teixeira*

**Backstage reflections, sexual harassment: Beyond a written activist, also a militant practice**

Inspired by the paper *Writing as Labiaplasty* (Pullen, 2018) we dare to share reflections on opting for research topics that are political, ethical and disputed at the cost of silencing (Alvinus & Holmberg, 2019). We believe that the issues that cross us, such as sexual harassment, permeate both the individuation and collective (Deleuze & Guattari, 1995). We believe in passion as a way of research. After the happy meeting at CMS 2019, its Workshop, and sharing experiences and research, we returned to Brazil certain that we shouldn't agree with colleagues that theory organizations said, "Passions shouldn't be research subjects, so you will not be a scientist." However, we propose to do science situated as opposed to neutral science. In this sense, an activist writing (Connell, 2019). The issues of which we are proud to be silent involve gender identities (Butler, 1990). Not coincidentally, issues such as gender and race inequality (Gonzales, 1984; hooks, 2018; Sattari & Sandefur, 2019), prostitution (Brewis & Listead, 2000; Silva, Mesquita, & Costanzi, 2017), violence against women (Taylor & Jasinski, 2011) and sexual harassment (Teixeira, Silva, Mesquita, & Rampazo, 2018; Teixeira & Rampazo, 2017). Now, let's think about to break the silence and bringing a backstage. The #metoo movement brings indignation and possibilities of collective agency (Ozkazanc-Pan, 2018). Thus, we ask ourselves: And when is the harasser your close colleague? If the harasser is a renowned researcher? Or if harassment practices are yours? Are we ready and prepared for a collective agency? When we have a responsibility and opportunity to institutionalize treatments for sexual harassment survivors, will we take action and get out of passivity? At a national meeting forum where we were invited to talk institutionally about our research on sexual harassment at the academy, we urged colleagues to rethink their practices, to take work to their institutions with a commitment to encourage the adoption of policies to combat sexual harassment in the graduate programs to which they belonged, which was silenced throughout the discussion. Besides that, we started grateful for the opportunity to finally get out of the silence and be able to discuss this unhappy question. We heard a question: "Where is the harasser?". We answered: "they are here". Silence reigned. So, we realized that it is easier to talk about management from afar, from the other, from organizations other than ours, such as the important UBER case (Griffith, van Esch, & Trittenbach, 2018). The discussion went on... We said "gender is a marker when it comes to sexual harassment", but we heard as an answer: "let's talk about people, I am reluctant to talk about gender." Uncomfortable, for who? Give the correct name sounds like "you don't want to read about the blood that drips down my leg" (Pullen, 2018, p. 5)? The gendered, fluid, people are there, the auditorium full. We hope that the desire to be an activist against sexual harassment is like blood pulse. Therefore, allowing assemblages and collectivities.

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## **Stream 24**

### **Gender, Diversity, Work and Transport**

**Convenors: Tessa Wright, Susan Durbin, Debbie Hopkins and Rachel Mence**



*Kathryn Theory*

**F-ing up the Railway: women leaders' self-confidence 'make-over' in a postfeminist era**

Today's 'confidence cult(ure)', is pervasive across education, employment and financial arenas, as well as advertising, marketing, social media, academia, think tanks and politics. Adopting vocabularies which 'empower', 'celebrate', 'inspire' and 'make women strong', it offers women 'confidence chic' and a 'confidence movement'. Whilst self-confidence has entered theoretical and empirical debate in media and cultural research related to postfeminism it has yet to be empirically researched in gender and organisation studies. Thus far, women's experiences and techniques to enhance self-confidence in the workplace have yet to be examined through a postfeminist lens. Key to this research is the way postfeminist practices both acknowledge and deny feminism and systemic accounts of gender discrimination, in what is referred to as a 'double entanglement'. Recent requests have been made to explore nuanced forms of contemporary feminisms found in these contradictory and ambiguous spaces of interpellation which both affirm and distance feminism and structural concerns. Self-confidence is a useful cultural object through which to explore these themes because it is a relatively new concept, highlighting how postfeminism is constantly altering and evolving, looking for new host sites to exercise and extend its discourses and practices.

The empirical study presented here focuses on the 'crisis of self confidence' which has been singled out as a major barrier to women's success in the rail industry. Within rail, women represent 16.4% of the total workforce (13% for Network Rail workforce). Female leaders are in an extreme minority, with 1.3 percent of women in senior management roles and 0.6 percent of women at executive or director level. Drawing on 32 interviews with female leaders employed in light and heavy rail or infrastructure rail contractors working with train operating companies in the UK, I explore how self-confidence discourses, techniques and practices obfuscate gender inequality through three new analytical themes. First, 'Women do it to themselves': female research participants acknowledge structural factors in rail that influence their confidence but downplay them by essentialising their shortfall as a psychological problem for which women are to blame. In doing so, gender differences are framed as psychological conditions (the 'inner critic', rumination, imposter syndrome), opening up spaces for remedial self-work and improvement. Following this, the second theme 'Fixing the woman through individuated strategies' explores women's methods and techniques to increase their self-confidence. This section highlights how women acknowledge structural injuries and suffering (from sexism, gendered evaluations of performance, masculinised culture) then distance themselves through individualised self-confidence techniques (power poses, coaching, cognitive strategies, mindfulness, clothing etc). In this way, structural or social injuries are privatised as women make themselves responsible for managing their own confidence deficit. Moreover, there are multiple layers of injury expressed through the burden of self-doubt, the weight of shame they carry and the labour to perform self-work. Third, in 'Resisting the self-confidence imperative', rather than 'lean in' some women leaders 'call out' the industry as the problem, contesting inequalities and power imbalances. Through these patterns of entanglement self-confidence operates as an (un)conscious mechanism to both self-appease and challenge the persistent gendered

inequality regimes in rail. By surfacing these patterns, the present study addresses the under-explored ‘inward turn’ in self-confidence discourses and concepts, highlighting the way postfeminist ideas are increasingly encroaching on more intimate psychological spheres of subjectivity and related emotions. By illuminating women leaders’ structural contradictions the article shows how self-confidence culture is not a straightforward ‘remaking of feminism’, but a more disrupted and truncated process. Furthermore, the study contributes to a very under-explored area of women’s employment experiences in the transport industry.

*Marie C. Grasmeier*

### **Occupational identities and experiences of women seafarers**

The cargo shipping industry constitutes a gendered (male) occupation par excellence with a percentage of female employees far below that in other transport sectors and a traditionally strong masculine occupational culture. Another prominent feature is the globalisation of the industry and its ethnically segmented labour market. While senior positions on board ships are usually staffed with seafarers from the global North, their colleagues in subaltern positions mostly originate from so-called labour supply countries of the global South. This 'racial' divide intersects with gender in that most women employed in the industry come from the global North and, therefore, hold senior or trainee officer positions. Drawing on ethnographic data from my own intersectional research on the occupational boundary-work of seafarers in the global merchant fleet as well as on a comprehensive review of existing research on the field, the chapter will give an overview about issues faced by women working in the sector as well as their ways of coping with those issues. I will connect these findings on the level of everyday workplace interaction with the broader socio-economic structure as well as the level of cultural/discursive/ideological representations within the industry. Gendered workplace interactions at sea often refer to a misogynistic discourse deeply rooted in the traditionally masculine culture of the industry, attempting to symbolically exclude women from the occupational group. Drawing on Kate Manne's theory of the 'logic of misogyny', I interpret those interactional practices as attempts by men to defend the gendered identity of the occupational group against the intrusion of women. A special focus will be on the intersectionality of gender, ethnicity and occupational class by highlighting instances of alliances between seafarers with occupational identities marginalised in different ways, e.g. along the lines of gender and ethnicity.

*Empar Aguado*

**Women in docks: The case of the largest ports in Spain – Valencia & Algeciras**

The study of the profession of port cargo handling has a particular interest for several reasons: a) It is located in a sector that still remains fully masculinized in any geographical point of the Spanish State, this indicates the level of resistance to the prevailing change in profession by men who compose and having power in such decisions; b) It is a profession or trade not regulated by the Statute of Workers (RDL 1/95) but by an employment relationship of a special nature (RD 2541/1994-RDLG 1/1995-RD 1424/2002-RDL 3 / 2005-RDL 2/2011). Unlike the domestic servants, where we find domestic workers, this sector offers a high level of protection and quality employment; and, c) it is a profession with severe entry barriers in access despite not require high levels of education or training which indicates the high level of existing bargaining power in the sector.

In this paper we present an investigation framed in a larger project which aims to inquire about gender labour segmentation. The object of study we place in a highly masculine occupation: women in docks.

*Ana Lopes and Sue Durbin*

**Bringing Women's Voices to the Fore: achieving impact through an action research project in the Aviation and Aerospace industry**

The UK aviation and aerospace industry is significant to the UK economy, contributing around 1.2% of the total GDP and employing 300,000 directly and 700,000 indirectly. The industry has a persistent, on-going skills shortage, which could be addressed through recruiting and retaining more women (RAeS, 2009). However, in this industry, women tend to be segregated into occupations that are gender typical, such as clerical and human resources roles, and remain very poorly represented in the industry-critical jobs such as pilots, senior managers, directors and, crucially, engineers. The industry remains one of the most under-represented for female engineers and pilots and the second least likely destination for a female engineering graduate.

This paper is based upon a joint ESRC (Economic and Social Research Council)/industry funded project, which culminated in the design and launch an industry-wide women's mentoring scheme in the aviation and aerospace industry, to address these problems of gender inequality. The paper is based upon an action research project to demonstrate how knowledge co-production between academia and industry can be used to give voice to specific groups of workers — in this case women engineers and pilots who work in a male dominated industry — and enable practical, impactful outcomes. The project consisted of developing and implementing a mentoring scheme 'for women/by women' professionals to offer career and social support to women who often feel isolated, un-heard and under-represented in this industry. Giving women a voice, through action research, enabled the co-production of knowledge with the women themselves and those who worked alongside the researchers in the project group. The aim was to introduce material change, based on the active participation of women, by ensuring they had 'voice' in the research process. Theoretically, we draw upon Couldry's (2010) conception of voice and answer calls to put diversity concerns at the forefront of employee voice analyses (Greene, 2015). We argue that when a gender lens is applied, women's voices come to the fore.

The study comprised mixed-methods within an action research approach. In this paper we draw upon focus groups and interviews conducted with women professionals from the founding organizations and a number of organisations in the industry. These methods, especially the focus group, were participatory, facilitating collective design and providing a locus of co-production of knowledge. The project developed impact through women's voices at various levels and in this paper, we report on the impact achieved from this project and how women are benefiting from having their voices heard. We also demonstrate impact through a number of testimonials from some of the key beneficiaries of the mentoring scheme.

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*Stephanie Douglas*

**Female strength: Influence of adversity in male-dominated professions on women's resiliency**

Women in male dominated professions often access an inner strength and ability to adapt, which can be defined as resilience. Resilience plays an important role in determining whether women in male-dominated career fields will pursue or abandon their careers (Kidd & Green, 2006). Aviation, specifically pilot careers are historically, and still, a male dominated occupation. Despite aviation's history of legendary women aviators, the aviation industry has been slow in recruiting, training and advancing female pilots. This has been regardless of the anti-discrimination, equal employment opportunity and affirmative action legislation. The pilot profession continues to be dominated by masculine beliefs, values and perceptions creating an organizational culture adverse and challenging to women. This culture likely is contributing to the impairment of resilience, as the findings in this study indicate, which inhibits women's coping and success strategies in the male-dominated career field of aviation.

This study examined the influence of a male-dominated career, aviation, on the resilience in female pilots. Unlike other studies on resilience from adversity in male dominated career fields, this study measures the resilience level of female pilots using the Connor Davidson Resiliency Scale (CD-RISC). The majority of studies conducted on women in male-dominated career fields conclude that women have resiliency from working in such areas; however, no study utilizing the CD-RISC scale has measured the resilience of women in male-dominated career fields.

The main objective of this study was to explore the experience of women in aviation, a historically male-dominated occupation, and the influence of such adversity on resiliency. In a sample of 1,499 licensed female pilots, lower resiliency levels were found in the female pilots in comparison to the general U.S. sample indicating a potential influence of such adversity faced in male-dominated occupations on resiliency. The findings also found statistically significant differences in resilience based on age, years of experience, and type of pilot indicating potential characteristics that influence resilience. This study's findings indicate resilience is likely affected by the adversity and challenges faced by women in aviation.

Resilience is the most frequent strategy women use to assert themselves in male-dominated careers. In order to adjust, women must express persistence and perseverance (Makarova et al., 2016). In applying a resilience strategy based on high assertiveness, steadfastness, and the ability to pushback, women combat discrimination in the workplace (Makarova et al., 2016; Acker, 1990). However, as challenges surmount in a male-dominated career culture, such as women in aviation experience, the resilience may decrease as found in this study. Efforts to increase females in male-dominated careers alone will not fundamentally improve conditions for women's careers nor support the retention of women in such careers. (Makarova, et al., 2016). The findings of lower resilience among women in aviation support the need for further work in shifting organizational cultures and conditions in order to increase and retain women

in male-dominated careers. The study further informs the need for the aviation industry to address many latent issues that provide disincentives to women becoming and remaining pilots. The scarcity of female pilots not only entering the profession but also those that remain in the profession deprives the industry of a significant human resource that brings equally valued and diverse skills to the ranks of the professional pilot.



*Lucy Budd, Amarachi Amaugo, Nceku Nyathi and Stephen Ison*

**Room at the top? An exploration of the gender composition of Senior Management Teams at UK airports**

The need for greater gender diversity and equality of participation in leadership and senior management positions is widely acknowledged and actively promoted in many sectors of the economy and transportation, including commercial aviation. However, despite the introduction of initiatives to encourage women into senior leadership roles, the pace of change remains slow and women remain underrepresented on the senior management teams (SMTs) and executive committees of commercial airlines and airports. Although many insightful studies have been conducted into why women do not train as commercial airline pilots, as well as the challenges of recruiting, retaining and promoting female aviators, few comparable studies have explored the gender disparity in other high-status highly paid leadership roles, including SMTs. The very low proportion of women in senior roles is significant – worldwide, fewer than 3% of airline CEOs are women while only 8% of major European airports are led by a woman, compared with 12% in other sectors.

This research draws on critical constructivism and feminist perspectives, most notably the gendered divisions of labour, in order to explore the implicit reproduction of systems of male dominance and gender disparity in the aviation sector. Adopting this approach provides an opportunity to analyse the dominant systems that have produced and reproduced male dominance in aviation. This raises critical awareness of the present gender imbalance and facilitates dialogue concerning this important area of discourse. The traditional feminist lens questions the systematic organisation of work into gendered spheres across organisations and time periods yet considers considerable variation with respect to the tasks which are considered gender appropriate.

The aim of this paper is twofold. Firstly, via a documentary review, it explores the gender composition and gender pay gap of the Senior Management Teams at the 15 busiest passenger airports in the UK, which collectively handle 94% of all UK airline passengers. Secondly, by the use of semi-structured interviews with selected members of these Management teams, it explores the reasons for the current gender disparity and proposes potential strategies to address the issue. The paper concludes by offering recommendations for airport operators, policy makers and academics undertaking research in this area.

*Rachel Mence*

**Why so few women? Exploring the discursive framing of the gendered transport worker**

Historically associated with the engineering and operation of heavy machinery, the transport sector has been culturally associated with features of traditional masculinity. Entrenched occupational gender divisions segregate the sector and have served to marginalise women in low-ranked, low-skilled, non-technical or stereotypical female roles. However, the sector is changing. With unprecedented investment driving rapid expansion and disruptive mobility technologies entering the market, there has been a global shift away from transport being about moving heavy vehicles from A to B to one that places the user at the centre of transport service delivery. This turn to “service” from an engineering-based “technology” industry has implications for the participation of women in the public transport labour market. As the sector engages in targeted recruitment to increase the representation of women, this paper explores the salience of gendered constructions within organizational discourses on the participation of women and diversity in this traditionally male-dominated sector.

This paper forms part of an ongoing PhD research program investigating the discursive mechanisms contributing to the ongoing gender inequality in male-dominated industries. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 58 current employees, both male and female, at different occupational levels within bus and rail transport operators within a state of Australia. To understand the historical, social and cultural factors that discursively frame a transport worker as masculine, the study examined employee responses to the question of why so few women worked in the transport sector as well as how they articulate the changes the transport sector is currently going through. Interview data were analysed for representations of gender using critical discourse analysis. As an engineering-based industry, transport values technical knowledge and competence; this is discussed in terms of the taken-for-granted association of men with technology, with women historically seen as technically incompetent or ill-suited to the demands of the sector. However, as transport shifts toward a user-centric model of service delivery, where stereotypically “feminine” qualities are called for and digital and automation technologies reduce the demand for technical experience or physical strength, there appears a discursive shift on whether women belong in the industry. Socio-cultural representations of gender and technology are embedded in organizational discourses around diversity. These discourses function to legitimate constructions of women as Other, rather than challenge prevailing gender hierarchies privileging masculine forms of knowing, acting and being.

*Sarah Oxenbridge, Meraiah Foley, Rae Cooper and Marian Baird*

**“I’ll never be one of the boys”: Gender harassment of women working as pilots and automotive tradespeople**

Significant research has examined sexual harassment in male-dominated occupations, but gender harassment – harassment that is not sexual in nature but is targeted at individuals, or women as a group, because of their sex or gender – has received relatively less attention. Evidence suggests, however, that gender harassment is more common than sexual harassment (Berdahl, 2007; Leskinen & Cortina, 2014; Leskinen, Cortina, & Kabat, 2011) and can prove equally damaging to women’s physical and mental wellbeing (Sojo, Wood, & Genat, 2016) and career success. As awareness about the illegality and potential consequences of sexual harassment has grown, partly in consequence of the global #MeToo movement, there is some indication that gender harassment is increasing (Johnson, Keplinger, Kirk, & Barnes, 2019). We analyze the lived experience of gender harassment among women working as pilots and as automotive tradespeople, two occupations associated with the transport industry in Australia. We find that women in these occupations face a daily barrage of sexist jokes and demeaning comments from colleagues, managers, and customers and that such behaviors are retribution for encroaching on traditionally male occupational domains. Although women found these behaviors humiliating, intimidating, and offensive, they lacked a comprehensive vocabulary to define or condemn them. This paper contributes to an emerging literature arguing that gender harassment needs to be more clearly problematized, organizationally and legally, as a form of sex-based harassment constituting unlawful sex discrimination.

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*Tessa Wright and Anne Kamau*

### **Tackling gender-based violence in the public transport sector: the role of key actors**

The public transport sector is known for high levels of violence against workers from passengers, but women are particularly at risk of gender-based violence, including sexual harassment, from both passengers and fellow workers. Furthermore, women transport users face high rates of sexual harassment, which has in some countries led to the introduction of women-only bus or taxi services (Dunckel-Graglia, 2013). This paper examines women's experiences of gender-based violence in public transport work, drawing on evidence from research conducted for the International Transport Workers Federation (ITF) in five cities in the Global South – Bangkok, Bogota, Cape Town, Mexico City and Nairobi. It finds that violence and sexual harassment remain a common workplace occurrence for women transport workers. It also shows that employers, trade unions and NGOs have a key role to play in preventing sexual harassment and gender-based violence at work, but need to do more, particularly through adopting and publicising a zero-tolerance approach to gender-based violence. In addition to analysing the data collected for the ITF project by local researchers in each city, collated by the author, this paper will also examine published evidence of initiatives to address gender-based violence and sexual harassment of women workers and passengers from different countries. In addition to analysing the data collected for the ITF project, this chapter will examine published evidence of initiatives to address gender-based violence and sexual harassment of women workers and passengers from different countries. In some instances such initiatives have involved NGOs in providing training for women workers and the public (Wafula, 2018) as well as passengers groups, NGOs and trade unions working together (Pillinger, 2017).

The final part of the paper examines the adoption by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in June 2019 of Convention 190 on Violence and Harassment in the World of Work, together with its accompanying Recommendation. This represents a potentially powerful new framework for action on tackling and preventing violence and harassment at work, that clearly recognises the interrelated effects of gender-based violence and harassment, gender stereotypes and unequal gender power relations, which underpin occupational gender segregation. The transport sector was particularly mentioned in the Convention as an area where change is needed. The Convention came about through a long period of campaigning during which global trade unions played a key role (Heap, 2019). However the agreement of the Convention required tripartite support from governments, employers and worker representatives, who gave it overwhelming support at the ILO conference in June 2019.

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*Claire Clarke*

### **The impact of the future of work for women in public transport**

One of the most important challenges facing workers everywhere is the development of new technologies that have the potential to transform the world of work – eliminating some tasks, massively increasing surveillance/control of workers, and allowing radical new ways of organising the transport of goods and people. There are potential benefits and risks for women's employment in transport from the introduction of new technologies. For example, women are often at the sharp end of automation as their jobs in ticket sales and customer service functions may be particularly at risk. While technological changes in vehicle operation may improve the job of driving for women.

For women transport workers technological development is happening in the context of unequal pay, sex discrimination, gender-based occupational segregation and exposure to violence, on top of economic stagnation and an economic model that incentivises precarity and the lack of formal work opportunities.

In April 2019, the International Transport Workers' Federation (ITF) launched a major report on 'The impact of the future of work for women in public transport'. The research is ground-breaking as this is the first study that looks at the particular impacts of automation and digitalisation on women transport workers.

The report presents evidence of the main issues facing women public transport workers around the world; highlights how women in trade unions have been campaigning for change and what more needs to be done to organise and support women transport workers; examines how the development of new public transport systems is impacting on women's employment; and discusses the impact of technological change on the employment of women public transport workers (including platform work).

The report highlights the important role of women in the public transport workforce and it emphasises the significant role of public transport unions in ensuring that technological change is introduced in a way that seeks to advance gender equality rather than worsen existing patterns of gender inequality and segregation. It concludes with 12 recommendations to ensure that specific issues faced by women are reflected in policy, strategy and action at a global and sectoral level.

The ITF research focuses on five cities that are introducing a new form of public transport system or are extending an existing transport mode, which has significant implications for women's employment: Bangkok, Bogotá, Cape Town, Mexico City, Nairobi. Fieldwork was conducted in each of the five cities by researchers, working closely with the ITF Women's Department and Dr. Tessa Wright (the report author).

Following the research, the ITF has been working with women trade unionists in the different cities to develop union demands specifically for women working in public transport in relation to automation – including consideration of new developments in the context of Covid-19 as many cities introduce accelerated digitalisation of ticketing and payments, for

example, as part of the response to Covid-19 with potential for continuing impacts for women.

The research is part of the ITF ‘Our Public Transport’ programme which actively campaigns for public transport based on public ownership, public investment, secure jobs and union rights for transport workers organised in strong unions. Gender-related issues and women’s participation and leadership are integrated in every aspect of the ‘Our Public Transport’ programme.

*Gina Porter, Emma Murphy, Claire Dungey, Fatima Adamu, Plangsat Bitrus Dayil, Ariane de Lannoy, Nwabisa Gunguluza, Hamza Zaghdoud and Hanen Keskes*

**The lived experience of women workers in the road transport sector in Africa: reflections from ongoing research in Abuja, Cape Town and Tunis**

This paper firstly reflects briefly on the gendered employment practices that to date have characterised road transport operations across Africa, before presenting ongoing ethnographic research regarding women's current lived experiences of work in the road transport sector and, linked to this, male attitudes to women's participation. Our data relate to peripheral neighbourhoods of three very diverse city-regions: Abuja, Cape Town and Tunis.

The strength of connection between male identity and motor-mobility in Africa is ubiquitous and has rarely been questioned by transport sector actors. Women are largely absent from the road story, constrained at least partly by hegemonic norms of femininity that shape women's self-understandings and help relegate them to peripheral interstices in the sector – characteristically as sex workers, cooked food suppliers or porters. However, there are occasional cases across Africa where women have dared to disrupt this masculinist enterprise. Our ESRC GCRF- funded research study, which is focused on two peripheral, low income sites in each of our three study city-regions (one peri-urban, one city-connected just outside the city boundary), explores women's employment experiences in the road sector to date, and reflects on the potential for future expansion of their roles and activities in this sector. We not only present stories from women taxi drivers, tricycle operators and mechanics about their everyday experiences and what they see as the challenges and opportunities open to them in their work, but also talk with men in these communities – including road transport workers- about their attitudes to women employed as transport workers. A final section looks to the future, reflecting on our linked discussions with girls and young women in the three city-regions about their wider career aspirations and their views regarding employment in road transport and the wider transport sector.

[Please note that this abstract refers to ongoing ethnographic research. We have not included fuller details because the balance of content will depend on what emerges during intensive field work over the next 6 months.]



*Anri Hiramatsu*

### **Intersection of gender and class: Experience of female taxi drivers in Mexico City**

In Mexico City, with a population of approximately 9 million, 53 per cent of the population use public transport (INEGI, 2018). Insecurity is one of the most acute issues expressed by women and girls who transit in the city. One report found that nearly 43 per cent of sexual violence suffered in public space occurred in public transportation (UN Women, 2017). Mexico City has implemented a policy and Viajemos Seguras [‘We Travel Safely’] program to promote female passengers’ safe transit. The hostile urban environment also has created a demand for taxi and ride-sharing services offered by women that are considered safer transit for women in and beyond Mexico City. In this context, this paper focuses on the participation of female taxi drivers under the increasing demand in Mexico City.

While the utility of women-led taxi services and female drivers has been valued from a user perspective (IFC and Uber, 2018), little attention has been paid to the driver’s labour participation patterns and working conditions. Some studies have confirmed that male-dominated transportation industry poses many challenges to the few female drivers (CENFES, 2012; Hiramatsu, 2018; Maina and Vera, 2013). A recent study on sharing economies in cities of Global South also underscores women’s increased access to income sources with flexible working schedules; however, it also stresses that their notion of insecurity has limited their working hours, compared to men (IFC and Uber, 2018).

In this context, this paper examines female taxi drivers’ vulnerabilities to patriarchal practices and their responses based on site visits and interviews conducted to mainly state-licensed drivers and other types of drivers such as tourist drivers, ride-sharing drivers, and independent driver in Mexico City. The paper specifically asks: How do female drivers perceive and deal with different forms of male domination? How do patriarchal practices in both public and private spheres disadvantage female workers in transport industry? How do women respond individually and collectively to different forms of male patriarchy? I examine these questions by employing Walby’s patriarchy framework.

The female drivers’ narratives indicate that the continuum of patriarchal relations in private and public spheres imposes barriers in the entry to the taxi industry, interaction with co-workers, sexual harassment, occupational hazards, and lack of political power in the taxi organization. The paper also illumines drivers’ proactive strategies to reframe socialized gender norms at work. The paper concludes with recommendations for the city government to provide a support scheme for female taxi drivers upon assessment of their demographics and labour force participation patterns.

**Stream 26**  
**Transforming Transparency? The Strength and  
Limitations of Voluntary and Regulative Approaches to  
Transparency in the Context of the Gender Pay Gap**

**Convenors: Cynthia Forson, Cecile Guillaume, Jana Javornik, David Peetz  
and Emily Pfefer**

*David Peetz and Georgina Murray*

**Seeing through the Circle: Considering ‘worker privacy, pay transparency’ in the digital future**

A growing body of research shows the importance of pay transparency in reducing the gender pay gap (GPG)—more precisely, how pay opacity maintains the GPG. Evidence of this includes research of one of the authors, involving over 8,000 Australian academics, showing that opaque variable bonuses (‘loadings’) are gendered and discriminatory (Bailey et al. 2016). (By contrast, amounts paid through transparent ‘higher duties’ loadings are more neutral after controlling for other factors.) On this basis, transparency would appear to be unambiguously good.

However, when applied in other ways, the effect may be very different. The rhetoric of transparency may be used by employers to heighten managerial control and metrification. This argument is illustrated by a reading of the fictional *The Circle* (Eggers 2013), concerning a seemingly ideal organisation and the experiences of a new female employee. In it, transparency is used to ensure surveillance and each new technology and process of the corporation leads to greater surveillance, either of employees or of citizens more generally.

This points to a transparency paradox. Employer control of information gives power to the employer. Hence pay opacity means information is held and controlled by the employer, leading to increased power in the hands of those in control of gendered organisations, and especially disadvantaging women employees.

On the other hand, transparency of what employees do means that information goes to the employer, again leading to increased power in the hands of the employer. There is thus the danger of the illusion of transparency: what may seem to empower disadvantaged employees can be used to disadvantage them and prevent organised dissent, if taken beyond a proper intent in reducing employer discrimination. As women also the more disadvantaged group within organisations—illustrated by their lower average hourly pay of women than men—with the most to gain from collective action—illustrated the greater average union wage effect shown, across studies, for women (Jackson and Schellenberg 1999)—the suppression of dissent has the greater potential adverse effect upon women.

What, then, should be proper principles for work and transparency? Employees have rights: to privacy, not to be subject to excessive surveillance; and to know what their employer is doing and how it is paying its employees. In short, we need: ‘worker privacy, pay transparency’.

This becomes especially important in the context of forthcoming developments in digital neural technology, which are presently aimed at medical application (e.g. in the case of patients with crippling injuries or motor neurone diseases) but will eventually enable the digital linking of citizens to external computers networks and to each other (Peetz and Murray 2019a). The boundaries between the ‘private’ and the ‘transparent’ become critical but, as numerous recent ‘hacks’ have shown, they are presently permeable and able to be rendered meaningless. This permeability would, in turn, allow transparency to be used as a weapon against female and male workers. Yet the increasing male domination of ICT jobs

(Peetz and Murray 2019b)—and of the beneficiaries of such a system—make it unlikely this problem would be addressed in the absence of a determined movement. This paper concludes with an assessment of the policy and political actions required to ensure that ‘worker privacy, pay transparency’ in the future can act for the benefit of especially female workers.

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*Manuela Galetto, Claire Evans & Fuk Ying Tse*

**What do employers think? The costs and benefits of complying with pay transparency in different sectors**

This paper proposes a sector-sensitive approach to the analysis of the devising and implementation of employers' strategies on making pay information more transparent. In the UK and further afield, national regulations have been introduced to make public information on pay and other pay-related elements (bonuses, professional profiles grouping, use of pay scales, etc.) more transparent. To date, in the UK at least, this strategy has had limited success in reducing the gender pay gap, with companies partially fulfilling the requirements or even submitting 'suspiciously-looking data' and with no legal requirements over the compilation of narratives or action plans (Topping et al., 2018). Outside of the UK, there have been varied national and regional efforts to regulate the circulation of pay information in general as a means to improve pay transparency, with the ultimate aim of more equal pay. For example, under an executive order in the US which came into effect in 2018, federal agencies and their contractors are required to make pay information on their employees publicly available. In June 2019, the European Parliament also passed a directive to make information of working conditions, pay included, more predictable to workers. Introducing binding pay transparency measures is also prioritised by the newly-appointed president of the European Commission.

National variations in compliance regimes have been the focus of academic study, in addition to research that highlights the broader societal effects of pay transparency, especially in relation to their contribution to pay equality and the narrowing of pay gaps. More organisationally-focused research has emphasised the potential for employer benefits from divulging pay information (e.g. Colella et al., 2007; Greiner et al., 2011). Our focus will be on the often-neglected effect of sector characteristics (cf. Healy and Ahamed, 2019). We wish to explore the extent of sector-sensitive structures of incentives, impacting on how and why employers respond to requirements on pay transparency. Varying industry-specific dimensions, such as degrees of unionisation, market volatility, gender composition of the workforce and the extent of flexible working practices, can offer potentially interesting lenses for the analysis of how national regulations are translated into organisational practices.

Methodologically, we begin with the UK context in this paper, with the prospect of applying this approach for cross-national comparison in the future. We map and analyse managerial practices at the company level, focussing on the different (actual and perceived) costs and benefits of employers' compliance in different sectors. First, we conduct a review of secondary data available (surveys, statistics, reports from consultancy agencies and interest groups); in a second phase we complement our analysis with company-level case studies from selected sectors characterised by different socio-economic factors. By adopting such a focus, we offer insights into costs, organisational decision making, formal or informal practices of addressing pay transparency and the benefits of pay transparency for both employers and employees. We aim at identifying the extent to which sector-specific differences can shape the structure of incentives (cost-benefits) in reporting and addressing pay transparency.

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*Geraldine Healy and Emily Pfefer*

**Paradoxical Pay Transparency: A Weapon in the Battle Against Pay Inequality or Against Openly Discussing It?**

If pay transparency is the solution to the gender pay gap (GPG), as a growing number of nations propose, UK universities ought to be model employers. The multi-layered pressures these publicly funded institutions have faced to become more transparent in their pay (and related promotions) processes over at least the past decade have led to the performance of pay transparency in multiple contexts, such as compliance with Public Sector Equality Duty obligations and alignment of the pay of most employees with the Framework Agreement through sectoral collective bargaining.

As Acker (2006, p. 443) notes “even organisations that have very explicit egalitarian goals develop inequality regimes over time.” Public universities are not immune to such critique. This paper contributes to a concise body of research that demonstrates the applicability of inequality regime analysis to university settings (Currie & Hill, 2013; Reilly et al., 2016; Seierstad & Healy, 2012; de Vries, 2010). This paper is based on analysis of two university case studies; Universities Alpha and Beta are research-intensive universities in Southeast England. The methodology employs Acker’s inequality regime framework to analyse the performance of the ‘pay transparency’ agenda inside the organisations. Thematic analysis draws on data from publically available policy documents available from the institutions during the 2016/17 academic year and 50 semi-structured interviews with key employment relations actors from the centre of the organisations (remuneration policy shapers), the local University and College Union committees, and academic staff themselves.

The paper first paints a picture of pay ‘transparency agenda’ performance inside Universities Alpha and Beta by identifying 13 key policies and processes that should help to shed light on pay (and related progression) practices and which align with four inequality regime components. From this, University Alpha emerges to have developed a greater impression of pay transparency than University Beta. Nevertheless, the import of this distinction diminishes on closer inspection; the remainder of this paper’s analysis draws on interview data and drills down on visibility and legitimacy of organisational inequality. Clear evidence is demonstrated of apparent institutional compliance with the Public Sector Equality Duty actually serving to obscure inequality through key decisions made in the appearance of transparency. By making pay inequality visible in some ways, focus is removed from persistent problems. Keen and successful engagement of both institutions with the Athena SWAN badge for good gender equality employment practice, alongside limited knowledge of most staff of the details of the award, additionally served to legitimise existing equality practice without necessarily leading to substantive reform. They painted a picture that the universities were “‘good at this’ despite not being ‘good at this’” (Ahmed, 2007, p. 102).

This paper therefore concludes that the performance of the pay ‘transparency agenda’ inside Universities Alpha and Beta, despite being more advanced in one than the other, presents a real risk of concealing problems, rather than resolving them. This paper has significant implications for both the UK Higher Education sector and UK public policy by indicating the need for critical assessment of pay transparency’s actual outcomes.

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*Isabella Scheibmayr*

**The Disappearing Act of Transparency: The Case of the Amendment of Austria's Equal Treatment Law**

Pay transparency is considered an important strategy to increase pay equality (Dickens, 1999; European Parliament, 2012; Rubery, Grimshaw, & Figueiredo, 2005). However, different policy makers are using a variety of attempts to increase pay transparency at different levels (Veldman, 2017) with differing results (Aumayr-Pintar, 2018). In this struggle to reach gender equality, the interaction between the legal architecture of gender transparency legislation and the implementation within business organizations is rarely been explored (Dobbin, 2009; Kelly & Dobbin, 1998). We use an organizational institutionalism lens (Greenwood, Oliver, Sahlin, & Suddaby, 2013; Greenwood, Suddaby, & Hinings, 2002; Lawrence, Suddaby, & Leca, 2011) to analyse this mutual relationship in the example of the amendment of the equal treatment law in Austria. In 2011 and 2013 the Equal Treatment Law in Austria was amended, including a new requirement aiming to increase pay transparency: mandatory pay information in job advertisements. Using a discourse analytical framework we investigate (1) how the law travelled through different fields, from the legal sphere to the organizational and professional Human Resource Management (HRM) communities and (2) how legitimization, arguments and framing of the requirement developed over time. A document analysis spanning over 2,000 pages revealed that even though the legal text uses a transparency objective, this framing only appeared in official documents. Organizational and professional HRM actors argued beyond the law using a business case argumentation (Roh & Kim, 2016) soon after the introduction in 2011. The amendment in 2013 shifted the framing further from transparency to negotiation. The equality and transparency framing dissolved over time, and years after the introduction, we even find hints to inequality-producing practices as a consequence of stating minimum pay in job postings, legitimizing their use. The results reveal how different actors co-construct equality legislation in Civil law contexts with important implications for designing equality policies that are being implemented in business organizations.

*Marco Peruzzi*

### **Transparency and the GPG in Italy: which way forward?**

The paper is aimed at examining the Italian regulation on gender pay gap disclosure, highlighting its flaws, presenting the amendment proposals currently under discussion, pointing out possible solutions.

In accordance with Art. 46 Delegated Decree 198/2006 (so called Code for Equal Opportunity between men and women), public-owned and private companies with more than 100 employees are required to deliver a report on men and women employment conditions, pay included, every two years and send it to the competent Regional Equality Body as well as to the union representatives in the workplace. The Regional Equality Body is required to analyse and process this data, and send it to the National Equality Body, the Ministry of Labour and the Equal Opportunities Department of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers. If companies do not fulfil this requirement, after a 60-day warning notice, they are sanctioned with a financial administrative fine (100-500 euros). In the most severe cases, a one-year suspension of social-security contributory benefits may be applied.

Despite being introduced in 1991, this reporting requirement has proved to be ineffective to the purpose of detecting an actual GPG

On the one hand, the wage data to be presented are too aggregated: companies need to report the total annual gross wage (any kind of bonuses included) divided by gender, level of classification (as established by the collective agreement applied) and professional category (white collar, blue collar, executive...); this makes it difficult to conduct any assessment on the GPG and its causes, especially if one considers that the pay gap mainly relates to the criteria for distributing performance-related pay elements and individually negotiated bonuses.

On the other hand, the system does not provide for effective instruments to map the companies falling into scope of Art. 46, to monitor the implementation of the requirement, to make the outcome of this process public, transparent and accessible, also to the company employees.

The Italian Parliament is currently discussing a bill, aimed at strengthening and enhancing the provisions of Art. 46. According to this bill, companies' reports will be required to include more detailed pay data, especially concerning the difference in mean and median pay and the proportion of male and female receiving bonus pay, as well as data on the use of smart working. Moreover, the bill provides for the establishment of a system of "equal opportunity certification" with tax credit and incentives for virtuous companies. Finally, it calls for the social partners to adopt transparent and neutral criteria for task assignments as well as job and work performance evaluation.

*Emily Pfefer*

### **Money Talks? Social Pay Comparison Behaviour Patterns by Academics in Two English Universities**

Social comparison of pay (SPC) and its theorised relationship with the gender pay gap (GPG) has received little academic attention. This is surprising considering growing international endorsement of pay transparency as a tool to promote equal pay. Transparency in this sense, however, is beyond the control of employers to shape the message. The persistent, some consider ‘English’ income-talk taboo, which may curtail this transparency, has faced little critical analysis (Fox, 2014). Then-Minister for Women and Equalities Jo Swinson (qtd in Pearlman, 2013) suggested the value in measuring SPC when, in 2013, she acknowledged “I think there's something very British in our culture where we don't talk about money, and I think that is one of the things that holds women back.”

UK academia presents a compelling employment arena in which to explore SPC. Academic pay should be transparent, thanks to moderate trade union density, public sector regulations, and years of institutional-level GPG reporting in the Times Higher Education. Nevertheless, the industry continues to struggle with a GPG. The veil of secrecy over professorial pay faced legal scrutiny when a UK Employment Tribunal awarded a 2011 discrimination settlement to a female Royal Holloway professor, partly stemming from inadequate transparency. Royal Holloway then had among the UK’s worst professorial GPG and no banding. The judgement was expected to promote pay transparency in universities across the UK. In March 2017, an expansion on the Public Sector Equality Duty came into force, requiring English higher education institutions to begin to publish annual GPG reports from 2018.

A connected shortcoming of both developments is that UK employment anti-discrimination protections remain largely individualised (Conley, 2014; Dickens, 2000). The Trade Union Congress has vehemently advocated for Employment Tribunals to provide representative action remedy. Instead, government raised barriers to bringing an individual employment tribunal claim by imposing fees in 2013, which were eventually struck down, and revoked the statutory Equal Pay Questionnaire in 2014. Discussing pay with colleagues, which is protected by the Equality Act 2010, may provide a valuable reference for academics with equal pay concerns.

This paper provides foundational data to lift the veil of secrecy over pay discussion within academia. The research draws on a survey that revisits Burchell and Yagil’s (1997) early attempts to identify demographic and labour market factors associated with the propensity to engage in social wage comparison. A web-based survey was distributed to academic staff in two English universities in late 2016. For the first time, this paper illustrates and explores academics’ hidden pay discussion patterns. More than half of respondents ‘talk pay.’ However, a binomial logistic regression model indicates that professors are 3.6 times more likely to ‘talk pay’ than their junior colleagues.

This may indicate that the lower the perceived risk of violating the wage taboo (due to having successfully become a professor) and higher the potential reward for doing so (due to individualised reward systems at the professorial level), the more likely academics are to ‘talk

pay.’ If academics can leverage social pay comparison to improve their standing, then the pay taboo could have important equalities implications given women’s, and especially ethnic-minority, underrepresentation in the UK professoriate.

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*Danula Gamage*

**Pay transparency and the gender pay gap: evidence from UK universities**

This study investigates the impact of a pay transparency intervention in reducing the gender pay gap in the UK university sector. The initiative, introduced in 2007, enabled public access to average annual earnings desegregated by gender in UK universities. We use a detailed matched employee-employer administrative dataset that follows individuals over time, which allow us to adopt a quasi-experimental approach based on event studies around the intervention. We find that the log-earnings of female academics increased by around 0.62 percentage points compared to their male counterparts after the pay transparency intervention, reducing the gender pay gap by 4.37%. The fall in the pay gap is driven by senior female faculty negotiating higher wages and moving to universities with equal opportunity policies.

*Amber L. Stephenson and David B. Yerger*

### **Exploring Tipping Effects for within Occupation Gender Wage Gaps and Female Representation**

**Objective:** While linear models remain the backbone of research that explores gender inequity and other sociological phenomena, they are limited by their inability to detect curvilinearity or changes in direction and, therefore, may not accurately represent the nature of relationships between variables. This suggests that our understanding of the nature of the gender wage gap – itself - may be inherently flawed. Any subsequent efforts to identify the efficacy of transparency approaches may be consequently hindered. In this study, we advocate for the use of the Andrews (1993) threshold effects technique – common in economics, but seldom employed in other disciplines – to gain a more nuanced understanding of interactions between percent female and the gender wage gap.

**Methods & Analysis:** As an extension of our previous work, and using 22 separate years of publicly available Canadian wage data, we examined the relationship between the percentage of females in 40 unique occupational categories and the female-to-male earnings ratio (880 observations). The dependent variable in this study is the female-to-male earnings ratio defined as median full time female earnings divided by median full time male earnings in an occupational category. The independent variable of interest was the percent of females in the occupational category. We first employ traditional linear regression to examine the relationship. Next, we execute a curvilinear quadratic model, as it is a common method of assessing nonlinearities in data. Last, we run the threshold effects technique and compare the results of the three models.

**Results:** In the standard linear and quadratic models, percent female was not statistically significantly associated with the earnings ratio. However, when we use the threshold model to identify unknown structural breaks, we find evidence of shifts in the association between percent female and the wage ratio. The test divides the data into a lower regime ( $\%FEM < 13.9\%$ ) and a higher regime. In the lower regime there is positive association between percent female and the wage ratio ( $P < .01$ ). In the upper regime the relationship remains positive and significant ( $P < .01$ ), however, the effect size is notably smaller.

**Conclusions:** We find that gender wage gap threshold effects are present in Canadian labor markets. Early gains in percent female within an occupation, up to approximately 14% female, associate with strong gains in the female-to-male wage ratio. Beyond that point however, further gains in percent female associate with smaller improvements in the female-to-male wage ratio. Future work should test for the existence of such threshold effects in other national labor markets. Comparisons then could be done between differences in labor policy and laws across nations that contribute to wage transparency differences which impact the variation in tipping points across nations.

*Rachel Verdin*

### **Gender pay inequality in finance: exploring the lack of change in a changeable sector**

The myriad of different approaches to the gender pay gap have been thematised by Rubery and Grimshaw (2015). The theoretical approaches they identify: Sociological, Institutional, Organisation and Economic, are used to study intransigence towards pay equity in a practical situated context.

A sectoral evaluation of both the ONS longitudinal analysis of the Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings, and the gender pay reporting data from 2017-2018, shows that jobs within the banking and finance sector have traditionally, and remain, some of the most affected by gender inequality in pay (Smith, 2018, BEIS Committee, 2018, Metcalf, 2009). The comparatively higher levels of gender pay inequality within the industry are not new but also represent historical and deeply embedded inequalities. While the sector itself has undergone significant change, the issue has remained relatively static and resistant to efforts to address it (Healy and Ahamed, 2019, EHRC, 2009, Committee, 2010, Butler, 2018, Chinwala, 2016). The sector of employment is widely recognised as a defining feature and key variable in understanding gender pay gaps (Ardanaz-Badia and Rawlings, 2018, Colebrook et al., 2018, Olsen et al., 2018). Equally, the sector itself is a central piece of the UK economy, given the size of the sector itself and the value it represents (Clegg, 2018, Rhodes, 2018). This makes the stark and persistent nature of gender pay inequality within finance of significance to the whole economy.

This paper uses interview data from women and trade unions working within and around the finance sector to analyse the insights that their different narratives offer. Verbatim interview transcripts obtained between January and July 2019 are discussed and interrogated around the four perspectives that categorise the wide literature concerning the gender pay gap. Participants experiences reveal the tensions and frustrations that operate at different levels of organisational strata. Analysis of how flexibility at work and career interruptions are experienced, alongside the changing nature of the industry demonstrates the situated complexity of gender pay inequality. The alternative explanatory variables are explored and their limitations discussed in this way.

The analysis supports the necessity of a multidisciplinary approach to the topic of pay inequity. A combination of several disciplines is required to rigorously explore the problem. The case study illustrates how the sector's own characteristics contribute in struggling to shift the dial on gender pay inequality. It demonstrates the practical limitations to the efficacy of the law, and the impacts of both organisational and wider cultural norms. Exploration of how women work, their understanding and experience of legal provisions, and practical reflections on occupational segregation helps highlight how these significant gaps persist. This leads to an understanding of a changed and changing industry alongside equally shifting and yet seemingly immovable gendered inequalities in pay – an illustration of the shifting goalposts surrounding inequality in pay in action (Rubery and Grimshaw, 2015).

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*Carol Woodhams, Rashpal Dhensa-Kahlon, Sara Ahmed, Carol Atkinson and Mark Williams*

### **Understanding perceived fairness of pay amongst UK medics**

Workforce shortages and increased feminisation of the UK medical profession have lent an urgency to the focus on NHS workforce retention and morale with an emphasis on gender. The challenges facing the NHS posed by an aging population and Brexit serve to elevate this issue to crisis status. From a policy and practice perspective, it is vital that we know as much as is possible about perceived pay fairness in the ranks of NHS-employed medics in the UK. In a context of publicity about pay gaps and pay inequality, it might be predicted that women would perceive their pay to be less fair than men. Indeed, gender pay gaps are not narrowing (ONS, 2019) and are especially wide for professional groups (ONS, 2018) and in medicine (Guardian, 2019). The starting point for this study, borne out of a wider pay gap review undertaken by the University of Surrey (DHSC, 2018), and based on survey (n=6000) and interview (n=30) data with UK based men and women medics employed by the NHS, was to explore the existence of a gender pay gap within this context and to examine the nature of factors, as well as underlying mechanisms, that accounted for this difference.

At first glance, our data revealed little difference in the perception of ‘fair pay’ between men and women with reference to either internal or external comparisons. Both genders agreed that they were paid fairly in relation to internal colleagues, and less fairly in comparison with other professional groups. These findings are supportive of Social comparison (Festinger, 1954) and Equity theories (Adams, 1965), such that explanations of perceived fairness regarding pay emanate from medics’ evaluation of their (perceived) worth in relation to referent others (both internal to the profession and outside it). However, analysis of complementary interview data painted a unique insight into individual and contextual factors posited by men and women as underlying their subjective calculation of ‘fair’ pay. Our findings run contrary to recent research (CITE) which suggest that women are more modest than men in assessing their worth, particularly if they are a) working part-time in a flexible speciality and b) prioritising work-family balance (the gratitude hypothesis’). We find that women medics reference internal (rather than external) factors, such as lack of access to opportunities to maximise their ‘worth’ via promotion, which in turn heightens their perceived pay injustice in relation to their work-family balance as opposed to creating a sense of ‘gratitude’. Additionally, preliminary results reveal the importance of a myriad of factors that uniquely account for women medics’ perceptions of fair pay, including: socio-economic background, the overall de-valuing of wages, additional unpaid hours, the costs of childcare and low wage rates. Our paper is in the process of disaggregating these factors, as well as their underlying mechanisms, in a model of the influences on perceived fairness in pay for women.

**Stream 27**  
**New Tales of Equality, Diversity and Inclusion in**  
**Professional Service Firms**

**Convenors: Nathalie Bitbol-Saba, Naoko Komori and Mayra Ruiz-Castro**

*João Paulo Resende de Lima, Claudio de Souza Miranda and Silvia Pereira de Castro  
Casa Nova*

**Is there no sin down South of the Equator ? Perception of career differences due to professional diversity in auditing in Brazil**

Among the professional careers in accounting is external auditing, which has historically shown itself to be a space of prestige and power. However, that space has traditionally been dominated by men. Research about the entrance of women into auditing has analyzed wage and remuneration gaps between the genders (Ittonen & Peni, 2012; Brighenti, Jacomossi & Silva, 2015); the institutional, moral, and sexual violence suffered by women (Bitbol-Saba & Dambrin, 2019); maternity issues (Dambrin & Lambert, 2008; Kokot, 2014, 2015); issues related to profession ascension (Lupu, 2012; Castro, 2012). More recently, it has also shown that the more women there are in leadership positions in auditing teams, the more the quality of the team's work increases (Cameran, Ditillo & Pettinicchio, 2018). A common trait to most of the research in this area is that they always study Big-4 companies due to their market representativity. The Brazilian market has many auditing firms: in the Securities and Exchange Commission (CVM), there are 341 registered auditing companies allowed to audit publicly traded companies (CVM, 2018). Therefore, many medium and small companies have not been studied, representing an empirical and theoretical gap to be addressed. In addition to the significant number of non-Big-4 companies, Brazil is an interesting case for diversity regarding gender policies because of its social context: the country is placed 5th in ONU femicide rate ranking, which shows a very sexist and patriarchal society. In terms of race, the Brazilian case proves interesting due to Latin American racism and its sophistication that keeps black and indigenous people in a subordinate condition (González, 2020, p. 119), in addition to the low representativeness of black people in socially privileged places - which refutes the widely accepted myth of racial democracy (Silva, Casa Nova & Carter, 2016). We also highlight the Iberian heritage of a rigid hierarchy associated with a process of social classification that privileges men over women and whites over blacks (González, 2020). In this context, Brazilian society's constitution regarding the socio-sexual and racial division of labor (Safiotti, 1976; Hirata, 2004; 2010) – and therefore the women's role – differs from Anglo-Saxon countries. With this in mind, this study contributes by bringing the Brazilian context, which differs historically and socially from the context studied elsewhere (Komori, 2007; Gendron, 2019). In that sense, we analyze the perception of differences that permeate the career for different groups among the professionals of Brazilian auditing firms of differing sizes, exploring the experience beyond that of white men. Our main argument is that smaller firms mimic the diversity practices and policies of large international companies insofar as discourse goes but still fail to reach the same perception in terms of career. To base this argument, we draw upon Institutional Theory (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). For doing so, we analyzed official documents and the websites of firms related to diversity and had professionals from these companies answering an online survey on three aspects: wage gaps, sexual/moral harassment, and maternity/paternity. We obtained 329 answers from professionals with diverse profiles regarding length of service, job position, age, sex, and ethnicity/race in the online survey. The results show that even men perceive the career as harder for women; however, an important finding is that the main difficulties are medium and small auditing companies. By analyzing the respondents' hierarchical positions, 12% of male

respondents are partners, being 20 white men and one black man. Regarding women, only 1,29% are partners, two Asian women; white women are placed higher than black women, considering that all black women are at most three levels below partnership, while 25% of white women are below 1 or 2 hierarchical levels of partnership. On the other hand, websites and social networks data show that auditing firms actively produced content related to diversity, diversity from within (referring to employers and strategies), or diversity for outside (having male partners participating in an event discussing regulation about paternity leave). So, we question if the firms are “walking their talk”; there are also differences in discourse between small and medium versus Big-4 auditing firms. Thus, this research contributes to the literature on three fronts: (i) by expanding the theme to cover medium and small-sized companies; (ii) by bringing to the Brazilian scenario the discussion on the perception of differences in the careers of external auditing professionals; and (iii) by contrasting perceptions about the career and the environment for professionals from diverse groups in terms of sex and race/ethnicity. As a practical implication, we conclude that if there is an interest in attracting and retaining diverse talents, much has to be changed in the auditing careers, even in companies situated to the South of the Equator, so that the sins from elsewhere would not be the same here, sins that were imposed by a conceptualization of races and difference, built based on the colonialism.

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*Sandra Maria Cerquiera da Silva and Silvia Pereira de Castro Casa Nova*

**Stained glass ceiling: gender and race in the accounting field in Brazil**

Brazil is divided into five large regions marked by deep economic and social inequalities. Such a wide differentiation can make people feel as “foreign”, even though they are born and live in the country. Here, meritocracy is regarded as a mechanism to qualify, which ultimately widens the inequalities of gender, race, and, above all, class differences. In the last two decades Brazil has experienced profound social transformations. These are ‘advances’ that work differently, given the diversity of the population. Through the last two decades, our society has experienced profound social changes. According to data from the Brazilian Statistics Bureau (IBGE)’s Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios (PNAD, the National Household Sampling Survey), women had an average 5,2 years of study in 1992 which grew to 7,7 years in 2009, rising 47% (IBGE apud Ipea, 2010). Data from the Ministry of Labor (MTE, 2013) shows that female participation in the formal job market rose, yet women with higher education degrees still receive only 60% of men’s salaries as remuneration. Ipea (2011) data on income show that the per capita family income of a family headed by a white man is 997 Brazilian Reais (R\$), while for a family headed by a black woman is only R\$ 491 - that is, less than half that of a white man’s family, running counter to the oft-heralded Brazilian ‘racial democracy’. In spite of the increase in the number of women in the job market, according to Peggy, Dwyer and Roberts (2004) the gender agenda of the accounting profession facilitates the North-American imperialist project by enabling firms to employ competent female workers at minimal cost; this would be related to the domesticity ideology, that is, the idea that domestic life is the ideal life for women. Further studies such as that of Bebbington, Thomson and Wall (1997) conclude that accounting students tend to express their gender through masculine or androgynous identities rather than feminine, in accordance to Butler’s (2012) theory of performativity which states that gender roles are performed as a result of social influences. This ‘masculinization’ of accounting students results from the upkeep of stereotypes, such as the idea that accounting is eminently male. Based on this, Bebbington et al (1997) conclude that “women may be winning the ‘numbers game’ but at a cost—that cost being the elimination of feminine gender characteristics”. In other words, female participation in the job market has risen, but there are still many barriers - a significant part of which are subjective - established through closure processes and these barriers impose themselves on the path of women who desire to succeed in positions of prestige, regardless of those women’s qualification level. The phenomenon known as ‘glass ceiling’ represents the various symbolic barriers, imposed subtly - thus transparent, like glass - but strongly enough that they prevent women from rising to the higher positions of the organization hierarchy. Observed in market terms, the phenomenon can be found to happen in many different countries around the world. This scenario has led us to believe that in this process of social transformation, in which new roles are required, revising perspectives on gender identity is necessary, as well as reviewing the production and maintenance of the gender discourses that support these new identities. In Brazil, as per previously related data, in spite of the advances in terms of qualification, women still suffer with unequal work conditions and restrictions to professional access. There seems to exist a group of real and symbolic barriers that keep women from climbing the career ladder. Public accounting firms set implicit and explicit obstacles in women’s paths, in conjunction with

strategies to neutralize the perceived burdensome effects on female-specific issues. In accounting, women are exposed to eminently machist discourses and practices; the former structure the latter and reify the image of women as being unable to assume positions of higher responsibility. In the face of this and of a scenario in which women are denied access to leadership positions, it is believed that black women are particularly denied by the ‘accounting discourse’; discriminated throughout their lives not only for being women, but also for being black and often poor, they are, through a process of psychological violence, denied their identity as professionals enabled to exercise their functions, especially in positions of power and prestige. Thus, the goal of this study is to investigate whether the phenomenon known as glass ceiling is present in day-to-day interactions, in the form of sexualization and racialization processes faced by black women along their academic and professional trajectories in Brazilian accounting. The research follows a qualitative approach from a poststructuralist stance, using autoethnographic and oral history techniques; data was collected through semistructured interviews, realized in depth with PhD/Master faculty, who were/are also accounting professionals, and analyzed from the interpretivist perspective. The results found show that the glass ceiling phenomenon is also present in accounting, resulting in barriers specific to the field. As findings, we have that, additionally, there are many barriers, to a good extent subjective, established and imposed in the professional path of women, as identified with the interviewees for this research, who are women with experience in the labor market, finance and in academia. This trajectory holds the anxiety that, after the interviews are conducted, many of the concepts and obstacles discussed in the theoretical framework may emerge and function as demonstration of many of the ideological fantasies constructed to establish and sustain the “glass ceiling” and the myth of racial democracy, particularly with regard to black women who, according to the research corpus, are always in a subordinate condition and position of disadvantage when specific strata of the national population are analyzed. By denying Brazilian racism and machismo, and besides this, by demanding, supported by a meritocratic discourse, for results, without recognizing a space of visible horizontal and vertical segregations, the expectations of organizations and institutions of the world-system, as a whole, conflict on many points and confront women working in accounting, such as female auditors, with a dilemma: How to be efficient and have a brilliant career when faced with such unequal conditions of access and participation? To reach this result some limitations needed to be overcome, the main one being the lack of incentive to the development of the study given the innovative character of the proposal - especially in a field and in a locus in which interdisciplinary studies are still the exception. Studies on both gender and race have not, until now, been objects of study in the Brazilian accounting academia. However, we hope this research may pave a way for future works in this theme. With this, accounting will be acting directly towards the promotion of equality, breaking through established closures and enabling social change, and then turning the “glass ceiling”, invisible and hard to overcome, into a “stained glass ceiling”, colorful and representative of our diversity, there for all of us to admire.

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*Naoko Komori*

**Rethinking Inclusion and Diversity: The potential impact of Covid on the work of audit professionals in Japan**

The past decades have witnessed the increasing significance of the notion of inclusion and diversity associate with gender. This is also the case in Japan where a series of reforms have been introduced to enhance the equality and diversity at the workplace. However, these concepts originated from the Anglo-Saxon countries, and questions remain as to how these concepts are emerged, used and translated in different socio-cultural contexts (Komori, 2015; Komori and Kamla, 2018). In particular, the experience of Covid changed the way people work, which potentially reconfigured the significance of diversity and inclusion in the professional service firms in Japan. By examining their experiences within audit firms and their perception towards work before the Covid, this study evaluates the potential influence of the Covid on the significance of diversity and inclusion in the professional service firms in Japan. One of the analyses is the role of time demands and long hours working in accounting professional firms. Drawing on Castro (2012), this study examines the ways in which long hours labour is embedded in working practices in audit firms in Japan and is helping to construct the culture of accounting professionals. As discussed in previous studies (see Spence et al., 2017), this study identifies that long time work demands are implicitly embedded in the evaluation of accounting professionals' commitment to work, which also help guarantee their professional credibility and build up trust with their clients. However, in contrast to the existing studies, their long hour practice is not always associated with masculinity, but more related to the unique ways in which audit work and its meaning for audit professionals has been constructed in Japan. The study highlights that the process of knowledge construction of gendered experiences in a different socio-cultural context is intricately linked with the researcher's own life experiences to build the sustainable interpersonal relationship with audit professionals in its own socio-cultural context.

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*Isabel Boni-Le Goff*

**Working With, On or Despite Marginalized Others. Ethnography and the Politics of Ignorance in Professional Service Firms**

Ethnographic fieldwork always involves finding “allies” - ie people ready to help the researcher enter the field and to provide her/him with their knowledge as insiders. This is particularly true while researching ‘elite’ organizations and work environments like professional service firms, especially when the research deals with how different types of inequalities and relations of power and the way they are (re)produced and intersect in such organizations. Doing feminist fieldwork behind the walls of these very protected offices often requires the encounter between the researcher and specific insiders whose organizational status and socially situated standpoint shape their work experience as that of ‘marginalized others’ (Collins 1986) (even if they may seem privileged because of their education and economic revenues).

Drawing on a long-term ethnography in two types of professional service firms (consulting and law firms) in France, this paper deals with different individual and collective encounters between the author – a white middle aged feminist woman scholar - and ‘outsiders-within’ (Collins 1986, Schilt 2006) involved in diversity and equality activism. It questions how these encounters shed some heuristic light on the politics of knowledge and ignorance on inequalities in PSFs.

Firstly it offers a typology of ethnographic interactions involving marginalized others in PSF, and analyses them along different moral, political and organizational lines. The researcher’s emotional and moral career during fieldwork and the multiple tensions experienced throughout interactions unveil the complexity of working “with”, “on” and sometimes “despite” different types of “allies” be they stigmatized and discriminated against. Secondly the paper details how interactions with marginalized others offer a unique perspective on the hegemonic way inequality regimes are thought and defined in PSF and on the difficulty to have alternative framings of equality and diversity issues expressed.

While marginalized others/outsiders-within have a personal experience of various forms of inequality and discrimination - including exploitation, oppression, exclusion and different kinds of violence – fieldwork points to different social processes that tend 1/ to draw boundaries between gender inequalities and other relations of power such as race/ethnicity and class, 2/ to euphemize and silence the most violent aspects of gender inequalities, especially sexual violence and harassment.

While shedding light on some of the social processes involved when researchers and practitioners aim at cooperating, this paper helps understand some of the obstacles preventing from thinking gender inequalities and other relations of power such as race/ethnicity and class together.

*Liege Moraes do Carmo*

**An analysis of inequalities regimes through the lens of accounting: an autoethnographic approach in Brazil**

The literature on inequality regimes in the socialization of the accounting profession has been done exploring different approaches, such as the historical nuances of the accounting profession (Carmona & Zan, 2010; Evans & Rumens, 2020), sexualization of the accounting career (Haynes, 2013; Bitbol-Saba & Dambrim, 2019), the feminine career in accounting (Komori, 2008; Tiron-Tudor & Faragalla, 2018; Vidwans & Cohen, 2019), gender inequalities and human resource practices in accounting firms (Cooke & Xiao, 2013; Atena & Tiron-Tudor, 2019), sexual orientation and the accounting profession (Stenger & Roulet, 2018), struggles in women's career development in accounting firms (Dambrin, & Lambert, 2008; Kokot, 2015; Adapa & Sheridan, 2019), and intersectional studies on accounting careers (Ruiz Castro & Holvino, 2016). In this paper, we aim to contribute to Acker's (2006) study of inequalities regimes in the specific context of a Big Four auditing firm in Brazil, adding to the discussions mentioned above reflections about the field's daily routine and how inequalities regimes can be felt. In theory, we argue that what should guide co-workers' and clients' interactions is the audit firm's mission and values. However, in practice, as the audit teams usually are placed in the client's headquarters, the audit room becomes a raw unit of analysis regarding Acker's (2006) inequalities regimes because the team culture tends to resonate around the audit manager or the senior in charge. Furthermore, we can observe how a country's particularities also highlight its social disruptions and tensions in the work environment. For instance, analyzing the Brazilian scenario is relevant due to its formation by such a variety of different peoples, such as Native peoples who were guardians of the land before the colonial invasion; African people (around 10 million people), who were brought here as an enslaved people; the Italian and German immigrants who came seeking better lives and fleeing wars; also the Japanese immigration, Jewish immigration, and other cultures; the latest being the Middle East people seeking refugee here in Brazil due to war in their homelands. This vibrant mingling corpus of culture in Brazil also triggers challenges in experiencing and respecting diversity in society as a whole and in the workplace that can be analyzed as a microbiome. Thus, analyzing the micro auditing field is relevant due to its given stereotype of being a profession dominated by heterosexual, white men (Haynes, 2017; Leão, Gomes & Carnegie, 2019). From the first author's lived experiences as an early career professional in auditing, we explore what triggers an individual to engage in the ally behavior at work and her motivations and background to understand others' struggles. Also, we explore the process of being recognized (inner/emotional and outer/socially) as an "ally at work" and its consequences (good or bad). In this sense, the research question we intend to answer is: in the audit field, for a new employee, what are the triggers/reasons that set off ally behavior at work? And why? Regarding the methodological procedure, our contribution also regards the usage of lived experiences in documenting professionals' development in early auditing career professionals, expanding the use of autoethnography in accounting research, as proposed by Doloriert and Sambrook (2011) and Haynes (2013). The research design is built through short stories' confection, organized in a hard-felt way, to demonstrate social struggles, accumulating inside the auditing cell until it peaked. The episode led the researcher to be invited to function as an ally among colleagues and clients. This research approach can

be seen as challenging to be understood by mainstream scholars in traditional business schools (Doloriort & Sambrook, 2011). In that sense, the first and second authors understood that the research needed to be developed elsewhere, in a place where our ideas, beliefs, and research design were welcomed. For that, we joined forces, and the first author went abroad to work with a multicultural team at the University of Glasgow. There, we would have periodic meetings to discuss the development of the research. In this group, we found respect for different backgrounds (fields of expertise, cultural origins, for example), also found space to be creative and innovative in terms of doing research, and also found ourselves welcomed by the team in Glasgow (we highlight that the period abroad merged with the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic and the team was not only fundamental in terms of research, but also in supporting the stay of the first author in the UK during these daunting times). In terms of team composition, one of the researchers who have a sociology background contributed in guiding and teaching how to add nuance to our short stories and adding critical reflections; the other had just had her viva in the subject of auditing with an autoethnographic approach as well, so also contributing in improving discussion related to references and describing procedures and also how the stories we were trying to tell in a language that was not my mother tongue was being perceived and what we could negotiate around that; and, for last, that was the professor responsible for the support for it to happen, that also was making an effort to understand all the Brazilian context and all the nuances and was crucial to the confection of the research. As a methodological research design decision, we opt to let some key points (keywords, for example) related to the short stories in Brazilian Portuguese to preserve our mother tongue and our characteristics and offer the reader a footnote explaining the term in English. These decisions are related to preserving our origins, the emotional contents of words and context, and to prevent our identities from being lost in translation and to stay true to the context, pitfalls for non-anglophone speakers that have been reported by Komori (2015) and Gendron (2019). All in all, our major concern related to auditing and how its professionals are affected by the field is that it cannot be forgotten that the basic feedstock (as we can call humans a “feedstock”) of the auditing firms is human, and in that perspective, going deep in studying social and cultural aspects of the accounting profession is more than necessary, it is fundamental. Moreover, we reflect on the implications (good and bad) of becoming an ally in the specific auditing workplace context by representing the struggles faced in becoming an ally with short stories from the field. We understand them not as departure points but arrival ones.

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*Catherine Berrington*

### **Feminisation of the HR Occupation and the Gendered Nature of Legitimacy**

This research explores perceptions of legitimacy and professionalisation within HR and the extent to which these may be underpinned by gendered assumptions. Acker's (1990) theory of gendered organisations is used as a framework to explore how ideals of success and value in the workplace inherently hold ideologies of hegemonic masculinity. With notions of legitimacy and professionalisation inextricably interlinked, this research also utilises Witz's (1992) work on professions and patriarchy to further understand the ways female-dominated occupations comparatively struggle with professionalisation. In understanding legitimacy and professionalisation as gendered concepts, consideration can be given as to how this may impact the HR occupation. The HR occupation is of particular value to study due to the female concentration and the extensive debates in academic and practitioner literature with regards to the value, credibility, and professionalisation. (Caldwell, 2003; Ulrich and Dulebohn, 2015).

This research seeks to understand:

How is the legitimacy of the HR occupation conceptualised?

- What, if any, gendered assumptions are present in this conceptualisation?

Do potentially gendered assumptions of HR as an occupation affect the enactment of the HR role, if so how?

This research utilises empirical semi-structured interviews with UK HR practitioners. Interviews are ongoing, with 55 HR practitioners interviewed to date. Participants range from entry-level to HR director; working within the public, private and voluntary sector and were sourced primarily through snowball sampling. The research also utilises supplementary historical data from the professional body of HR, predominantly publications of Welfare Work and subsequent titles dating back to 1920.

The findings of this research support the position that the HR occupation remains in search of commercial and professional legitimacy and the historical feminisation of HR is perceived to have hindered this pursuit. Over half of the participants made direct reference to the idea that HR's legitimacy is questioned, at least in part, due to the female concentration in the occupation. A number of participants perceived ideals of commerciality and strategy to be associated more so with their male colleagues and viewed this as a hindrance to HR's credibility.

Linked to this, vertical segregation - the prevalence of males in senior HR roles - was referred to by over half of the participants. This issue caused annoyance and/or confusion among many female participants due to the female concentration in HR until senior levels. Participants referred to male senior HR practitioners having transitioned from other functions. For many participants, this indicated that both women and the HR function are perceived as illegitimate at senior levels of the organisation.



These findings contribute to a relatively small stream of academic literature exploring gender in HR and how this may play into longstanding issues around legitimacy and professionalisation. Much of this extant research adopts a quantitative approach and focuses on identifying the factors that influence women's participation in senior HR roles. This study offers a different perspective by providing an insight into the microlevel perceptions of gender in HR and how these reflect in the day to day work of practitioners. In studying a female concentrated occupation, based within inherently masculine organisations, this research helps further understanding of the gendered tensions HR practitioners experience with regards to the perceived credibility of the function.

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*Bilal and Bushra Komal*

**Gender Diversity of Audit Partners and Financial Reporting Quality: New Insights from China**

Audit partners gender diversity has gained immense attention in recent years from the regulators and academia due to its importance, scant empirical research has examined whether audit partner gender diversity affects financial reporting quality. This study fills this void in the auditing and gender diversity literature. The current study explores the impact of gender diversity of audit partners on earnings management. We use data from China, which requires that two audit partners sign the audit report for each engagement. We focus on the gender composition of these two partners and examine whether the teams consisting of gender-diverse signing partners provide higher quality audit services than the teams consisting of all female or male partners. We focus on the partner gender diversity of the engagement team rather than the audit firm because regulators and prior research indicates argue that individual engagement is a more relevant unit than the audit firm to analyze financial reporting quality. Moreover, as detailed subsequently, the co-existence of all-male, gender-diverse, and all-female partner teams allows us to differentiate the diversity effect from the female effect, enabling us to make a unique contribution to the broader gender diversity literature. We have measured the financial reporting quality through measured through the standard deviation of the residuals of the performance-adjusted model during the 5-year period prior to the year  $t$ .

Using sample of Chinese companies from 2009-2018, we find new evidence suggesting that the female proportion of audit partners tend to mitigate earnings management than male audit partners. Surprisingly, the results are more pronounced in case of non-state-owned enterprises (non-SOEs) as compare to state-owned enterprises (SOEs). Overall, our findings remain robust after controlling for potential endogeneity problems and using alternative proxies of earnings management. Our findings provide implications for regulators and audit committee for necessary policy reforms regarding appointment and selection of audit partners, and thus suggest that companies appoint female audit partners to enhance the final reporting quality. Therefore, to improve the financial reporting quality, and thus enhance investors' confidence, it is more appropriate for audit committees to appoint the female audit partners for better financial reporting. Our findings have important policy implications for the regulators (e.g., China Institute of Certified Public Accountants, China Securities Regulatory Commission and State-Owned Assets Supervision and Administration Commission) in China and other developing countries.

*Douglas Tadue de Oliveira Ribeiro and Silvia Pereira de Castro Casa Nova*

**Diversity and inclusion in Brazilian audit firms? Changing to remain the same**

Permita que eu fale, não as minhas cicatrizes  
Se isso é sobre vivência, me resumir à sobrevivência  
É roubar um pouco de bom que vivi  
Por fim, permita que eu fale, não as minhas cicatrizes  
Achar que essas mazelas me definem é o pior dos crimes  
É dar o troféu pro nosso algoz e fazer nóiz sumir

Allow me to speak, not my scars  
If this is about living, to reduce me to survival  
Is to steal some of the good I've lived  
Finally, let me speak, not my scars  
To think that these scars define me is the worst crime  
It's giving the trophy to our tormentor and making us disappear  
[AmarElo, by Emicida, in free translation]

Brazil is one of the most unequal countries in terms of income distribution and one of the ten largest economies in the world. Brazilian society is strongly patriarchal and conservative. The white Brazilians (European and Middle Eastern descendants) are wealthier and better educated than the Afro-Brazilians (mainly descended from Amerindians or African people enslaved), being the later majority of the population. This structural racism maintains social apartheid where a white male heteronormative elite dominates. The socialization process that marginalises and excludes non-elite groups in Brazilian society also plays a role inside the organizations due to institutional practices which are historically and socially constructed. As a result, the Brazilian accounting profession indicates the predominance of men, members of the white male heteronormative elite, gender pay gap strongly remains and men more frequently achieve and stay longer in highest positions and ranks of the accounting profession, conforming gender and ethnic inequality. This research aims to shed light on the (lack of) diversity and inclusion in Brazilian audit firms using Bourdieu's (1977, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2009) social theory, building sound theoretical framework to understand how institutional environment may reinforce the power dominance of an elite group through the practice of symbolic violence over marginalised groups. As Bourdieu's framework only extend the analysis to the agency and structures, we strongly believe that the intersectional

approach<sup>3</sup>, is required to better conceptualize how these power structures reflect and affect people differently, depending on the subjectivity of each person. The research covers the analysis of diversity and inclusion in three different levels - individuals, group and organizational - in the same way Almeida (2019) approaches structural racism. Along with this analysis, we combine this approach by considering the several intersectional dimensions (Gonzalez, 1984), alongside with the concept of “amefricanidade” (Gonzalez, 1988) (amefricanity). On the subject’s side, we analyse the psychological elements of racism (Fanon, 2008) and by combining these concepts, we propose a new theoretical construct provisionally termed as “intersectional habitus”. Here, habitus is understood as a system of dispositions which are “subjective but not individual system of internalized structures, schemes of perceptions, conception, and action common to all members of the same group or class” (Bourdieu, 1977: 86). Gonzalez (1984) proposes an interpretation of a dual phenomena - racism and sexism - which particularly produces a violent effect in black women due to its combination. She discusses the presence of black in the Brazilian society where the logic of domination prevails for a number of reasons such as the lack of recognition of the presence of racism or its concept of being natural to the Brazilian society. Our aim is to better understand if and how the practices of the Brazilian audit firms marginalize the minorities and create barriers to inclusion and diversity in the workplace. By doing 36 non-structured interviews with auditors members of different groups (male, female, Afro-Brazilians, foreigners and LGTB+ people, according to Figure 1), we analyse their perceptions and consciousness of the advances and challenges in the audit profession, from the affirmative actions in the recruitment stage, covering the performance evaluations, promotions, and becoming a partner and, unfortunately, to register the existence of “kick out” effect, particularly highlighting how vulnerable the non-hegemonic groups became due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

## Participants

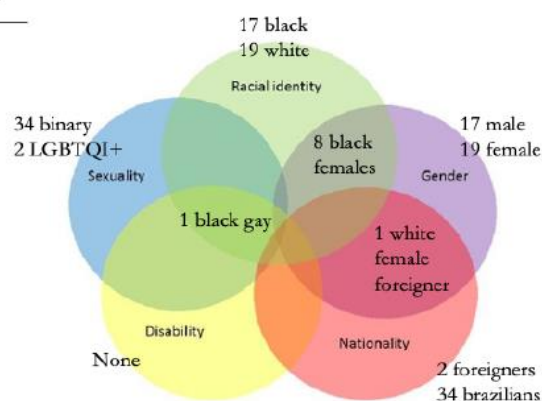


Figure 1: Participants and their intersections

We are using intersectional theory to understand, analyse and criticise how the multiple sources of oppression subtly operate and affect the groups in different manners, and to map

<sup>3</sup> Gonzalez (1984) was the first Brazilian theorist to analyse class, race, gender etc in a relational manner, which combines and juxtaposes the identity in terms of social markers as race/ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, social class, place of origin, age and disability.

how they build strategies to resist and, when possible, to open and pave the way for others. By doing so, we are shedding light on how counter-hegemonic strategies are built and put in place to overcome them by the current performance evaluation and promotion system which is not adapted to deal with non-hegemonic groups challenges, reduction of representativity power by internally splitting the minorities into different groups to differentiate themselves and reduce their action power even though their challenges and claims are similar. On the other hand, the marginalised groups organise themselves using strategies of resistance through regular meetings of racial groups to discuss their challenges and support each other by giving technical training and coaching sessions between the members of the group, as an example. These interactions require the understanding of an intersectional habitus, a system of dispositions used by different groups to resist and develop strategies to cope with the challenges faced in the organisation. First, the research aims to answer the question: how do the practices of the Brazilian audit firms marginalize the minorities and create barriers to inclusion and diversity in the workplace? Then, we expect from the analysis of our field data to be able to answer the following related question: how counter-hegemonic strategies are built and put in place to overcome those barriers? The answer of the latter helps us investigate the effect of the different strategies of resistance, so that we intend to allow them to speak not only about their scars, not reducing their lived experiences to them. Our preliminary findings show that initially the minorities acted individually and guaranteed their maintenance in that environment by accumulating symbolic capitals, being the technical skills one of the most important, similar to the findings of [Komori \(2008\)](#) which explains that women could achieve equal status with men in the workplace due to the qualification offered by the accounting profession. Our findings also show that white women face similar challenges to previous research in those countries in terms of social pressure for the breadwinner role in the family and motivation for their career development based on the seek of independence. However, the challenges faced by black women are different and even harder. White women have access to recruitment processes where black women are relatively scarce. For example, white women have groups of discussions (called Women of the Future) but the group does not include any black women (they did not even know the existence of this group) despite they were in the same category (experienced auditors) as white women. This example emphasizes the need to use the interseccional theory as the challenges between minorities are different as so their strategies of resistance. The perspective we have adopted can be used in different contexts. In the Anglo-Saxon context, gender discussions are the focus of the research, which is based on the binary concept of heteronormativity. Therefore, an intersectional perspective can be applied in different contexts, considering different aspects such as race, sexual orientation, class among others. This has become more relevant recently when, as a result of the changes in the organizational environment and diversity actions combined with the generational change, the minorities are organizing themselves in groups and speaking up their opinions and challenges.

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**Stream 28**  
**“Extending the Boundaries”: Thinking about Diversity,  
Difference and Otherness in Entrepreneurship Research  
and Practice**

**Conveners: Andrea Jimenez Cisneros, Banu Özkazanç-Pan, Caroline Essers, Gemma Lord, Huriye Yeröz, Mine Karataş-Özkan and Seray Ergene**

*Natalia Vershinina and Miruna Radu-Lefebvre*

### **Deconstructing Women's (In)Visibility Discourse In Family Business Research**

Over the last decades, family entrepreneurship, family business and management research had developed exponentially, as a result of the increased interest for understanding the interdependence and interaction between the family, individuals and business systems in family firms - a dominant form of business organisation in developed and underdeveloped countries. Because of the family-business overlap characteristic to these organisations, women members of the business family have been systematically involved in launching, developing and maintaining these companies. Yet, studies have remained long silent about the exact nature of their influence and their roles in the private as in the professional spheres. To date, the majority of the scholarly works in the field of family business have been developed through positivist lens, treating gender as a binary variable, offering comparative accounts of men's and women's experiences in the family and the business spheres. Extant research has acknowledged that because these organizations produce and reproduce masculinist ideologies across multiple generations of family transitions, women's roles are naturally subject to gender ascriptions. Furthermore, women's professional responsibilities are being considered as secondary in relation to their obligations towards the family. However, the well-known patriarchal discourse of downplaying the women's work and influence in the business sphere went along with a schizophrenic reality, that of women's secondary roles, continuous input and support contributing to the success of family firms. The direct consequence of this empirical phenomenon has been that academic research in the fields of family entrepreneurship, family business and management had difficulties in depicting, encountering and recognising diversity and otherness within the life of family firms. As such, extant research portrays women from business families as "invisible", due to their unacknowledged power and influence. We believe the time has come for family business and family entrepreneurship research to engage in a more reflexive approach to understanding the interplay of gender and "(in)visibility" in family firms.

With this article we aim to contribute to the burgeoning stream of research on women in family firms by deconstructing women's (in)visibility discourse in family business and management research. We present a much-needed systematic review of extant literature (SLR) focusing on the involvement of women in family firms, by exposing the researchers' narratives that shape our current understanding of women's role in this context. Our aim is to highlight both the direct and indirect roles for which women are acknowledged and to deconstruct the academic discourse of their (in)visibility by identifying and analysing the forms of visibility and invisibility that scholars use as epistemic categories in their accounts of women in family firms. By conducting a SLR, we can examine, from the meta-theoretical perspective, what does it mean to study women's involvement in family business and family entrepreneurship fields. Specifically, this systematic literature review enables us to reveal how, why and with what consequences the academic discourse on women's involvement in family firms is shaped by particular epistemologies, methodologies and gender theorizing. Our argument is that exposing the underlying foundations of research on women in family firms is necessary if we aim at challenging the reproduction of asymmetric gender relations



**Stream 28**  
**Thursday, Session 3 – 09:00-10:30**  
**Recognising difference & otherness in theory and practice**

by enacting alternative forms of critical research. Drawing on recent contributions defending a social constructionist perspective on gender in family firms and building on emergent process and practice approaches in family entrepreneurship, family business and management, this article offers a research agenda for studying women in family firms, moving beyond the ‘gender as variable’ approach and adopting a ‘doing gender” lens.

*Jasmine Jaim*

### **To be or not to be a Woman Entrepreneur? That is the Question in Bangladesh**

This research unveils a distinct cohort of entrepreneurs in the entrepreneurship scholarship from the context of a highly patriarchal and corrupted developing nation. It is widely recognised that entrepreneurship is a male dominated field whilst women are labelled as 'others'. This research critically extends the view of men-owned and women-owned businesses from the perspective of Bangladesh, which is a highly patriarchal developing nation, and, one of the most corrupted countries of the world. The study discloses that, in this country, many small firms are legally owned by women but operated by men as their own without practically any interference of the legal owners. This special arrangement has been made considering a government initiative for women's empowerment. After witnessing significant changes in the life of poor-class, uneducated women in the rural areas with the micro-credit programme, the Bangladesh Government has introduced the special debt financing package for the middle-class, educated women in the small scale businesses in the urban regions. This scheme is designed to offer bank loans for the growth stage of businesses of women with relatively relaxed terms and conditions, for instance, without collateral and with the lower interest rate. The study discloses that some men have transferred their ventures in the name of their wives (without letting the women to get involved in the businesses) in order to gain advantages of accessing special loans.

The research offers valuable insights by identifying, analysing and disclosing the unique cohort of entrepreneurs. The specific entrepreneurial body is confusing, whilst the women are entrepreneurs in papers, and, men are entrepreneurs in disguise. Therefore, these women cannot be placed within the framework of traditional 'others' category for women entrepreneurs, and, simultaneously, men, who are practically operating the ventures, do not fit with the heroic, masculine archetypes of entrepreneurship. The study also yields novel insights on how the corrupted background provides the platform for men to subjugate and exploit women in gaining unauthorised funds while placing them liable for the risk of the loans. The study, thus, extends the prevailing knowledge with the distinct entrepreneurial ventures that discloses men's exploitation with women's ownership of small businesses. The findings are particularly important for policy practitioners in developing regions where entrepreneurship is regarded as an important means in bringing positive changes in the socio-economic life of women. As only women business-owners are eligible to access to the special debt finance facility, it is important to identify whether the loans are provided to the original women business-owners to employ the funds in an effective manner for their empowerment. The research potentially contributes to the prevailing knowledge by revealing how men are engaged in transforming the entrepreneurial 'selves' to exercise gendered practices in a corrupted way when the highly patriarchal developing nation is attempting to bring positive changes in the women's entrepreneurship context.

*Annika Saarikoski*

**Recognizing the difference: phenomenological orientation in entrepreneurship research**

In this paper, I will discuss what it means to adopt an alternative way of arriving to the question of entrepreneurship as an object of critical inquiry through an experience-philosophical conceptual framework. I intend to gather the key insights and results from my monograph doctoral study that was empirically based on open interviews with small business practitioners. The most challenging task in the process was centered on learning to apply the phenomenological orientation as a bottom-up research strategy, and as a non-naturalistic attitude in qualitative research. I would argue that it was research-wise worthwhile to insist upon the lifeworld-grounded method of inquiry, while problematizing the mainstream route and the deterministic tendencies that dominate the field. I found the prevalent concept of entrepreneurship as one-sided and infiltrated by taken-for-granted assumptions, and as ultimately incompatible with what I was trying to achieve. Namely, with the goal of gaining a radically reflective critical understanding on the personalistic meanings, motives, values and goals involved in the social practices of organizing that are identified as ‘entrepreneurial’. The inquiry was overall concerned with recognizing what is potentially intersubjectively accessible and generalizable in entrepreneurship as an experience, yet often difficult to articulate consistently due to the subjectively appropriated, dynamically situated, and emotionally complex contradictions and tensions that characterize the lived-experiential and the socio-cultural processes of identification.

Entrepreneurship is commonly explicated in functional terms as a profit-seeking economic activity, but it also associates to a wider repertoire of meanings, which tends to manifest in conceptual conflation and confusion - especially in popular discourse – between the rationalised-instrumental and the romanticised-sentimental attributes and appraisals of value. Hence one of the core tasks of the empirical analysis was about distinguishing the non-economic sense-constitutes of experience, and how they possibly overlap and differ from the realm of economic necessities, particularly when conceived in relation to concrete everyday interactions. I set out to clarify the motivational features, since ‘entrepreneurial’ activities firstly depend upon the persons who are somehow motivated to work chiefly at their own risk and responsibility, in other words, who are not only able but willing to make a living under the conditions that are usually co-determined by socioeconomic uncertainty.

Phenomenology is an epistemic stance that requires attentiveness to the structuring of experience as it is lived. It provides a set of conceptual tools to think critically from an embodied researcher position. Embodiment is then also seen as the locus of empathic apperception as our primary method of understanding how we originally come to comprehend the intentionality of other minds and bodies, which can likewise be seen as a question of self-recognition, and of otherness as something that is already embodied within. Phenomenological orientation can thus enable us to recognize similarity and difference in a more elementary level, for instance, to recognize what we share with the research participants, in a way that still preserves the respective diversity of experiencing the world.

*Kati Dlaske and Katharina Schilling*

**Enterprising female refugees: Gender and other differences in entrepreneurship training**

In the past ten years following the economic crises, the EU and its member states have increasingly invested in "reigniting the entrepreneurial spirit", visioned as a golden way to future prosperity (European Commission 2013; BMAS 2010). In this vision, entrepreneurship is seen as a social and economic opportunity especially for socially and economically disadvantaged groups, such as the unemployed and migrants. This line of thinking echoes a view of entrepreneurship as a neutral and accessible subject position and type of activity imbued with emancipatory potential (cf. e.g. Rindova, et al., 2009).

In this spirit, in the aftermath of the 'refugee crises', the German Federal Ministry initiated a model project aimed at 'empowering' female refugees to become self-employed. A business incubator with a feminist orientation was commissioned to design and run the project, which took place over the course of three years (2017–2019). The project was modelled on a previous, highly successful entrepreneurship training offered for migrant women. In our study, we argue that the success of the first project was owing to the fact that the participants were able to approximate the prototypical (Western, male, middle-class) figure of the entrepreneur (cf., e.g. Essers & Benschop 2007; Marlow 2015), and to translate 'ethnic difference' into added value. In the subsequent project for refugee women, everything turned out differently. In this paper, we investigate what happened when the project met - and failed to meet - with the actual, (super)diverse participants.

Merging neoliberal ideas and ideals with feminist spirit and aspirations, the project represents a manifestation of postfeminist governmentality par excellence: a rationality of government (Foucault 2007) that interpellates women as subjects of choice, empowerment and entrepreneurial self-actualization in the name of 'gender equality' (Lewis et al. 2017; Gill & Scharff 2011). Pushing further the governmentality perspective, the present study aligns itself with the 'ethnographic turn' in governmentality studies to attend to the complexities, controversies and actual practices in the 'governmental assemblage' that the project represents (cf. Brady 2016). Drawing on interviews, ethnographic notes and media materials relating to the project, among others, we trace and analyse the forms of knowledge and rationalities underlying and guiding the emergence and organization of the project; the technologies and techniques of guidance deriving from these; and the envisioned and actual effects and consequences that emerged when the governmental attempts "hit the ground" (Li 2016: 81). In conclusion, we discuss the implications and insights that raise from the investigation for grasping 'diversifying differences' in entrepreneurship theory and practice.

*Maggie Miller, Katrina Pritchard and Helen Williams*

**Adventure bound: Stories of female entrepreneurs**

Our research uses the masculine framing of adventure and nature as a backdrop to explore women's stories of their entrepreneurial journeys in crafting adventure-based businesses. Specifically, this critical narrative inquiry draws attention to the success(es) of female adventure entrepreneurs, paying close attention to how femininities, masculinities, and 'otherness' are storied in relation to labour aesthetics.

Many parallels can be drawn between entrepreneurship and adventure. An entrepreneurial journey often entails exploration, uncertainty, and risk-taking in pursuit of success and reward (Yamakawa, 2016). Likewise, in an adventure context, an individual seeks to pioneer or independently experience the most extreme and unpredictable environments (Cater 2013) to confront realities that may not be otherwise encountered (Palmer, 2004). Generating imaginative and material ideas concerning achievement and risk, both entrepreneurship (cf. Smith, 2010) and adventure (cf. Palmer, 2004) become sites for human experience and meaning making.

The codification of adventure landscapes as traditionally 'male space', underpinned by colonial hegemony, has changed little since the era of exploration and nation-building (Beedie, 2003). Thus adventure recreation remains, in effect, a model of masculinity that continues to silence differences. Recent research has recognised that achieving legitimacy in adventure-based recreation requires 'adventurers of difference' to take extraordinary risks in order to generate social capital and recast adventure identities (Fullagar & Pavlidis, 2018; Miller & Hall, 2019).

Similarly, in entrepreneurship studies, achievement is often underpinned by heteronormative constructions of success (Rumens & Ozturk, 2019) that intersect various gender discourses (Ahl & Marlow, 2018; Pritchard, et al., 2019). Classic standards of entrepreneurial success are embedded in narratives of masculinity, and emphasise the 'mythic, rugged individualist' (Smith, 2014, p. 478), thereby reinforcing assumptions that women will never meet traditional masculinised ideals (Smith, 2010). From these presumptions, critical entrepreneurship scholars have called for more diverse and heterogenous understandings of entrepreneurship (Karatas-Ozkan, 2018). Neoliberal postfeminist studies have begun to empirically reposition the entrepreneurial self and achievements (Pritchard et al., 2019), stressing feminine difference as complementary to masculine values (Lewis, 2014).

Indeed these works have advanced critical debates as well as progressed understandings of entrepreneurial aesthetics (Swan, 2017); however, the question of 'who can be recognised as an entrepreneurial actor' (Schatzki, 2001) particularly within adventure-based contexts, remains uncharted. Subsequently, we approach this research from postfeminist perspectives, and employ narrative methodologies to attend to the multilayered and relative particularities of their experiences of adventure-entrepreneurship (Chase, 2005, 2011; Richardson, 1997). To aid our conversational-style interview methods, we adopt photo elicitation to further

examine understanding of aesthetics in relation to entrepreneurship achievement, and adventure businesses more broadly.

While data analysis is ongoing and will be a key part of our paper at GWO, preliminary findings reveal that women challenge, resist, and reproduce dominate narratives of adventure while constructing their entrepreneurial journeys. Moreover, this research around female adventure entrepreneurs contributes to a growing body of literature questioning aesthetic labour on women's entrepreneurial success (Hancock & Tyler, 2007; Kumra & Simpson, 2018; Pritchard et al., 2019). This offers insight into the interplay between adventure, entrepreneurship, and gender, and deepens understandings of how diversity and difference are experienced and legitimated in entrepreneurial-adventure contexts.

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*Sibel Ozasir Kacar*

### Majority ‘Others’ or Exclusive Subjectivities

This paper originated in challenges trying to theorize and research processes of entrepreneurial identity constructions of entrepreneurs who do not fit into the Western white male entrepreneurial norm. Key concern was the assumption that these ‘the Other’ entrepreneurs experience entrepreneurship in ‘the Other’ way. While studies of women and migrant entrepreneurship with feminist, post structuralist or post-colonial approaches challenged the mainstream entrepreneurial norm and aimed to present what migrant women entrepreneurs can add to the field of entrepreneurship, they tend to study these migrant women entrepreneurs with their feminine practices, familial context, and ethnic or religious networks (Ozasir-Kacar and Essers, 2019; Al-Dajani and Marlow, 2010). The feminist academic discourse tends to present women subjectivities with an emphasis on gender extensions to criticize the masculine norm in the entrepreneurship (Ahl and Marlow, 2012). While claiming entrepreneurship as something other than a Western, white, masculine practice, we, critical scholars, tend to study women, migrant, black and/or ethnic entrepreneurs in Western context within their everyday entrepreneurial practices including practices relating to their being woman, migrant, black and/or ethnic minority. Else, we tend to study non-Western contexts to provide alternative entrepreneurial images such as women entrepreneurs in Latin America with the same assumption that they experience entrepreneurship differently in relation to their being women and Latin American (De Vita, Mari and Poggesi, 2014). As they are different than the ‘archetypical’ entrepreneur, then they are assumed to identify and experience entrepreneurship differently based on their marked identities (Essers and Benschop, 2007; 2009). On the one hand there is the ‘mainstream norm’ for ‘normal’ entrepreneurs and on the other hand there is the ‘critical norm’ for ‘the Other’ entrepreneurs.

The aim of this article is to challenge this dualistic assumption of the entrepreneurial identities and experiences by providing a single case of an identity construction process of a migrant woman entrepreneur, which is beyond these normative constructions. The analysis depends on the life-story narrative of Feray, a migrant woman entrepreneur providing legal counseling for 15 years in The Hague, the Netherlands. The case shows how entrepreneurs can jump through gendered and ethnicised borders within the entrepreneurship context and leads us to question these boundaries. These boundaries then seem to exist in the minds of officers, policy makers as well as researchers than in the lived experiences of entrepreneurs. This article is provocative by its nature since it questions the efforts of entrepreneurship scholars providing voice to majority of everyday entrepreneurs who are marginalized while it questions the mediatic superhero representations of entrepreneurs in the field. Yet, the aim is to attract attention to the new gender, ethnic and/or racial order for the sake of majority ‘Others’ and to provide a better understanding of entrepreneurial identities as ‘exclusive subjectivities’ within their local scale structures and discourses (Gill, 2017; Gill and Larson, 2014).



*Katarzyna Kosmala*

### **Performing Craft-Based Enterprise: Gendered Spaces of Lacemaking**

This paper investigates how women's entrepreneurial identities in craft are shaped through their performative work strategies in the context of Bobowa lacemaking community's cultural, social and symbolic capital in Poland. We will examine some of these strategies simultaneously reflecting on the craft products based on laces and lacemaking, alongside their promotion and distribution.

The entrepreneurial identity is defined here as 'the product of heterogeneous engineering of material and discursive practices' (Bruni et al., 2004). In case of Bobowa's women, it refers to craft heritage, constituting a specific bobbin lacemaking occupation, a heterogeneous other in entrepreneurship.

Lacemaking forms a unique space for change with entrepreneurial opportunities expanding beyond economic means, and including more generic processes of disclosing novel ways of living and relating to a community at large (Chia, 2008). The paper will discuss the examples of innovative craft practice spaces, including a shop, agrotourism initiative with OIDFA membership, a craft studio producing lace and embroidery, creative space combining poetry and lacemaking, a folk artist experience, and a workshop applying lace design to contemporary fashion.

The authors will reflect upon the idea of Bobbin laces heritage, with a view to highlight the responsibility of individual women in shaping the character of contemporary laces and lacemaking. This includes the challenges associated with promotion and sales, as well as building an awareness of their own role as distributors of knowledge about the tangible and intangible heritage of the region. The feminist-inspired epistemology underpinning this paper reveals diversity of the women's activities, depending on their various subject positions, trying to sell their craft while adjusting to contemporary realms. Insights on women's craft making experiences will contribute to debate on empowerment of the marginalized subjects and shed light into how individual women struggle to 'define and redefine lacemaking as a meaningful activity within modern society' (Makovicky, 2009), through gendered entrepreneurial intervention, into what is known as traditional craft.

*Melike Tunalioglu, Mine Karatas-Ozkan, Laura Costanzo and Yehuda Baruch*

### **Gendered nature of academic entrepreneurship in STEM departments: Institutional orders and logics**

Gender inclusiveness of entrepreneurial ecosystems is gaining increasing attention recently. In this paper, we aim to demonstrate gendered dynamics of logics that condition the entrepreneurial activity in STEM departments of research-intensive universities with the emphasis on the impact of institutional forces stemming from academic entrepreneurship ecosystem. We identify ecosystems as a useful framework for unpacking diversity dimensions of academic entrepreneurship, particularly gender dimension. This is a complex and multifaceted research issue. Role of gender and forming gender-based norms, values and logics can be traced back to institutional orders such as family, educational establishments etc. An inclusive entrepreneurial ecosystem entails four domain conditions to become effective: density, which refers to the number and proportion of individuals engaged in entrepreneurial activity; fluidity, which means population flux, labour market change and firm growth; connectivity, reflected in the existence and deployment of networks; and diversity of the opportunity. The last two aspects in particular, connectivity and diversity of the opportunity, pertain to our study strongly as our focus is on gendered nature of entrepreneurial ecosystems in the context of academic entrepreneurship from science base. This focus triggers the following research question: How do gendered institutional orders and logics influence agentic responses of women academics in the context of academic entrepreneurship? This question brings about implications for theory and practice at the intersection of entrepreneurship and diversity management fields. Drawing on a qualitative study of 64 interviews with academics and Technology Transfer Officers from UK universities, our findings reveal that the key institutional orders that are influential include the economy/industry, government, university, family, and educational establishment. Salience of economy/industry as an institutional order lies within the shifting focus towards academic reputation to create impact through AE activity, rather than solely focusing on commercial gains and productive or innovative capacity that an EE can generate via AE. This is crucial because this impact logic bridges the gap for social inclusion and allows for more women to get engaged in AE activity if not for purely market logic but also for impact and academic reputation reasons. We also argue that women scientists cope with varied institutional logics to overcome or navigate through the issue of non-opportunity in the domain of academic entrepreneurship. We make two important contributions to theory and empirical research: First, we establish a firm connection between institutional orders/logics (macro-meso) and agentic behaviour (micro) of academic entrepreneurs, which is gendered. In this way, we address one stated limitation of institutional logics perspective, which is over-emphasis on macro-level institutional dynamics. Second, we provide empirical evidence to newly emerging domain of gender-inclusiveness of entrepreneurial ecosystems.

*Anna-Liisa Kaasila-Pakanen and Vesa Puhakka*

**Empowerment by oppression: Managing poverty by creation of entrepreneurial selves in promoting women's entrepreneurship**

In this paper, we set out to examine the creation of empowered entrepreneurial selves as colonial subject-constitution in the context of participatory development. Through close encounter, we offer a deconstructive (re)-reading of project reports and 'stories of change' depicted as success stories of poor women entrepreneurs participating in a development program, which focuses on empowering women through micro-entrepreneurship and enterprise skills training in Northern Uganda. Method and structure of a close encounter is based in Gayatri Spivak's thoughts on ethical singularity of the Other also known as secret encounter and Sara Ahmed's economies of touch deeply rooted in her theorization of strange encounters. Bringing critical materialist attention on gendered processes of othering, we challenge the dualistic representations of this project's women entrepreneurs as victims/heroes, un-knowing/knowing, weak/powerful, lazy/motivated, unambitious/determined etc. and note how these binaries restrict formation of new entrepreneurial subjectivities and sustain hierarchies within societies and the practice and study of entrepreneurship. In close encounter our complicity and position as white feminist scholars is attached to this piece of writing and its place in transnational relations of (knowledge) production. Close encounters bring up the ethico-political demands of embodied self-other relations in post-coloniality and suggest new ways for approaching and understanding otherness beyond the assumptions of oppositionality and domination. Along this, we interrogate also the given representation of micro-entrepreneurship as a linear social change process and salvation from poverty and empirically illustrate the recognized paradoxicality of the process of entrepreneuring that lies within its emancipatory/oppressive potential. Through our voice and the offered counter-narrative, we take part in deconstructing the all-enabling master discourse of entrepreneurialism and contribute to a wider research community of critical entrepreneurship scholars by illustrating the colonial dimension of entrepreneurship by bringing up the aspects of epistemic violence in the dualistic representations of the desired entrepreneurial selves and social change in this project.

*Diane Ruwhiu, Nimbus Staniland, Maria Amoamo and Lynette Carter*

**Mātauranga-a-wāhine: Traditional Māori women's knowledge reframing entrepreneurship research and practice**

The principal view of entrepreneurship privileges Western-centred and masculine perspectives, where women's voices, in particular, have been silenced or ignored (Ahl & Marlow, 2012). In response to calls for transformative thinking in entrepreneurship (Calás et al, 2009; Welter, et al. 2017), we propose an Indigenous feminist epistemology to 'extend the boundaries' of entrepreneurship theory and research. Mātauranga-a-wāhine represents Māori women's knowledge as passed down through whakapapa (genealogy) and the recognition of mana wāhine as the power of Māori women to (re)present and (re)claim knowledge, experience and practice (Ruru, et al. 2017; Simmonds, 2011). We engage the potentiality of mātauranga-a-wāhine as a unique and powerful epistemological lens through which we can reframe entrepreneurship theory and research privileging distinct and feminised ways of thinking about and operationalising entrepreneurial activities.

Indigenous feminisms represent a diversity of goals, processes and objectives of Indigenous women, operating at the intersections of Indigeneity and gender, seeking to give equal power and consideration to both identities (Dulfano, 2017). Māori are the Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand, whose world, Te Ao Māori, is founded on a series of deeply embedded Māori values informed by genealogical connection to ancestors, the environment and each other. This view forms the nexus of social practice and systems of exchange distinctive to Māori ways of knowing and knowledge, that is mātauranga Māori, or Māori epistemology. Grounded in ancient wisdom, through layers of intergenerational experience and practice, contemporary expression of mātauranga Māori acknowledges it as a living repository of old and new knowledge's (Sadler, 2007), an epistemological pluralism (Spender, 1998) that enables multiple forms of knowledge and knowing to coexist. Within this space, mātauranga-a-wāhine is a constant, shaping Māori women's construction of their identity and practice through interaction with Te Ao Māori, their tūpuna (ancestors) and future generations.

Mana wāhine foregrounds the power of Māori women's voices and actions, grounded in the socio-historical experience of mātauranga-a-wāhine, which exposes the intersection of being Māori and female (Simmonds, 2011). As a form of Indigenous feminism, it incorporates an activist movement with cultural, economic, and political dimensions, aiming to maintain traditional indigenist equality of status, self-determination and sovereignty (Waters 2000). A complexity representative of the socio-political, historical and cultural contexts that exist when engaging with the 'muddy realities' of Indigenous women's lives, which are often intimately entangled in tensions brought about by attitudes of sexism, racism and colonisation (Waitere & Johnston, 2009).

Within Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori women are active participants in the economy, at the helm of enterprises (Tribal, collective and privately owned) and through influential roles in government and community. Existing research, for example in critical management (Henry & Pringle, 1996) and entrepreneurship (Dupuis & de Bruin, 2004), suggests that the factors

Māori women use to position themselves in economic spaces are connected to their mātauranga-a-wāhine. Organizing factors like power/knowledge and place/identity connected to the realities of Māori women's lives have the potential to afford attention to distinctive ways of thinking about and operationalising business practice. We suggest mātauranga-a-wāhine prompts a politics of 'economic innovation,' encouraging new ways of thinking about entrepreneurship, making visible the diverse and flourishing feminised practices previously obscured by dominant conceptions of entrepreneurship (Ahl & Marlow, 2012).

Finally, in our consideration of mātauranga-a-wāhine as an Indigenous feminist epistemology we engage with the utility of an Indigenous paradigm in research design. In this context, we advocate for kaupapa Māori research, a relational research methodology that privileges mātauranga Māori and locates as central culturally attuned approaches to research (Smith, 2012). We suggest that it is only through such relational and transformative research design that we may observe diversity and difference in entrepreneurship scholarship. An understanding of the entrepreneurship/mātauranga-a-wāhine intersection, ultimately draws us to an 'economic politics that is locally rooted, yet globally extensive' (Gibson-Graham, 2016), enabling us to maintain the integrity of those 'differences that matter' (Welter, et al. 2017), whilst at the same time expanding possibilities for new models of business to emerge globally.

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*Lalarukh Ejaz, Mine Karatas Ozkan and Vadim Grenivich*

### **Logics of Digital Space, Informality and Women Entrepreneurship**

This research explores the role of digital space in enabling informal women entrepreneurship in environments riddled with gendered and concurrent institutional voids, typical of developing economies. It is based on an in-depth study of forty-seven (47) informal women entrepreneurs from Pakistan. This study utilizes the institutional logics perspective to explore the institutional complexity faced by informal women entrepreneurs, in gendered and void contexts, and how these women resolve tensions arising from such complexity to run and further their businesses.

Recent literature has focused on women entrepreneurs and their use of digital spaces to resolve gendered constraints but the phenomenon remains understudied, and even more so in the informal economy context. Therefore, we address this gap by examining the use of digital spaces by informal women entrepreneurs in a gendered and void economy context. We utilize institutional logics perspective as our theoretical lense as it allows for a rich exploration of the construct of institutional complexity. This institutional complexity, in our study, is not only a result of tensions emanating from contending societal logics (state, market, family, and emerging digital logics) but also due to simultaneous prevalence of gendered and concurrent institutional voids.

Digital space is known to persist through local, regional or national crises. Given the nature of digital space we argue that in economies with gendered and concurrent institutional voids, the use of digital space creates opportunities for informal women entrepreneurs to resolve tensions and contradictions. We further contend that this resolution may be achieved through the interaction of digital logics and societal logics involving unique mechanisms warranting exploration.

The results of the study discover the dominance of patriarchy as a societal logic and the active utilisation of digital logics of affordability, flexibility, connectivity, and spreadability by Pakistani informal women entrepreneurs. Each of the digital logic, when imported to the societal context, bridges gendered and concurrent institutional voids, enabling informal entrepreneurship; easing patriarchal constraints; and resulting in transposition and diffusion of entrepreneurial practices. We find that the digital logic of connectivity ensures participation and eases mobility constraints, in terms of communication and collaboration with clients, suppliers, business and social networks. Digital logic of spreadability results in outreach, pervasiveness, and visibility. Digital logic of affordability provides cost-effective access to resources, marketing, and advertising activities easing resource ownership and availability constraints, and the digital logic of flexibility brings with it the benefits of control, autonomy, and mobility.

This study contributes to literature by examining how digital space amalgamates into business operations and enables informal women entrepreneurship. It further contributes by advancing the understanding of the context of gendered and void institutions and the role of digitalisation as a contemporary and emerging institutional logic. Current literature on

institutional complexity focusses at organisational level responses and resolution mechanisms however, how does not talk about how these complexities are faced and resolved by mirco-level decision makers, especially women. This paper, therefore, also contributes by extending the analysis to how women as social actors face and resolve complexities, especially in gendered and institutionally void contexts.



*Felicity Mendoza*

### **Challenging the Narrow Conceptualisation of the Entrepreneurial Actor through Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis**

Within the field of entrepreneurship research, scholars have expressed concerns about the narrow conceptualisation of the entrepreneurial actor and the entrepreneurial process (Ogbor, 2000; Welter, Baker, Audretsch, & Gartner, 2017). As an academic field, it is dominated by positivistic approaches using quantitative methodologies (Bygrave, 2007). The limited view of entrepreneurship researchers in terms of what is relevant, results, according to Gartner (2004), in a lack of evidence and this restricts our understanding of the phenomenon. The dominant approach for researching entrepreneurial activity excludes diversity and reinforces reductionist stereotypes (such as the masculinised hero character) whilst leaving assumptions, particularly around entrepreneurial personality traits, unquestioned (Bruni, Gherardi, & Poggio, 2004; Orser, Elliott, & Leck, 2011).

In order to gain an understanding of entrepreneurship that is grounded in the experience of the entrepreneurial actor, researchers can adopt interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA), a qualitative methodology developed principally by Jonathon Smith (Cope, 2011). IPA is phenomenological in that it is concerned with exploring participants' experience in its own terms and therefore demonstrates sensitivity to context. It is also an interpretative endeavour viewing participants' accounts as attempts to make sense of what is happening to them (Brocki & Wearden, 2006). It is informed by hermeneutics and recognises that the IPA researcher is engaged in a double hermeneutic as they try to make sense of the participant who is, in turn, trying to make sense of their own experience (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014). IPA is an idiographic approach which aims to explore in detail the experience of individual participants as they make sense of what is happening to them (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009) and therefore avoids the generalising effects of traditional, positivistic approaches.

Taking this approach enables researchers to suspend a priori theoretical propositions in order to describe entrepreneurship from the perspective of the participants who experience it (Cope, 2005; Hycner, 1985) as well as providing "rich details and thick descriptions" (Cope, 2011, p. 608) of entrepreneurship. Leitch, Hill, & Neergaard (2010) suggest that knowledge of entrepreneurship is bounded by its "contextual nature" (p. 70). An IPA approach to entrepreneurship research allows researchers to locate the research in its specific context and time, thereby producing a "photographic slice" of entrepreneurs' lives (Cope, 2005; Lincoln & Guba, 1985 p. 155). IPA encourages reflexive engagement with the research process enabling researchers to examine their pre-understandings and research conduct in terms of how they influence their new understandings (Haynes, 2012).

Therefore, adopting IPA enables entrepreneurship researchers to question the assumptions and stereotypes prevalent in entrepreneurship research and challenge the dominant narrow conceptualisation of the entrepreneurial actor.

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**Stream 28**  
**Friday, Session 7 – 09:00-10:30**  
**Emancipatory Spaces in Theory and Practice**

Welter, F., Baker, T., Audretsch, D. B., & Gartner, W. B. (2017). Everyday Entrepreneurship—A Call for Entrepreneurship Research to Embrace Entrepreneurial Diversity. *Entrepreneurship: Theory and Practice*, 41(3), 311–321.  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/etap.12258>

*Sibel Ozasir Kacar and Gustav Maherlaan*

**The situated nature of identity and the ‘venture-identity embeddedness’**

This article theorises about how entrepreneurs construe their identities by their situated constructions in the interactive web of actors, venture and social structure. Drawing mostly on the social identity theory, entrepreneurship scholars assume entrepreneurial identity to simultaneously intersect with multiple social identities such as gender, ethnicity, and class (Ozasir-Kacar and Essers, 2019). Intersectionality has undoubtedly become the dominant tool in the entrepreneurial identity literature that the uniqueness of individual entrepreneur at the point of intersections of several identity categories could become possible (Cho et al., 2013; Calas et al., 2013). Simultaneity of multiple identities has become the new theoretical norm in identity studies (Nash, 2008).

The intersectional view of entrepreneurial identity has made many valuable contributions (Rodriguez et al., 2016), however, it is limited substantially, as it does not consider the situations where entrepreneurs construct some identities but not the others and why (Knapp, 2013). Intersectional perspective has a static view of the entrepreneurial identity ignoring the change over time and place (Calas et al., 2013). It presumes simultaneous interaction of identities regardless of time and place leading to a misconception of the relationship between the self and the identities and the interplay among several identities. A woman entrepreneur with an ethnic background, for instance, might not construct an ethnic entrepreneurial identity or invoke her ethnicity in the entrepreneurship context, because she might supply generic products or services not specific to ethnic clientele, serve mostly to native locals, locate in a central hub, or exploit local resources or networks, which makes her ethnicity irrelevant with her entrepreneurship.

This theoretical paper challenges the assumption of simultaneity of multiple identities in the entrepreneurship context. We think that entrepreneurs invoke certain identities but not some others specific to social situations. Entrepreneurship scholars refer to ‘identity salience’ and acknowledge that some identities have more self-relevance (Hogg, 2006). However, in certain situations, situational demands are so strong that the choice of behavior is determined solely by the nature of the situation rather than by identity salience (Stryker, 1968). Salient identities do not influence the interplay of several identities; instead situational characteristics override these salient identities and define which identities the entrepreneurs would invoke (Knapp, 2013).

In this respect, the situated leadership theory (Spillane et al., 2004) provides an alternative assumption with a distributed perspective, on which we develop a new understanding on entrepreneurial identity with the concept of a ‘socially situated identity’. Distributed view of identity explains the interaction between entrepreneurs and their social environment better by envisioning a more distributed social structure with social situations (including material resources and actors involved), in which entrepreneurs construct identities that are relevant to the situation (Knapp, 2013).

Based on this integrative framework of socially situated identity, we theorise ‘venture-identity embeddedness’ as a process of entrepreneurial identity construction, referring to the interdependent interaction between multiple social identities and the situational characteristics of the venture throughout venture life cycle. This situated relationship is not linear. In the process of venture creation and the early stages of the venture, founder identity predominantly influences venture characteristics (such as field of operation, organisational structure, or customer profile), but throughout venture life cycle venture characteristics (such as venture success, industry dynamics, and organisational identity) influence founder identity. The venture-identity embeddedness provides a more dynamic view of entrepreneurial identity and a more distributed social structure, and contributes to the discussions on authenticity in the entrepreneurship context and the contradictions between entrepreneurial and self-identity.

**Stream 30**  
**Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer+**  
**Organization Sexualities and Genders: Contemporary**  
**Workplace Issues**

**Convenors: Nick Rumens, Anna Einarsdóttir & Todd Brower**

*Victoria Englmaier*

### **Gender inclusion at Austrian universities**

In Austria LGBTIQ+ has been particularly addressed in recent years by an intersex person, who complained in the Austrian Constitutional Court about an alternative gender category in addition to "female" and "male". In 2018, the Court decided, with reference to the Convention on Human Rights, that this possibility must be given. Of course, this human right is also binding Austrian universities. Nevertheless, universities continue to be confronted with hegemonic gender norms, heteronormativity and dual gender categories in teaching and research, but also in spatial policies and administration. In addition, various studies have shown that discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity still takes place by other students, lecturers, but also at the institutional level, which can lead to delays in studies, dropouts and even negatively affect health (see e.g. Wilkinson and Pearson 2009, p. 554). The proposed contribution is based on a dissertation project, that started in 2018 and addresses the following research questions within the frameworks of social constructivist understanding (Berger and Luckmann 1987) and feminist institutionalism (Krook and Mackay 2015, Chappell and Waylen 2013, Waylen 2017): (1) How do Austrian universities try to stimulate institutional change in terms of gender inclusion? (2) To what extent can Gender Equality Plans (GEPs) actually disentangle from the gender binary? (3) How do TINs (trans\*, inter\* and non-binary university members) perceive these changes?

Relevant is, among others, the work of Judith Butler (1991, 1993, 2006, 2011, 2017), who criticizes the naturalization and biologization of gender binary. Universities are understood as organizations that aspire to become inclusive organizations. The path to an inclusive organization goes hand in hand with the identification of exclusion mechanisms and practices of inclusion and privileges and their interrelations (Hofbauer and Podsiadlowski 2014). GEPs are understood as institutions that are used to illustrate university change efforts and are also the starting point for empirical field work.

Subsequently, strategic documents of all 22 Austrian universities are analyzed by means of qualitative document analysis with regard to the topic of inclusion in the context of gender diversity. The objectives of document analysis are to identify motivations, actions, and the underlying understanding of universities regarding gender-inclusive organizations and to lay the foundations for the selection of universities to be further explored at a later time.

The analysis showed that at the moment 16 of the 22 public universities in Austria deal with trans \*, inter \* and non-binary people in their strategic documents. However, the intensity of the theming is very different and, in most cases, they only refer to a basic statement that discrimination against trans \*, inter \* and non-binary people will not be tolerated. Although this is a first positive sign, further efforts and activities are required to reflect, deconstruct, and ultimately change the supposedly binary category of gender and the exclusions and discrimination that result from it.

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*João Paulo Resende de Lima, Silvia Pereira de Castro Casa Nova and Yves Gendron*

**Finding my way in ga(y)ze: identity construction of LGBTQIA+ early-career academics in accounting**

The diversity literature in accounting – which has been mainly focused on gender issues – has started to include other voices to this debate, comprising sexuality and sexual orientation (Haynes, 2013; Rumens, 2016a, 2016b; Hammond, 2018; McGuigan & Ghio, 2018). Rumens (2016a) criticizes this literature (in the areas of business and accounting) as follows, “[i]t is frustrating that published research on LGB business school students’ experiences of heteronormativity appears to be non-existent” (p. 395). Analyzing business students’ experiences is important because the heteronormative political regime is (re)produced in several ways and places, including the business schools (Ozturk & Rumens, 2014; Rumens, 2016a, 2016b). Rumens (2016a) argues that business schools can be “violently heteronormative organizations” (p. 393) to both staff and students. In our understanding, heteronormativity is based on heterosexuality. It may be considered as a kind of socio-political regime that intends to administrate bodies with the overarching aim of producing straight bodies while punishing non-straight bodies, identifying them as abnormal and abject bodies (Preciado, 2011). Also, heterosexuality may be considered a set of oppressive discourses in which the “ferocious action is the unrelenting tyranny that they exert upon our physical and mental selves” (Wittig, 1980, p. 105). Therefore, we understand that heteronormativity operates as a net of power relations that privileges heterosexuality as normal in multiple contexts, implying that LGB people are abnormal (Rumens, 2016a). It is also noteworthy that the literature on diversity issues focuses mostly on “Global North” experiences, ignoring Latin-American. The Brazilian context is propitious for this discussion due to certain conditions of possibility such as the growth of initiatives against LGBTQIA+ rights by the neoconservative movement in recent decades (Almeida, 2019; Lacerda, 2019), which has resulted in what Medeiros (2019) calls “tropical necropolitics”. The lack of official statistics on crimes against the LGBTQIA+ population is also worth mentioning, and this need is supplied by the NGO “Grupo Gay da Bahia (GGB)”, which presents an annual report with death figures resulting from hate crimes. According to GGB (2020), between 2000 and 2019, 4,809 deaths of LGBT+ people in Brazil were registered. Drawing on those theoretical and contextual frameworks, we examine how heteronormativeness embedded in business schools and the accounting profession shapes LGBTQIA+ early career academics’ experiences. To achieve this research purpose, we have adopted an oral history approach, based on interviews (Haynes, 2010; Hammond, 2018) – the goal being to constitute detailed narratives (Clandinin & Conelly, 2000). At the moment, we draw upon 30 interviews with 13 LGBTQIA+ accounting academics. Preliminary results indicate the use of jokes by peers and professors as a way of shaming the students; the perceived need to have a better academic performance than non-LGBTQIA+ peers; and accounting academia’s resistance to queer bodies. We hope to contribute to the literature on heteronormativeness discourses, specifically how they may be used to marginalize and/or discipline LGBTQIA+ bodies in accounting academia. We also aim to contribute to a better understanding of identity construction of LGBTQIA+ in business schools.

*Aleksi Soini*

**Managing one's otherness online: Experiences of belonging and otherness in a working environment**

Discussions of sexuality and its centrality to workplace relations often reflect current societal concerns that relate to issues of inclusion, exclusion, difference and diversity. Although the progress towards openness in general has come a long way, heteronormative beliefs grounded in the relationships between gender, sexuality and sex still contribute to pressure for employees to conform and hide their sexualities and identities at work (Valocchi 2005; Priola et al. 2018; Gal et al. 2016; Rumens & Ozturk 2019). The normative ideals can be seen as an obstacle to organizational attempts that seek to foster inclusion, and eventually contribute to the marginalization and exclusion of LGBTQ employees by casting them as 'other'. Otherness, or 'being other', here refers to employees perceiving themselves as different, and outside of a defying norm, as their sexuality is viewed as a differentiating factor (Özbilgin & Woodward 2004; Skovgaard-Smith et al. 2019; Sakki & Pettersson 2015).

An illusion of fully inclusive environments of work (see Rennstam & Sullivan 2018; Romani et al. 2019) calls for further research on the lived experiences of otherness within contemporary workplaces, as otherness as an affective experience is at times ignored and skipped over for more binary conceptualizations of inclusion and exclusion in organizations. In this paper, we explore how queer individuals manage their workplace related experiences of otherness online, through practices of socio-cognitive identity work (Brown 2017; 2019). We see 'managing one's otherness' online as the recurrent negotiation of normative practices that relates to both one's sense of self and the surrounding social environment (Pullen & Simpson 2009). These negotiations of organizational and social practices also include power struggles and resistance towards the dominating discourses and structures (Fleming 2007), as well as challenging stereotypes and deconstructing structural issues and coping with tensions and contradictions.

Thus, by building upon Einarsdóttir's et al. (2016) research on sexual minorities colliding with societal normative assumptions and stereotypical ideas, and Baker and Lucas' work (2017) on struggles of marginalized employees, this study explores how individuals experience and manage their own otherness online in relation to work. All in all, work-related experiences of otherness require additional identity work and sensemaking for the othered self from outside of work, for example in forms of support groups and virtual collectives, both available in online spheres located outside the scope of one's workplace. Digital online platforms have created new opportunities for employees to create and resist identities (Barros 2018; Fox & Ralston 2016; Campbell 2004). Although LGBTQ identities in organizations have been studied from various perspectives, the related online aspects require further theorization, as identity work outside the traditional sphere of work, namely in online platforms, allows for novel ways of managing one's work-related identity in and around organizations. Essentially, online platforms foster affordances such as interactivity, anonymity, visibility and co-creation (Campbell 2004; Cooper & Dzara 2010; Bange, Järventie-Thesleff & Tienari 2020), which facilitate new arenas to study minority voices and identities, and thus provide with means to untangle experiences of otherness and difference.

The study thereby responds to a call by Ng and Rumen's (2017) related to current LGBTQ workplace issues, by exploring how the LGBT+ employees manage and negotiate their own otherness in social online platforms. It is argued that the lived experience of otherness is contrary and a hindrance to organizational inclusion (Tanyas 2016; Özbilgin & Woodward 2004), and otherness is primarily considered as a deficit (e.g. Ponzoni et al. 2017). The study draws on online narratives retrieved during an ongoing netnographic engagement (Kozinets et al. 2018; Kozinets 2015; Skågeby 2011) in Finnish online forums. Furthermore, the study offers some insight to the potential of using netnographic research for better understanding of discriminatory issues and LGBTQ experiences in the context of work, as it allows for access to discourses and narrations produced outside formal organizational environments, and thus possibly more open and honest accounts due to the afforded anonymity (e.g. Costello et al. 2017).

*Adrienne Blythe Hawley*

**The family, welfare and the State: When disorganised private sexual relations become organised in public life**

Turning to the State for aid is an experience where our care through kinship encounters the bureaucratic and functional administrative practices of the State. This compels a navigation of political and social landscape of relational status; so addressing LGBT+ rights. The fixity of lived relationship structures are curiously unfixed; but administratively, the politics must settle long enough for welfare applications to be administered. As such, the application forms of welfare represent a sublime object in the zone of conflict between ways of living, and the ways organisations recognise, administer and governmentalise those ways of living. This paper reports on an ongoing ethnographic study of the primary application forms to access unemployment assistance. As a method the paper aspires to undertake an ethnography of forms, taking such forms as a new concern for this traditional method of inquiry (Ingold, 2016; Augé and Colleryn, 2006). Ethnography allows us to follow the action (Dourish, 2001), to trace the lines away from the form. These embedded ‘knowledge places’ are what Law (2011) considers to be locations to study what are constructed as fact. But in fact, they have become ways in which to classify and order populations based on statistical constructions (Law, 2008; Scheel, 2020). The study delves deeper into the performance (Butler, 1990; 1998; Foucault, 1978) of family and the role of sexual relations (Ahrne, 2019) manifest on welfare paperwork. The concept of the ‘family’ is one element that is constantly represented in the welfare forms. We start with the Irish experience of the UP1 form. Ireland having something of a rapid transformation from conservative, Roman Catholic tradition of non-divorce, no premarital sex, no contraceptives, no abortion, no recognition of LGBT+ rights; to embracing liberal, pluralist ways of living. As discussed, the UP1 begins by asking questions about relationship status. This surfaces the language of familial relations, how specific speech acts (Wittgenstein, 1953; Austin, 1962), performances (Butler, 1990; Tonkiss, 1998), in turn address how relationship status is governmentalized (Foucault, 1978) through formally sanctioned, official rhetoric of approved sexual relations; but also captures how individuals struggle (Fleming, 2005) against the stiff categories. Therefore, these forms vary greatly from country to country and have subtle changes of meaning in context. Thus, they represent a useful way of investigating sexual relations and performance of the family conceived through welfare bureaucracy, and thus how family is governmentalized by the state.

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*Stefan Schwarzkopf, Sine Nørholm Just and Jannick Friis Christensen*

**Beyond identity politics and pinkwash: Are pride parades becoming an integrative civil religion?**

Pride Parades and the associated movements that promote lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) rights and celebrate LGBTI culture represent a globally growing phenomenon. In addition to millions of participants, Pride Parades are also increasingly supported and sponsored by workplace organisations. On the hand, this involvement can be read as a sign of mainstream support for the social causes of Pride. As Pride Parades are getting ever more popular and inclusive, they no longer create a sense of cultural sectarianism with confessional character revolving around the notion of identity politics (Lichterman 1999). On the other hand, workplace participation in Pride Parades can also be read as a cynical attempt on the side of businesses to promote their corporate brands – pinkwashing (Kates and Belk 2001). That is, mainstreaming and commercialization as signs of cultural appropriation that do not necessarily result in workplaces that are more inclusive LGBTI employees. This critique, we believe, both neglects the actual progress made in terms of the legal recognition and social acceptance of LGBTI rights just as it misses the opportunity for continuing this progress in terms of further enhancing the rights of not only LGBTI folk, but other minoritized individuals and groups as well. Thus, we argue that Pride Parades hold the potential to become celebrations of the universal human right to be ‘who you are’ – also at work.

In support of this argument, we investigate how the LGBTI rights movements, generally, and Pride Parades in particular, may be generative of a new form of community by providing public rituals that integrate workplace organisations and other societal actors around the idea of the sacredness of the individual. This generative potential is found in the transformation that Pride has undergone: from its activist roots in the LGBTI movement’s fight for rights and against the injustice of discrimination towards an inclusive celebration of the universal values of love and diversity. This transformation means that a broader audience can partake in the celebrations whether identifying as LGBTI or not, but it also means that there is less at stake for workplaces to do so.

Theoretically, we base this investigation in the concept of civil religion. Designed to either replace or accompany older forms of Christianity, a civil religion provides followers with flags, hymns, symbols, martyrs, sacred sites and annual rituals of commemoration in order to forge the bonds that are needed to sustainably substitutes the church as the universal basis of community (Bellah, 1967). In the twenty-first century, and against a resurgent political particularism, movements like Pride seem to celebrate a secular version of the universality that formerly characterized churches.

Empirically, we study the potentiality of Pride as public ritual through participant observation of the organization of World Pride 2021 in Copenhagen and Malmö. This event might see as many as two million visitors and explicitly welcomes corporate sponsorships and participation. As such, it affords an exceptional opportunity to study in situ the emergence of a broadly unifying social ritual. It also offers a chance of studying the pitfalls as well as the potentialities of involving workplaces in this endeavour. However, the event is still in the

making. Therefore, we focus this paper on establishing our conceptual framework and identifying preliminary sites of heightened tension – and, hence, productivity. Thereby, we will outline – and invite discussion of – a broader and ongoing process of engaging with Pride as public ritual and the roles of workplace organisations in this regard.

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*Nancy Day, Patricia Meglich and Tracy Porter*

**Parsing Out the Differences: How Bisexuals Differ from Monosexuals In Response to Workplace Bullying**

Progressive organizations aim to create work environments inclusive of wide-ranging diversity through establishing supportive, open climates in which all workers feel valued. While a significant body of research exists regarding LGBTQ+ workers, little investigates how sexual minority groups differ. Mistreatment and bullying are lethal to supportive workplaces. Although little research exists about how bullying affects LGBTQ+ workers, one study found that higher percentages of U.K. LGB workers experienced greater incidence and intensity of bullying than did heterosexuals (Hoel, Lewis, Einarsdottir, 2017). Research in the U.S. estimates that approximately 35 to 50 percent of sexual minority individuals were subjected to sexual orientation harassment (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2016).

More importantly, despite bisexuals' predominance within the LGBTQ+ population, there is little research investigating these workers as distinct from other sexual minorities. One study found evidence that bisexuals are less likely to disclose their sexual orientation than are lesbian and gay male workers, and that heterosexual, lesbian and gay male workers have unfavorable assessments of bisexuality (Arena & Jones, 2017). Further, bisexual workers have divergent experiences dependent on their gender: Male bisexuals report more bias, discrimination, and negative outcomes than do females and are less likely than bisexual women to be open about their sexuality (Corrington, Nittrouer, Trump-Steele, & Hebl, 2019).

We propose to begin an exploratory investigation of sexual orientation group differences, specifically if and how bisexuals experience and react differently as targets of workplace bullying compared to monosexuals (lesbians, gay men, and heterosexuals). Using robust dual archival datasets of LGB (N = 422) and heterosexual U.S. workers (N = 418), we employ social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), stigmatization (Goffman, 1963), and social dominance theories (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) to examine research questions relevant to the outcomes of affective organizational commitment, turnover intentions, and post-traumatic stress syndrome (PTSD) as related to the bullying target's sexual orientation. (These data sets were used in a paper testing alternative hypotheses and presented previously at a management conference but are otherwise unpublished).

PTSD is particularly interesting: Despite evidence that targets of bullying report symptoms of PTSD (Nielsen et al., 2015), no studies could be located investigating its occurrence in sexual minority workers. This is notable, given that PTSD has been found to be higher among veterans, community health center patients, sexual assault victims, and adolescents who are LGBT than among heterosexual comparisons (Wawrzyniak & Sabbag, 2018).

Our research questions are:



1. Will experiences of workplace bullying predict affective organizational commitment differently for targets who are lesbians, gay men, bisexual women, bisexual men, or heterosexuals?
2. Will experiences of workplace bullying predict turnover intentions differently for targets who are lesbians, gay men, bisexual women, bisexual men, or heterosexuals?
3. Will experiences of workplace bullying predict PTSD differently for targets who are lesbians, gay men, bisexual women, bisexual men, or heterosexuals?
- 4.

Multivariate analysis of variance and regression will be used. The study's strengths, limitations, directions for future research, and recommendations for practitioners will be discussed.

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*Michelle O'Toole and Thomas Calvard*

**Queering identity work: Bisexual workers' negotiation of subjectivities**

Despite existing work on bisexuality across the humanities, sexualities and cultural studies fields (Monro, 2015; Hemmings, 2002) MOS has arguably neglected bisexuality (Monro et al., 2017). This neglect is in no small part due to the more general societal and political reproduction of “heteronormative alignments between sex, gender and sexuality” (Rumens et al., 2019: 594). Under heteronormativity, monogamy and heterosexuality are culturally privileged and taken to be natural and normal over diverse and intersectional alternatives (McNeill, 2013). In direct contrast with heteronormative assumptions, bisexuality is an affectional and/or erotic attraction to members of both sexes, serially or simultaneously (Bohan, 1996). Even within LGBT minorities, bisexuals have been described as the under-researched ‘black sheep of the pink flock’ (Callis, 2013: 82). Bisexual employees therefore represent a marginalized, under-represented and somewhat invisible subset of workers within the LGBT umbrella in organizations, as well as within research on workplace and sexual identities (Monro, 2015; Monro et al. 2017).

This research draws on queer theory and theories of identity at work to analyse the experiences of 63 bisexual employees working in a variety of industries in the United Kingdom. Findings indicate that bisexual identity is experienced in terms of its relative invisibility to co-workers; tensions around its disclosure; and how organizational settings, practices and norms affect its performance and politics in co-worker interactions. Heteronormative and gay-centric assumptions often lead co-workers to misidentify bisexuality in interaction and binary attitudes towards sexuality, biphobia and the contested legitimacy of bisexuality, prompt bisexual employees to ‘queer’ their identity work across various co-worker encounters, responding to misidentification with critical challenges and qualifications. Our findings have implications for the need to raise awareness, recognition of, and support for minority identities by ‘queering’ them, especially those that are particularly vulnerable to invisibility, erasure, and misconception at work.

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*Taralyn Parr*

**Beyond the Binary: An Autoethnography of Coming Out as Queer and Becoming a Queer Leader**

Increasingly, ‘queer’ is being adopted as a fluid sexual identity that encompasses attraction to more than one gender, and/or as a non-binary gender identity. Within organizational contexts, queer people face unique challenges navigating leadership roles as their identity inherently transgresses the hetero and mononormative, binary gender underpinnings of leadership discourse (Acker, 2009; Ford, 2005). This paper is an autoethnographic account of my experiences coming out as queer while I was transitioning into a leadership role in a Canadian law firm. Using journal entries and photos to support my memories, I explore the identity management practices I employed to negotiate my gender and sexual identities at work, and the impact that these practices had on my queer identity and identity as a leader. I reflect on how I envisioned and conceptualized an ideal leader, how this influenced my perception of my own appropriateness, ability, and credibility as a leader, and how my queer identity influenced my perceptions and my thoughts of how others perceived my appropriateness, abilities, and credibility as a leader. Recent research into LGBTQ leadership has found that gender performance, stereotypes, and stigma influence others expectations of leadership style and assessment of leadership abilities (Lugg and Tooms, 2010; Muhr and Sullivan, 2013; Salter and Liberman, 2016). The literature also suggests that being “out” can positively influence one’s leadership style and ability to relate to followers (Adams & Webster, 2017; Bowring & Brewis, 2009; Chang & Bowring, 2015; Henderson, Simon, & Henicheck, 2018). While there is much to learn from these studies, the majority conceptualize gender and sexual identity as binary and stable, analyze gender and sexual identity independently, and tend to group Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, and Queer identities together (Rumens, de Souza, & Brewis, 2019), thereby ignoring the unique experiences of queer people. Younger generations are increasingly identifying with more fluid and non-binary gender and sexual identities (Jones, 2018). More research is needed into our lived experiences within organizational contexts and leadership roles, and into the ways in which we enact agency and resistance, while simultaneously disrupting social and cultural norms. This research extends the crucial and growing literature on gender, sexual orientation, and leadership by providing new knowledge and insights into how fluid, shifting, and non-binary identities are constituted and contested in the workplace.

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*Giulia Melis*

**Constructing the sexual self at work: the role of sexuality, socioeconomic difference and diversity policies within the coming of age process in Italy**

Within the broader phenomenon of transitions to adulthood, occupational paths are considered as one of the main areas involved into the construction of an adult self. In this regard, the fragmentation of paths stands at the intersection of global and national levels, originating specific socioeconomic conditions and affecting the precarity of local labour markets. Within different work sectors, the absence/presence of diversity policies plays a crucial role in the management of non-mainstream sexualities in the workplace along with the shaping of an adult future.

Drawing on a doctoral research focused on the coming of age of non-heterosexual youth in Italy, this contribution addresses the management of the sexual self in the workplace. After a preliminary phase of participant observation within two case studies, a series of 40 narrative interviews were conducted among 27 to 34 years old young adults in order to explore structural conditions and subjective representations of their entry into adulthood. Apart from gender and sexual self-identification, the participants differed both in terms of job positions and socioeconomic background. This selection provided a heterogeneity of data that allowed to shed light on multiple individual strategies of dealing with constraints and stigma. The aim of the analysis highlighted aspects related to the socioeconomic background of the participants and in terms of the different organizational contexts they worked in. The interplay between social class, low and high work skills, and of diversity policies provided by the organizations, were among the main results that are here discussed.

Drawing from a post-structuralist approach, the aim is twofold: to take socioeconomic differences into account, on one hand, and to challenge conventional representation of both contexts, particularly those related to a positive representation of multinational corporations and diversity policies, on the other hand. In fact, although organizations are depicted as sexually neutral, their invisible and situated social norms shape the re-production of sexual subjectivities. The ambivalence between sexual stigma and diversity policies is here considered in terms of the normative consequences they both imply.

*Sait Bayrakdar and Andrew King*

### **Job satisfaction and sexual orientation in Britain**

Research concerning sexual orientation and inequalities has been growing for several decades in Britain. However, studies looking at patterns of labour market outcomes amongst lesbian, gay and bisexual (LGB) individuals focus mostly on earnings, while non-pecuniary outcomes of LGB individuals have remained a relatively underresearched area.

Using the latest wave of the Workplace and Employment Relations Survey (WERS), this article investigates the job satisfaction levels of LGB individuals compared to their heterosexual peers for the first time in Britain and explores the impact of workplace characteristics on job satisfaction.

The results show evidence only for the lower satisfaction levels of bisexual men, echoing some of the earlier findings on ‘bisexual penalty’ from the research on LGB job satisfaction conducted in other countries. That said, our results imply a ‘bisexual penalty’ only for men; therefore, highlights the need for further attention to the intersections between bisexuality and gender. While the coefficients for gay men, lesbian and bisexual women are not significant, their magnitudes suggest higher satisfaction levels for gay men and lower satisfaction levels for lesbian and bisexual women, compared to their heterosexual counterparts.

Moreover, while Britain is often regarded as being at the forefront of LGBT equality policies and there is an increasing attention to these policies given by public sector organisations, companies and employee networks, our results suggest that the existence of LGBT-related diversity and management policies at workplaces does not necessarily induce higher job satisfaction levels for LGB employees. We suggest that policymakers need to consider why policies, even in the countries with pioneering LGBT equality rights legislation, do not appear to impact on job satisfaction levels amongst LGB employees.

*Phil Crehan, Felicity Daly, Luke Fletcher and Shaun Pichler*

### **A Global Examination of LGBT Workplace Equality Indices**

In response to the significant legal, social, and economic challenges of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) people around the world, there is a growing impetus that the private sector should be more responsive to these issues by actively promoting the well-being of LGBT staff and consumers. One important method that has emerged is benchmarking in the form of workplace equality indices that track and promote corporate policies of diversity and inclusion. Yet, there seems to be a lack of studies that systematically compare existing LGBT indices across countries, leaving interested parties missing out on key patterns, trends, emerging best practices, and common challenges for organizations that undertake this work. This paper offers one of the first cross-national analyses of various LGBT workplace equality indices, by providing an overview and in-depth analysis of each index, to then compare and contrast each benchmarking in an attempt to understand patterns – specifically strengths, weaknesses, and challenges. We identified more than a dozen workplace equality indices that exist around the world, and focused on a sample of five in order to provide regional diversity. In alphabetical order by country, these indices included Presente's Diversity and Equality Diagnostic (Empresas Presente: Diagnóstico de Diversidad y Equidad - Peru), the Forum's South African Workplace Equality Index (SAWEI - South Africa), Fulcrum's Ukrainian Corporate Equality Index (CEI - Ukraine), Stonewall's Workplace Equality Index (WEI - U.K.), and the HRC's Corporate Equality Index (CEI - U.S.). We then undertook a review of all publically available information about the five indices, including any information on their indicators, methodology, rankings, and corporate participation. A topic guide was then created to facilitate semi-structured interviews with key informants in those five civil society organizations, to specifically capture each index's origin and history, methodology utilized to approach corporations and collect data, additional applications, strengths and weaknesses, and future directions for the index. Overall, many patterns emerged across the indices, namely: the more established indices in the U.K. and U.S. have been quite influential at guiding the creation of newer indices around the world, often with providing best practices on the indicators and generating interest among multi-national corporations; local context is very important in the creation of each index, which creates its own dynamics when engaging participating corporations; the capacity (including funding) among each organization varies, with its own long-term impact on data collection and the validation of data, dissemination, and follow-up work; each organization spoke to the need to avoid "naming and shaming" tactics and rather relied on incentives to work with corporations; the actual ranking of corporations differs, which creates its own dynamics between the corporation, organization, and stakeholders; generally, each organization seems to be optimistic that their indices have positively impacted corporate policies and practices – although a more in-depth examination of this impact is needed; and significant data gaps remain, particularly an analysis of the relationship between each index and multinational vs. domestic corporations.



*Ciarán McFadden*

**On the inside looking out: The lived experiences of trans employees in Scotland**

Trans employees face many challenges and issues in the workplace that cisgender employees do not (McFadden, 2015), including exclusion and marginalization (Collins et al., 2015; Sangganjanavanich, 2009), hiring discrimination (Grant et al., 2011; James et al., 2016), harassment (Dietert & Dentice, 2009), negative stereotyping (Lester, 2015) and the navigation of ostensibly stable gender identities throughout one's career (de Souza, Brewis & Rumens, 2016; Muhr, Sullivan & Rich, 2016). The experiences of trans employees remain somewhat under-researched in comparison to the broader LGBTQ community (McFadden & Crowley-Henry, 2016; Pepper & Lorah, 2008; Thanem & Wallenberg, 2016). In addition, much of the research undertaken on trans employees has centred around the USA. Nevertheless, issues concerning trans people have garnered much attention in the media and in politics in the past few years (McFadden, 2020).

In order to explore the workplace and career experiences of the trans community in Scotland, qualitative, semi-structured interviews were conducted with eight trans people working in a variety of industries and roles. The interview data was then coded and thematically analysed.

A number of themes arose from the analysis of the qualitative data. Firstly, a lack of understanding surrounding trans issues was reported by the participants; this manifested generally as awkwardness and desire not to offend, which in turn often led to the trans employees feeling isolated or excluded. Associated with this was a lack of trans-inclusive policies and practices; participants discussed how their coming out or transitioning often left the organisation scrambling to design and implement the correct policies, indicating a reactive rather than proactive approach despite the organisations' stated commitment to inclusion. Lastly, 'trans-exclusionary radical feminism', as it is known in the UK, was a salient issue in the participants' discussion of their experience at work. While only a small number had directly experienced such discrimination, the fear of how trans-exclusionary politics in UK society may impact on policies and practices within the organization was discussed by many. Goffman's stigma theory (1963) and Simmel's concept of the Stranger (1908) are used to create a theoretical lens through which to interpret the findings, which highlight the pervasiveness of cisnormativity within organizations. The findings reveal the extent to which trans people are often positioned as 'other': in terms of relationships with work colleagues, with organizational policies and practices, and within UK society.

Recommendations are provided for organisations and practitioners committed to providing an inclusive environment for trans staff and colleagues, and for researchers interested in researching trans employees, LGBTQ issues in the workplace, and diversity and inclusion more broadly.

*Davide Morelli, Roberta Fida, Claudio Barbaranelli and David Watson*

**Work-related stress, emotional overview, organisational and individual resources: An auto-ethnographic exploratory research on transgender people**

A growing amount of literature on well-being is focusing on work-related stress from a gender perspective (e.g., Shirom et al., 2008). Nevertheless, there is a lack of attention in relation to the binary and non-binary transgender perspective. Transgender people (TGN, binary and non-binary) can be exposed to vulnerability, particularly during times of gender transition (Schilt & Connell, 2007) and their voices are often unheard (Beauregard et al. 2016). Evidence suggests that they are at greater risk of stress and mental health problems (Warren et al., 2016). They face numerous challenges, such as transphobia, lack of access to healthcare, harassment, horizontal and vertical bullying (Schilt & Connell, 2007; Warren et al., 2016). Our research aims to listen to the unheard voices. With this study, we answer the call to explore whether 'current voice mechanisms to this minority, such as LGBT+ networks, are adequate to represent transgender workers' (McFadden & Crowley-Henry, 2017, p. 1076). By drawing on Meyer's Minority Stress Theory (1995) we conducted an auto-ethnographic study to explore 1) the experience of work-related stress in a sample of TGN individuals; 2) the emotional regulation processes in dealing with stress at work; 3) the organisational resources to overcome stressful events in the workplace. The sample includes a total of 20 Italian TGN recruited using a snowball approach. They were interviewed using a semi-structured interview. The sample includes 10 binary and 10 non-binary TGN individuals. Among the participants, 80% of the participants were white, and 20% were mixed race. Interviews were transcribed and analysed through two cyclical qualitative coding processes. The thematic analysis uncovered ten emerging themes: (a) work experience, (b) relationship between gender identity and work experience, (c) horizontal and vertical work relationships, (d) work harassment, (e) expressed and unexpressed emotions, (f) consequences of expressed and unexpressed emotions, (g) private sphere, (h) sources of support, (i) desired organisational resources and (j) individual future perspectives. Results of this study highlight the importance of looking at work-related stress from a TGN perspective to uncover their unheard voice. This study contributes to the sparse existing body of literature concerning forms of oppression experienced by TGN individuals and provides recommendations for practice, policies, and research.

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**Stream 31**  
**White Feminisms and Organization Studies: “Inhabiting  
the Critique”**

**Conveners: Elaine Swan, Deborah Jones and Deirdre Tedmanson**

*Elaine Swan*

**My pain hurts: White feminists speaking and not hearing**

In this paper, I examine a panel discussion on Decolonising Ecological Activism at a day-long eco-fair with performances, talks, screenings and sustainable design showcasing local and global activism and art in the East End of London in 2019. In the paper, I explore a moment towards the end of the two-hour discussion in which a racially minoritised panelist spoke about colonialism in environmentalism, white privilege, their exclusions from art funding, and their anger amongst other topics. After this, a white panellist and a white woman in the audience spoke about their whiteness, including how there was a need for the discussion to become more ‘nuanced’ as white Irish were also colonised and how the Enlightenment ‘damaged white women’. I analyse this moment through critical race theories on ‘pain’ and debates on the fetishisation of wounds into identities, and performances of fragility wounded whiteness (Ahmed, 2002; DiAngelo 2011; Phipps, 2018). What is invoked in such moments is a comfort feminism which ‘flattens difference and escapes a critical assessment of culpability and complicity’ (Silva, 2017). In these moments, white women’s desire for innocence means they/we forget their/our complicity in white domination (Fellows & Razack, 1998; Liu and Baker, 2016; Moon, 1999; Moreton-Robinson, 2000). In this paper, I discuss how white women’s lack of inhabiting critique could ‘be transformed into “remember”[ing] how the skin, the surface of this body or that body (including the bodies of communities...) came to be wounded in the first place’. As Ahmed (2002) writes this ‘is a call not just for an attentive listening, but for a different kind of inhabitation...we live with each other, and yet we are not as one’.

*Katalin Halász*

**Practicing love and understanding killing rage: anti-racist white women respond to bell hooks**

This paper builds on a sociological research with eleven self-identified feminist white women active in anti-racist organizing in Europe. Closely exploring an incident at an anti-racist meeting when one of the participants of the research was physically attacked by a Black colleague, the paper (1) explores the role of affects that entangles white female bodies in producing whiteness and in particular the figure of 'white woman'; and (2) establishes a dialogue between the research participants and bell hook's work in *Killing Rage: Ending Racism* (1995), and *All About Love: New Visions* (2000). The paper starts by considering how the interviewees came to understand themselves as white women and were perceived by others as such (McIntosh, 1988; Allen, 1993; Frankenberg, 1993; Hardiman 1994). On the basis of an incident at an anti-racist meeting, when rage as a racialized affect entangled one of the respondents the paper argues that in order to understand the making of white femininities, it is necessary to reckon with the specific material and corporeal processes in these social encounters and interactions of everyday life alongside the socially constructed representations of 'white woman' as disseminated in society at large. White femininities acquire their meanings in relation with racialized others, when a range of discourses, power relations and affects that are attached to whiteness and femininities get activated and assembled in affective practices (Wetherell, 2012).

In the second part of the paper this incident is used to understand how 'inhabiting the critique' (Ahmed, 2004) can be generative of a white feminist and anti-racist practice drawing on bell hook's work on rage and love (1995, 2000). A dialogue is established between the respondents' comments, questions and concerns on the possibility of anti-racist white feminism and hooks' analysis on the ethics of love. Concrete life situations, such as applying for jobs or dealing with internalised racism is investigated through the five elements of love hooks identifies that carry the potential of transforming our lives.

*Shona Hunter*

**Decolonizing care: disestablishing white supremacy in feminist care**

The role of welfare institutions in systematising racial inequality can no longer be ignored. The events of 2020, the profoundly uneven impact of Covid 19 in terms of its bodily and social effects, morbidity and mortality and the rise in protest in support of the Black Lives Matter movement have visibilised the history of interconnected global colonial violence which frame the lives of people racialised as Black and brown inside and outside institutional spaces. Along with this visibilisation of racialised violence and anti-blackness the public conversation about whiteness has amplified. From the point of view of an analysis of institutionalised white supremacy whiteness functions as an orientation to power and domination which is counterintuitively rooted in ideas of innocence, goodness, benevolence, in turn related to ideas of desert and merit (Hunter, 2010). This structuring code of whiteness works to accord the right to act, judge, define and frame the terms of the debate over individual merit or desert and the ability to offer or withhold care to those positioned within the code, those racialised as white (Lewis, 2017). From this point of view whiteness is systematised through the uneven positioning between care giver and care receiver.

This inequality between care giver and receiver has been a longstanding concern to a feminist ethics of care, from Carol Gilligan's classic (1982) *In a Different Voice*, Virginia Held (1995) and Joan Tronto (1994; 2015) and more recently where the differentiated and complex gendered dynamics of care have been exposed in *The Care Collective's Manifesto* (2020) and in the *GWO Feminist Frontiers* (Özkazanç-Pan and Pullen, 2020). And yet there remains a latent liberal universalism in many of these analyses, even in their intersectional applications. This means that the ability to understand the working of white supremacy through care, as constituted through care, is limited. Critical race, black, post and decolonial feminist scholarships (Gunaratnam, 2008; Narayan, 1995; Raghuram, 2012; 2016; Hobart and Kneese, 2020; Seiler, 2020) have been mounting radical critique of this failure to address the whitening of care ethics for some time, these critiques are only becoming more important in the current context and the issues raised through this failure speak the dynamics of what Alison Phipps calls 'political whiteness' (2020).

In this paper I begin by considering these tensions and critiques within the care ethics literatures. I then move onto unpacking the ways which whiteness works discursively and materially through care in the context of contemporary welfare arrangements and the role of care in this and how this is exemplified by the intersection between the global pandemic and the issues of bodily integrity raised by Black Lives Matter. I tease out how care can work as a systematised form of racial violence. I then explore the related questions raised around the bodily, affective dynamics of care in practice. Questions like: Can those racialised as white ever adopt an ethical position within the context of delivering care with and for those racialised outside of whiteness? And relatedly what does this uneven dynamic mean for those racialised as outside of whiteness caring for those inside whiteness? Finally, I offer the idea of 'relational choreography' (Hunter, 2015a; 2015b) as a way of understanding how daily enactments of care between people can work decolonially against this (individualising) orientation of whiteness to power. This means reconfiguring caring identities as starting from

the refusal to accept the mantle of goodness, benevolence and the right to define desert implied in that, and instead starting from the point of recognising the ways in which historical racialised violence persists in the body, in the present as we desire to give care to one another. Thinking of care practice in this way enables the development of a shared orientation to power within the caring dynamic which refuses fixed ethical positions within that caring relation. It holds the possibility of reframing an ethics of care decolonially.

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*Deirdre Tedmanson*

**Raw talk**

*Eh Professor, big shot,*

*Big cheese, or whoever*

*You claim to be*

*You've really no idea.*

*Love to chat sister,*

*But there's faxes to send*

*And protest letters to write*

*...I turn and walk away*

*Preserving my dignity*

*Without humiliating hers...*

Bellear, L. (1996, p.13-14) <sup>1</sup>

Bellear's stirring poetry calls 'white' feminists to account; where, how do we relinquish wilful ignorance for responsibility? How to shed our colonial gaze, our well-meaning reconciliations and our hurtful matronage? In her powerful work on 'Raw Law' (2015), Irene Watson decentres the '*muldarbi*', the 'demon spirit' of violent invasion and dispossession of Aboriginal people from their Lands, relationships and ways of knowing in this country. Speaking past the genocide of colonialism Watson centres her potent Tanganeekald, Meintangk Boandik woman's voice to deconstruct dominant 'white male' ways of knowing. 'The *muldarbi*', she tells us, 'only allows for the recognition of cultural differences when there is no threat to its hegemony, the hegemony of the state' (Watson, 2015, p. 3). Using a vast store of historic and contemporary records, artifacts, legal cases and oral stories handed down through her ancestors, Watson's treatise brings alive a potent series of rich Aboriginal narratives whispering well-honed truths into our hearts and minds. It is about the global colonial project as much as it is about the Australian Indigenous standpoint. It challenges us to move past our post-colonial and even de-colonial rhetoric to wake up to our out-of-place-ness in '*ruwe*' - the territories of First Nations peoples. Watson seeks not only to de-colonise minds but also to open eyes and hearts to the ongoing evil behind extinguishing Aboriginal sovereignty and enforcing non-Indigenous law, organizing principles, customs and language. Colonization's horror lies in its continuing presence. Using the ancient image of *Kaldowineri*, a time when '....song, stories and law were birthed, along with ancestors out of the Land', Watson tells of First Nations singing their way into being, '*...guru'nulun' and 'wardand' and wanunj ganji ...*' (2015, p. 11). Entering this story, I enter into dialogue with Aboriginal feminist colleagues, including Moreton-Robinson (2012), Atkinson (2002); Bennett, Zubrzycki & Bacon (2011); Bessarab (2012); Fredericks (2009) and Fejo-King (2013). It is a conversation of pain and inspiration, confrontation and capitulation that is both reflexive and rhizomatic. It is a journey of mindful contemplation on what de-colonisation means in an

embodied sense. Can decolonisation dismantle whiteness and if so how? I aim to provide a yarnning auto-ethnographic style account of thinking ‘back’ through this body of work and how it can reshape this (my) body; of whiteness in relation to decolonisation, its political, personal, organisational, philosophical and ethical dimensions.

<sup>1</sup> Excerpt from ‘*Feelings*’ by Lisa Belleair 1996, (p. 13–14) as cited in Brewster, 2007, p. 210.

*Helen Taylor*

**White women doing good: practices of privilege and vulnerability in social entrepreneurship**

Entrepreneurship has sustained interest as a rich field of potential research in the academy. Where mainstream scholars in the field address a fascination with how successful entrepreneurs operate, a critical approach will question how practices of entrepreneurship reflect and reproduce structures of power. Situating a critical ethnographic study in the context of a social enterprise, this paper looks to consider the ways in which white middle-class femininity is rendered through practices of entrepreneurship. Critical whiteness studies as a theoretical framework will allow for consideration of the complex ways in which positionality affords privilege and how this privilege shapes the business of ‘doing good’ in a social enterprise. This research contributes to the critical entrepreneurship field by examining race, class and sexuality alongside gender as significant societal structures that are reflected and reproduced in practices of entrepreneurship.

Emerging findings place vulnerability at the centre of the social enterprise. A compelling tension holds between the position of vulnerability held by recipients of the material aid offered by the organisation and practices of vulnerability undertaken by the founders and team leaders in the doing of their work. The doing of ‘good’ in proximity to lived vulnerability has allowed for white middle-class heterosexual feminine privilege as entrepreneurs to be negated by unspoken excuses, where symbolic confessions of privilege are underscored by silent white understanding. Wielding practiced vulnerability discourse informed by vulnerability celebrity Brené Brown offers the founders in particular a means by which to access acceptable entrepreneurial ‘failures’ and ‘growing pains’ in white middle-class safety. Here, white femininity grants permission to fail, to be ignorant, to be fragile, to experience discomfort. Experiences of inequality on the basis of gender are drawn upon to construct a sense of having overcome challenges of legitimacy in the white middle-class male domain of entrepreneurship. This sense of success or progress is shored up by Brown’s brand of ‘thought leadership’ on ways in which one can ‘dare’ to fail. Growth and the reaching of milestones has brought forth a sense of white middle-class entitlement masked as post-feminist empowerment in the organisation.

As a white middle-class woman researching this social enterprise, my own positionality throughout 12 months of ethnographic fieldwork has been key to drawing out these claims to vulnerability and to silence. The notion of silent white understanding has been extended to me, where participants have projected their own assumptions onto me in multiple ways. At different points, leaving space for white confessions of privilege and performances of vulnerability allowed me access to less studied reflection from my participants. At other points, my presence and questions elicited white fragility, defensiveness or dismissiveness, and a need to smooth over or conclude with broad assertions that echo with all they do not say. I bring my own discomfort in response to an imposed sense of betrayal of white feminism and white women who are ‘just trying to do good’ to this research, exploring the ways in which tarrying with this discomfort might allow me to disrupt and dismantle oppressive structures of power.

*Deirdre Tedmanson and Freya Higgins-Desbiolles*

### **White lines in red earth**

“That’s a really important sacred thing that you are climbing... You shouldn’t climb. It’s not the real thing about this place. The real thing is listening to everything...”<sup>1</sup>

" I feel sad. Why are they climbing? Why [are] they going into sacred areas?"<sup>2</sup>

'Tjukurpa Katutja Ngarantja'<sup>3</sup>

Uluru rises like a giant pulsating heart from the flat red earth of the surrounding Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park, jointly managed by local Anangu (Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people), the Traditional Owners of this area in the central desert region in the middle of Australia. Ever since the park was ‘handed back’ to its Traditional Owners by then Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke in 1985, the area has been jointly managed by local Anangu and the Australian Government. The very notion of ‘handing back’ Uluru to the local Aboriginal community, who had cared for this country for many thousands upon thousands of years is illustrative of post invasion Australia, when paternalistic colonial control over Aboriginal people and their country was at an overt peak. The ‘taking’ of Uluru and renaming of it as ‘Ayers Rock’ (after a non-Indigenous/ white male Chief Secretary of South Australia in the 1870s) is emblematic of the often-violent appropriation of Aboriginal Australian peoples’ land and whole sale attempts to obliterate Australia’s First Peoples’ cultures, languages and beliefs. The continual flagrant disregard, defacement and desecration of Uluru by countless throngs of tourists both domestic and international, is a shameful stain on this nation’s history. Within this context, the ‘hand back’ in 1985 of the ‘Rock’ to its Traditional Owners, agreement for joint management of the National Park and restoration of the Pitjantjatjara name Uluru for the monolith was viewed optimistically as a meaningful and material decolonising symbol of a maturing nation.

However, despite the hopes of the 1985 hand back and a clear message from Traditional Owners on all information for tourists about their time in the park: ‘Please do not climb Uluru’ (as cited in Higgins-Desbiolles, Everingham and Peters, in press) tourists from Australia and around the world continued to climb all over Uluru. Some urinated and defecated on this important sacred site and the disregard and disrespect of Anangu culture, wishes and pleas became endemic. By 2017, the Traditional Owners had had enough, and urged appropriate action be taken to preserve Uluru. The Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park (UKTNP) Board finally announced in 2017 that climbing on Uluru would be banned from 26<sup>th</sup> October 2019. In the face of an extraordinary backlash the walking path chains that have bound Uluru, analogous to the chains that have bound Aboriginal communities everywhere since white invasion, are being removed.

This paper tracks the controversy and public protests that followed the 2017 announcement of the climb’s closure. Drawing on original recent critical tourism work by Higgins-Desbiolles, Everingham and Peters (in press) and critical and Indigenous/anti-racist feminist theorising by Moreton-Robinson, 2000, Kuokkanen, 2015; Behrendt, 1993; Alcoff, 1991; Ahmed, 2002, 2012; Silman, 1987; Crenshaw, 1991; Motta, 2018; Grande, 2018; Maddison, 2016; Anthony, 2017; Atkinson, 1990 and Atkinson, Nelson and Atkinson, 2010, this paper will discuss the

‘white rage’ emanating from the decision of local Aboriginal Traditional Owners to close Uluru to climbing and the pain and suffering this evoked for Aboriginal communities, families and kinship networks around Uluru.

We particularly focus on the voices of local Aboriginal women, highlighting both their suffering and their resilience, at the hands of a dominant culture determined (literally) to walk all over them. Using a decolonial lens we analyse the gendered relations of power embedded in this story. Finally, we highlight the power of ‘Dadirri’, an Aboriginal women’s way of deep listening, of understanding relationships through appreciating the interconnection between people and their environments:

[Dadirri brings] a knowledge and consideration of community and the diversity and unique nature that each individual brings to community; ways of relating and acting within community; a non-intrusive observation, or quietly aware watching; a deep listening and hearing with more than the ears; a reflective non-judgmental consideration of what is being seen and heard; and, having learnt from the listening, a purposeful plan to act, with actions informed by learning wisdom and the informed responsibility that comes with knowledge (Atkinson 2000, p. 16).

<sup>1</sup> Kunmunara Traditional Owner cited in Uluru pamphlet for visitors available online at: <http://environment.gov.au/system/files/webforms/efa586dd-0cfa-47c7-aea2-c24103493805/files/anangu-culture.pdf> accessed, 1/12/2019

<sup>2</sup> Ms Natalie Ray Anangu Traditional Owner

<sup>3</sup> Tjukurpa (Anangu traditional law) above all else (National Parks, ‘Park Management’, 2019).

**Stream 32**  
**Women on Boards and in Senior Leadership: Exploring**  
**Change Strategies Within International Contexts**

**Convenors: Elena Doldor, Cathrine Seierstad, Heike Mensi-Klarbach and**  
**Alison Sheridan**

*Angela Wroblewski*

### **Quotas – easy win regarding gender equality or only partial solution**

The paper focuses on experiences made with quotas for university bodies in Austria. Since an amendment to the Austrian Universities Act in 2009 all university bodies (rectorate, university council, senate, commissions set up by the senate) have to consist of at least 50% of women. This is a “strong quota regulation” for two reasons: (1) the law provides sanctions for a body which does not fulfill the quota and (2) the Federal Ministry for Education, Science and Research monitors the implementation of the quota. The quota triggered a significant increase of the share of women in decision making. For instance almost all rectorates and university councils consist of 50% of women. However, this positive development should not hastily be interpreted as a success story. Before coming to a final assessment the results of the quota regulation regarding two implicit assumptions should be discussed. The first implicit assumption is that women who managed to break the glass ceiling realized a successful career (assumed positive effect on the individual level). The second assumption is that women in top management positions will initiate cultural change and support a more women friendly organizational climate (assumed positive effect on the institutional level).

Experiences with the Austrian quota regulation for university bodies lead us to an ambivalent assessment of the increasing female participation in decision making. This assessment is based on a study focusing on women in rectorate positions. First, the situation of men and women entering rectorate differs which has also implications for the situation after leaving the management position (e.g. women are on average younger than men and less likely to hold a full professorship). Second, women in management differ regarding their experience with and willingness to deal with gender equality issues. Consequently, an increasing participation of women in decision making does not automatically lead to more gender competent decisions.

The paper will be structured as follows: In the first part the quota regulation and the development of the share of women in decision making bodies will be described. The second part will present results of qualitative interviews with women in rectorate focusing on their way into the management position, their position afterwards and their role as change agents for gender equality within the institution. The third part will critically assess the effect of the quota regarding gender equality. Based on this assessment policy recommendations are formulated. The analysis is based on material (statistics, interviews) gathered in the context of a research project on female careers in higher education management commissioned by the Austrian Federal Ministry for Science, Research and Economy (2016-2018).

### **References**



**Stream 32**  
**Wednesday, Session 2 – 14:00-15:30**  
**Regulatory approaches to board diversity**

Wroblewski, Angela (2018), Frauenkarrieren im Hochschulmanagement [Careers for Women in Higher Education Management]. Study on behalf of the Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Research, Vienna.

*Cheryl Hurst*

**Who do we mean when we talk about resistance? Bringing the subject back to the gender quota debate**

There is no one-size-fits-all approach to gender balance at senior levels of organizations. There are varying levels of success from different gender equality (GE) initiatives, with resistance to some and acceptance of others across different sectors and cultural contexts (Bohnet, 2016). Resistance to GE initiatives has previously been associated with those from the dominant social group, framing the resisters as “sexist or in some other way, ‘incorrect’” (Dick, 2004, p.54). However, recent studies show that resistance is expressed by members of both minority and majority groups in organizations. Resistance to GE initiatives is therefore not framed exclusively through the rhetoric that the resister is unsupportive of GE, but rather that certain initiatives are unlikely to be effective or may pose additional challenges to the organization or its members (Dobbin & Kalev, 2018).

Gender quotas remain one of the more controversial mechanisms for achieving gender-based change (Voorspoels, 2018). Some of the reasons for the controversy is the interaction (and perceived mismatch) between the nature of quotas and the core value of ‘merit’ in organizations; the stigmatization of women recruited; the belief that quotas are inherently discriminatory; and that quotas would not be effective (Dahlerup & Friedenvall, 2010). Still, the use of quotas in several European countries suggests they are increasingly considered an appropriate intervention. In the UK, gender quotas continue to be resisted and have not been formally implemented. The present study contributes a theoretically grounded conceptualization of this resistance toward two forms of GE initiatives in the UK: gender targets and gender quotas. There is limited research that comparatively examines perspectives of leaders in relation to both targets and quotas within a UK higher education context.

The analysis reveals that discourses of resistance towards gender quotas contribute to, and are constitutive of, the construction of a resistant invisible audience. The invisible audience is an ostensibly omnipresent third party who is the reason quotas are not an effective strategy for increasing the representation of women in senior roles. Male participants reinforced that quotas are ‘bad for women’ because of how ‘quota women’ would be perceived. Female participants resisted quotas because of the feelings of resentment they would produce. However, these reasons suggest the existence of a resistant ‘other.’ By not questioning ‘who’ or ‘what systems’ would negatively perceive women or feel resentment, the participants problematize gender inequality without questioning how these outcomes are a result of the existing gendered organization.

Using discourse and gender theory, I argue this invisible audience is a discursive resource used by leaders to create accounts of resistance that prevent their own position from being viewed as opposing or difficult. The main argument is that resistance needs to be critically re-examined, arguing for a conceptualisation that recognizes the motives of discursive meaning-making. By identifying and problematizing the invisible audience, GE initiative interpretation is subject to discourses that (re)produce dominant ideologies about women’s underrepresentation in senior roles.

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*Cathrine Seierstad and Hilde Fjellvæ*

**Gender quotas on corporate boards: Diversity spill-over and the role of non-executive directors as change agents**

The underrepresentation of women on corporate boards and in senior positions is on the agenda worldwide. Radical strategies, such as quotas, aiming to increase the share of women in positions of power and influence have been introduced for board positions in multiple European countries (Mensi-Klarbach and Seierstad, forthcoming). Such strategies, if they have penalties for non-compliance, will of course lead to a change, yet to what extent there will be wider effects in terms of increased gender diversity beyond the boardroom is unclear. In this paper, we set out to explore the case of Norway where gender quotas for Public Limited Companies boards has been fully implemented since 2008. At the time of introduction, it was evident that a spill-over effect of wider gender diversity in the private sector, was a desired outcome. Yet, studies have questioned whether we see evidence of this. Moreover, the potential mandate and role of boards and non-executive directors in the institutional change process of increasing gender diversity is unclear.

While there have been a wide range of studies focusing on descriptive changes in terms of board compositions, differences between male and female directors and effects of diversity on company performance, little is known about the wider diversity effects and the role and actions of women directors. In response, this study utilise conceptual tools from and build on women on board (e.g. Doldor et.al. 2016; Seierstad et al. 2017, Terjesen and Sealy 2017; Kirsch 2017) and diversity literature (e.g. Scully and Meyerson, 1995; Kirton et al. 2007; Kelan and Wratil 2017) and present a qualitative study that explore the role of women directors as potential change agents in the institutional change process aiming to increase gender diversity on boards and beyond.

Utilising data from semi-structured interviews with 20 women directors, we found women directors are putting diversity on the agenda both in and beyond the boardroom and are actively working to increase diversity in multiple forms, hence can be seen as important change agents. However, we also found indications that this is a relatively recent phenomenon. We found that there have been changes in the contextual setting providing an environment in which the lack of gender diversity on boards and in the private sector is on the agenda. We found that the mandate and role of boards has developed over this period and that external pressure and focus on diversity is increasingly creating legitimacy for discussions of gender (im)balance in the private sector, within and beyond the boardroom. However, while there are strong indications of an increased focus on gender diversity, an institutional change process is precarious and affected by multiple factors and events. Nevertheless, women directors can be seen as important actors in this process, although in different ways and to different degrees depending on what they do, how they understand their role and how they rationalize their actions. We found that women directors have three broad arenas of initiating change, direct personal change initiatives, top-level change initiatives and board level change initiatives.

*Natalie Galea and Fanny Salignac*

**An opportunity to shine: Homosociality as a barrier to women's progression in the Australian construction sector**

Australia and the United Kingdom share a problem; an overrepresentation of men in their construction sectors relative to the working population. Despite greater attention towards gender equality by companies, men occupy the majority of senior management positions. Over the last few decades, scholars have largely focused on the processes and practices that act against women, and the affect this has on women's career progression. However, men's careers are under analysed. This paper flips the gaze, applying a feminist institutionalist lens, to examine the practices and rules that shape men's career progression. This is critical if we are to understand how men's powerfulness in the Australian construction sector is maintained and perpetuated. It draws on data from interviews and rapid ethnography of male construction professionals working in two multinational Australian construction companies.

The paper finds that men's career progression routinely operates through homosociality, instrumentally and expressively, via a 'sponsor-mobility' principle whereby selected individuals receive higher levels of guidance, access to opportunities and advocacy from their managers. Instrumentally, employees are required to form strategic alliances with male managers and demonstrate their dependability by adhering to the industry's rigid work practices and career path norms. Expressively, employees need to perform (and be complicit in the performance of) accepted forms of dominance, authority and control. It finds that male managers, as gendered actors, uphold and enforce homosociality in return for employee loyalty and predictability. Weak human resourcing policies, an acceptance of traditional gender norms and a lack of transparency help to keep practices of homosociality in place. The paper concludes that promotions within the construction industry are unlikely to occur through a 'contest-mobility' system where the most talented employees rise to the top.

*Lucy Pius Kyauke*

### **Gender Inclusion and Leadership Positions in Higher Learning Institutions in Tanzania**

Women under-representation in leadership positions in higher learning institutions is a worldwide problem (Dominici et al. 2009; Odhiambo, 2011; Sandberg & Scovell, 2013; Dunn et al., 2014; ILO, 2016; UN Women report, 2017; Sang, 2018). The magnitude of the problem stands to a large extent in Africa (CODESRIA, 2014; ILO, 2016; Adamma, 2017; Moodly & Tony, 2017; Watende et al., 2017; UN Women report, 2017), and noted to be alarming in Tanzania (LHRC, 2016; TGNP, 2017; TCU report, 2017). My present study “Gender inclusion and leadership positions in higher learning institutions in Tanzania” is aimed to contribute to the understanding of the socio-cultural skills, abilities and ways of acting thought appropriate for women inclusion into leadership positions, as part of gender equity, gender quality and gender equality strategies to professionals in higher learning institutions.

Two theoretical approaches are chosen relevant to guide the study; Intersectionality Approach based on Systemic Intra-act Method and Actor Network Theory. Intersectionality approach is relevant to describe important factors contributing to gender in/exclusion and how such factors are interconnected, linked and work as a system in which such factors (Academic meritocracy, politics and socio-cultural factors that affect gender) cannot be examined separately from one another when it comes to suggest appropriate gender inclusion strategies into leadership promotions in higher leaning institutions. Actor Network Theory is adopted to offers a diverse and critical discourses on the status quo notably the recognition of gendered dominance in social arrangements and the desire to change from such forms of domination. More specific, Actor Network Theory is tuned relevant for understanding how the problem of women underrepresentation into leadership positions in higher leaning institutions is constituted, and to what extent refined tools (Academic meritocracy and socio-cultural factors) that can explain what other domain of the gender socio-cultural parameters could not account for.

The methodology of the study is based on qualitative approach. Data collection methods involve interviews, focus group discussion and observation. In the analysis; contextual as well as content analysis techniques were used to analyse the transcribed interviews with primary as well as key interviewees and other gender-stakeholders. The general overview of the results reveals that; Patriarchy system dominate the power structures in higher learning institutions. Low number of female students’ enrolment at the Universities contribute significantly to low number of women leaders in higher learning institutions. In order to strategies more women into power, promotion procedures and processes of recruitment should be challenged. Building and promoting gender balance in higher learning institutions should not be based on academic merits alone. Intersectional focus and diverse discourses on the status quo, including other socio-cultural factors embedded in a process can make a difference on women academics to prosper.

*Nosheen Jawaid Khan*

### **The Role of External Agents/Agencies in the Progression of Women in Employment: A Relational and Multilevel Perspective in the UK**

The UK has embraced a voluntary approach to improve gender equality in employment. The Hampton-Alexander (2018) report has recognised the need for a ‘collaborative approach’ amongst various stakeholders to improve women representation on corporate boards. Arguably, the “collaborative approach” may benefit women on corporate boards and enhance the inclusivity of women across different occupations and sectors (Sealy, 2016; Terjesen and Sealy, 2016). This study critically examines the role of third-sector organisations, i.e., external gender equalities agents/agencies (EGEAs) that operate to enhance women’s participation in employment by affecting the individual, organisational, and policy level outcomes. The paper offers a Realist Bourdieusian analytical approach (Vincent and Pagan, 2018) to evaluate the impact of EGEAs on gender equality outcomes. Arguably, the relational and multilevel analysis enriches our understanding of EGEAs’ structure, practices, resources, social relations, and outcomes to establish how these organisations affect gender equality outcomes with their specific context. The study explores qualitative data of 40 respondents associated with 25 organisations (EGEAs), mostly based in Northern England and Scotland. The data is mainly collected through interviews, but in addition, organisational documents and observations are analysed to support the findings.

The findings reveal EGEAs involvement in various gender equality activities that impact individual women directly and influence at the structural level to achieve an indirect effect on women employees in the workplace. The social interactions of EGEAs with government and employers play a role in accumulating the essential resources required in the change process. The study also sheds light on women’s experience and reflexive struggle in strategising practices and mobilising resources in the field. Women are heavily involved with the field due to the perceived sense of injustice and social identification as a disadvantaged group. EGEAs face a common challenge: a lack of an analytical approach to measuring the impact of their practices. By identifying best practices, the study informs organisations that seek to progress women’s career interests. Limited literature has focused on understanding stakeholders’ motivations to increase women on corporate boards (Doldor, Sealy, and Vinnicombe, 2016). By identifying different types of EGEAs, the study has made a significant contribution in knowing how these EGEAs are positioned and why these organisations are motivated to empower women in the labour market.

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*Martha Rivera Pesquera, Mayra Ruiz-Castro & Alejandro Vázquez Ríos*

**Women on boards in Mexico: How do they get a board seat?**

Despite women accounting for more than 40% of the labor force in many countries (Fetterolf, 2017), women hold only 15% of board director seats worldwide (Sharda, 2019). Mexico is no exception: women's participation in the labour market and representation in leadership positions continue to be some of the country's biggest challenges (Camarena Adame & Saavedra García, 2018). Even when women in Mexico have higher undergraduate-level completion rates than men (21% and 18% respectively), 34% of leadership positions in Mexico are held by women, and only 5.7% of board seats across Mexican companies are occupied by women (Catalyst, 2019). Moreover, neither the Mexican Securities Exchange Act (Ley del Mercado de Valores) (DIPUTADOS, 2005), last reviewed in March 2018, nor the "Código de Mejores Prácticas Corporativas" (Code of Best Corporate Practices) (CCE, 2010) give consideration to women's representation on boards. Thus, there is the need to raise awareness on gender inequality in executive boards in Mexico among practitioners and policy-makers as well as to more deeply understand women and men's trajectories to the boardroom and to what extent they succeed once they are there.

The aim of this study is thus to explore in-depth the life trajectories of female and male board members in Mexico to understand the path they have followed to reach a board seat, thereby identifying the critical factors and life events that have shaped their path. The study adopts a narrative inquiry method involving face-to-face, semi-structured interviews with 30 women and men on boards in Mexico (interviews are on-going).

Our study will contribute to the literature on gender diversity and women's underrepresentation in leadership positions and within executive boards, which has expanded considerably in the last two decades, but has tended to focus on developed countries (Kirsch, 2018; Terjesen, Couto, & Francisco, 2016). Along with the study of board composition in terms of age, education, ethnicity, and personal background, research in developed countries has looked at the reasons underlying gender inequality in the boardroom (Nili, 2019). Some researchers have identified benevolent sexism against both men and women within their social networks as one of the critical issues (Hideg & Shen, 2019). This is manifested in two ways, by undermining the career support women need to advance to leadership positions and by endorsing attitudes that may discourage their ability to recognize and willingness to seek out the career support women need from their managers and family members to advance to leadership positions (Hideg & Shen, 2019). Other scholars have pointed to the lack of access to mentoring, which affects women's ability (and the ability of other minorities) to secure board appointments (McDonald & Westphal, 2013). Our preliminary interview data point rather to social status and social capital as key factors in board appointments, which favor men over women. As the first study of its kind in Mexico, based on companies listed in the Mexico Stock Exchange, we anticipate that our study will have important implications for practice by documenting the trajectories of board members and highlighting the relevance of regulatory frameworks.

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*Terrance Fitzsimmons, Ruth Sealy and Elena Doldor*

### **Towards Board Gender Parity in Non-Quota Countries**

Over the past decade the United Kingdom and Australia have seen the proportion of women serving on the boards of their largest listed companies increase from less than ten percent to more than thirty percent without government intervention in the form of quotas.

Australia and the United Kingdom are both Commonwealth countries who share similar legislative traditions and are characterised by corporate sectors generally opposed to Government regulation. Likewise, most directors of UK and Australian boards are non-executive and independent, with boards led by a non-executive chairperson. The role of the chairperson in both countries is not subject to legal prescription, meaning that the roles a chairperson adopts on any board, such as leadership of board meetings, heading committees or making decisions upon board appointments, are by tradition alone and the role is considered to be both prestigious and powerful. The corporate board environment in the UK and Australia can also be characterised as tightly networked. While the occasional threat of board quotas being instated has been voiced by individual members of the UK and Australian Parliaments, the issue of women on boards in these countries is largely dominated by a ‘targets’ narrative. Over the past decade, both countries have seen the active involvement of their respective regulatory bodies, board representative bodies, not-for profit women’s advocacy groups, executive search firms, prominent male champions of change and independent government sponsored reviews all contributing towards the push for greater numbers of women on boards.

The present study adopted a Bourdieusian framework in examining and mapping the corporate field, including the field of power, the habitus of its key stakeholders and the relative capitals they possess to drive ASX200 and FTSE350 boards to increase the representation of women. The study employed over 50 interviews in Australia and the UK of key management personnel of securities exchanges, board representational bodies, executive search, advocacy groups and prominent male champions to explore the arguments that have proved successful in making the case for change and framing the targets debate as well as identifying the key actors most responsible for driving the changes to date.

We find that the application of the social and symbolic capital of a relatively few key champions in the corporate sector has played a disproportionate role in furthering the number of women on boards. These key champions have successfully leveraged the business case to create an impetus towards change and are assisted by the tight networking of boards and the power available to board chairs. Nonetheless there remain certain ‘fundamental’ attributes of board composition, such as the need for executive operational & line role experience, which continue to act in stalling ongoing efforts to reach board gender parity. Additionally, despite the key roles played by a relative few, other actors play a critical role in promoting positive messaging around board gender targets and maintaining pressure upon boards to continue towards board gender parity.

*Amal Abdellatif*

### **Contextualising Women on Boards in the Middle East: Deconstructing and Reconstructing Gendered Agency**

Although women are globally underrepresented on corporate boards, some countries achieve higher proportion of women on boards (WOB) than others (Chizema et al., 2015). Compared to 20% WOB in developed countries, WOB are almost absent in the Middle East (ME); 2% (IFC, 2019). Since corporate governance is socially constructed (Letza et al., 2008), the national institutions in which organisations are embedded significantly impacts governance structures and practices (Cuervo, 20002). While organisations are viewed as stakeholder-centred change agents in which corporate actors can transform contexts by altering existing institutional gender arrangements (Karam and Jamali, 2013), organisations have limited capacity to disrupt the embedded social structures through their own actions (Kirsch, 2018). Rather, organisations tend to reproduce the macro-level conditions that sustain mono-cultural dominance as a means to acquire legitimacy (Syed & Özbilgin, 2009). From institutional perspectives, gender composition in organisations is not related merely to work environments, but also the broader institutional structure that generates cross-national differences in gender systems influencing women's representation on boards (Kirsch, 2018). Thus, it is important to look beyond the organisational level when analysing dynamics of gender construct in organisations (Ferreira, 2015).

Examining gender in organisations cannot be disentangled from the larger context. A core difference between the ME and the West is gender equality and the lack of women's involvement in politics/governance. While the research on WOB is largely theorised within developed countries, such research within the ME is scarce. Even studies conducted within the ME tend to replicate the existing Western assumptions and theorisation, reinforcing an absence of critical reflection on ME women's studies (Fleischmann et al., 1997). The ME context has compounded implications for WOB, where the application of Sharia law in Arab's constitution suggests that the socio-cultural and legal context are closely intertwined with the organisational processes and individual outcomes of equal opportunity (Syed & Özbilgin, 2009). It is argued that Islam alone is not the culprit of gender inequality; however, the state plays a prominent role in defining gender ideology and enacting policies that affect ME women (Charrad, 2011). Hence, key social institutions such as state and religion have the potential to alleviate stereotypical attitude towards women in leadership, and tend to maintain the status quo (Koburtay et al., 2018).

Hakim (2000) emphasised the individualistic approach to women career advancement, where women's position is a product of their preferences. This lean in approach assumes women's sole responsibility to career advancement regardless of external structural barriers and discrimination (Kim et al., 2018). This approach is problematic and inapplicable, particularly in ME collective culture. Individual agency cannot be examined in vacuum without understanding women's status in the social hierarchies. For example, within the legal-religious state structure, KSA legally restricts women from interacting with non-kinship men (Karam and Jamali, 2013), considering women as legal minors under the control of mahram (closest male relative) which constraints their employment (Metcalf, 2008). This suggests

that women in this context cannot fully utilise their agency to control their own career trajectory and limits the generalisability of Western organisational typology.

Chandra Mohanty (2003) challenged the assumed homogeneity of women in organisations' discourses which presumes that gender can be applied universally and cross-culturally. Rather, gender analytically demonstrates the production of women as socioeconomic political groups within particular local contexts. Bridging structure/agency debate, where the work and the worker are interdependent rather than independent (Reed, 1997), this paper problematizes the underlying assumptions of the existing theorisation on WOB in the ME, which were dominantly developed within the West, contradicting the notion of gender as a cultural social construct (Acker, 2006). The existing theorisation on gender in organisations is problematized for marginalising the lived experiences of ME women (Fleischmann et al., 1997). Thus, in seeking explanations for the presence or absence of WOB (Rizzo et al., 2007) in the ME, this paper contributes a reconceptualised understanding of the agency of ME WOB.

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*Claudine Mangen and Sophie Audousset-Coulier*

### **Pipeline and progression processes**

The gender gap in organizational leadership in Canada and elsewhere remains pervasive, especially at the top level of organizational hierarchies. In 2019, 83% of all directors on corporate boards in Canada were men (Canadian Securities Administrators 2019). Role congruity theory emphasizes the importance of stereotypes in explaining this gender gap (Eagly and Karau 2002). It highlights how stereotypes about who organizational leaders should be (e.g., men) and about what they should do (e.g., engage in masculine behaviour) make it difficult for women not only to access leadership roles but also to be successful leaders. We build on role congruity theory to explore how stereotypes are maintained or disrupted. These stereotypes involve the perceived gender of the leader: leaders are seen as men, and women are not seen in leadership roles but instead still largely in caregiver roles. Our approach links these stereotypes to the identity of women leaders: stereotypes shape their ideal identities (e.g., the leaders and/or caregivers whom they wish to be) via identity regulation practices. Because ideal identities may contrast with experienced identities (e.g., the leaders and/or caregivers whom women can actually be), women leaders experience identity conflicts, which they resolve through identity work.

Empirically, we explore the identity regulation practices that women leaders are exposed to, the identity conflicts that these practices lead to, and the identity work that women leaders do in response. We rely on extensive interviews with women who recently became directors in for-profit corporations in Canada and whom we interviewed about their transition into leadership. Our analysis of the interviews shows that interviewees experience identity conflicts: they are conflicted between their ideal and experienced identities in both their leadership roles (where they mostly feel not visible enough as professionals) and their caregiver roles (where they feel either too visible or not visible enough as caregivers). These identity conflicts are linked to identity regulation practices that other actors in their professional and private spaces engage in (e.g., other define leadership and/or caregiver roles) and that interviewees themselves do (e.g., they question their fit with leadership and/or caregiver roles). Interviewees react to identity conflicts by performing three kinds of identity work: lean-out practices (i.e., they change or leave roles), lean-in practices (i.e., they change themselves but not the roles), and lean-on practices (i.e., they delegate roles or they get support for enacting roles).

Based on our findings, we propose a theorization for how stereotypes are maintained or disrupted. We observe that stereotypes shape practices that regulate individuals' experienced identities. Because these experienced identities may conflict with ideal identities, individuals experience identity conflicts, which they resolve using identity work practices. These identity work practices can maintain the stereotype that underlies identity regulation (e.g., lean-in and lean-on identity work), which implies that the stereotype is reproduced. Alternatively, the identity work can question the stereotype that underlies the identity regulation (e.g., lean-out work), which implies that the stereotype is resisted. We discuss the implications of our findings and theorization for the institution of gender.

*Ásta Dís Óladóttir, Gylfi Dalmann Adalsteinsson, Thora Christiansen*

**What can be done to even the gender ratio in senior management in Iceland?**

According to the World Economic Forum Global Gender Gap Report 2018 it will take more than 100 years to reach full gender equality in the world. Iceland has made the greatest progress towards closing the gender gap, or 85%. Yet no woman is CEO in any of the companies listed on the Icelandic stock exchange in 2019 and the ratio of women in senior leadership is very low. In organizations with 50 or more employees, women hold only 13% of the CEO positions, although women stand a better chance of holding CEO positions in smaller enterprises. Iceland is among the countries that have enacted gender quota legislation and companies are encouraged to improve the gender ratio on boards and in senior management. However, the number of women on the boards and chairing the boards of listed companies is decreasing. The study aims to explore the views of women in leadership positions regarding why no woman is CEO of a publicly traded company in Iceland and what actions or initiatives they deem necessary to increase the number of women in senior leadership positions in Iceland. To gain a clearer understanding of the situation, a survey was conducted among women leaders in Icelandic business. Responses from 188 women revealed that they feel that the greatest barrier for women's advancement to CEO positions is the old boys' club, or homosociality. They feel that action must be taken, even legislative; almost 60% of the respondents supported the enforcement of gender quotas for executive positions. They furthermore feel that organizational cultures and attitudes must change, and that gender quotas on senior leadership positions are a feasible catalyst for that change. The findings reveal a deep dissatisfaction among women leaders in Iceland with the status of gender equality in leadership positions, despite the country's consistent top ranking on gender equality. These findings are an important contribution to the conversation on change strategies and represent the voice of women who have insights and experience of engaging with the barriers. They speak to the necessity of change and in order to achieve the UN Sustainable Development Goals on Gender Equality, such as ensuring "women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision making in political, economic and public life," actions must be taken.



*Linley Lord, Anne Ross-Smith and Alison Sheridan*

### **Women in the C-suite: Are boards on the horizon?**

Women's absence from the C-suite is often framed as the reason why there aren't more female CEOs and directors. This supply side argument about the 'pipeline' continues to inform discussions about women's representation in leadership roles in Australian companies (Cermak, Howard, Jeeves, & Ubaldi, 2017). Since 2011, the Australian Securities Exchange (ASX) has required listed companies to report the proportion of women employees in the whole organization, women in senior executive positions and women on the board (ASX Corporate Governance Council, 2010). With women's board representation growing from 8% to 30% in ASX 200 companies between 2010 and 2019, women's increasing representation on boards of ASX200 listed companies has been remarkable, but their representation as CEOs, at only 7.0%, lags behind (AICD, 2018). In 2019, of the 919 executives belonging to the ASX100 companies, 260 were women. It seems they have been able to navigate what Eagly and Carli (2007) labelled as the labyrinth to leadership. These women are in the proximate end of the 'pipeline' for the CEO roles and prospective ASX company directors.

In this paper we address the research questions which emerged from the WGEA's 2019 report 'what does it take to break through the glass ceilings in our workplaces and once through are there additional obstacles or barriers that women need to navigate?' (WGEA, 2019: 11).

In responding to this research question, through interviews, we explore the experiences of a small sample of women in C-suite roles, primarily in Australian listed companies. In using a qualitative approach to capture individuals' cognitive, affective, and motivational connections to their experiences (Nasheeda, Abdullah, Krauss, & Ahmed, 2019), we recognise that the women we interviewed are 'knowledgeable agents' and 'know what they are trying to do and can explain their thoughts, intentions and actions' (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2012).

Utilising the lens of the labyrinth (Eagly and Carli 2007) and the wider literature on women's careers, we analysed the transcripts of the interviews. The results reveal the positives and the negatives of being a woman in the C-suite, including the challenges in terms of both the public and private aspects of their lives. There are common themes to their paths, while at the same time their unique circumstances reinforce the complexity of women's career decisions. We conclude there is no fixed path to the C-suite and as our sample demonstrates, the CEO or board roles are not necessarily the end goal.

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*Christina Gossayn, Anne Crafford and Arien Strasheim*

### **Implicit Gender Self-Bias: Women's Leader Identity Construction**

Little research has been done on unconscious identity work, and the influence of implicit gender bias on leader identity construction. At the individual level, a woman leader may hold internalised implicit conceptions of what it means to be a leader shaped by her acceptance of gender role stereotypes and leader prototypes. However, a leadership identity comprises of relational recognition and collective endorsement and may also be influenced by implicit and explicit gender role stereotyping. If one does not display the prototypical characteristics for a particular role it may create dissonance and negatively impact identity by decreasing self-esteem, thus requiring more identity work to accept or claim a leader identity. If a woman leader carries a large implicit gender bias, it may impact her ability to claim and accept a leader identity, as she may have a strong agentic/masculine prototype of leadership and may therefore need to engage in more identity work in order to successfully construe her leader identity and overcome the unconscious and overt conscious biases surrounding her idea of leadership. It may also impact her willingness to engage in leadership activities such as voicing her views in the boardroom when being one of a few or the only woman at the table. The converse is true if she has a small or non-existent implicit gender bias.

Drawing on concepts located in dual system thinking theory (system one/unconscious and system two/conscious thinking), social identity theory, implicit leadership theory and personal construct theory, this study examines the influence of implicit gender bias on the leader identity construction of women across three levels of self-construal: individual, relational and collective (DeRue & Ashford, 2010). The aim is thus to explore how historically formulated mental patterns impact the way in which women's minds unconsciously and consciously form an idea of their role and the impact this has on their leader identity construal. Additionally, the research will explore how women navigate these implicit biases in the construction of their leader identities.

A qualitative research design is currently being used to collect data comprising of 13 women leaders from a single financial institution. Data is being collected using semi-structured interviews, a repertory grid analysis, an Implicit Association Test (IAT) and vignettes. The financial institutions' company policy documents related to gender equity are also being used as part of the data collection. Using triangulation, the data obtained from the aforementioned data collection methods will be utilised to understand how implicit gender bias effects the leader identity construal process of women leaders and how women navigate this to create a successful leader identity for themselves. This study will assist women leaders with practical ways in which to develop their leader identity through the awareness of their own biases and those of others, empowering them with a greater ability to accept and claim leader identity and how best to navigate this.

*Nayunda Andhika Sari*

### **Can Women Leaders Be Themselves?**

With leadership often conceptualised as masculine endeavour, the identities of women leaders may fall under intense scrutiny, and therefore they have to constantly deal with how others perceive their identities. Women leaders thus deal with challenges in expressing their identities at work since their authenticity as leaders is judged through a gendered lens. Grounded in a social construction approach to identity and authenticity, this on-going study problematises the notion of an 'inner, authentic core' instead of taking it for granted. Rather than focusing on the binaries of inside/outside and real/fake identities, this thesis rests upon a constructed view of 'true' or 'real' selves. I argue for a more interpretive and critical perspective that replaces the essentialist approach in the authentic leadership literature, addressing the alignment with organisationally or societally prescribed selves. I explicitly position this approach to gendered authentic leadership in the societal context of Indonesia.

As such, this study problematises the notion of an inner, true self by showing that authenticity is not outside gender norms, rather it is co-constructed and co-produced between actors according to the cultural and societal norms about how people should look or behave. Drawing on the gendered organisational processes with gender itself as a social performance, authenticity is not a trait that people 'have', rather it is a performance that people 'do'. This study thus challenges research in which authentic leadership is often presented as gender neutral or blind, joining those who considered authenticity as highly gendered and performed. Through in-depth interviews with 32 Indonesian women leaders in board and senior management positions across organisations and sectors in Indonesia, this on-going study aims to understand the gendered construction of authenticity. Focusing on narratives as a discursive practice in identity construction, this study examines how these women leaders are influenced by the available narratives on identity, gender and leadership in constructing their authentic selves.

Using the rich empirical findings from Indonesian women leaders, the present study offers both theoretical and empirical contributions. First, through the problematisation of the notion of an inner, true self, suggesting that authenticity is not outside gender norms, this study adds to the dialogue of the social construction of identity and authenticity. This study contributes to the understanding of the gendered construction of authenticity by showing how women leaders perform authenticity in ways that may involve others' interpretations and evaluation of their gender. Second, focusing on narratives as a discursive practice in identity construction, this study contributes by balancing the tensions between agency and structure. Instead of being passively controlled by the available narratives, this study shows women leaders' agency efforts by examining the specific stories they choose to tell as they construct their gender and leader identity. Empirically, this study contributes rich contextual findings on Indonesian women leaders' experiences of being authentic leaders amidst Indonesian history, sociocultural influences, and gender norms. As the world's fourth most populous country with the largest number of Muslims, Indonesia offers an important and fascinating context for women in elite leadership roles. This study examines how the dominant discourse

of gender norms in Indonesia, such as *kodrat* (God's will), shapes the meanings Indonesian women leaders attribute to authenticity and leadership.

*Fiona Armstrong-Gibbs*

**Exploring strategic intentions to develop gender balanced boards in social enterprises**

Increasingly highlighted in corporate board governance literature is the role and representation of women, however this is a timely opportunity to address similar issues for women in senior leadership positions in social enterprises. As these organisations scale up and impact the wider economy, women as social enterprise leaders are underrepresented globally. The larger the organisation the less likely it is to be led by a woman, mirroring both public and private sectors. This research explores the factors shaping board gender composition of a rapidly growing social enterprise based in Liverpool, UK. It considers the national context and the regional structural support and sector specifics that the organisation is situated in. Furthermore, it seeks to explore some of the internal company behaviours exhibited during the selection process for board appointments.

This research is situated at the meso level, between the external ecosystem and internal organisational environment and data is gathered through a series of interviews with founder board members and ethnographic observations over several years. Findings suggest that as self-selecting and self-governing organisational forms, social enterprises have the potential to address gender imbalance and appoint those that represent their social as well as financial goals, going beyond a resource need or hard skill set. Social enterprises are free to tackle gender issues in governance and do not need to reinforce existing patterns of inequality. Small interventions and deliberate micro political actions at the recruitment and interview stages encourage women to apply for senior positions. This is necessary to avoid perpetuating the ‘old boys club’ and to disrupt homosocial behaviour of existing directors and funding bodies.

Considering the influential and pivotal role women have both as employees and leaders in social enterprises in the UK there is very limited academic enquiry that explores their roles, impact and underrepresentation in larger social enterprises and this needs to be addressed by researchers. Findings also suggest that as the social enterprise develops so does the confidence and ability of its board, particularly the female directors. Their visibility as business leaders, regardless of whether they are corporate or social enterprise directors has the ability to influence women in other organisations and sectors.

*Ricardo Gimeno Nogués, Silvia Gómez-Ansón, Irma Martínez-García, Ruth Mateos de Cabo and María Sacristán-Navarro*

### **The Influence of Ownership On Gender Diversity On Boards: The Moderating Role Of The Institutional Framework**

Men hold the majority of board directorships worldwide (Dawson et al. 2016; Lee et al., 2015). Previous literature that analyses firm-level determinants of female presence on boards (Martín-Ugedo and Minguez-Vera, 2014; Nekhili and Gatfaoui, 2013) points to the importance of ownership structure as determinant of female presence on boards (Campbell and Minguez-Vera, 2008; Martín-Ugedo and Minguez-Vera, 2014; Nekhili and Gatfaoui, 2013; Ruigrok et al. 2007). From an institutional point of view, previous studies have analysed the influence of the institutional context on gender diversity on boards Terjesen et al. (2015) theoretically propose three key institutional determinants for quotas; Seierstad et al. (2017) explore the role of processes and actors driving gender diversity regulation in four European countries; Martínez-García et al. (2019) study the institutional antecedents of board gender diversity hard and soft regulations for 31 European countries; and Iannotta et al. (2016) analyse complementarities among quota regulation and other institutional factors that may shape gender diversity on boards in the EU-28. At firm level, Cabeza et al. (2019) and Carrasco et al. (2015) analyse how some institutional variables (Hofstede dimensions) impact gender diversity on boards, whereas Uribe-Bohorquez et al. (2018) address the relationship between gender diversity and technical efficiency considering the moderating role of culture.

This article aims to contribute to this strand of literature As previous research shows, institutional contexts may shape both firm ownership structures (Claessens et al., 2000; Faccio and Lang, 2002; La Porta et al., 1999) and gender diversity on boards (Cabeza et al. 2019; Carrasco et al., 2015). In this lense, we study how ownership structure and certain shareholders' identities influence women presence on boards and committees taking into account the moderating effect of the institutional context (e.g., legal origin, governance quality, culture, welfare state, labour market, gender equality initiatives). Using a panel sample of the EUROSTOXX 600 companies from 2009 to 2015, we apply a Generalized Structural Equation Model (GSEM, see Bollen and Brand, 2010), to model women presence on boards. Applying GSEM cutting-edge methodology presents many advantages over the widely used panel data econometric approach (Arellano and Bond, 1991). G, SEM allows us to handle many econometric issues simultaneously: introducing time-invariant predictors (i.e., institutional factors) along with fixed effects to control for unobserved heterogeneity (Williams et al., 2018); clustering individuals of the same country allowing thereby to take into account institutional differences that were not considered by the time-invariant predictors; testing restrictions using likelihood ratio tests comparing nested models; and handling missing data through full information maximum likelihood.

In our model, the institutional framework plays a fundamental role, affecting both ownership structure and the proportion of women on board: institutional framework does not only produce a direct and indirect effect on the proportion of women directors, but also a moderating effect on the way ownership structure affects gender diversity on board. Thus, the

model reflects both the equilibrium proportion of women directors on board for different ownership structures, and how changes in the institutional framework may modify it.

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*Sara Falcão Casaca, Maria João Guedes, Susana Ramalho Marques and Nuno Paço*

**Men and women on the boards of companies bound by the gender quota law in Portugal: a first comparative portrait**

Portugal has been one of the European Union (EU) Member States with the lowest representation of WoB, and only in January 2018 did a gender quota law come into force. The new legislative framework has accelerated the increase in the number of women filling board positions in companies listed in the Euronext-Lisbon, particularly in non-executive positions and as members of the supervisory bodies. Boards are now less asymmetrical, although most of them are still far from a parity scenario. The aim of the paper is to analyse the initial impact of the gender quota law in terms of WoB representation at PLCs (Euronext Lisbon), and, secondly, to provide a comparative portrait of the profile of men and women in the boardroom during the first stage of the law's application. In the first stage of the law the profiles of male and female board members were fundamentally similar. In order to compare the profiles of the female and male board members (board of directors and supervisory board) in the whole universe of PLCs in the country, data were collected from the publicly available annual financial and corporate governance reports, and complemented with information retrieved from the Marketscreener website. Data relate to all women and men who held effective positions in managerial and supervisory bodies in the 40 PLCs of Euronext-Lisbon, in 2018. Data show that women are more likely to have shorter tenures on boards, be relatively younger, more educated and more independent than men, as also demonstrated by other previous studies. The paper is built upon the empirical work that has been developed under the scope the project Women on Corporate Boards: an integrative approach (2018-2021), funded by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT) and by the Ministry of Science, Technology and High Education (MCTES) through national funding (PIDDAC).

**Stream 33**  
**Organizing Childhood: Growing Up and Looking Back**

**Convenors: Nina Kivinen, Carolyn Hunter and Deborah Brewis**

*Vasana Kaushalya and Pathum Kodikara*

### **Motherhood, language and Othering at organisational meetings**

Many research have revealed that three properties of gender identity, namely similarity, sense of common fate and centrality of identity, play a vital role in defining womanhood and organisational meetings act as important spaces through which meaning/s of womanhood are constructed, thus they influence how (women) participants embrace womanhood. In this context, going beyond from discussing how womanhood is constructed within organisational meetings, we uncover how women use motherhood and its language to influence others and how they thereby create Otherness.

In this study, we have given our focus on “formal” organisational meetings carried out in physical settings. As per our participant and nonparticipant observations, it was evident that children of the meeting participants and their relationship with children as common topics that would take into discussion amidst the “official” topics that are in the agenda. However, in relation to organisational meetings where married women representation is high, it was identified that motherhood ‘naturally’ becomes much discussed.

In our analysis, we group the women participants into four sets. The first set of women comprised of married women with children. These participants assert how they do domestic activities, by sacrificing her own requirements and wishes—career related or personal related. They also talk on how they share domestic chores with partner, in the form of exaggeration. By highlighting motherhood as the noble status they hold, which indeed have made them to experience a tough time with course of activities and responsibilities that they shoulder, they consciously or unconsciously are in a process of Othering the unmarried and childless women. It should be emphasised that, enabling such Otherness is not driven only when the majority is represented by married women with children. Interestingly, even single presence creates such Othering. Moreover, by stressing on motherhood and affiliated experiences, these women create a power within the discussion. So, in such a context, the relational power is seized by motherhood. Consequently, not only the unmarried and/or married women with no children, but also women with children who do not get social-support or women who are not willing to expose their personal lives, get marginalised. Though some of these mothers at work are not well qualified professionally, being a mother make an excuse for them and make them proud, while making childless women as abject.

Married, but childless women are marginalised with the title of ‘having no experience’. More often, they are labeled as hard decision makers with no soft corners in their mind (or heart, as they put it) with more masculine values. On the other hand, during the meetings, motherhood, as they define as the noble status, is used as an justification for not-attending official matters, to avoid the ‘basic’ responsibilities of their daily work settings and to hand over such responsibilities to Others. Thus, we conclude that motherhood as a source of power through which ‘Others’ are subordinated.

*Nina Kivinen and Carolyn Hunter*

**Affective encounters in interviewing children's authors**

In our research into children's authors, we sought to explore how authors are affected or moved by writing for children. In order to do so, and to explore more widely work as affective, we argue that we need to develop more affective methodologies in organisation studies. While there has been some progress in understanding affect in organisations, frequently affect is researched through ethnography (see eg. Gherardi, 2019) or auto-ethnography. Children's authors, on the other hand, frequently work doing individual activities when writing. We therefore aimed to develop a sensitive interviewing process that would build connections between ourselves and the authors, and as we found to objects and others including children. We argue in this paper that affect offers an opportunity to understand research interviews as encounters from a different way of knowing: as embodied, sensory and dynamic relations.

In the project, the two researchers interviewed children's authors, frequently individually but sometimes in pairs or groups. The interviews took place in cafes and often in their homes, as they invited us into their space. These interviews were constructed over coffee, cake and even sometimes lunch, and during which other objects such as books and proofs would feature. These interviews sometimes also were 'interrupted' with other bodies, such as the children of authors. During the interviews themselves we encouraged authors to reflect on their journeys, writing, books, relationships with publishers and other authors. Authors often expressed strong sentiments during the interviews, as well as their convictions and opinions about

In order to understand these affective encounters, we draw upon Rosalyn Diprose's notion of corporeal generosity (2002). Diprose sees ethical subjectivity as becoming and ethics emerges in the encounter with another as an embodied and pre-reflective practice (Pullen & Rhodes, 2014). Diprose's subject is not separated from the world, rather the subject emerges in intersubjective relations with other bodies. Ethics thus become an affective, pre-reflexive response arising from the body (Pullen & Rhodes, 2014). In this paper we will argue that this corporeal generosity is an openness towards the other that allows for the transformation of subjects and offers an ethical and affective approach to interviewing.

*Laura Jaramillo*

### **Organizing everyday working life with my children**

In this article-to-be, I turn my eyes to home, to the place that nowadays also constitutes my working place. When working, I am often interrupted by a cautious knock on the door, and two curious heads pops in asking if I can take a break. I answer, “mummy has to work now” and my children obediently closes the door with a little disappointed look on their faces. Still I feel their presence and a desire to embrace them when the work is done. I continue working to the sounds of laughter and quarrel. After a while, I hear a knock on the door again; my children ask if they may play on their phones for a while. “Alright, half an hour” I might reply and my children run happily their way.

In organization studies, children have been largely disregarded, even if the interest in children and childhood has grown stronger during recent years (see for example Kenny, 2016; Hunter & Kivinen, 2016). In his article from 2013, Kavanagh is mapping the void of studies about children in our research discipline. He points out that organization studies have neglected children because they, in western countries, rarely are part of formal (work) organizations, and that children tend to be viewed as an obstacle for work. However, as also Kavanagh recognizes, organization occur at other places than only at the working place, and that organization is not only about work. Children play, and as Huizinga (1944/1955) has pointed out, play has no purpose beyond itself – still, it has formed how societies organizes. Studies of children are therefore important for understanding organization.

To make one’s motherhood visible in organization studies is, similar to studies of childhood, far from common. As academics, we are expected to perform serious research, which tends to stand in contrast to rigid assumptions about motherhood (Fotaki, 2013). Even though ethnographies are expected to build on reflexive analysis, and even though the subjective experiences of the researcher are expected to be analysed, motherhood is seen as a factor that, according to prevailing norms, does not belong in research (Mose Brown & Masi de Casanova, 2009, p. 56). Dominant masculine discourses are still holding a grip of (social) science and of what counts as legitimate knowledge (Fotaki, 2013; Huopalaainen & Satama 2019; Boncori & Smith, 2019), and within organization studies, embodied motherhood has received only little attention (Huopalaainen & Satama 2019).

Inspired by Huopalaainen and Satama (2019, p. 111), I explore “new ways of being mothers in academia” (see also Raddon, 2002). When working at home, my children have become an inevitable part of my everyday working life and their presence affect me. By highlighting the intensities and dynamics (Massumi, 2002) in my relation with my children, I rely on affect theory – and by using ethnographical and auto-ethnographical methods for inquiry, I will examine what children’s play, viewed from a loving mother’s perspective, can do when organizing everyday working life at home.

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*Chiara Alfano and Patrizia Kokot-Blamey*

**Happy Babies: Disciplining the Working Mother and Her Young Child Under Neoliberalism**

In 2016, a health economic report on child development (Anand and Roope, 2016) was widely covered in the media, which, in some cases (Independent, 2016) concluded that ‘children are better off at nursery than they are with their parents’. The authors use Sen’s (1979) capability approach, which emphasises capabilities, wellbeing and activities as indicative of life quality, to examine the happiness and development of toddlers. In considering the very young child as ‘haver of capabilities’ and ‘doer of activities’ rather than the ‘cared-for’ standing in a complex and rich dynamic to the ‘one-caring’ (Noddings, 2013), this report is exemplary of a radical shift in the way we have been thinking about the mother-child dyad, babies and early childhood. In this paper, we problematise the characterization of mothering and parenting in terms of an input-output relationship of activities and interaction on the one hand, and development, ability and wellbeing on the other hand through the analysis of three such examples of data creation. We draw on Stephens’ (2012) notion of ‘postmaternal thinking’ to expose how, when the data is gathered, there is an understanding of the dependency of the young child on the mother, which is then exploited as she is operationalised in the collection of data that will ultimately be used to do away with her. As part of this process, the working mother is disciplined in her future efforts towards the care of her child and is given to understand that it is through her input, or indeed frequently through her absence, that a productive child and future citizen may be produced. Such creation of data is aligned with a plethora of work that now guides mothers into and through pregnancy and early motherhood in a manner that speaks to a desire to *produce* a ‘contented’ or ‘happy’ (Ford, 2013; Markham, 2018; von Lob, 2018), ‘capable’ and ‘confident’ child (Alexander and Sandahl, 2016; Hanscom and Louv, 2016). But what is at stake when we examine the infant and early childhood through the lens and language of economics, capabilities and independence? Taking an interdisciplinary perspective, in this paper we apply contemporary critiques of neoliberalism (Holloway and Pimlott-Wilson, 2014; Rottenberg, 2018) as well as contributions to feminist maternal studies (Ruddick, 1995; Stephens, 2012; also see O’Reilly, 2016) in order to unpick the move away from a focus on the infant as a relational subject, towards an image of the baby and young child instead as a future subject in a market of human capital.



*Diana Marre and Hugo Gaggiotti*

**Untraceable origins of children born by egg donation and ignored women reproductive work in Spain**

Spain has registered one of the lowest fertility rates in Europe and the world since mid-1990s (1.20 children per woman) (Mills et al 2011; Balbo, Billari and Mills 2013). In 2004, it was the second country in the world in transnational adoptions (Briggs 2012; Cheney 2014). Since 2016, Spain is the first country in Europe and the third in the world in assisted reproduction treatments (ARTs) (Marre et al 2018). Spain is also the main egg provider in Europe's ARTs (Shenfield et al 2010; Marre et al 2018). Women are encouraged through marketing campaigns from clinics and hospitals to "donate" and "help" other women through a strong commercial narrative appealing to their "solidarity" (Gupta 2006; Pennings et al 2014; Nahman 2016). Indeed, the provision of eggs is not considered in Spain a reproductive work. Egg provision has to be "altruistic" by law in Spain (Marre et al 2018). Women do not receive any economic compensation (legally prohibited), but only a recognition for the "discomfort" caused by the medical procedure. In addition, the egg provision has to be anonymous. Children born by egg donations are condemned of not knowing their biogenetic origins. Spanish law, however, recognises the right of adopted children to know their biogenetic origins and receive social support from the state to look for them. The premise that "All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection" (Universal Declaration of Human Rights) is not applied to children born by egg donation in Spain. This article analyzes how "children" and "childhood" are used as elements of discourses by the fertility industry (Ikemoto 2009), how do fertility industries, eggs providers and recipients produce a particular meaning of "childhood", how do notions of childhood locate the Spanish Human Assisted Reproduction Laws and practices in relation to reproductive work and why it is so difficult to recognise the reproductive economic role of women egg providers as reproductive workers.

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*Astrid Huopainen*

**‘It’s a man’s job!’ – Constructing caring masculinities and everyday fatherhood through Finnish ‘dad blogs’**

Today, we know that fathers’ involvement in parenthood is a key to gender equality. Whereas the Nordic countries have for long taken concrete political action to help fathers become involved in their children’s lives, this movement towards progressive fatherhood and equal parenting has been relatively slow. According to the recently published ‘State of Nordic Fathers’ report (2019), Nordic fathers only use 10-30 percent of the total, relatively generous parental leave (ideally shared equally between the parents). In Finland and Denmark, the numbers are far worse than in Sweden: only 11 percent of Finnish and Danish fathers use the parental leave they are entitled to (Cederström, 2019). In other words, Finland is far from a situation in which the parental leave and childcare responsibilities are equally shared. Against this background, I am interested in the popular phenomenon of dad blogs and ‘dad blogging’. Specifically, this paper delves into this fairly recent cultural phenomenon of ‘dad blogging’ as an intriguing and timely empirical context for the study of the construction of everyday parenthood, as well as ‘new’ child-centered masculinities being staged and performed online. Finnish dad bloggers, those seemingly attractive ambassadors of equality and involved parenthood, have become increasingly visible in the contemporary Finnish blogosphere. Could ‘dad blogging’ and a critical reading of popular Finnish dad blogs serve as a way to analyse constructions of everyday fatherhood, as well as these emerging ‘new’ masculinities?

Building on the literatures on parenthood, caring masculinities and the more recent literature on identity work in the field of organization studies, I empirically investigate how six popular Finnish dad bloggers write about their everyday fatherhood, parenthood and family life. Dad blogs capture some of the interesting negotiations and tensions that surface when masculinities and fatherhood go through societal transformations over the last couple of decades. Besides giving insight into how children and ‘childhood’ actually come to organize life and work in certain, usually heterosexual and middle-class nuclear Finnish families, dad blogs could tell us something interesting about the emergence of ‘new’ caring masculinities opposing more traditional representations of the same. Moreover, dad blogs could give us interesting insights into the discourses of involved parenthood, as well as invite multiple critical questions: do men’s care orientation portrayed on the blogs necessarily lead to increased gender equality, or do blogs construct somewhat heroic portrayals of fatherhood? Also, do dad blogs merely conform to the heteronormative ideal of a nuclear family? The paper illustrates how fatherhood needs to be explored within the broader context of parenthood, motherhood, and work/family-life. Also, dad blogging is not simply a social practice performed by the bloggers themselves, but a more complex process in which digital technologies, dominant expectations and normative idea(l)s relating to parenthood, fatherhood and motherhood come to shape and construct contemporary dad bloggers.

*Jasmine Jaim*

**“Are you kidding?” Kids’ Constructive Roles in Small Businesses of Women in Bangladesh**

In the extant literature of women’s entrepreneurship, child rearing and caring activities are almost entirely considered as obstacles for businesses. It has been revealed that the childcare responsibilities set the time constraint for women in working for their firms. Young children are also found to impose physical and emotional barriers for businesses of women.

Nevertheless, it is yet to explore whether maternal experiences can positively contribute to women’s ventures. While women’s child nurturing experience is a critical part of their life, a potential question can be posed concerning whether the intensive experience leads to any beneficial impact on the women, engaged in businesses for children, for instance, developing creative baby products. Besides, the literature has already discussed the support of family members, particularly husbands, concerning women’s ventures. Nevertheless, the constructive roles of children in initiating and continuing their businesses are underexplored.

The context of a developing nation is particularly important for exploring such issues; as different childcare facilities are not available in that context compared to that of developed countries, women need to be intensely engaged with their children. This feminist study is conducted on a highly patriarchal developing nation, Bangladesh. Children are considered as the centre of women’s lives in this country. It is also important to note that, after the effective operation of the micro-credit programme, this country witnesses changes in the small business sector in terms of the increasing number of women business-owners. The interviews of women in the small scale businesses of Bangladesh unveils diversified positive roles of children on their firms. This research potentially challenges the view of the almost exclusive negative impact of maternal responsibilities of women on their businesses by bringing to light how women transfer their experiences of working for their children for the benefit of the ventures. It contributes to the prevailing understanding by revealing the way children can constructively play critical roles regarding the businesses of women in a developing nation.

*Gráinne Charlton*

**Outsourcing Assistance: a Workers Inquiry into teaching assistants**

The unquestioned belief that education is key to shaping future generations is often detached from reality: a crippled underfunded education industry. In an age of management focused education models governed as businesses, schools struggle with the reality of widespread burnout and high turnover of staff. The focus on children's learning and development, is often framed in inspections and exams and 'childhood' as a space of experimentation and exploration is for the most part left at the school gates. The role of teaching assistants is the space between the student and teacher and intermediary of sorts expected to navigate struggling students who require help within structures pitted against them and designed to punish either on red planets or in cool down spaces. For the most part teaching assistants are not viewed as professionals, in contrast to the teacher, they are not required to possess a minimum set of qualifications, just a security check. Teaching assistant roles thus ranges from each school and can be defined by a range of activities as the default 'carer' in the classroom.

One of Marx's (1938) final works, *A workers' inquiry*, strived to paint a comprehensive picture of the French Working class through 101 questions to be answered by workers themselves. Inspired by Marx's *Workers' Inquiry* the position of the intellect vis-a-vis the class struggle has been recurrent throughout movements in history, such as the Johnson-Forest tendency in 1950s post-war USA and autonomist operaismo in 1960-70s Italy. Motivated by a shared aim of understanding the ever-changing class composition in order to best strategize for labour struggles and reflect Marx's ever-relevance in a changing world. Using the workers inquiry tradition this paper seeks to outline the caring work of teaching assistants a gendered and often racialised profession. Focusing on schools in London where I worked as a supply and drawing from the experiences of colleagues I aim to demonstrate the rise of underpaid and precarious labour that dominates teaching assistants positions many of which are outsourced.

## **Stream 34**

### **The answer lies in our humanity: research and methodologies that facilitate healing and hope**

**Conveners: Barbara Myers, Fiona Hurd, Irene Ryan, Shelagh Mooney and Susan Ressa**

*Lydia Martin*

**‘The feminist literary mode in organisation studies: Imagining alternatives and enacting resistance through feminist speculative fiction’**

Feminist Organisation Studies (FOS) advocates using transdisciplinary feminist approaches and cultural artefacts, including art, film and literature, to ‘think differently’ about the gendered dynamics of organisational issues and scholarly knowledge production (Fotaki & Harding, 2018; Harding, et al., 2012). While engagement with the literary mode in organisation studies is far from a mainstream practice, the benefits are multi-fold as has already been documented by critical scholars who use speculative novels as a resource for rethinking the nature of organisational inquiry and disrupting rigid research practices (e.g. Beyes, et al., 2019; De Cock, 2009; Pick, 2017). However, feminist literary resources, and feminist speculative fiction specifically, are rarely utilised in these spaces, despite this genre’s concern with destabilising gender binaries and power relations, exposing the unseen and unsaid of culture, and exploring the dynamic relationship between materiality and language (Barr, 1987; Lacey, 2014; Melzer, 2006). I propose that feminist speculative fiction is a vital genre for advancing the ‘infinite game’ in organisation studies due to the productive relationship and ongoing dialogue between feminist theory and feminist speculative fiction, whereby normative modes of writing and thinking about gender, difference and subjectivity are defamiliarised and re-imagined on non-dualist terms. It is in this vein that feminist scholars like Braidotti (2002, 2011) and Haraway (2013) stress the importance of engaging the ‘imagined elsewhere’ as a conduit for thinking critically and creatively about the here-and-now.

Subsequently, my aim is to contribute to the development of innovative methodologies in Feminist Organisation Studies (FOS) through engagement with the subversive speculative imagination of authors like Sofia Samatar, Margaret Atwood, Octavia E. Butler, and Ursula K. Le Guin, to name only a few. Informed by Haraway’s (2013, 2016) transdisciplinary approach to reading across theory and fiction, I enrol Braidotti’s (2011) concept of sexual difference, via the speculative writings of Sofia Samatar and her novel *The Winged Histories*, to inspire new ways of writing and researching in organisation studies that go beyond the humanist imagination and its implicit gendered dualisms and anthropocentric biases. Through my reading of the novel, I explore the role of figurations, non-linearity, and the epistemological practice of ‘working through’ as alternative strategies for creative modes of feminist inquiry that resist entrapment within masculine/feminine, male/female dichotomies. I offer the figuration of the feminist researcher as an ‘undutiful daughter’ in encouraging organisation studies scholars to “step out of the political and intellectual stasis of our times” (Braidotti, 2011, p. 26) and intensify our entanglements with each other and the world around us; an ethical impetus conversant with the understanding that fiction can change the world as well as help us understand it. It is my hope that this presentation will serve to develop a conversation on the role of the feminist literary mode and figurations in future FOS research as the potential of this transdisciplinary approach has yet to be fully realised.

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*Tof Ecklund*

**Gender gaymes: the ethics and aesthetics of genderpunk videogames**

“existing is gross and beautiful and horrible let's make art about it”

- ryan rose aceae

Though gender nonconformity is as old as humankind, transgender and nonbinary experience is still largely seen and treated as something new and alien, elusive as the iridescence of a soap bubble and scarcely more substantial than the deflated and dessicated remains of a beached jellyfish. This uncertain ephemerality all too often characterises the experience of trans and nonbinary individuals as well, as neither biologically determinist nor social constructionist understandings of gender provide any but the most tenuous ground for them to stand on. More hope is to be found in indigenous practices of survivance, as they reclaim variously challenged, slandered, and erased third genders, and in intersectionalism's recognition of differences in kind as well as degree of oppression. With these critical lenses, and the poststructuralist “ethicoaesthetics” of Felix Guattari, we can begin to understand a new genre of semi- and non-commercial videogame that has emerged in the last decade: the grotesque and confronting subset of narrative-driven game that I refer to as “genderpunk gaymes,” a genre created by and for gender-nonconforming queers. There is an emergent set of aesthetics to the work of Anna Anthropy, Porpentine, ryan rose aceae, Heather Flowers and others, and a corresponding set of ethical demands. Genderpunk gaymes are antibinarist, antifascist, antiutopian, and antiauthoritarian, include themes of abjection, disorientation, beautiful ugliness, (dis)ability, and body modification, and constitute a kind of critical mythmaking, a set of virtual “roots” for digitally native queers.

One can roughly date the coherence of “genderpunk” as a style or set of styles to 2012, the year Christine Love's *Analogue: A Hate Story* and Porpentine's *Howling Dogs* debuted. The former was created using Ren'py (2004), the latter in Twine (2009), open-source game development tools that favour rapid development and pose low bars to entry. Neither *Analogue* nor *Howling Dogs* is the first genderpunk gayme, and neither possesses all of the traits that commonly characterize genderpunk gaymes, but both were breakthrough titles, achieving recognition beyond their niche communities, and there has been an explosion of genderpunk gaymes since. 2018 was a watershed year for the genre, seeing the release of Heather Flowers' *Extreme Meatpunks Forever*, about four diverse “gay disasters” on a road trip who have to literally body-slam neo-nazis out of the public space; *Heaven Will Be Mine* (2018) by Avebee Bee and Mia Schwartz, which combines literal and metaphorical transgender experiences with culture as force powerful enough to warp space; and Flowers and ryan rose aceae's *Genderwrecked*, a surreal exploration of deeply subjective understandings of gender. Comparative analysis of these games reveals all of the traits of genderpunk as a style, and develops a sense of hard-won optimism about an imperfect but more inclusive future.

*Magdalena C. Coelho*

**Feminist Intellectual Activism in Brazilian Business Schools: Is Auto ethnography a Possibility?**

In this conference only, the words activist and scholar usually appear separately (see calls for abstracts for streams 1 and 16, and the exception on stream call 31). Publications usually separate these professional identities, or practices, as if they were not possible together. Patricia Hill Collins (2013), an anti-racism black scholar shows that Intellectual Activism is a reality and describes a path based on her trajectory in the US. The author discusses her practice of intersectionality, language use, critical pedagogy, feminism and many other examples of praxis and concepts that could serve as guide for scholars not only to explain society and social justice, but to be committed to results, which is the kind of academicism she advocates for.

Feminist intellectual activism or feminist academic activism might not be a choice, but a necessity for some women in Brazilian business schools. My research is interested in understanding this Brazilian phenomenon: What is it like to be a feminist academic activist in a business school in Brazil?

In order to write about it, I paid attention to the important fact that I considered myself a member of the group studied. Authors in organization studies confirmed my feeling that a different way of writing was possible, and activism itself (Pullen, 2006; Pullen and Rhodes, 2015; Weatherall, 2018; Contu, 2019). Authors from other fields (Adams, Jones and Ellis, 2015; Bochner and Ellis, 2016) helped me in the belief that my experience and point of view mattered, and that autoethnographies were a possibility, together with emotions, reflexivity, ethics of care and other aspects neglected in research methods of most business schools in Brazil.

The idea of this paper is to show what methodological argument I used, so that a hard area like business would accept an evocative auto ethnography as a PhD dissertation. The challenge of the method is parallel to the challenge of the topic and praxis in business: feminist activism. How could I bring my voice, intertwined to those voices of scholars that fight for women and black women's places in such a masculine and white business academic space in Brazil?

In addition, the few self-called auto ethnographies emerging in the field in Brazil do not express authors' emotions, doubt, insights, embodiment, or any different ethics of care and relationship to the people in the field. They do not express the part of the field that denies author's perspectives or shows a new one. Thus, they do not differ much from traditional interviews and content analysis. What could be strange to ethnographic literature – discussions about ethnographic reflexivity that are grounded in everyday personal and professional experiences of ethnographers, those lived but less-examined (and often contested) realities that constitute what it means to be ethnographers and do ethnography (Berry and Clair, 2011) – in our point of view, should not be strange to auto ethnographies.

We wonder if the business area in Brazil is again adopting a concept to, slowly, empty it of its meaning. In other words, what level of reflexivity am I expected to apply in an evocative

text? I fear, as writer, I will not be able to speak so openly in the field. Actual performance of reflexivity to criticize and analyse cultural norms, experiences, practices and phenomena, reflecting on my privileges as member in the micro and macro contexts inserted, as authors suggest, do sound like a very complex task.

In this paper, I intend to discuss these and other concerns regarding the method, aiming at preparing myself for the defense of my dissertation. This is a method we believe in, but one that has its challenges. Long (years) participation in the field, fear of participants in speaking, writer's ethical dilemmas, the far right elected and the pandemic, all strongly affecting the original field of research, added to institutional backlash, etc. All these aspects add extra layers to autoethnographer's common fear and anxiety, already mentioned in the literature by those who have used the method (e.g. Liggins et al. 2012, Ryan and Mooney, 2018).

Finally, it makes sense that a feminist autoethnographer also wishes to contribute to the much needed healing and hope that our area in Brazil needs, considering the strong presence of white supremacists and misogynists in a status quo maintainer field, in Bolsonarist times when they feel even more authorized. T

Feedback from a university office worker gives us hope:

*“Our feminist collective gave me courage to get out of 10 years of an abusive relationship. I will always talk about what happens when a group of women is together”*

One of the insights of such method is that private and daily lives matter, and speak much about our organizational culture.

*Janet Johansson and Alice Wickström*

**Exploring humanity in ‘otherness’: an analysis of individual initiatives in equality and diversity work in a Swedish performing arts touring company**

The concept of humanity and vulnerability are inseparable. Humanity relates to our sense of fragility and dependency on others, and as Hoffman have asserted, “we need to feel our vulnerability to affirm our humanity” (2006: p. 44-45). Vulnerability is then understood as relational, and is seen as the ontological condition of the emergence of the humane and our abilities to connect with others. As noted by Butler (2004, 2009), the inherent vulnerability of the human body makes us exposed to others’ violence, generosity, care, abuse and love (also Mackenzie, Rogers and Dodds, 2014). Through vulnerability, we can form bonds of care and compassion by being open to difference, and thus the possibility of unsettling ourselves, our bodies and our senses (Boulous Walker, 2017), which in turn can allow for the emergence of relational agency and explorations of questions related to difference and otherness. Previous work on agency and humanity has focused on care takers who bear the moral obligation, or are responsible for, the vulnerable due to occupational or social duties. This has particularly been prevalent in bioethical and normative inquiry of ethics. The vulnerable are then typically described as the receiving end of care, those whose “autonomy or dignity or integrity are capable of being threatened” (Kemp, 1999: p. 9), for example, individuals who are exposed to social and political violence, injustice, ills and poverty. Along this line, with the statement such as ‘the answer lies in our humanity’, one might intuitively assign the responsibility of care to individuals who are officially being granted certain institutional agency. However, through reaffirming the normative power structure in the relation between vulnerability and dependency, the ways societies assign responsibility for care can itself generate inequalities and vulnerabilities (Walker, 1998: p. 82-90). Normative ethical inquiry that focus on care-takers’ rationalities and moral obligations, and the centrality of the ‘needs’ of the vulnerable, tend to depict the vulnerable as powerless and by doing so obscure any possibilities for exploring agency within and through vulnerability, as well as the corporeal dependency through which we, and our sense of humanity, come into being (also Pullen and Rhodes, 2014, 2015).

In this paper, we build on recent organizational literature of ethics, vulnerability and care (Pullen and Rhodes, 2014, 2015; Tyler, 2019; Butler, 2004, 2009; Mackenzie, Rogers and Dodds, 2014) and further explore how agency emerge from individual experience of vulnerability, by drawing on material from an ongoing ethnographic study of equality- and diversity work in a Swedish organization of performing arts. We focus on expressions and actions of those who take individual initiatives responding to social and organizational issues of inequality, exclusion based on their personal experience of being ‘others’ with regards to the norm (e.g., women, people of color, LGBTQ+ etc.). Instead of approaching these individuals as vulnerable, we examine how, in a particular social and cultural context, people transform their experiences and sense of fragility into an agency of care and love for others, while also seeking out to make structural and organizational changes. For example, some individuals, due to their own struggles being different in a homogenous culture, actively seek to explore and incorporate aspects of cultural essences from the homeland as the means of contributing to establishing an inclusive and diverse Swedish cultural life. We also explore

the possibilities of difference come in as inspirations of dramatic tension in producing performing arts. We thus observe and examine how vulnerability can become a position from which the ‘other’ is allowed to speak outside of structural, unequal relations. We argue that vulnerable experience forges the basis of humanity which can be seen as a form of ethics of care derived from emotional, affective and disruptive ties that challenge the asymmetrical dependency between the care-taker and the cared-for. This vulnerable, embodied speech is not an ‘answer’ in itself, but a call for an ethical openness that makes the humane. With this work, theoretically, by highlighting the agency of vulnerability, we further explain the relational aspect of ethics of care through unpacking the interlinkage between vulnerability and dependency. From an organizational perspective, we also argue, that in comparison to the structural and organizational distribution of assignments responding to caring for the vulnerable, individual and relational initiatives hold the potential of challenging the status quo without generating new vulnerabilities and dependency due to asymmetrical power structures.

*Kate Sang and Jeniffer Remnant*

**Important but not interesting: Navigating masculine hegemony in research on women's lives**

White able-bodied men continue to dominate academia, forming close networks which serve to exclude diverse scholars (Barnes et al., 2017). Some women do break through intersecting glass ceilings of gender, migratory status, race and ethnicity, albeit with some mobilising forms of privilege (Sang et al., 2013). This paper presents a reflexive account of two researchers engaging in applied research on women's working lives. Building on previous research which has demonstrated a long history of gendered (Davies et al., 2019; Harley, 2003), classed (Reay, 2004) and ableist (Brown and Leigh, 2018) working practices in academia, we reflect on the stubborn persistence of daily resistance to diversity research, particularly research which challenges white male hegemony. Drawing on our experiences across disciplines, research focus and career stage, we will consider our interactions with funders, peer review systems and internal REF processes revealing the microaggressions and mechanisms by which masculine hegemony is maintained. Our experiences reveal repeated patterns of dismissal, marginalisation and hostility which serve to reveal gendered and ableist mechanisms of oppression within the academy. Further, we argue that the maintenance of these masculine ableist hegemonic research practices (re)produces masculine ableist academic cultures and has negative impacts on the quality of research produced. We contrast these patterns within the academy with our experiences working with governmental, charitable and industrial research partners where applied feminist disability research is valued. We conclude by considering how the dismissal of feminist disability research as 'important but not interesting' or 'interesting but not important' serves to (re)produce academic hierarchies within the academy, and strategies for navigating the hostile environment of academia.

*Ana Paula Lafaire, Aleksi Soini and Leni Grünbaum*

**‘I notice this is what gives me energy’: a dialogical autoethnographic account on empathy as a catalyst for new understandings**

This paper contributes to the literature on relational practices of care (Harré, Grant, Locke, & Sturm, 2017) that foster healing and hope. Using the metaphor of ‘infinite game’, Harré et. al. invite us to engage in practices that ‘promote the life and growth, that helps us flourish as individuals and communities’ instead of ‘finite games, in which the purpose is to win’ (p. 5). Exemplifying the latter, the neo-liberal university supports disembodied ways of learning and working dictated by productivity, individuality, instrumentalization of passion and disregard for care (Ashcraft, 2017; Dey & Steyaert, 2007; Gill, 2009; Gill & Donaghue, 2016; Lund & Tienari, 2019). In order to resist such perspectives, feminist and critical scholars show ways to enable embodied reflection, for example by fostering slow thinking (Jones, 2018; O’Neill, 2014), by engaging in self-care (Hurd & Singh, 2020; Smith & Ulus, 2019), or by writing differently (Katila et al., 2019; Kiriakos & Tienari, 2018). Similarly, it has been suggested that empathy should be part of academics’ way of working (Oliver, 2010; Prasad, 2013). However, we know little about how empathy as a practice can promote the ‘infinite game’ in the context of the neoliberal university. Hence, our research question is ‘How can empathic practices foster new knowledge that furthers healing and hope in a university context?’

In this study we focus on the social dimension that empathy plays in enhancing knowledge (Code, 1995; Fricker, 2007). Specifically, we borrow Georgina Campelia’s (2017) concept of empathy as a social epistemic practice aimed to know how others feel. Therefore, we approach empathic knowing as a relational practice to learn about emotional experiences of others (2017) through activities and interactions of (1) becoming other-oriented, (2) becoming receptive to others’ emotions cognitively and affectively, and (3) becoming non-judgmental. Furthermore, we deem central the practice of (4) communicating back such understandings about other people’s emotions (Brown, 2008, 2018).

Empirically, the article draws from an ongoing collaborative autoethnographic study (Chang, Ngunjiri, & Hernandez, 2016) based on our experiences of organizing and participating in an artistic intervention in a Nordic business school during Spring 2020. At that time, the isolation and uncertainty caused by the COVID-19 pandemic added to the challenge of ‘productivity in the name of a neoliberalized academia’ (Plotnikof et al., 2020, p. 806). In these circumstances, the artistic intervention became a shared space for encounter, where participants used art-based methods, like storytelling and metaphoric describing, to enable and facilitate empathic understandings.

We have crafted our account by writing differently (Gilmore, Harding, Helin, & Pullen, 2019; Katila, 2019; Mandalaki & Daou, O’Shea, 2019; Pullen, 2018) and by integrating dialogical (Melgaard-Kjaer & van Amsterdam, 2020) prose and poetry. Our initial findings show how empathic practices allow participants to foster personal learnings rooted in their experience, enabling them for example to identify their inner saboteur, feelings of shame linked to (un)productivity, as well as a need for self-validation and self-affirmation in their processes of becoming academics. We suggest that supporting and facilitating empathic relational practices in a university context is essential, because it enables doctoral students to

recognize and affirm their experiences of vulnerability and their needs, and to discover ways for furthering self-acceptance, wellbeing and hope.

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*Filipo Katavake-McGrath*

**The Kakala as a pathway to explore cultural, economic and social intersectionalities which underpin experiences of and contribution to social and legislative change in New Zealand**

The passing of marriage equality legislation in 2013 in New Zealand offered a unique opportunity to explore the inclusion of people in civil society whose voices, through lack of intersectional understanding in policy, academic and civic society arena, were silenced. Since the 1970s, New Zealand's government system has attempted to seek the viewpoints of people from ethnicities and social communities, not represented among the workforce of policy makers and policy analysts. The system and its actors assumed all Pacific peoples congregated around churches and oriented public engagements with Pacific around church leaders. Thirty years of government reliance on Pacific church leaders for advice on government policy culminated in homophobic submissions which were framed as the viewpoints of Pacific communities, while other Pacific voices, including those of Pacific LGBTI people, were silenced.

My PhD study, informed by experience as a Pacific LGBTI policy analyst, explored the intersectionalities of a cohort of Pacific people who were LGBTI as well as their exposure to and experiences of public debate about changes to marriage law. The lack of intersectionality that, for three decades, facilitated the place of homophobic individuals being positioned as community leaders and powerful policy actors, led to the study needing methodological, epistemological and ontological spaces which were reflective of the worldviews of Pacific peoples.

This conference presentation outlines the enablement offered to this study by the Kakala methodology. The study required a rigorous exploration of Pacific communities' marginalisation its own LGBTI people while professing a culture of relationality and reciprocity. This study also required a Pacific-centric epistemology to ensure the exploration was undertaken in a spirit of such reflationary and reciprocity.

The Kakala methodology is the contribution of ofa and kavenga (care and service) to the world of academic research from Tongan academic Konai Helu Thaman. It situates the Tongan worldview in the world of methodology, which has been dominated by not only westernised notions of epistemology but also a westernised view of validity through wide publication. This is an important dichotomist bifocal through which to view this exploration of legislative change, in a Westminster system, the contributions of and representations of pacific peoples in that change.

The Kakala is the retelling of an ancient Tongan tradition of garland construction for the purposes of constructing research. The garland itself, from the moment it is needed, is a representation of reciprocity between people, families, villages, dynasties and civilisations and a commitment to the land sky and ocean to maintain their integrity. Commitment and reciprocity are embodied in the selection of the weaver, the flowers and stems to build the Kakala, the gardens they are selected from, the refreshments and assistance provided during the weaving and the stories told while the weaving is taken place.

The Kakala methodology enabled this study to critique the American fundamentalisation of Pacific spiritualities, the self-aggrandisement of Pacific church leaders, and the laziness of New Zealand's government agents and mainstream media in their combined marginalisation of LGBTI pacific people. The Kakala also enabled this study to critique the fundamentals of Pacific experiences of care, debate, intersectionality as experienced by LGBTI people.

*Bridget Fa'amatua'inu*

**Innovative methodology or re-affirming principles of fa'asamoa? Exploring fa'asamoa principles adopted in indigenous gender and law research**

This research explores innovative methodology adopted in gender and law research within a fa'asamoa context. Insights are drawn from the author's engagement with a number of law, public health and gender research projects in New Zealand, Samoa and the Pacific region.

Samoan cultural principles ("fa'asamoa") underpinning social action and the ethic of care are Usitai (obedience), Faaaloalo (respect), Alofa (love) and Tautua (service). It is often adopted at the outset from introductions in research interviews and focus groups to emphasise self-reflexivity, collaboration, consensus whilst allowing the researcher to assess the feasibility of the proposed methodology (i.e., Upega o Filiga). For example, cultural competence and authentic data collection in most research involving Samoan communities is guided by fa'asamoa ethical principles of: respecting people; building good relationships; presenting yourself and being seen; meaningful engagement; listening and speaking according to customs and reciprocity. This complements the ethos of human rights governing culturally competent communicative interaction and human rights principles of: participation, non-discrimination, social inclusion and the respect for the dignity of the human person. Such principles are intricate aspects of the fa'asamoa and in fact, reaffirm the communication style and nature of the fa'asamoa which is ironically deemed today as a form of innovative methodology.

There is a need for scholarly reflection for alternative voices and indigenous methodology to deconstruct often exclusionary or one-dimensional research on gender and law. Samoan perspectives in gender and law research may not always be harmonious which carries the potential to widen the scope of methodology to engage with power relations at the intersection of indigenous voices and how different variables may connect or impact one another. This could enhance and illuminate how existing methodology to gender and law research could be enriched alongside other indigenous pedagogical approaches such as the adoption of fa'asamoa principles, as part of the ongoing process of decolonisation in the Pacific region.

*Yashika Chandhok*

**Are we using the right lens? An Indian epistemological approach for conducting an intersectional analysis of Indian women managers negotiating employment relationships in India and Aotearoa New Zealand**

Business negotiation research has reflected on an individuals' culture and gender-based affiliations to explain their negotiation goals, processes, and outcomes. The culture-based research on negotiation has established its base by utilising Hofstede's (1984) and Hall's (1989) cultural frameworks while the gender-based research finds its home in the role congruity theory (Brett, 2000; Brett & Okumura, 1998; Kolb, 2012). However, majority of the findings leave us with binary results comparing two cultural or gender groups to find the best negotiator. Empirical research in the West has generalised that men are better negotiators than women as men are more agentic while women are more communal, disregarding the macro and micro cultural attributes specific to diverse societies (Shan et al., 2016). Critically reviewing the research methods used in business negotiation literature, Agndal, Age and Eklinder-Frick (2017) asserted that business negotiation research has been overly dependent on the statistical analysis of negotiation simulations undertaken from the Western world perspective. They attribute a lack of diversity in methodological approaches and the missing cultural context in the negotiation research as the reason behind this generalisation (or stereotyping). The authors call for theoretical diversity and a focus on negotiation context to broaden the empirical base of the research and understand the negotiation behaviour from alternate perspectives (Agndal et al., 2017). Recent negotiation research has emphasised that adopting a cultural lens consistent with that of the research participants' can provide an insightful reflection of the cultural and gender-based dimensions influencing the negotiation behaviour and help in realising the interplay of these complexities in a context-specific environment (Khakhar and Rammal, 2013; Mehrotra, 2010). The aim of this paper is to address this majoritarian gap by applying an Indian philosophical lens to understand the employment relationship negotiation behaviour of Indian women managers working in India and Aotearoa New Zealand. This research seeks to address the intricacy of intersectionality and provide a complex context by analysing the negotiation behaviour employed by Indian women managers at the workplace. Indian researchers and philosophers accord with the concept of intersectionality by arguing that "different philosophies and world perspectives can be developed in the same language (which) shows that within the same culture there can be different world perspectives...all advanced cultures are in the sense pluralistic." (Raju, 1964, p. 328). Under the Indian philosophical approach, this paper is built upon the Nyāya school of Indian philosophy for interpreting the role and perception of women in Indian culture and traditions, and its influence on their negotiation behaviour (Philips, 2012). It also introduces Pramānas, i.e., the sources of knowledge under the Nyāya school, which provide a complex data collection and analysis method for conducting research (Raju, 1964). Establishing this research based on Scharfstein's (1978) belief that philosophy is neither restricted to the West nor are different world philosophies mutually exclusive to each other, this paper draws parallels and utilises methods from different perspectives to conduct rigorous qualitative research. Thus, this research embraces McCall's (2015) intra-categorical complexity to reflect on intersecting social categories influencing the perception of Indian

women in households and workplaces. Lastly, employs Gioia methodology (2012) for conducting data analysis to give meaning to the intersectional experiences of employment relationship negotiations conducted by Indian women managers in India and Aotearoa New Zealand.

*Shelagh Mooney*

**Creating a hospitable academy-no quick fix for feminist researchers**

Hospitality is usually conceptualised as the offering of refreshment, food, drink and welcome to visitors outside our home, hearth or kin. O’Gorman (2010) reminds us that hospitality is intimately related to hostility- we offer hospitality to a stranger (the other) to defuse threats by transforming a potential foe into friend. Indeed, Lynch, Molz, McIntosh, Lugosi and Lashley (2011) argue that hospitality is society and may be theorised in different ways, such as social exchange, control or work. The finite game in universities (Haare, Grant, Locke, & Sturm, 2017) mirrors society’s myriad inhospitalities, encapsulated in rigid publication systems and the metrifications of outputs, a man’s game according to Höpfl (2010), presided over by exclusionary gatekeepers, who are frequently men (Knobloch-Westerwick, Glynn, & Huge, 2013). The call for papers for this stream suggests that the answer lies in our humanity. It quotes the New Zealand prime minister’s powerful words in response to the terrorist atrocity in Christchurch in March 2019 “We each hold the power – in our words, in our actions, in our daily acts of kindness.

The problem, and at times insurmountable challenge, is that kindness by itself is not enough. It must be allied with courage, grit, tenacity and intellectual heft to effectively contest prevailing wisdoms. Ironically, the concept of hospitality extended ‘to the other’ also grapples with the charge that in exposing injustice, it may be termed unjust and inflammatory; by asking for inclusion and naming the excluded, may amplify exclusion by the non-naming of other excluded groups. Yet, in our metrified world, if targets are not set for the specialised needs of identified groups, for example, people with specific disabilities, the required changes will not happen.

In Christchurch’s time of crisis, Jacinda Ardern wore the *hajib* of a Muslim woman. In the following week, many others donned the *hajib* to express solidarity with their Muslim sisters who are instantly identifiable and vulnerable to harassment. I too wore the veil for one day and was shaken by my newfound visibility, as a totem for a community considered fair game by those exploitative Western politician who position immigrants as outsiders ‘stealing’ the livelihoods of locals. Later, I experienced conflict and shame upon reading the words of Masih Alinejad, an Iran activist, who wrote in the national newspaper "I felt admiration that a prominent leader and women in New Zealand showed compassion to the Muslim community, but I also felt that you are using one of the most visible symbols of oppression for Muslim women in many countries for solidarity, and it also broke my heart"(New Zealand Herald, 2019).

Paradoxically, as campaigners for change, we must recognise the dynamic painful nature of hospitality/hostility in the complex intersections of our humanity. There is no one perfect truth, no one is ever wholly privileged; it all depends on context. Therefore, feminist researchers use critical reflexivity in methods such as memory-work and the “I” in autoethnography to bridge personal experiences and advance theory. Feminist methodologies have been undervalued by the largely positivist and quantitative academy. However, as researchers it is our duty to break through perceived hostility and by reasoned explanation and robust scholarship reconcile the multiple realities of marginalised voices, as did Jacinda

Ardern, to ensure a more hospitable society and academy. My presentation at GWO will illustrate the ways I endeavour to create changes in the hospitality management academy.

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*Ayesha Scott*

### **Empiricist to Feminist: The infinitely fluid academic identity**

I was 12 years old in Social Studies class, indignantly proclaiming my mother could build a house, in response to a scoffing remark from a (male) classmate that today I can't recall. A full two decades later, I would recognise the event as my earliest memory of being feminist. Weatherall (2019, p. 2) writes that “being a feminist is never only one thing”, suggesting that it “must be understood as an evolving...collection of voices and politics that ultimately aims for justice”. My own feminism is an evolving sense of self and authenticity in my profession. Tomkins and Nicholds (2017, p. 254) point to “the vulnerability and elusiveness of authenticity” in the context of doing “something which runs counter to one’s...instincts” and I must admit my identity transition from empiricist to feminist researcher has left me feeling vulnerable. Indeed, this article traces the journey of that 12-year-old feminist from her quantitative and empiricist origins in mathematics and finance, on her way toward embracing her intersectional feminism as an early-career academic. As research method, as academic identity.

My first exposure to academic identity was, ironically, Thomson and Kamler’s (2013, p. 14) strategic playbook for publication, the “finite game” (Harre et al. 2017, p. 5) in which we find our academic selves, with their “text work/identity work” formative as I attempted to squeeze myself into the role of finance academic from doctoral student. Now actively cultivating an interdisciplinary research agenda, I wonder at the organisational boundaries we have created - the so-called silos - we expect to serve the creation of knowledge and impactful research. Badley (2015, p. 380) suggests “self-esteem and personal identity are clearly affected by, even bound up with, the groups and institutions where we work”, pointing out we have “many selves” depending on the context we find ourselves in. Once buried in financial modelling, I searched not for ‘truth’ but a statistically significant ‘answer’, never considering there may be another way to do research. My move to straddle both the personal/household finance and violence against women fields, choosing qualitative methodologies as appropriate to my research projects and feminist epistemology, takes the focus from objective truth to lived experience. This research career pivot is ultimately an acknowledgement of a skill-set years in the making and a rejection of the notion one is ‘static’ in their discipline. That we must reject authenticity to do impactful work. By examining my own story through narrative ethnography, I hope to shed light on what appears to be an (ongoing) struggle of finding one's place in scholarship, the fluidity of the academic identity, ‘discovering’ feminism in a male-dominated field and how this has transformed not only the work I do but also my interpretation of academia as a profession..

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*Smita Singh and Fiona Hurd*

**Re-viewing our gendered experiences of the academy: Finding friendship and hope in appreciative reflexive practice**

The gendered division of labour in the academy is well understood, and mirrors wider society. It is well recognised that female academics experience lower rates of publication and subsequent citation (Maliniak, Powers, & Walter, 2013), promotion to the professoriat (Baker, 2016; Parker, Hewitt, Witheriff, & Cooper, 2018), and experience a bias in student teaching evaluations (Davidovich & Eckhaus, 2019). Moreover, the intensification of all academic labour in the neo-liberal university has been widely discussed (for example (Andrea Mary Taberner, 2018; Feldman & Sandoval, 2018; Geppert & Hollinshead, 2017; Grey, 1998; Nkomo, 2009; Servage, 2009). For many women in the academy, these barriers are juxtaposed against family and community responsibilities, further compounding the implications for wellbeing (Toffoletti & Starr, 2016). Indeed, Toffoletti and Starr (2016) find the effective management of these many and competing stressors are conceptualised as ‘a personal management task; (2) an impossible ideal; (3) detrimental to their careers; and (4) unmentionable at work’ (p. 489).

Against this backdrop, we began this journey not as co-researchers, but rather as colleagues looking to move beyond the challenges; rather seeking spaces that could inspire, uplift and enhance through collaborative, appreciative communicative action (Habermas, 1985). Like many working women, we found our struggles were entwined with our own home and community responsibilities, and problematised by strong involvement in wider service and caring activities. In this project, we sought to celebrate and honour our voices and these challenges that sat behind our work facade, but also to explore how our gendered ways of being might be put to work in an appreciative space. We drew on critical reflexivity in our search for new ways of reflexively writing, researching and being (Ann L. Cunliffe, 2003; A. L. Cunliffe, 2003; Cunliffe, 2018).

In order to do so, we applied an appreciative inquiry lens (Cooperrider, Sorenson, Whitney, & Yaeger, 2000; Cooperrider & Whitney, 2005; Grant & Humphries, 2006; Neville, 2008) to our reflexive practice, in order to juxtapose our ‘worst’ gendered moments in the academy with creative expressions of these moments, including postcards, images, poetry and humour. We sought to mobilise the anticipatory principle: that images inspire action (Cooperrider & Whitney, 2005). We worked towards imagining how these moments might have contributed to the strength, resilience, and skill set, we now bring to our academic practice – and focusing on how we might visualise using these insights in creating new ways of working and being women in the academy.

In this paper, we share both the methodological process we followed in the project, and the insights we have gained. In doing so, we look to move beyond the ‘othering’ of women in academia and towards a mindset of collaborative action.

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*Katharine Jones and Cassandra Mudgeway*

**Assessing the Consequences of the “Finite Game” for Women and Girls Using Social Media: Stakeholders at Risk of Losing their Human Rights to Play the Game**

There is a global digital divide between men and women, where fewer women have access to, or enjoyment of, Information and Communication Technologies in comparison to men. A significant reason for this divide is the widespread perpetration of cyberviolence against women by (mostly) men. Such violence includes online harassment, cyberstalking, “doxing”, cyberbullying, and revenge pornography. Certain groups of women experience more severe forms of cyberviolence, including women of colour and indigenous women, women with disabilities, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender women and women from marginalised groups. As a mostly unregulated space, social media institutions such as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram offer a platform for patriarchal attitudes to thrive, creating unique harmful cultural practices which negatively target women and girls. Cyberviolence against women violates international human rights norms, such as the right to freedom of expression, to be free from discrimination and violence, to enjoy scientific progress, and to privacy. Consequently, state governments have legal obligations to protect and ensure these rights, both online and offline. So far, states have urged social media institutions to “do better” and those institutions have responded by “improving” their community standards, and by deploying enhanced algorithms for locating and removing non-compliant account holders.

Facebook, Twitter and Instagram are part of a social media industry which operates as legitimate transnationals (global aggregate marketing systems; Layton, 2007) in business markets. The industry needs the cooperation of multiple stakeholders for social platforms to survive in all national contexts despite differences in regulations. Multiple stakeholders help create and legitimise transnational institutions via a process of megamarketing (Humphreys, 2010). Megamarketing draws from institutional theory (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983), and shows how social, economic, psychological and political processes work in strategic ways to gain the cooperation of many stakeholders (Humphreys, 2010) to create new markets. However, the legitimisation process for new markets such as social media brings with it costs and benefits to society (Humphreys, 2010). This is especially so for women and girls who experience continuing global gender inequalities and discrimination (Bose, 2012) despite the “freedom” promised by social media platforms. Intersectional effects (Bose, 2012) arise for women and girls as the result of regulative, normative, and cultural cognitive interactions from their social media use (Bose, 2012). Such interactions foster the operation of social media platforms, and marketers need normative guidelines for practices that enhance societal wellbeing (Laczniak and Murphy, 2006) and that support individual human rights.<sup>3</sup> However, current community standards are inadequate to keep users safe and they do not operate to protect and ensure human rights. Frame analysis (Humphreys, 2010) is a method for analysing changes in cultural or political discourse over time, showing how stakeholders use tools to reframe the legitimacy of an industry and its standards relating to user discourse. This paper asks two empirical questions; first, what frames are present in social media community standards? Second, how do social media stakeholders use these frames to legitimise discourse perpetuating a “finite game” against women and girls? International human rights offer a framework to rewrite the game entirely and states have an obligation to do just that;

this paper's overall agenda assesses the role that social media community standards play in legitimating harmful cultural practices that negatively target women and girls.

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*Sally Rae, Irene Ryan and Marilyn Waring*

**The Invisible Precariat: Working within the Sport Sector in Aotearoa New Zealand**

In this developmental paper we draw inspiration from the metaphor the ‘infinite game’ (Harre et al, 2017, p.5), to open discussion on one group of young female workers caught in a ‘finite game’, a consequence of a neoliberal philosophy that instigated rapid and radical structural reforms in Aotearoa New Zealand (1984-1999) with little concern for public consensus (Humpage, 2016; Pringle & Ryan, 2015). In response to similar inequitable shifts elsewhere, Standing (2014) popularised the term ‘the precariat’ to critique and make visible, the precarity of paid work. The term, defined by four dimensions, encompasses a significant group of marginalised workers who live with the outcome of social and economic policies obsessively designed to make labour markets more flexible and competitive (Standing, 2014). Yet, what has emerged and proliferated is a class who experience uncertainty, insecurity, vulnerability and, inequality (Groot, Van Ommen, Masters-Awatere & Tassell-Matamua, 2017). While insecure work is not new (Wilson, 2014) the growth of the precariat is not an incidental feature (Standing, 2014). More crucially for our purpose here, Standing (2014, p.10) points out when looking to future work and access to career mobility, “those in the precariat have no secure occupational identity; no occupational narrative they can give to their lives”.

The precarity of work is not a term often associated with the NZ not-for-profit sport sector. Indeed, the notions of a ‘level playing field’ and ‘fair play’ speak to the inherent justice of sport, equal opportunities and egalitarianism (Hokowhitu, 2007). Sport holds powerful meaning to New Zealanders; it is deeply entrenched in NZ culture (Leberman, Collins, & Trenberth, 2012). The rapid transformation of sport emulates the ‘finite game’. It has become a global, media driven business, a commodity, an instrument to stimulate economic growth and significantly, a place of precarious paid work (Ryan & Dickson, 2016). Symbolic of the ‘finite game’ and ‘what counts’ we see sport aptly described as “the equivalent of the arms race in which ever greater resources have to be invested in order to maintain or improve the position of the nation in the medal table” (Maguire, 2009, p.1256). Institutionalized change is a process that can have negative or positive consequences; it depends on perceptions of those affected by it. Sport in the wider environment is portrayed as intrinsically a ‘good’ thing, yet as we argue here, the not-for-profit sport sector in NZ has embellished many of the structural dimensions that define the precariat.

In this paper, we draw on the voices of thirteen early career female tertiary graduates of sport management working within the not-for-profit sport sector who share their stories of precarity and their hopes of forging a career in the sector. This paper represents one small part of a wider doctoral study where the first author captured, analysed and interpreted the lived experiences of three groups of women at different stages of their sport management career using an hermeneutic methodological approach (van Manen, 2014) underpinned by a framework of feminist theorising. As such this paper holds onto the feminist intent to reveal issues of inequity, challenge gendered inequalities and by doing so, promote social justice and change.



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*Barbara Myers and Candice Harris*

### **Grandmothers negotiating the later life conundrum of paid and unpaid work**

In New Zealand the current labour market participation rates of older workers are generally at the higher end of OECD statistics. At present there are 2.6 million people in the New Zealand labour force, predicted to grow to three million by 2030 (Statistics New Zealand 2017). The labour force in New Zealand is also ageing, as for people in their 60s the participating rate is currently 59% but this will rise to 64 percent in 2038 (Statistics New Zealand, 2017). Participation rates for women have increased to a greater extent (Callister, 2014) and this trend is expected to continue (Myers, 2016).

It is argued that gender has been neglected in ageing, work and retirement studies (Loretto & Vickerstaff, 2013) and what research there is, is compromised by benchmarking women's patterns to those of men (Wong & Hardy, 2009). Post, Schneer, Reitman and Ogilvie (2013) suggest that there are three theoretical frameworks to consider when examining older women's work and retirement decisions: "the relational emphasis in women's careers, women's caregiving roles, and structural and economic constraints that diminish women's earnings" (p. 92).

Loretto and Vickerstaff (2013) posit that later life work and non-work patterns "may mean very different things for women and for men" (p. 65), and suggest that gender and age are "underexplored" (Loretto & Vickerstaff, 2015, p. 14). As increasing numbers of older women continue in labour market participation, as well as continue in their domestic and unpaid work roles, they are likely to experience greater work-life imbalance and disadvantage (Moen, 1996).

It is into this space that we as researchers consider the impact of being a grandparent on older women who are engaged in paid work. While there is considerable research on the challenge of managing work and children and work and elder care (Miller, 2011) there is also a body of literature on the pivot or sandwich generation i.e. those who have simultaneous responsibility for children and eldercare (Grundy & Henretta, 2006). However, there is less focus on women employees whose intersectional responsibilities beyond the workplace are significant. Sometimes referred to as the "club sandwich generation" (Hannan, 2011), these women are working, supporting adult children, caring for parents as well as caring for their grandchildren. In her ground breaking study on Grandmothers at Work, Harrington-Mayer (2014) suggests that the intensification of motherhood has rebounded into the grandparenting sphere, where grandparents are juggling a complex range of paid and unpaid roles.

We are curious about the extent and impact that this may be having on the later lives of an increasing number of women engaging in paid employment. Is it as Post et al (2013) question, is it a desire for a more relational way of being or is it an extension of structural and economic constraints that prolong and embed disadvantage (Moen, 1996) in women's lives?

This research reports back on a research design and proposed study by the authors on older women engaged in paid work and grandmothering roles. We suggest a lifecourse approach to explore patterns of employment and caregiving for grandchildren over time as well as delving into the current experiences and impact of grandmothering while engaged in paid work.

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**Stream 35**  
**Transformative Crafts at Work**

**Conveners: Lynne F Baxter, Emily Benson, Alexandra Bristow, Elizabeth Siler and Sheena Vachhani**

*Elizabeth Siler*

### **Knitting Together Work**

What if we used knitting to do academic work differently? In this paper, I explore the possibilities for using knitting, both as a metaphor and an activity, as a way to change the ways we usually do academic work. In particular, I examine intra-campus meetings and academic conferences as sites for re-imagining work. Both types of gatherings are important and taken-for-granted parts of our working lives, and both can simultaneously bore and inspire their participants.

This paper is an outcome of the 2019 Academy of Management Caucus “Knitting Through the Academy and Knitting Together Our Lives.” I will use metaphors and characteristics from the caucus description as a starting point, supported by theory and examples (both published and in my own experience). Questions to explore include ones such as: What if more people knit during meetings? How can we recognize as academic types of work that are more colorful and textured and non-verbal? What about colorwork as a metaphor for integrating people and departments with conflicting interests in order to make something new?

To take one example, in knitting, we see immediate progress, in contrast to the months and years of taking a paper from idea through publication. Using that as a guiding principle, what if there were a type of session where participants came together to make something new, start to finish, during the conference? This already happens at the Management and Organizational Behavior Society’s annual conference. As part of the doctoral consortium, students develop and present a conference session, and it’s a successful, well-attended session. What other kinds of work could we complete at a conference, not just begin it? What other kinds of work could we do together that we usually do alone? What kinds of work do we assume needs to take months that could be done more quickly?

More generally, using knitting allows us to see some things that we take for granted in a more positive and perhaps even optimistic way, one that is grounded in creating and wholeness and comfort.

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*Mariann Hardey and Ladan Cockshut*

**Yarn wars: Unravelling craftivism through the generational lens**

This paper offers an analysis and comparison between two Northern English knitting communities. We characterize our findings as a deepening ‘yarn absorption’, involving both on-the-spot and multiyear interactions in the development of and articulation of amateur and professionalised knitting skills, and a demonstration of varied ways of integration into an exclusive knowledge system based around learning, yarn and generational contexts.

Despite the popularity of ‘stitch n bitch’, ‘knit and natter’ and other community groups, the scope of yarn absorption remains poorly elaborated in wider bodies of research, which includes the construction of ‘expert’ knowledge, the thread of craft discourse, and notions and expressions of craftivism produced by different generations of knitters. Tensions (the so-called ‘yarn wars’ by some observers) have also arisen amongst different groups of yarn enthusiasts and professionals around notions of social justice and craftivism, particularly through the generational lens.

Among the issues analysed are:

1. The place of interaction among knitters (e.g. fairs, homes, shops, online), in defining the construction and hierarchical enabling of craft knowledge;
2. The ways in which concepts of craftivism have been socially produced and problematically addressed through local and generational settings;
3. The relations between yarn knowledge and yarn language, and the increasingly generational context of contemporary craft practice.

Preliminary data have been collected during ad hoc periods of activity within the yarn community, e.g. fairs, social media interaction, group meet-ups, and community events. Early analysis indicates that the yarn community illustrates strategic forms of expert knowledge, forms of communication and subversion and assimilation into more formal strands of community activity and some of this is aligned to generational norms.

Insights from this paper explore the processes of work that go into the production of expert knowledge about knitting and in particular types of yarn. We concentrate on how aspects of work are rendered visible through involvement at yarn fairs and particular settings within them. Here, we investigate how knitting practices and their technical elements render expert knowledge into the hands of generational groups and nuanced notions of craftivism is expressed by these group members. We then develop this approach with a more detailed thread of how crafting and craftivism are articulated.

Our aim is to bring out how craft knowledge is constructed and transferred through the membership of community groups and the narratives that crafters may construct or perceive about different generations of knitters.

Many authors have written about the narrative form of peoples' experience of learning a craft. Here we seek to slightly shift this emphasis by concentrating on established crafters' narratives. We propose that in the construction of such 'yarn talk' expert crafters encode the credibility of their own and others' work, though this can often be skewed through the lens of generational differences. Here we address the recurrent issue of uncertainty in craft work, and again pick up on the different in generational knowledge, and motivation.

*Nina Kivinen and Carolyn Hunter*

**Affective materiality in craft work – a visual analysis**

Craft work has a traditional gender split, such as textiles as women's work while 'technical crafts' such as hardwood and metal work as masculine pursuits (Kokko, 2012). Craft distilleries, emerging from a traditionally masculine drinks industry, present an opportunity to explore craft work as an example of sustainable employment and production (Blundel, 2002). Similar areas such as craft breweries have seen an increase in female brewers, but in tension with traditional masculinities that underpin employment, production and marketing (Land et al., 2009).

From an industry perspective 'craft' may relate to size, authenticity, honesty, and independence and commitment to values, while from a consumer perspective it may relate to identity and self-expression (Waehning et al, 2019). Creative labour and the product or outcome of the work is particularly meaningful for the creative labourer (Duff & Sumartojo, 2017).

In this project we will study craft distilleries: i.e. smaller scale production of distilled spirits where the ingredients such as grains and water tend to be local and the spirits are produced, aged and bottled on site. Craft distillery frequently reflect sustainable practices being rooted in the earth and the local communities. The small-scale production relies on a strong social media presence and success in competitions, which enable the craft bottle to find its way to Instagram images and eventually into bars. The distilleries often draw upon a nostalgic visual imagery from the lonely farmer in a rye field, the loving care of old barrels, to the wonderful colour of the beautifully aged drink. Craft distilleries provide a rich research site to study masculinity and nostalgia and the affectual materiality of embodied encounters.

In this first stage of our project, we will analyse the visual imagery of a selection of craft distilleries in Finland, Scotland and Australia to explore how craft work is visually represented.

This project draws upon recent writings on affect and materiality in organization studies (e.g. Fotaki et al., 2017; Pullen et al., 2017) and joins ongoing discussions on the critical study of craft work. Critical studies of craft work question mass consumption, underline sustainability and emphasizes the human in material (including digital) production (Bell et al., 2019; Land et al., 2019, Bell & Vachhani, 2019, Rippin & Vachhani 2019).

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*Lynne F. Baxter*

**Now you see them, now you don't – Gendered UK Economic Statistics on the Craft Industry and their Implications for the Growth of Women's Businesses**

Recent organization studies work demonstrates that craft is a growing sector of the economy that affords satisfying work (Bell et al., 2018). The sector is argued to contribute £3.4bn to the UK economy (Crafts Council, 2014). However, anybody exploring official government statistics would not be able to tell that many women work in the area. The government statistics reveal that almost 80% of crafters are men. Women's craft businesses and activities seem underrepresented. An example of a predominantly woman's sector of crafting is the fibre community. The fibre community is made up of yarn producers, dyers, designers, accessory makers, publishers, retailers, event organizers and end product crafters such as knitters, crocheters and weavers. Over recent years the community has been thriving, with many small businesses being established across the UK and across the globe. One would think economic development agencies would be supporting the development as forms of sustainable creative labour. However, they show little or no interest in the sector. Why is that? Perhaps it is because they do not know it exists. It receives an asterisk in reports in the UK. The businesses are too small to count in the Labour Force Survey, produced by the UK Office of National Statistics. Receiving an asterisk has implications for the amount of attention and support the sector receives.

The UK labour force survey determines rates of employment and unemployment across the country and 'provides evidence for policy and decision-making, and for directive resources to where they are needed most. (ONS, 2019). A random sample of households in the UK are contacted to participate in the survey by postcode. The households answer a questionnaire, but the questions do not seem to lend themselves to the typical woman crafter. For example, it talks about paid and unpaid work, public and private organizations. It does not seem to address more complex forms of employment. Portfolio jobs and selling on Etsy do not fit easily into the questionnaire categories. I argue as a consequence, the survey is likely to underreport or misrepresent women's labour in the fibre sector, making it seem less important that it is for the economy.

An example of a highly visible economic activity is the Edinburgh Yarn Festival. For the last decade the Festival has grown to be the premier event of its kind in the UK. The Festival is the idea of two women who build the event from scratch. For example, the 2013 festival had 30 exhibitors held in a hall in central Edinburgh on one day. This year the event stretched from the Wednesday to the Sunday, with social events preceding this. There were 78 taught class sessions, just under 100 exhibitors, taking place in the Corn Exchange, a large conference venue. Early events appealed to the local community, now it attracts people from as far afield as Australia and the US, with most of the European nations represented. One would think that the local economic development people would be keen to support an event of such growing magnitude, yet the organizers still work on their own, and economic development agencies that were so prominent at other events do not feature.

The paper will discuss the implications of gendered statistics, the invisibility of women craft businesses and the implications of this omission. A sector that has transformed work for

many women has achieved that without the support many male businesses receive. How many more sustainable, satisfying work opportunities could be created if it received its share of resources?

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**Stream 38**  
**Gender and Embodied Knowledge in Post-Truth Times**

**Convenors: Torkild Thanem, Katie Beavan, Laura Ellingson and David Knights**

*Ciara Cremin*

**LGBT+[]/:The place of non-identity in the signifying chain of sexuality**

In this presentation I draw on Lacan's theory of sexuation to consider the business appropriations of sexuality as a means through which to appear inclusive. I recall the North Carolina's notorious 'bathroom bill' to prohibit transgender people from using washrooms and changing facilities that reflect their gender and the opposition of companies such as PayPal to it.

In his recent book, *Sex and the Fragile Absolute*, Žižek criticises what he calls 'transgender ideology' for demanding new gender categories. This he says repeats the error of naming sexuality and moreover because the demand for an identity is itself phallic the demand is a masculine one. He criticises an argument in my book, *Man-Made Woman*, in which I suggest that whereas the + in the LGBT signifying chain stands in for all the sexual identities that are not represented, another is needed: square brackets to signify identification with no identity. A case is made for why, agreeing with Žižek, it is impossible to be outside the law of signification, this sign is nonetheless required. In contrast to Žižek, who claims that business is fully accommodating of a diversity of genders and sexualities, I argue that there is a political dimension to identity that needs to be theorised. The forward slash '/' is the sign I add to the signifying chain to politicise it and which the presentation elucidates.

Reflecting on my own embodied position as a trans woman as compared to when I identified as a man, I conclude by problematising masculine sexuality, and the androcentrism that neither Lacan or Žižek address, which is also, I argue, inextricable to capital. It is on this understanding that masculinity itself is problematised and, beyond the 'letter' of Lacan, a way out of our predicament sought.

*Torkild Thanem*

**Analytical Buggery: Embodied Reason and Engagement in the Study of Gender, Work and Organization**

In this paper, I will draw on Gilles Deleuze's (1995) historical-philosophical method of buggery to promote more embodied ways of engaging with empirical material in the study of gender, work and organization. Whereas dominant research practice tends to silently assume that analysis is about grasping the simple if detailed order of things through detached logical reasoning, the organizational scholar committed to analytical buggery seeks to imbue their analysis with as much flesh and blood as possible from the lives they study, without denying that any effort to create theoretical insights into organizational life is necessarily shaped and informed by the researcher's own embodied, gendered life.

As the analytical bugger plunges into an untidy web of extant concepts, empirical records and corporeal experiences, s/he may create genderful and monstrously immaculate concepts that express the scars and pains of organizational life as well as their apathies and indifferences, joys and excitements.

I begin by tracing the disembodied deceptions of organizational analysis back through key figures in the history of philosophy and science. By probing into some of the scars and pores that incorporate this history, I then outline what I envision as the main habits, sentiments and relationships of analytical buggery.

The second time I tried to promote analytical buggery at an academic conference, someone in the audience informed me what a heteronormative concept this was. I am entirely to blame. I had made no effort to problematize how Deleuze had appropriated buggery for his own historical-philosophical ends. Nor had I presented myself as anything but a similarly bent straight white male. In other words, I had failed to bugger Deleuze, and myself.

Alice Wickström

**‘CheckedKitty’: An Embodied Exploration of the Exchange of Dirty Underwear**

Digitalization has contributed to the emergence of new forms of sex work such as ‘webcamming’ and ‘sugar dating’, as well as platforms for exchange of personalized or used, sexualized objects (Cunningham and Kendall, 2011; Jones, 2015; Sanders et al., 2018). These types of sex work can be understood as of a casual nature (cf., Brewis and Linstead, 2000, 2002; Kong, 2006; Mavin and Grandy, 2013), as they are marketed as ‘fun’ and ‘easy’ ways to make extra money, thus aligning well with contemporary discourses on ‘empowered’, sexualized femininity (see Just and Muhr, 2019, for overview; also, Power, 2009). Though attention has been directed to the digitalization of sex work (see Sanders et al., 2018, for overview), emphasis has primarily been placed on how digital technologies facilitate the growth of sexual exchange (Jones, 2015), rather than on how these sites potentially condition the (re)production of feminized, gendered labor and forms of sexuality (e.g., Mavin and Grady, 2013; Sanders, 2005).

To open up for a further discussion regarding this, this paper draws on material from netnographic immersion into an online market for dirty underwear, PantyDeal, and explores self-subjectification, pleasure and difference in representations of sexuality (for sale). By reading online advertisements, narrations and the materiality of the platform through Irigaray’s (1985a, 1985b) theorization on fluid femininity, as well as my own embodied experiences of (self-) sexualization and objectification, it is argued that the sociomateriality of the platform conditions specific types of sexualized expressions, while also blurring the experiential boundaries between exploitation/play and work/sex. Following Irigaray (1985a), it is further argued that the nature of market exchange makes *difference* impossible as it demands trade amongst equivalents and thus, the transformation of the fluidity of feminine sexuality into a standardized form. While women (or girls) may enter the market for dirty underwear as potential sellers of a commodity, it is their sexualized labor that allows for the creation of surplus value<sup>4</sup> and exchange, which in turn hinders their potential to materialize as difference in an embodied manner. The dirty underwear can thus be seen as a ‘material alibi’ (see Irigaray, 1985a) for the control of the female body-matter that contribute to the (re)production of exaggerated expressions of sexualized and racialized femininity (see Mavin and Grandy, 2013).

The technological platform thereby allows for construction of *sameness* under the guise of ‘empowerment’, which cannot be adequately explored when focusing on individual identity-work or sense-making (e.g., Brewis and Linstead, 2000, 2002; Just and Muhr, 2019; Sanders, 2005), as these representational expressions always emerge in relation to, and through, phallogocentric discourses and practices (see Fotaki et al., 2014; Vachhani, 2012). Through a series of dialogical poems with an imaginary consumer-Other, this paper offers an alternative by playing with the boundaries of sexualized body-matter in order to imagine the (im?)possibilities of a feminine outside of “*models and laws devised by male subjects*”

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<sup>4</sup> In contrary to traditional forms of sex work where sex/the body of the worker is ‘the commodity’, the dirty piece of underwear ‘poses’ as a commodity of though it gains it *market value* through pornographic posing, masturbation and webcam shows featuring sexual acts.

(Irigaray, 1985a: 86, emphasis in original) in a digitalized era. This embodied approach allows for a further interrogation of both the tensions within, and allure of, casual sex work, while also directing further attention to how representations of (sold) sexuality can be understood within broader economies of pleasure.



*Dide van Eck, Noortje van Amsterdam and Marieke van den Brink*

**Finding the ‘right’ kind of words: How to capture the embodiment and affect of doing low-wage work**

Our fingers get stuck  
hoovering above the keyboard  
They will not be disciplined  
to tell these stories  
in academese  
to soften these experiences  
by using all the ‘right’  
kinds of words  
to understand the  
not-yet known

I worked as a cleaner. I spent seven months participating in crews responsible for the cleaning of airplanes within increasingly shorter time limits. I witnessed exploitation; I witnessed resistance; I witnessed solidarity among cleaners; I experienced working together in teams where most cleaners had an ethnic minority background; I experienced not being the owner of my time or actions; I experienced pain and physical tiredness from the repetitive movements such as bending and lifting; I felt the dirt of dirty work; I experienced being an outsider as the only white Dutch ‘girl’; and I witnessed the invisibility of cleaners - not being looked in the eyes or even being looked down upon. Then, after seven months, I had to go back to my office, back to work within the walls of the university, and start writing my ‘findings’ down so that they become suitable for publication in high-ranked academic journals.

We aim to study and write about experiences of in- and exclusion of workers in low-wage jobs. Yet, we noticed that the methodological tools we have been trained in within the academy do not suffice to represent the embodied and affective aspects of the experiences present in our research (e.g. Thanem & Knights, 2019, Gherardi, 2019). In this presentation we aim to explore the possibilities of researching and writing differently to get a sense of what it is like to be a worker doing a low-wage job. We specifically turn to poetry (e.g. van Amsterdam & Van Eck, 2019), counter-narratives (Anthym, 2018) and affective pedagogies (Gherardi, 2019; Rhodes & Carles, 2018) to respond to and engage with the embodied and affective experiences of the workers in our research. In conversation with our data and amongst ourselves we reflect openly on the possibilities and the difficulties when writing differently. These include issues of (mis-)representing the experiences of the Other (Anthym, 2018), of (mis-)representing the intuitive, embodied and vulnerable process of creating

knowledge (Gherardi, 2019; Thanem & Knights, 2019; Rhodes & Carles, 2018), as well as dealing with (or against) academic conventions that judges what counts as ‘knowledge’ (Manning, 2016).

*Victoria Pagan*

### **NDAs – an instrument of disembodiment**

The combination of documentary tools and negotiation processes related to confidentiality clauses in a range of employment contract contexts are known as ‘non-disclosure agreements’ (NDAs) and, colloquially, as ‘gagging orders’. Disclosure and gagging may relate specifically to embodied speech and the bodies of particular speakers, related to control/restriction of: the freedom to vocalise; the freedom to vocalise using particular language; and/or the freedom to vocalise content in relation to particular experiences (Hornsby, 2000; Schott, 2003; Lutgen-Sandvik, 2003). These NDAs are an immaterial version of a scold’s bridle, an instrument with disembodiment effects (Smith, 2016).

This paper examines submissions to the current Parliamentary Inquiry of the Women and Equalities Committee regarding the use of NDAs in discrimination cases (Women and Equalities Committee, 2019). Narrative analysis is used (Chase, 2005; Riessman, 1993) to explore how different organizational actors account for their experiences of NDAs and associated effects on embodied freedoms to know their own experiences. The experiences under consideration in this paper are embodied in themselves; experiences of unwanted and unsolicited sexual contact. NDAs in these instances are instruments of disembodiment in two main ways: 1) they disembodiment the experience of the contact into a textual document; and 2) they disembodiment the account from the speaker by restricting their freedom to speak. The submissions to the Inquiry include written texts (disembodied) and, where oral evidence is given, it is disembodied through anonymity.

These NDAs represent an important part of work and organizational life to investigate as: 1) there is some evidence that either their use is increasing, or reports of their use are increasing; 2) they blur the boundaries of freedom related to work/organization and freedom outside of work/organization; and 3) there are multiple interests and relations of power in their execution in relation to different freedoms, resulting in a complex nexus of restrictions and liberations depending on whose perspective is considered. There is also an extent to which certain bodies are legitimated/de-legitimated as speakers; for example, in the case of the Harvey Weinstein allegations, the disembodied stories of the de-legitimated survivors were re-embodied by the legitimate journalists (Brockes, 2019).

Relating to Berlin’s concept of positive freedom (Berlin, 1969/2017), where specific sources are understood to define the boundaries of a person’s doing/being, it is argued that NDAs are such a source. As an instrument, NDAs can be framed as objective to define the freedoms of what can be said/not said by whom and to whom, standard and devoid of interests. Their production and application adheres to codes of conduct and ethics (Bouilloud et al., 2019) but those bodies who administer and those bodies who are subject to the administration of the instrument are also sources that define the boundaries of embodied freedom; the instrument is not as objective as some would argue because its use is driven to greater or lesser extents by employers, legal professionals representing employers, legal professionals representing employees, and employees themselves.

*Pauliina Jääskeläinen*

**Kinaesthetic qualities of the 'flesh' in the organizational encounters**

Maurice Merleau-Ponty was a phenomenologist, who emphasized the meaning of the body as a medium of intersubjectivity. His famous concept, 'flesh of the world', is used in many research fields that concern human encounters, also to some extent in organization studies. Even though the 'flesh' is described for example as co-constitutive and reciprocal flow between organizational members, the kinaesthetic quality of 'flesh' is often forgotten in organization studies.

In this paper, I explore how the body knows through the ever-moving 'flesh' in organizational facilitation context. Defining the 'flesh' as moving and changing unity of the world, where all living and non-living as well as visible and invisible things are entangled with each other, I focus here to explore how it is possible to sense different qualities of this moving 'flesh' through human, moving and sensing bodies. I consider the body movements as visible and sensible body movements which are connected to the visceral movement of affects, emotions and sensations in our bodies.

I start by presenting and reflecting some of the previous organizational research, that describe and use the concept of 'flesh' as a theory of organizational relationships. After that, I move on thinking, how kinaesthetic attunement could be understood within the philosophy of 'flesh' and how it is used as a form of knowing. Finally, I present some examples from my fieldwork as an embodied facilitator in organizations that illustrate how I came up with the idea of reflecting intersubjective situations via movement vocabulary. Rudolf Laban's movement analysis, especially the basic categories Body, Effort, Space and Shape form the background to this perspective. Instead of settling for describing the 'flesh' through one movement quality, for example through flow or rhythm, I argue that using movement vocabulary more widely in describing the qualities of intersubjective situations, helps us to understand organizational encounters in a more versatile and lively manner.

**Emmanouela Mandalaki**

**Academic writing as ‘fingering’**

*I don't know where to start from...my fingers tremble and don't always follow the line of my thoughts...*

*While reading these lines, you might wonder how I could ever expose them to you. I thought a lot before doing so, but in the end, pressing the ‘enter’ was a genuinely embodied gesture – my finger pressed the button- like when I write. Here, I use the ‘data’ of an early academic life’s auto-ethnography; those, which unsettle my sleep, hidden as they are in my guts, (un)conscious, and poetry diaries, to express some embodied sensations accompanying my constrained freedom to write an academic language that touches.*

Seeing auto-ethnographic writing as an embodied performance uniting autobiographical experience with research practice (Spry, 2001), I here engage with an autoethnographic embodied methodology and writing accounting for the fact that “to find out what an embodied method can do, we must never stop asking what bodies can do” (Thanem and Knights, 2019:143). In this process that emerges out of my reflexive, embodied and emotional engagement with my autoethnographic academic experiences (Bochner and Ellis, 2016; Boncorri and Smith, 2018), the writing is performing itself, doing and undoing the “I” through my fingers to expose the embodied possibilities and impossibilities of writing myself (Gannon, 2006), and even more my female academic embodied self in an academic text.

To expose my embodied sensations and experiences, I engage with “écriture feminine” (Cixous, 1976; Irigaray, 1985a) arguing for the need to put our women’s bodies in our writing attempts. In so doing, I join recent accounts that call for the necessity to put more of our embodied (Pullen, 2018), poetic (Beavan, 2019) and vulnerable female selves (Helin, 2019; Pullen 2018) in our scholarly work to creatively challenge the masculine fraternity, which over-shadows our academic experiences, research methods and academic writing (Hopfl, 2007; Pullen and Rhodes, 2008; Fotaki et al., 2014; Rhodes, 2015; Kiriakos and Tienari, 2018; Pullen, 2018; Helin, 2019; Thanem and Knights, 2019). I particularly point to the unavoidable use of our fingers, in academic writing, and conceive academic writing as a fingering process conveying the researcher’s effervescent embodied experiences, reflexive and emotive dispositions, to argue that for the latter to peacefully co-exist in an academic text, they naturally need to be corporeally manifested.

Writing as fingering with all its inherent vulnerabilities (Pullen, 2018; Hellin, 2019) intends to explore and propose the possibility of reinventing our academic subjectivities in ways that push the political boundaries of the academic status-quo to allow for “imagining and creating possibilities for personal and political transformation” (Spry, 2011:11). This writing is not only intellectual but also physical, social and political accounting for the ethics of living, researching and writing (Thanem and Knights, 2019). It is not only about what I and you think but also about what we feel (Rhodes, 2015) in our academic endeavors, generously disposing its lines as threads that enable sensuous and embodied connections with one another; connections that can hopefully allow her to appear in the text.

*Patti Sotirin and Laura Ellingson*

**Beyond Rationalism and Post-Truth: Embracing Lively Data as Embodied Researchers**

The Stream CFP points out that this is a moment of contestation given the dominance on one hand of postpositivist, rationalist thinking and the counter force of post-truth thinking, both of which subordinate the knowing body (Thanem & Knights, 2019). Instead, we engage embodied knowledge by doing research with/through bodies (Ellingson & Sotirin, 2020). We advocate attending to data in ways that deny both postpositivist entitization of embodiment as the basis for “objectively” empirical facts and the post-truth practices of digitizing embodiment into consumable, hyper-visual, viral micro-seconds courting the momentary truths of mass attention and conspiracy appeals. Unlike postpositivist research, we caution against rushing to data analysis, a move that too often intellectualizes the body’s meanings in the service of solutions or predictions. Unlike post-truth’s reified irrationalities, we want to linger with the body’s sensorium (Paterson, 2009). In this, we urge taking the body’s truths as agential data; we are embodied researchers entangled with the vitality and wonder of embodied/sensory/corporeal data (Ellingson, 2017; MacClure, 2013).

We illustrate this approach with our own research experiences studying pink collar work, gendered work in the clinic, dual careers in academe, and long-term cancer survivors (Ellingson, 2005; 2015; Ellingson & Borofka, 2018; Sotirin & Goltz, 2019; Sotirin & Gottfried, 1999). Three commitments organize this work around relationalities and entanglements: pragmatism, compassion, and joy. Methodologically, these commitments undermine the objectivity and disembodiment of postpositivist rationality; but also the true-because-unverifiable inferences and hyper-affects of post-truth irrationalities. First, making embodied data entails the pragmatic goal of balancing imagination with practicality, i.e., getting the job done (Saldaña, 2014). We make data in the confluence of opportunities, interests, availabilities, needs, and desires, including a desire to foster social justice (Charmaz, 2017). Second, compassion comes from the Latin *com* (together with) and *pati* (to suffer), an embodied sense of feeling together. Compassion as a research commitment involves an ongoing becoming with others as well as care for the self, mandating that “[e]ach interaction should be fundamentally relational and visibly be an ethical moment of care” (Glass & Ogle, 2012, p. 71). Third, we propose joy not as an emotional “high” but as a sensuous intra-action rendering embodied data engagement a creative, ethical, risky, yet enticing practice. This is a commitment to “the enhancement of life” by enabling “some modes of life’s intensification and self-ordering” (Grosz, 2018, p. 149). Thus, embodied knowledge generates and is generated by the vital intensities animating our embodied approach.

*Jackie Ford and Nancy Harding*

**The sonicity of voice as material presence: towards practices of reciprocal ethics**

The materiality of flesh, skin, blood and bone underpins the burgeoning literature on bodies and embodiment. One fundamental aspect of the material body is absent from this literature, that is, the voice, by which we mean the material, sonic substance that is both of and not of the body. This is a curious absence given the importance of the material voice to organizational hierarchies and identities. For example, the classicist Mary Beard has commented recently about the need for understanding the nature of spoken authority, what constitutes it and how authority is related to conventional assumptions about ‘the authoritative voice’. Women’s voices carry far less ‘weight’ than men’s because they are lighter and thinner, and men whose voices lack the expected timbre can become the subject of jokes and face career jeopardy. A voice may resonate with the sounds of country of birth and mark the speaker as ‘insider’ or ‘outsider’. In a country such as the UK, one’s voice carries the evidence of one’s class location. To appear more authoritative, women and others whose voices do not resonate with immediate authority are encouraged to participate in voice training classes, leaving ignored and unanalysed the discontinuities and fractures that underlie dominant masculine or classed voices. The absence of the sonic articulation of voices from organizational theorising is echoed in qualitative research methods: we listen to people speaking, record their voices, and perhaps listen to the recordings of them speaking, over and over, as we ‘immerse ourselves in the data’. We then focus on the words that have been spoken but ignore the voice itself, and thus commit an act of wilful ignorance.

This paper develops a theory of the materiality of voices in organizations and its performativity in the constituting of power-ful and power-less identities. We first establish the context for our arguments in an emerging ‘voice studies’ (Vallee, 2017) in which ‘voice’ refers to the material sonic phenomenon that carries, but precedes, the words that are spoken. This voice refers to sound, to the acoustic, not to the words that are articulated by the voice, nor the discourses that make possible what those words say. It is material and sonic, but unlike the words that it carries, ‘does not contribute to making sense’ (Dolar, 2006, p. 15). We are referring thus to the ‘acoustic emission that emits from mouth to ear’ (Cavarero, 2005: viii) and identifies speakers in their uniqueness.

We then explore the sonicity of voice within two realms: leadership studies and care ethics. Drawing on theoretical insights from Judith Butler, Karen Barad, Adriana Cavarero and Jessica Benjamin, we theorise that leadership is concerned with an aesthetics of voice that renders those whose sonic utterances are light and high-pitched as unsuitable for leadership. A weak voice is regarded as mimetic of the character and abilities of leaders, implying weakness and lack of capability. Those with such voices become abject, queer, unrecognisable within the terms of a politics of recognition and representation that understands those with weaker voices to be led rather than leaders. Reciprocal ethics, on the other hand, implies the ineradicable value of all voices including, and perhaps especially, softer, caring, lighter voices. Such voices should soothe and calm; they should not frighten or motivate hasty, unthought responses. Vulnerable voices are mimetic of those that should be cared for, their interpellative resonance calling to others to unite in the sheltering of the

vulnerable and the nurturing of the weak. But, as feminist ethics emphasises, each and every living being on the planet is weak and vulnerable. Such vulnerable voices can, when acting in unison, ring out powerfully, and point the way to a new ethics of reciprocity.

The paper thus concludes with a discussion of how loud, masculine voices have insisted on being heard, but that hidden beneath them, quietly continuing to signify and to soothe, are voices, both female, male and other, whose sonicity is a material practice of reciprocal ethics, in leadership and in organizational hierarchies more generally.



*Kate Thomas*

**‘Glass’**

As academics we typically disseminate research findings by funnelling data into recognisable, discipline-specific templates: paper, Powerpoint, book or chapter. We are complicit in shaping our research into a finished product. Indeed, as qualitative researchers we become shapeshifters, neatening complex, contradictory texts into thematic silos, smoothing awkward surfaces, relying on glimpses of individual lives to reconnect our conclusions to complex personal narratives.

As an academic engaged in interdisciplinary research on gender, space and power within the higher education sector, my practice involves collecting and analysing, distilling and presenting data. My research is a form of enquiry, seeking enhanced intelligence and evidence to advocate and support organisational, structural and cultural change. As a poet, I follow a similar process to create a work. More, or less, consciously, I collect data: ideas, questions, emotions, sense phenomena - then manipulate language and sound as a means of distilling the data into a poem for performance on the page and beyond.

In *Glass*, I bring these two practices together, as an organisational poet. The research poem *Glass* draws on qualitative data collected for the project *Gender(s) at Work* which investigates how gender shapes workplace experiences and career trajectories within a post-1992 UK university. In 2019, *Glass* was performed as part of a multi-modal dissemination programme, the *g* word tour, sharing *Gender(s) at Work* findings with diverse audiences in universities and research centres in the UK and the Republic of Ireland.

In the poem, four titled sequences echo archetypal phenomena of career obstacles, risks and privileges: glass ceiling, glass escalator, glass closet and glass cliff. A new fifth sequence entitled *Glacé* (ice), reflects the contemporary phenomenon of academic precarity. Each sequence combines research participants’ words with original poetry, experiments with form and voice and is illustrated by a cartoon backdrop. The titled sequences are contained within five poetic pillars: Prologue, Epilogue and three Choruses, featuring the voice of the organisational poet as narrator and commentator.

In performance, *Glass* embodies an enquiry into gender, work and organisation. On the page, it crafts an embodied way of writing these phenomena presenting findings as ‘a simultaneity of stories-so-far ... a particular articulation of relations, a particular moment in networks of social relations and understanding’ (Massey 1994, p5). This is not a single authoritative account, but a plurality of voices and perspectives reflecting the multi-dimensionality of gendered and intersectional lived experiences within the contested space of the university (Carruthers Thomas 2019, p202). Poetry’s ‘intimacy of expression sits awkwardly with the academic urge for reliability, generalisability, closure, accessibility’ (Perselli 2004, p67). As a research text, *Glass* explicitly draws on, draws in, the affective, introducing humour, anger and pain without apology. In Richardson’s view, ‘poetry engages the listener’s body, even when the mind resists and denies it’ (1993, p704) and in doing so, ‘violates sociology’s unwritten emotional rules’ (ibid).

As a poetic academic, I make myself vulnerable to audience resistance, discomfort and questions of academic validity while exploring the potential for organisational poetry to disrupt organisational behaviours and research traditions.

*Kat Riach*

**Towards a Methodology of Failure: Rural ageing and the making of Female Corporate Portraiture**

How might we turn the failures in our research into something rich and productive in and of its own terms? The turn to embracing more mundane, complex and stitched together embodied subjectivities has captured the public imagination over the past few years, from a post #metoo sentiment of refusing criminal-but-complicit attributions surrounding workplace sexual violence, to debates surrounding intersectionality and privilege. In this paper, I situate my work in what I call a 'faulty feminism' ethos to methodologically consider a study called 'Breadwinners', which focused on rural women's working lives and ageing and which, in many ways 'failed'. Specifically, drawing on work by Roxanne Gay and Ann Cvetkovich I suggest that we can consider an embodied feminist research praxis as failure in three ways: to stumble; to extinguish or cease to exist; and to lack. Through consider the ways these forms of failure manifested and were enacted in the Breadwinners project, I reflect on my experiences in the intersections of ageing, gender and selfhood and the potential to rewrite failure beyond either punitive or positive boundary conditions.

*Guy Huber and David Knights*

**Embodied citizenship: Exercising ‘care for’ others**

The aim of our paper is well articulated by an anonymous reviewer - on our submission for presentation in the critical management stream of the Academy of Management Conference, Boston, 2019:

*‘I found it confronting, and I disagreed with it. For that reason, I thought it was a provocative and interesting piece, which I engaged with great enthusiasm. You have done very well to formulate an argument which evoked a passionate response from this reader’*

Our essay challenges international management education with the limits of the integration of an ethic of care with the institutional agenda in UK (HE) business schools. We consider the following questions:

Question 1: How do institutionalised practices inhibit the normative adoption of caring pedagogy in the context of an international curriculum?

Question 2. How might an ethic of care contribute to the normalization of citizenship practice within the business school (in both teachers and students)?

We argue that institutional discourses and practices of citizenship tend to be focused on ‘caring about’, rather than ‘caring for’ others. Caring about others generally means ensuring that they are treated in terms of universal and abstract, concepts of justice, equality or set of human rights, enshrined in rules and regulations. Caring for others involves a much more embodied and engaged relationship in which there is a responsibility for their wellbeing. Both are necessary for without the former, others can be treated unfairly but without the latter, formality may over-rule compassion. This is important in relation to our topic of business school education because in caring ‘about’ others, academics (perhaps unwittingly) constitute and reify pedagogic practices that claim some notion of ‘objective’ reason, truth and impartiality - yet, constitute masculine practices that systematically disenfranchise students, who face considerable institutional impediments as they ‘negotiate’ the pitfalls of higher education, and particularly those on internationalised programmes. Caring about students ‘underlies an increasingly regimented, regulated and standardized conception of teaching and learning’ (Holbrook et al., 2010, p.686) associated with a ‘proliferating culture of audit, accountability and performativity’ (Knights and Clarke, 2014, p.336). Caring about students, viewed this way, is the prerogative of managers (and teachers) - constituted through utilitarian operations of surveillance that implicitly ‘denies’ [students their] ... ‘agency and any consideration of ethics’ (Bridgman, 2007, p.425).

Feminine notions of care are opposed to such forces because in embodying care we teachers (and managers) must value and promote personal consideration. Placing a premium on social interactions and nurturing relationships (Buzzelli and Johnston, 2001). Caring for students ‘is a relationship that contains another’, it is a lived, embodied and reciprocally dependent

human-bond, between the person caring and those cared-for (Noddings, 2003, p.58). This involves treating others as ends, rather than the means to ends (Liedtka, 1996) and thus, does not stem from abstract mandates, ‘principles and rules that apply equally and impersonally to all’ (Gabriel, 2015, p.322).

In practice, this means questioning masculine constructs, including Unitarianism, competitiveness, superiority and instrumental reason. In critiquing the ontological status of praxis, we argue for ‘embodied citizenship’ based on caring for others - developed and sustained in interaction with our students. Embodying care means that ‘teachers not only have to create caring relations in which they are carers but that they also have a responsibility to help their students develop the capacity to care’ (Noddings, 1992, p.18). What Hawk and Lyons describe as ‘modelling... caring learning and teaching ethic’ to students, to build ‘healthy and constructive developmental relations’ that facilitate a culture of caring for others (2008, p.318). This identity work is vital to embodying citizenship and for fostering communities of practice for human flourishing. As academics in business schools, we seek to ‘pursue affirmative change through collectively embodied practices and formations’ (Thanem et al., 2019) even though, in these post-truth times of routine denials of evidence-based knowledge as fake news, this cannot be taken-for-granted.

*Katie Beaven and James Lockhart*

**A pedagogy *with*: Embodied and embedded posthuman experiments “teaching” leadership in a School of Business and Economics**

We are two practitioner-scholars who have spent our careers as leadership educators and have a bent towards action learning and collaborative inquiry in learning environments. We (re)turn to the university to teach finding ourselves shrinking under controlled curricula and assessments, confused as to where power lies in this era of student-as-customer, evidence-based-learning and the competitive pursuit of business schools market brand. We wonder whether we are simply cogs in a learning machine, “[s]tuff” in servitude to the relentless push for progress via knowledges which are hamstrung and in hock to capitalism’s imperious spread?” (Taylor, 2019: 6). We look at each other through Zoom, stumped, shaking our heads, doubting.

Deweyan inquiry begins in doubt. A thought.

‘Hey, James, what is being measured by students on a leadership course? Is it simply acquisition of skills and techniques?’

*No*, we agree, we’re in the muddy, uncertain terrain of a moral and spiritual education.

An education we hope that can be embodied and enduring, not simply embrained and evaluated.

Time passes. Pressure builds to deliver a curriculum.

Another thought.

‘Katie, what makes for good (Biesta, 2015), not just measurable, or highly rated leadership learning?’

Creative juices start flowing.

What about a pedagogy *with*?

With.... philosophy...with students....with us...collaborative ‘A pedagogy of messiness, difference and productive unsettlement’ (Taylor, 2019: 7). What does it mean to “teach” with? Braidotti ignites us. Can we put posthuman relational ethics to work? Forge connections, solidarity, collaboration, entanglements of thinking-becoming-knowing with students and all entities encountered in the course? Swim against the tide of leadership and teaching as the empire-of-One (Braidotti, 2012)?

What we will have to share with you in June will be evolving, modest, partial. We’re experimenting with posthuman possibilities on a 5th year undergraduate leadership practice and theory course in a Catholic university where social justice values create under-the-radar conditions in which respons-ability can be cultivated. We struggle with the problem of how, in eight teaching sessions over four weeks, to accompany students on a shared journey to explore our roots and shift paradigms from Humanist I to interconnected we, where we are always becoming-subjects-together (Braidotti, 2019) and putting the active back into activism (Braidotti, 2010).

A small resistance against “‘rationalist knowledge of ‘hard facts’, ‘objective truths’ and ‘disembodied reason’” (Thanem, Beavan, Ellingson and Knights, 2019). Learning leadership ‘as in/as becoming’, as an adventure, ‘play-full’, an ‘un/en/folding’ (Taylor, 2019: 21,23), a community of inquiry (Shields, 2003). A journey full of difficulties, doubts, desires and a posthuman ‘affirmative mode of potentia’ (Braidotti, 2019:158).

**Stream 40**  
**Gender and Power in Higher Education**

**Convenors: Kate White and Brigitte Bonisch-Brednich**



*Thao Tran, Suzette Dyer, Paresha Sinha and Fiona Hurd*

**An analysis of women's career in Vietnamese academia from multiple lenses**

It is undoubtedly the case that Vietnam has made efforts in promoting gender equality and women's empowerment in the last thirty years with the ratification of the UN Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1982 (United Nations Human Rights, n.d.) and a high female workforce participation rate of approximately seventy per cent (Banerji, Gjonbalaj, Hlatshwayo & Le, 2018). Despite the gains, Vietnamese women are still underrepresented in different sectors including higher education (Nguyen, 2012; Funnel & Dao, 2013; Dang, 2017). There have only been seven women rectors across fifty public universities in Vietnam (Funnel & Dao, 2013).

This study adopts a feminist methodology from a standpoint of a non-Western feminist through the lenses of liberal and postcolonial feminism to examine the journey of Vietnamese academic women on career advancement and the challenges they encounter. An analysis of twenty-eight semi-structured interviews with academic staff across universities in Vietnam has provided us with two important insights. From a liberal feminist perspective, Vietnamese academic women have low power motivation due to the absence of career goal setting, lack of confidence or negative perceptions towards women leaders, especially towards those who do not meet the Vietnamese traditional expectation of women. They have limited access to mentoring and training, inadequate for the cost of living and face an unfair and non-transparent performance appraisal process. Sometimes the key factor to a promotion decision is the personal relationship between the person in power and the nominee. From the postcolonial feminist perspective, they have lived the concept of hegemonic femininity. They demonstrate strong commitment to their roles as mothers while their partners take a less intensive role in parenthood. Sexual division of labour is present in the workplace. Men tend to do the "man" work while women tend to do the housekeeping work, which is often undervalued. There is the existence of special interest groups which are connected to the organisational politics. The access to these groups has an impact on career progression of both men and women.

*Anitra Goriss-Hunter and Kate White*

### **The effects of flexible work options on women's career progression**

This paper examines the effects of flexible work options on the careers of women at an Australian regional university. The literature suggests that the managerialist work culture in higher education requires presenteeism and long work hours, despite universities supporting flexible work options. Thus, choosing flexible work options can put women on a different and lesser career path and, for academic women, push them into a career cul de sac.

The paper uses feminist institutionalism as a theoretical framework to examine how flexible work options can be gendered and also a means of maintaining different and gendered career paths in universities.

Our study used an inductive method to analyse autoethnographic accounts of the employment of women academics and professional staff at an Australian regional university with distributed campuses. Women were invited via the university's daily e-newsletter to participate in a study investigating if there were additional equity issues for women employed at regional universities and the reasons why they stayed in their jobs. Twenty-one women agreed to participate and provided written responses to a list of questions distributed to them. Thematic analysis of the responses was undertaken to identify common themes emerging from the data, in conjunction with those from the relevant literature.

The study found that the key benefit of working at a regional university was flexibility, which was mentioned by twelve of the twenty-one participants. These benefits included flexible work hours, working from home one day a week which was particularly appealing for women with young children, and not being micro-managed. Women also supported flexitime for professional staff, flexible work opportunities for academics with families, and more flexible annual leave arrangements.

However, flexibility was not always available. There was evidence of an inability to negotiate flexible work arrangements after returning from parental leave to keep careers on track. Moreover, even though the university espoused flexible work options, in reality some staff took work home and the male working model of continuous availability was paramount. As well, flexible work options were not necessarily supported by management for women in more senior roles, suggesting that university equity and flexible work policies may not necessarily be implemented in practice.

While the impact on their career of taking flexible options was not discussed by the women, they did describe how caring responsibilities – for children or parents – limited the time they could spend at work. There was a clear trade-off between flexible working conditions which enabled them to balance work and caring, and career progression. Some appeared ambivalent about career ambitions. But there was also an underlying resentment or even anger that management saw them as not committed to their careers because they could not subscribe to the long-hours work culture or easily undertake the required travel between campuses. These women were positioned as the 'everywoman' figure in higher education who took on more work in the pastoral care of staff and students, more administration and had difficulty saying

no. However, being everywoman was often not acknowledged let alone rewarded by managers. Thus, flexible work options can lead to gendered career paths in universities.

*Lucy Kyauke*

### **Gender Inclusion and Leadership Positions in Higher Learning Institutions in Tanzania**

Women's under-representation in leadership positions in higher learning institutions is a worldwide problem (Dominici et al. 2009; Odhiambo, 2011; Sandberg & Scovell, 2013; Dunn et al., 2014; ILO, 2016; UN Women report, 2017; Sang, 2018). The magnitude of the problem stands to a large extent in Africa (CODESRIA, 2014; ILO, 2016; Adamma, 2017; Moodly & Tony, 2017; Watende et al., 2017; UN Women report, 2017), and is noted to be alarming in Tanzania (LHRC, 2016; TGNP, 2017; TCU report, 2017).

My study "Gender inclusion and leadership positions in higher learning institutions in Tanzania" aims to contribute to the understanding of the socio-cultural skills, abilities and ways of acting thought appropriate for women's inclusion into leadership positions, as part of gender equity, gender quality and gender equality strategies of professionals in higher learning institutions.

Two theoretical approaches are chosen as relevant to guide the study; Intersectionality Approach based on Systemic Intra-act Method and Actor Network Theory. An intersectionality approach is relevant to describe important factors contributing to gender in/exclusion and how such factors are interconnected, linked and work as a system in which they (academic meritocracy, politics and socio-cultural factors that affect gender) cannot be examined separately from one another when it comes to suggesting appropriate gender inclusion strategies to promote leadership in higher leaning institutions. Actor Network Theory is adopted to offers a diverse and critical discourse on the status quo, notably the recognition of gendered dominance in social arrangements and the desire to change from such forms of domination. More specifically, Actor Network Theory is considered relevant for understanding how the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in higher leaning institutions is constituted, and to what extent refined tools (Academic meritocracy and socio-cultural factors) that can explain what other domains of the gender socio-cultural parameters could not be account for.

The methodology of the study is based on a qualitative approach. Data collection methods involved interviews, focus group discussion and observation. In the analysis; contextual as well as content analysis techniques were used to analyse the transcribed interviews with primary as well as key interviewees and other gender-stakeholders.

The general overview of the results reveals that the patriarchal system dominates power structures in higher learning institutions. Low numbers of female students enrolled at universities contribute significantly to low numbers of women leaders in higher learning institutions. In order to develop strategies to get more women into power, promotion procedures and processes of recruitment should be challenged. Building and promoting gender balance in higher learning institutions should not be based on academic merit alone. An intersectional focus and diverse discourses on the status quo, including other socio-cultural factors embedded in processes, can make a difference on how women academics to prosper.

*Monica Lindgren and Johann Packendorff*

**Coping women reproducing 'smart macho' cultures: A study in Swedish business schools**

In this paper, we suggest that female academics' ways of coping with everyday life in 'smart macho' workplace cultures tend to reinforce these cultures and masculine dominance in academia. By 'smart macho', we mean the new form of managerialist, individualised, performance-based workplace culture that has emerged in many universities across the globe in the wake of neoliberalism and New Public Management (Harley, 2003). In 'smart macho' cultures, values such as transparency, meritocracy, equality and performance-orientation abound. Gender equality and diversity is often promoted, and patriarchies and nepotism dismissed – all academics shall be evaluated and rewarded on their own individual merits, and these merits are possible to measure in unequivocal ways (Helgesson Svedberg & Sjögren, 2019; Van den Brink et al, 2010).

In a qualitative study of academics in management departments/business schools at five Swedish universities, we have explored how female academics at senior lecturer/associate professor level are handling and coping with the workplace culture. The study is based on about 70 semi-structured interviews, and our initial thematic analyses have resulted in the following typical coping strategies:

- The self-inflicted part-time worker. Despite flexible working arrangements, she chooses to work part-time in order to alleviate pressure on herself. If you work 75%, you should not expect more than 75% from yourself.
- The research pro. Having understood how to play the publishing game, she strives to organize her life so as to minimise organizational responsibilities and amass multiple organizational affiliations. Research is always with you, teaching and admin happen elsewhere, and hope lies in building a CV impossible for anyone to ignore.
- The under-radar professor. She goes to work in order to do teaching and admin, and then withdraws on her own or with a few close colleagues in order to escape the competitive workplace culture. In a competitive culture, all and everyone are construed as under-performers and under-achievers, and even notable successes are ignored or trivialised.
- The household worker. Committed to contribute to the development of the department, she assumes responsibility for the wellbeing of colleagues as well as for academic citizenship. This often goes beyond what is promoted as necessary in 'smart macho' cultures and thus goes unrecognised and unrewarded.
- The celebrity professor. She gains respect and admiration through superior performances and through making these performances externally visible – in media, social media, public lectures, industry collaborations. By building external legitimacy, she becomes less vulnerable internally in the university.
- The day-counter. Becoming slightly of age, she has realised that there are no further career prospects – the colleagues currently seen as 'potentials' are much younger, and the merit of her past performances is rapidly declining. She spends her days at the department in as good

a mood as possible, closing a deaf ear to managerial expectations and calculates the number of days and hours needed to live through before retirement.

Both the ‘smart macho’ academic culture and these coping strategies are individualised; the culture by measuring and targeting individual performance, and the female academic by responding on an individual and private basis that reinforces the culture. What is needed to change the culture, and thereby also how female academics respond to it, is resistance and action on a structural level.

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*Mira Alfar and Natalie Vershinina*

**Gendered High Education Institutions: Academic career of mothers and non-mothers in Occupied Palestine**

With this paper we contribute to the burgeoning literature on the lack of gender equality in higher education, by highlighting the relevance of the meta-narratives of patriarchy, religion and politics, which, altogether, largely shape women's opportunities, choices and entire life situations at work and at home. Furthermore, the dominant maternal ideologies, omnipresent particularly in patriarchal societies impinge upon the career progression of both academic mothers and non-mothers. In our study we unpack the multiple factors that perpetuate the masculinist culture within the academy, and by examining the accounts of both mothers and non-mothers set in a Middle-Eastern Higher Education institution context, explain why gender equality within the leadership of higher education institutions or its leadership culture have not been achieved.

Inequality, as opposed to equality, is defined by Acker (2006: 443) within the organisational context as, 'systematic disparities between participants in power and control over goals, resources, and outcomes; workplace decisions such as how to organize work; opportunities for promotion and interesting work; security in employment and benefits; pay and other monetary rewards; respect; and pleasures in work and work relations.' While some scholars argue that such measures render women within the higher education context disadvantaged, Acker articulates specific value drawn from the examination of specific organisational contexts and interrogation of local organisational practices that perpetuate such inequalities. As such, in this study we draw upon the theoretical insights from the feminist institutionalism literature, which see gender in the practices, processes, ideologies and distribution of power in institutions (Acker 1992). This theoretical stance is helpful in depicting the gendered construction of institutions, which determine policies, legislation, laws and/or quotas (Kenny 2014), and how these manifestations work in unison to maintain gender power dynamics and keep power in the hands of the few. Such a set of uneven power relations and the gendered context of the university environment can also be observed through the gender knowledge regimes in higher education institutions (Jones et al, 2018) which produce and continue to reproduce a set of narratives that sustain the existing power relations.

Adopting 'narratology' (Boje 2001; Gabriel 2000) as a theoretical lens, in this paper we offer insights into the working lives of academic mothers and non-mothers by drawing upon narratives collected through phenomenological interviewing of Palestinian women academics working at Palestinian universities. Our analysis of persistent narratives shows that both mothers and non-mothers are influenced by masculinist ideologies and the socially constructed notion of 'motherhood' because they are women, making them similarly disadvantaged in the HE context. However, though childfree, non-mothers are expected to shoulder the burden of care within their families and to extend their mothering capacity to their students and co-workers. Furthermore, mothers and non-mothers within academic institutions attribute their marginalisation to different manifestations of implicit gendered institutional discrimination and the gendered outcomes in the domains of work and home. Finally, we illuminate the tensions between the prevailing discourses of 'altruistic mother',

‘career woman’, and institutional demands, which are contradictory to women’s ability to simultaneously fulfil their work expectations and domestic roles.



*Niki Panteli et al.*

### **The Rise of Female academics to Professors in STEM Faculties**

There are several studies on the under-representation of women academics in the senior leadership of the Higher Education (HE) sector (e.g. Ooms et al, 2018; O'Connor, 2020; Maphalala & Mpofu 2017). Although women are employed throughout the different categories of academic posts, they are concentrated in areas that are low in status, power and rewards (Kulis et al, 2002; Xu, 2008). This implies that as women move up the career hierarchy their representation shrinks. As such the academic environment is not gender neutral, with gendered bureaucratic structures (Bird, 2011; Macfarlane and Burg, 2019), male-dominated research networks (Xu & Martin, 2011) that contribute to systemic barriers, restricted opportunities for promotion ((Blickenstaff, 2005; Filandri and Pasqua, 2019) and limited professional socialization for women's development in academic settings (Sattari & Sandefur, 2019). Ultimately, these result in women being left in lower-level ranks, and away from positions of power and decision making in their universities (Kulis et al, 2011).

With the above in mind, we carried out a study that aimed to extend understanding of female professors in STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Maths) faculties. STEM has drawn increasing attention to gender inequality (Bird, 2011; Blickestaff, 2005) in the HE sector across different countries, including the UK (Herman and Hilliam, 2018), the US (Grubbs & Grubbs, 2016), Germany (Best et al, 2013), and Scandinavia (Nielsen, 2017). While previous studies examined female academics across different career stages (e.g. Lee & Jung, 2018), with some studies exploring the gender composition of the HE professoriate and senior leadership (O'Connor, 2020), in our study we focus on experiences in STEM faculties and examine the rise of female STEM academics to professorial positions and other senior leadership positions. In particular, our study was driven by an interest in capturing female STEM professors' perspectives, perceptions and direct experiences as senior academics. Its theoretical lens has been informed by the meaningful work perspective (Bailey and Madden, 2017) which covers the value, significance and purpose of work (May et al. 2004).

The primary source of data in this study was semi-structured interviews, and in addition to a list of pre-set questions the researcher also encouraged each participant to open up about their experiences and share their stories on their own career trajectory. We invited all female professors (total number: 17) in the STEM faculties of a European University to participate and conducted a total of 10 interviews, achieving 60% participation from the initial sample population. The interviews took place between September and October 2020 via video-link and were recorded and transcribed. The findings of this paper are derived from an inductive approach to qualitative data analysis. Each author did the first round of analysis as open coding and then through a discussion session we sought to identify the main themes.

Initial analysis showed that participants were aware of gender inequality in the STEM professoriate and within their department and, in several instances, they were the first female professor to be recruited to the department. Therefore, when promoted to a professor these women sought to demonstrate their 'worth' by having an impact in their role in the professoriate. Three levels of impact were identified: individual (e. g. mentoring students and junior colleagues), department (e. g. leadership roles contributing to changing the discourse

and bringing a human-centred perspective to managing departments), and the academic field in general (e. g. publishing research papers, organising conferences, and advancing research with international and industry connections).

From the results of the study, we argue that in order to reduce gender disparity in the HE sector interventions need to be meaningful for the women themselves and how they choose to exert their impact as STEM professors.

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*Claudia Schredl*

### **The Pitfalls of Essentialism for Gender Equality Measures in STEM Universities**

Despite the increasing use of gender equality plans (GEPs) in European higher education institutions, the underrepresentation of women continues to characterize higher education establishments – particularly in the highest ranks, as heads of academic institutions and in the male-associated STEM fields (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics) (European Commission, 2017, 2019). Research indicates prevailing gender stereotypes in the organizational culture are a crucial inhibiting factor influencing the impact of gender equality plans (van den Brink & Benschop, 2012).

However, the way in which gender stereotypes play a role in the perception of gender inequalities and consequently constrain organizational changes in STEM is not yet fully understood. Gender imbalances are interpreted as being the result of essential differences between women and men rather than structural discrimination and gender bias. Essentialist gender beliefs, claiming women and men as being ‘naturally’ different in preferences and traits, are repeatedly brought forward to justify gender inequalities (Brescoll et al., 2013). Humbert et al. (2019) point out that essentialist gender beliefs can lead to a decrease in support for gender equality measures in management leadership positions. Organizational cultures that promote meritocratic values seem to be especially vulnerable in this regard. Nonetheless, there is little research on the link between essentialist gender beliefs and support for gender equality measures in higher education institutions.

To address this gap, my PhD thesis aims to analyze the mechanisms through which essentialist gender beliefs influence gender equality measures in STEM universities. It draws upon the results of 21 semi-structured interviews with university management, gender change agents, and researchers in the context of the Horizon 2020-funded project Gender Equality in Engineering through Communication and Commitment (GEECCO). The interview materials are examined through the theoretical lenses of feminist institutionalism (Clavero & Galligan, 2020; Mackay et al., 2010; Waylen, 2017) and system justification theory (Brescoll et al., 2013).

I argue that essentialist gender beliefs (informal institutions) limit the transformative impact of institutional gender equality policies (formal institutions) by combining the feminist institutionalist concepts of formal and informal institutions with system justification theory. According to system justification theory, the strength of essentialist gender beliefs lies in their immutable character. Following this argument, if gender differences are ‘immutable’, gender inequalities in the existing social order of STEM universities can be perceived as legitimate. Thus, adequate approaches that challenge essentialist gender beliefs must be developed to foster gender equality at STEM universities.

In the workshop ‘Gender and Power in Higher Education’, I suggest discussing the significant role of essentialist gender beliefs in perpetuating gendered power hierarchies in organizations, leading to strong resistance against change in the leadership culture of universities. I argue that gender equality measures are perceived as a threat to the existing

gender-power relations at universities, to which university members respond by advocating essentialist gender beliefs to legitimize the existing patriarchy-based social order.

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*Anke Lipinsky and Angela Wroblewski*

**Power, gender, and the myth of ‘critical mass’**

In most countries women’s participation in academia has increased significantly in the last few decades - women now represent the majority of students and graduates – but they remain the minority in STEM fields and in university leadership positions. Several countries and institutions have developed policies to increase women’s participation in all fields and in top positions. Often, these policies are based on the implicit assumption that culture will change once a ‘critical mass’ of women holds positions of power in the system. One effective policy instrument to fix the underrepresentation – as it mostly leads to a significant increase in the share of women in university boards and committees – is the sex quota. For example, Austria in 2009 introduced a legal quota regulation for university bodies which requires a gender balanced composition of the rectorate, senate, university council and all commissions set up by the senate. In Germany, non-university research associations and some universities voluntarily committed to apply the ‘cascade model’, which encourages preferential hiring of women to leadership positions. Experiences with such instruments illustrate that increasing women’s participation and cultural change are two distinct gender equality objectives which have to be pursued by specific approaches.

Following a short introduction to the topic we will raise the following points for discussion:

- How does gender equality in academic institutions benefit from a specific proportion of men/women in academic leadership? Are the assumed benefits relating to ‘critical mass’ a myth? How does ‘critical mass’ shape the institutional understanding of gender equality and how does it contribute to capacity development to act against gender inequalities in academia? Which formal and informal institutions of leadership culture are addressed by sex quota regimes?
- Why are women in senior leadership positions seen as tokens of success of the promotion of gender equality in academia? How do women in university leadership positions justify the need for gender equality interventions? How come women in leadership positions are stereotyped as either promoters of feminist ideas, or as strongly opposing feminism?
- While in recent years women have been increasingly appointed to central university leadership positions or boards, executive power lies with the heads of schools (deans of faculties), which are barely ever led by women: which boundaries of power are connected to gendered university governance? What do we know about the gendered institutions of power relating to scientific disciplines, and in which seemingly different rules apply than for central university leadership powers, which address the university as an organization (or institution) but do not involve academic disciplines?

*Oluwakemi Igiebor*

**Informal institutions subverting the intent of gender equity policy in Nigerian universities: policy stakeholders' perspectives**

In an effort to address the systemic problem of gender imbalance in academic leadership, fifteen universities in Nigeria have established gender centres and have adopted institutional gender policies. However, the numbers of women at each level of the university hierarchy remains unequal with men. Institutional discourses in the Nigeria context have focused mainly on cultural and structural barriers that hold women back from advancing to leadership positions. Also, empirical research on why gender equity policies have failed to gain real traction in advancing women to academic leadership positions in Nigeria are almost non-existent. This, therefore, prompted an investigation into the intricate informal institutional 'causes' as to why women have not advanced to academic leadership at the same rates as their men colleagues.

Using interview data gathered from two purposively selected universities in Nigeria, this paper unveils the perspectives of policy stakeholders on the 'informal rules of the game'. The policy stakeholders constitute selected individuals responsible for providing the context and the environment for the formulation and implementation of gender policy. As such, it is imperative to consider the influence exerted by this structure to provide a better understanding of how informal institutions subvert the intent of gender equity policy and undermine women's advancement to academic leadership. Informed by Feminist Institutionalism (FI), the paper analyses the extent to which gender norms and practices, embodied in informal rules and institutional legacies, challenges the intent of gender policies and what this means for women's academic advancement. This paper, therefore, contributes to the FI literature by arguing that the study of policy stakeholders' perspectives on informal norms and practices can be a useful asset when addressing women's underrepresentation in

Findings from this study show pre-existing informal norms playing out in the formulation and implementation of gender policies in the university, and how the use of connection and the positional power of the Vice-Chancellor enabled informal selection of higher-level policy actors and how this has impacted gender equity at the formulation stage. As an implication, the findings reveal how the exclusion of a 'level playing' field for qualified women to compete for key policy positions constrains participation, thereby enabling the maintenance of men's academic dominance. Evidence also shows how policy actors may be unlikely to push for radical change towards gender equality for fear of losing respect from those who appointed him/her. At the implementation stage, findings reveal how masculinist culture and patriarchal ideology, coupled with the absence of monitoring and evaluation, has resulted in gender as a non-issue for some academic heads. This evidence demonstrates how some academic heads reproduce or sustain male dominance by challenging gender equity through their masculinist ideology, 'verbal gender bashing' and non-engagement with gender issues.

The study recommends the decoupling of the overall responsibility for the gender policy from the office of the Vice-Chancellor to allow for checks and balances in policy formulation and implementation responsibilities. Formal selection criteria that allow qualified women to compete for key policy positions should be adopted to broaden women's participation. Lastly,

gender equity should be tied to the accreditation requirement of universities to ensure policy implementation and compliance.

*Maria Ash*

### **‘Double-Bind’ Facing Women Academics**

Women academics face challenges in progressing to leadership positions, with a tendency for them to be situated in the lower levels of the university hierarchy (Blackmore 2014).

However, the introduction of the UK Equality Act 2010 as predicated upon the gender mainstreaming (GM) approach presents an opportunity for more effective and deliberative implementation of gender equality (GE) initiatives (HEFCE 2007). I explore this from the perspective of women academics, seeking both a structural and agentic explanation of inequality (Nash 2003) through utilising Bourdieu’s constructs of field, habitus and capital (1977; 1990) to investigate whether the beneficial outcomes of policy are being met.

Thematic analysis of data was based upon an ethnographic case study incorporating 44 multi-level participant interviews within five schools across three UK universities, supported by participant observation and documentary analysis. My study offers both theoretical and practical insights, addressing the ‘dearth of attention’ on how GE policy is implemented at institutional level (Tzanakou and Pearce 2019: 1192) and adding to the relatively limited application of Bourdieu’s theoretical constructs to organisational studies (Townley 2014).

My findings reveal a failure of GE policy to gain traction due to a ‘double-bind’ of structural and cultural constraints hindering the progression of women academics. First, my relational analysis of field and capital reveals that GE policy was operationalised in a manner which constrained its deliberative potential. HR and equalities ‘experts’ were afforded legitimate authority, resulting in an integrationist rather than transformative approach being adopted, predicated upon neoliberal managerialist practice. Centralised HR policy was afforded symbolic capital with a subsequent lack of grassroots ownership of, and consultation over, policy. The rhetoric of GM masked a perceived reality at school level of policy reduced to technocratic ‘tick-box’ exercises predicated upon business-case objectives and strategic ‘wins’, in order to devolve responsibility and achieve surface-level behaviour modifications to ensure legal compliance.

Second, my relational analysis of habitus reveals cultural constraints across the three universities. Not only was a unitary leadership style promoted privileging masculine ‘norms’ of leadership predicated upon competition and individualism, but the neoliberal agenda legitimised a discourse of performance and accountability resulting in increased work intensification. Both academic excellence and the evaluation of academic work was gendered, due to symbolic capital afforded to research and ‘masculine’ disciplines and the ‘myth of meritocracy’ assuming gender neutrality. Hence women’s progression was reduced through a weakening of both their cultural and social capital, with their roles as academic ‘housewives’ and ‘mothers’ emphasised and access to both networking and mentoring opportunities restricted. Furthermore, misunderstandings and resentment over those with caring responsibilities arose from the masculine hegemony of academic cultures resulting in a ‘motherhood penalty’ and an assumption of a deficit model where lack of progression was attributed to women’s choices and ascribed attributes. Hence my fieldwork makes visible the underlying tensions and power relations that reproduce the field and perpetuate inequality. However, further analysis presented on the nature of practice in the field reveals possibilities



for transformation of the ‘status quo’ to engender more beneficial outcomes for women academics.

*Kathrin Zippel*

### **Professional Associations: A Site of #MeToo Harassment or a Driver of Change?**

With the wider #MeToo movement, a newer wave of mobilization around sexual harassment and sexual violence has arrived in academia. The U.S. Chronicle of Higher Education reported several high-profile cases involving professors being placed on leave from their institutions while investigations into abuse of power were conducted. Sexual harassment can be a violation of a university's anti-discrimination policies or other employment law. But harassment can also be a violation of ethical norms set by professional associations. In the U.S., harassment cases have become visible in professional organizations when the violations occurred at conferences, when members were concerned about individuals accused of harassment serving in (leadership) positions within the organization (including conference organizers or editors of journals run by professional associations), or being recognized or honored with awards and prizes by the association. Little research so far has focused on the role of professional associations in preventing harassment.

We explore recent discussions and changes in the policies and procedures of professional associations regarding various forms of harassment and microaggressions. Using content analysis of policy documents, this critical, feminist policy study will focus on the discourse of harassment and power embedded in these organizational documents. While professional associations can be powerful actors to promote norms of gender equality in academic disciplines, their ability to stop abuses of power is circumscribed by both the hierarchical structure of academia that breeds such abuses and its specific powers, and by constraints and limitations of their own organizational forms and resources. Applying a feminist institutionalist lens will provide insights into how gendered power is embedded in professional associations and how they can both disrupt or reproduce organizational practices and cultures that fuel harassment and discrimination.

Given that abuses of power are a systemic problem, there are no simple quick fixes. It is therefore important to understand the specific organizational contexts in which feminist concerns of harassment get translated into organizational policies and practices. Professional associations act predominantly as membership organizations rather than as employers, although they can also employ staff for whom they are responsible. These organizations can be held responsible for what happens at conferences and events they organize. They are important gatekeepers and decision makers regarding who can receive positions within the organization including offices but also editors of journals run by these organizations. In addition, they can award prizes or other forms of recognition to members.

The powers of professional associations are less circumscribed by employment laws since membership is a privilege rather than a right. Thus, the relationship between individuals does not mirror work relationships between employers and employees, and associations can stipulate their own values and, for example, can revoke membership if an individual does not adhere to these values. Yet, professional associations therefore also typically do not have any investigative powers in the everyday workplace of these individuals, which limits their power.

But professional associations do have the power to create new discourses on harassment and to set norms and educate their membership. It will be shown that professional associations vary greatly in how they define harassment and the extent to which they consider they are responsible to support change within their own organization but also beyond that in departments, colleges, and universities. We suggest that they themselves need to be open to a transparent learning process, and to integrating research-driven promising practices rather than relying on window dressing and quick fix solutions which we know from research will not succeed. With committed leadership, though, professional associations can and should make a difference.

*Monica O'Mullane*

**Maintaining, Challenging or Disrupting the Status Quo? Exploring the Institutional Response to a Gender Equality Programme (Athena SWAN) in one Irish University**

The Athena SWAN Charter, an equality charter for universities and colleges (higher education institutions- HEIs), is coordinated and managed by Advance HE in the UK (since 2005), and by the Higher Education Authority (HEA) in Ireland (since 2015). The Charter acknowledges and encourages commitment to advancing the careers of women in research and science. It has been extended (since 2015) to include disciplines from the humanities, social sciences, business and law, in professional and support roles, and for transgender staff and students. It is recognised as an institutional pathway for addressing cultural and structural inequalities, and also more recently for paving the way to tackle the intersectionality of inequalities. It opens up conversations and social spaces for people to challenge gender inequalities in their workplaces.

However, viewing the Charter and the process of implementation through a critical feminist lens, the extent to which it can realistically challenge or disrupt the status quo within the academy is doubtful, particularly given its journey of assimilation within the neoliberalist academic space and against the backdrop of conservatism.

This paper describes a theoretical framework that is structuring an empirical study of the HEI institutional responses to the Athena SWAN Charter in Ireland. It is argued in this paper that applying a feminist institutionalist (FI) lens, which deals with the exchange between formal and informal rules, norms and practices, and the roles played by actors working with the rules – the micro-foundations of gendered institutions – will strengthen our understanding of how a change programme such as Athena SWAN can instil institutional change (and if so, to what extent) to the rules, processes and norms of an HEI. A major premise for the theoretical framework is to uncover what is taken for granted and to highlight how and why the social processes of power and ideology in Irish universities are enmeshed in the daily mundanity, understood as the institutional ‘common sense.’ The interaction of the formal and informal institutional norms and processes in the implementation of a gender equality programme in higher education in Ireland (Athena SWAN) is the focus of this research study. The theoretical framework is built to examine the relationship between the said and unsaid processes and procedures, and is largely informed by feminist institutionalism (FI), alongside this inquiry into the interface of the formal rules in adopting Athena SWAN, and how it is informally adopted. Uncovering the story of how gender inequality is addressed in Irish higher education through an institutionalist/ FI lens is sure to highlight the nuances at play in the path to institutionalising Athena SWAN.

Findings from one case study (one selected Irish university) (out of a total of three) will be presented. The research methodology used includes two rounds of semi-structured interviews with a purposive sample of the institutional Athena SWAN committee, as well as an analysis of the Athena SWAN applications and relevant university strategies, in order to explore the HEI institutional factors and response to Athena SWAN, and any resultant change it instigates or inspires. The paper will reflect on the micro-politics at play in the

implementation of Athena SWAN in an Irish university and the resistance to change encountered by gendered actors.

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*Douania Bourabain*

**Everyday sexism and racism in the ivory tower: The experiences of female early career researchers in higher education institutions**

Higher education institutions are often described as organizations that promote merit and equal opportunities. However, research shows a leaky pipeline where the share of women and ethnic minorities decreases in the higher echelons of academia. Explanations are often structural, referring to the access barriers women are confronted with such as hiring and recruitment. This research investigates the role of micro-interactions in the day-to-day work environment. More specifically, I studied the experiences of early career researchers with everyday sexism and gendered racism in their workplace. Therefore, I conducted 50 in-depth interviews with PhD-researchers and post-doctoral researchers employed at five Belgian universities. Taking an intersectional perspective, 26 women with an ethnic majority background and 24 women with an ethnic minority background were interviewed in order to analyze both the similarities and differences in their experiences.

The findings suggest that everyday racism and sexism is produced, reproduced and transmitted in four different but interrelated forms in the academic workplace: the smokescreen of equality, everyday cloning, patronization, and paternalism. First, everyday racism and sexism is maintained and reinforced within a climate in which an equality-discourse predominates merely as a smokescreen that consequently induces legitimized sexist and gendered racist practices. Second, the interviewees discussed a particular form of everyday cloning through formal and informal exclusionary practices that hinder women's participation in the workplace. This refers to the practice of supervisors looking for and supporting someone like themselves as they believe this will allow them to better estimate someone's abilities and chances for an academic career. Third, women experience different forms of patronizing practices in which they are undervalued as a person and/or in their role as an academic. And fourth, paternalism entails disguised problematization of women, pressuring them into assimilating to the expected norm but simultaneously penalizing them for the mismatch between their gender identity and professional identity through monitoring-measures.

Although many of the practices are frequently regarded by respondents as relatively small and irrelevant, it does not mean they are inconsequential. On the one hand, they are covert practices of resistance that sustain the normative functioning of the academic organization. On the other hand, when asking them about their academic aspirations many women replied that they did not intend to remain in academia. It is therefore important that the current gender and diversity policies in Belgian universities are transformed. Most equality policies focus on tools and measures that are quantifiable, with 'tick-the-box' measures for reaching equality by increasing the number of women and ethnic minorities. As well as attracting women and ethnic minorities to academia, universities need to provide a safe and equitable workplace.

## **Stream 42**

### **Open Stream**

**Convenors: Sideeq Mohammed and Patricia Lewis**

*Hanna Li Kusterer & Henry Montgomery*

**Evaluating professorship applicants in Swedish academia: Reviewers' use of assessment criteria in evaluation and ranking of applicants**

The present study is part of a project investigating the evaluation of research and pedagogical merits in the appointment of professors and distribution of high-prestige research funds for international and Swedish researchers within Swedish academia. The project focuses on the social construction of various assessment criteria, and how these are used to evaluate applicants varying in gender, ethnicity and scientific discipline.

The empirical material comprises documentation from all 50 advertised positions as full professor at one Swedish university during a five-year-period, including job postings, records of recruitment committee meetings, and written evaluations of 357 applicants by the appointed reviewers. An elaborate coding scheme was constructed to capture all evaluative aspects pertaining to the assessment of each applicant's research and pedagogical merits, as well as the comparative judgment and ranking of applicants for each post. After identifying assessment criteria, the analysis subsequently moved to a quantitative mapping of to what extent the different criteria were used, how they were used, and how the usage and evaluations varied between Swedish and international women and men applicants. The present study focuses on the predictive validity of the evaluative assessment criteria. Logistic regression analyses were applied to examine patterns and variations in what criteria were predictive in the assessment of applicants from different groups at the various stages in the assessment process, ranging from not qualified vs. qualified for position, to whether the applicant was proposed for the position or not. Ten out of eleven criteria significantly predicted the assessment of applicants at one or more of the stages in the selection process. No additional effect of gender could be discerned. International applicants were ranked lower than Swedish applicants, independently of how their merits were assessed.

It can be concluded that reviewers appear to base their ranking of applicants on the assessment criteria mentioned in their respective reviews, even though most of the criteria are not as frequently used as can be expected from the job postings and other aspects previously identified as important in the evaluation of research. In addition, the lower rankings of international applicants could not fully be explained by the assessment criteria. The results of the present study will be discussed from an intersectional perspective on (quantitative) psychology (see Cole, 2009), for example highlighting who is included in the social categories "Swedish" and "international", and further exploring where the inequalities between and within the relevant social categories are.



*Charlotte M. Karam, Beverly D. Metcalfe, Yasmeen Makaram and Zeina Mhaidly*

**Multi-Sector and Multi-Level Conversations on Women's Empowerment: The Fluidity of Identity Politics, Neoliberal Logics and Feminist Activism**

This paper contributes new knowledge of women's activism and women's empowerment in the Middle East, specifically Lebanon. The paper critiques dominant corporate-led frames of equality in the global political economy, and how feminist organizing is seemingly depoliticized in a Middle Eastern context. Using data from multi-stakeholder representatives collated from a US state funded program on 'women's sexual rights and sexual harassment' in Lebanon, we show how feminist Arab agency is subsumed within neoliberal logics. We name the neo-liberalizing rationale and policy processes 'transnational business feminism'. Our paper highlights that diverse stakeholders including feminist activists, private sector representatives, women's NGOs and government agencies have internalized the language of market individualism so that transnational business feminism frames, organizes, and disseminates a brand of neoliberal feminist ideology specific to the Middle East. In so doing, the concepts of inequality and discriminatory practices are depoliticized and positioned as individual dynamics that men and women discursively navigate in organizations and societies.

Our aim is to not only trace the organization of variant logics that constitute 'ME neo-liberal feminism' but also unveil and capture how shared knowledge is co-produced across multi scales and spaces. In sum, we articulate feminist resistance and resistance to feminism. Adopting a critical post-colonial lens, we illustrate how business led equality agendas, exemplified by transnational business feminism promotes an essentialist view of gender and work relations, and ignores the sociocultural specificity of doing gender in the Middle East. We explore patterns and interconnectedness, searching specifically for predictable variations of neoliberal economic logics embedded within the feminist narratives and find that co-produced forms of equality knowledge involve 'hybrid', 'mutated' and 'radicalized' logics. Further, we uncover competing neo-liberal logics which simultaneously support and refute empowerment strategies', which pose challenges for diverse social actors.

***Benish Khan***

**Striving for professional image: Investigation of pregnant women work experiences in Pakistan**

The research study explores the lived experiences of mid and senior level Pakistani professional women during pregnancy who are working across different industries. Using semi-structured interviews, qualitative data were collected from 25 women who were pregnant or recently delivered a baby. Based on their narrative analysis, this research indicates that together three elements; women individuality, organization and supervisor's support interdependently work in favor or against them, forming their strategies accordingly.

The role of women in economy needs to be taken more seriously in countries like Pakistan to improve female labor-force participation and to increase the alarmingly low score on global gender gap indexes. The problem is found more acute at higher level positions with very less number of females working at managerial positions. The dilemma multiplies many times over when these managerial level females' gets pregnant as there are no role models whereas it is revealed females are expected to have pregnancy at some point in their work tenure.

There are a number of maternity laws and policies that exist in Pakistani organizations to which only lip service is paid. As a result, gender gap still prevails despite the increasing number of females at work and changing roles of bread-earners in the families. The situation gets worse as pregnancy stereotypes threaten employers and results in more female employee's turnover on marriage and pregnancy, leaving few to reach at top positions. This limits the progression of qualified resource that affects organizations and economy at large.

The drawing on the findings from this study further advances on work of Little, Major, Hinojosa and Nelson (2015) keeping context in consideration. Socio-cultural influences, patriarchy and unjust association of religion with gender in Pakistan: from micro to macro level, dictates practices creating inequalities and marginalized work space for women at different stages of their lives including pregnancy.

Based on the theoretical underpinning of Robert's SIM theory, this study contributes to the understanding of how context plays a major role in shaping their experiences and behaviors. In particular, it highlights that women with strong individualization disapprove stereotypes, negotiate challenges despite having the tabooed nature of 'work during pregnancy' and the societal definition of an 'ideal women'.

The findings suggest, at state level, strict implementation of maternity laws are required in all types of organizations and awareness programs should be introduced for both men and women to understand and deal with it. Also, managerial level sensitivity needs to be built regarding different phases of women's life. For women who received support from supervisors, navigation of work gets easier for them. Also, a mandatory number of females for key roles should be set as part of company's objectives depending on percentage of women within organizations. These measures can help in reducing stereotypes and breaking barriers for them.

*Helena Desivilya Syna, Michal Palgi and Maha Sabbah Karkaby*

**Women's Experiences in Negotiating Reality and Rules of Engagement: The Case of Jewish and Arab/Palestinian Women in Israeli Municipal Councils**

Thorough and systematic studies on women's political navigation patterns in top teams are scarce. Knowledge gaps are prominent with respect to the processes whereby women negotiate reality and rules of engagement in such perplexing environments.

This paper reports and discusses extant findings from a study designed to elucidate the correspondence between the declared intentions of top politicians in local governments to strive for gender equality and legislation aimed at promoting gender mainstreaming and the actual praxis in the eyes of the practitioners. It attempts to examine the patterns of women's political work while discerning the subtle and hidden aspects of gender construction in the municipal governments' decision-making bodies and power relations between women and men.

Based on the integration of research on gender, management and leadership we examine women's formative experiences as members of the municipal councils, aiming to: (a) illuminate the voices of women in decision-making processes and their impact on shaping organizational policy and practice at the strategic level; (b) unravel the participants' awareness of political processes in these forums, its manifestation in the construction of relationships between women and men and its contribution to women's exclusion from full-fledged involvement in municipal councils; (c) women's attempts (successful and less successful) to navigate in the political spaces and circumvent both the external and internal barriers to their full-fledged participation.

In order to learn about contextual influences and intersectionality of gender with minority status on the organizational cultures and their dynamics (communication styles, conflict management and decision-making patterns) we focus on different types of municipalities.

The study is based on action research approach and mixed methods, comprising official documents' analyses, observations of council meetings, semi-structured individual interviews with council members, survey of council members and a think-tank with policy-makers, practitioners and scholars.

Extant findings based on our multi-method approach, suggest that the manifestation of women's political power in the local governments is scant. The results show a marked gap between the declared attempts to achieve gender equality, diversity and inclusion and women's actual visibility and strategic impact. This discrepancy is more prominent in the Arab towns due to intersectionality, however it is also apparent in their Jewish counterparts. Women's issues are barely raised in council meetings and their voices are seldom resonating there unless they form a critical mass. Moving beyond women's token status, compels them to negotiate legitimacy, influence and support. Structural, political, institutional and psychological mechanisms seem to underlie the barriers women encounter in municipal TMTs. Their experiences suggest that navigating in these perplexing political spaces requires concomitant engagement with each of these exclusion mechanisms.

Our research in progress continues to unpack the politics of gender in municipal councils, focusing on the nature of women's political work as compared to men's. Aside to barriers faced by women in municipal TMTs, we attempt to trace women's success stories, shedding light on their political maturation and gaining political savvy in these gendered environments.

*Anne Dölemeyer, Tanja Paulitz and Leonie Wagner*

**“The Deans’ round is a place where gender still plays a huge role”: Women Deans at Universities of Applied Sciences**

While informal politics is an inherent part of any organization and any workplace, the principle of academic self-government in (German) universities accounts for a decidedly political organizational culture, comprising a formal system of various decision-making bodies as well as informal practices. In order to organize one’s own work and to shape institutional developments, a professor has to engage constantly in negotiation processes with colleagues and (sometimes opaque) power games. This intensifies for deans (elected by department members, including their fellow professors), who are also confronted with specific tasks regarding the organization of the department, the development of new study programs, the implementation of measures, the mediation between members of the department as well as between university leadership and department faculty, and so on.

At the same time, the university is known to be a highly gendered field (e.g. Beaufaÿs & Kraus 2005; Morley 2013). Women are historically relative newcomers as professors in German universities and still numerically underrepresented, even more so when it comes to leading positions in academic self-governance (in 1997, only 9% of all university professors were women; in 2016 the percentage had risen to 23,4%, still less than a quarter (GWK 2016). According to another study, in 2018 only 17,11% of all deans at the 37 biggest German universities were women (WBS 2018)). Thus, they have to play the power game in a male-dominated field defined by historically grown rules and practices that arguably can be understood as gendered and that have excluding effects towards women (such as: the currencies of recognition, the importance of ‘old-boy-networks’ with their bonding practices that tend to exclude women, paternalistic forms of career promotion, opaque decision making processes; and so on). While these processes are rather well researched in the earlier stages of academic careers (PhD, Post-Doc), there is not much knowledge about the situation of women professors.

Based on qualitative interviews with women professors we have lead as part of a larger research project in Germany, in our contribution for this conference we focus on the challenges women professors at Universities of Applied Science (UAS) meet when becoming dean, how they navigate the power games and ‘do politics’. In our analysis of the interviews we have identified various and ambiguous patterns regarding the (self-)marking of women deans as women, i.e. as ‘the other’, and its effects on their ability to act powerfully. Thus, women as deans and in university leadership frequently find themselves in almost exclusively male rounds and experience being both ignored (invisible) and extremely exposed (visible); their job as dean is described in metaphors referring to motherhood and to occupations that are traditionally filled by women and have a low social prestige (such as “kindergartener” or “mother of the company”); they are excluded from informal rounds and try to build alternative coalitions or use their outsider position as resource; etc. In our presentation, we describe and interpret these phenomena, and draw conclusions regarding possibilities of action.

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*Linn Eleanor Zhang*

### **Navigating diplomatic spaces: Struggles of female diplomats and diplomatic spouses**

In the discipline of diplomacy and international relations, research has focused on what it means to be a diplomat abroad, how diplomats work, and how they can excel in their positions (e.g. Cornut, 2015; Berridge, 2010; Neumann, 2005; Wiseman, 2015). A large body of the empirical research involving diplomats focuses on communications and negotiations conducted by diplomats (e.g. Winham, 1977; Kraus, 1997); indeed, one might say that it concerns diplomacy rather than the individuals involved in it (Murray, Sharp, Wiseman, Crikemans & Melissen 2011). There is very little understanding about diplomats themselves, and particularly the lives of diplomats. Moreover, diplomatic spouses are also largely absent in the literature; their experiences have been neglected by researchers both of diplomacy and gender. Diplomats' spouses, often women, traditionally play roles of organizers of events and facilitators of communication (Neumann, 2008). Today, not all diplomatic spouses fulfil this traditional role of "trailing spouses" who give up their careers. Such changes pose a challenge to the Foreign Service (Groeneveld, 2008; Wood, 2005). There is thus an urgent need to understand the gender dynamics among the "incorporated wives" (McCarthy, 2014).

In this paper, we address the struggles and challenges experienced by diplomats and diplomatic spouses from a gender perspective. We argue that it is important to analyse the production of masculinities and femininities in the diplomatic world, which is traditionally gendered (Campbell 1993). Specifically, we examine whether there are any differences in the experiences of male and female diplomats, and of male and female spouses with regard to burnout, loneliness and career satisfaction. In particular, are there any differences in how men and women experience life as a "trailing" spouse?

We collected data using two methods: an online survey and semi-structured interviews with diplomats and diplomatic spouses. In total, 374 individuals filled in the survey, including 185 diplomats and 189 spouses. Most of the survey respondents were woman – both among the diplomats (78% female) and the spouses (77% female). Our results suggest that female diplomats are significantly less likely than male diplomats to have a partner and live with the spouse and children. Regarding spouses, we found that women were more involved in supporting the diplomatic career of their spouse.

We further explored gender differences of spouses by conducting interviews with diplomats and diplomatic spouses (18 completed interviews so far, 16 of the interviewees are female). Our initial analysis reveals that while both male and female spouses struggle to keep a job and develop their own career, gender stereotypes in the diplomatic world have created different challenges for male and female spouses. Male spouses are expected to work and are not "allowed" to take a career break by their surroundings. They are even encouraged to take the lead in indicating the next posting during the relocations.

By contrast, narratives of female spouses focus predominantly on the sacrifices and losses in their lives as diplomatic spouses, such as the loss of being an independent human being, loss of daily routine, loss of financial independence, loss of job and career, etc. However, there is

a strong sense of duty and responsibility for them to support their diplomat husbands despite the fact that the majority of the female spouses interviewed are highly educated and previously had a successful career – “I became a little bit depressed, I was really sad, but it was my choice to quit my job [as a lawyer], I choose to be here with my husband, and I think that my decision doesn’t have to have any gender implication, because I am really conscious, or I really know what the genders are and what the roles that we have. I choose that because I am supporting my husband. [A female spouse]”

Drawing on literatures on gender and agency (McNay, 2013), we discuss the social complexities underlying these gendered experiences by diplomats and diplomatic spouses. We emphasize the need to bring the analysis of gender to centre stage in research on diplomacy, and particularly on female diplomats and diplomatic spouses.



*Jannick Friis Christensen & Morten Thanning Vendelø*

**The performativity of normative expectations: Transgressive behaviour at Roskilde Festival**

For many years, crowd safety has been the core focus of event safety research (see e.g. Drury et al., 2015; Connell 2009; Helbing and Mukerji, 2012; Kemp et al., 2004) but from late 2015 the phenomenon of transgressive behaviour took the stage. Following the 2015 new year celebration in Cologne, Germany, more than hundred young women reported sexual assaults by young men. In 2016, repetitions of this incident took place at other events, and transgressive sexual behaviour materialized as an imposed safety problem that event organizers have to address (Vendelø, 2019). For example, the organizers of the Swedish Bråvalla Festival decided to discontinue the festival in 2017 after a large number of rapes at the festival had been reported to the police that year.

As described above, transgressive behaviour in the context of events is not a new phenomenon. However, the way in which transgressive behaviour is perceived and addressed by event organizers has transformed in recent years. Prior to 2015 it was mainly observed as individual incidents of criminal acts. Rapes and incidents of violence were reported to the police for further investigation, but they were not considered as symptoms of a wider event safety issue. This has changed and today it is acknowledged that the incidents reported to the police might only represent the tip of the iceberg.

In the context of regenerating events, transgressive behaviour unfolds after longer periods of interruption, and is enacted by different sets of event participants, as no event is attended by the exact same participants year after year. Hence, while it is intuitive that transgressive behaviour can be formed and maintained as a cultural norm in permanent social contexts, e.g. workplace organizations, it is more of a puzzle how such behaviours are re-enacted as an event is regenerated.

Based on a pilot study conducted at Roskilde Festival in 2019, we present – and invite to discuss – the idea that normative expectations prime participants ahead of attendance in events, and that these expectation frameworks become performative (Butler, 1990) in generating the anticipated behaviours. The study consists of 61 group interviews, exploring participants' attitudes of and experiences with transgressive behaviour at the festival. From the interviews it became apparent that the festival event itself suspends specific norms for when a particular behaviour is taken as transgressive. Participants express that they put up with behaviour that they otherwise would deem transgressive outside the festival context. By definition, a behaviour is transgressive when it transgresses the personal boundaries of others, who then experience it as such. Yet, the interviews show there is no unified perception of transgressive behaviour since different participants have different personal boundaries. The interview material also shows that especially participants who identify as women are in constant alertness, best described as a bodily affective state of awareness about the potential dangers of transgressive behaviour in different situations. As such, there seems to be a gendered aspect to the phenomenon of transgressive behaviour as well as a situational aspect since participants interviewed in restricted backstage areas at the festival appear to be out of touch with the conditions under which other participants' festival experience unfold.

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*Kate Grosser and Meagan Tyler*

**Sexual Harassment, Sexual Violence and Corporate Social Responsibility: A Feminist and Human Rights Perspective**

Sexual harassment is gaining increasing attention on the gender equality agenda in response to the #MeToo movement and corporations are struggling respond effectively. Many have incorporated the rhetoric of gender equality as part of their corporate social responsibility (CSR) programs but their actions often focus on superficial business case agendas relating to women's 'economic empowerment' and entrepreneurship, rather than addressing the significant challenges that remain within their own organizations. A notable silence on the part of business with respect to CSR and sexual harassment (e.g. Grosser et al., 2008; Fernando and Prasad, 2018) seems to be one result. The question arises as to what a more positive organizational response to the #MeToo movement might look like, and how it might be pursued?

Recent management and organization studies scholarship explores changing levels of sexual harassment in organizational workplaces, growing evidence of the prevalence of sexual harassment in numerous industries, its embeddedness in occupational culture, and how women are silenced about their experiences of it by line managers, HR, and colleagues (e.g. Cassino and Besen-Cassino, 2019; Hennekam and Bennett, 2017; Fernando and Prasad, 2018). This literature also addresses women's agency and resistance worldwide - in the global South as well as the global North (e.g. Vachhani and Pullen, 2019; see also Ozkazanc-Pan, 2018). Moreover, Hearn (2018) clarifies that 'change in harassment and abuse in organizations and workplaces depends on fundamental change in hierarchical, gendered, aged, classed, ethnicized and racialized workplaces.' (p.230). Clearly, increased research attention to organizational level responsibilities for this issue is overdue.

An emerging body of research addresses CSR and gender equality, in the workplace, the marketplace, and with respect to communities and the environment (e.g. Grosser and Moon, 2019). Scholars have noted the prevalence of sexual harassment and abuse in global supply chains. For example (Prieto-Carron, 2008, p.8) finds women experiencing 'widespread sexual harassment, frequently accompanied by the threat of dismissal' and she notes the inadequacy of how sexual harassment is dealt with in corporate codes of conduct. Others have found some improvements resulting from such codes (e.g. Barrientos and Smith, 2006) but the wider picture remains rather grim. Despite decades of evidence of the problem of sexual harassment and associated issues, CSR rarely focuses on them in depth. Our paper aims to address this gap.

Our paper offers a novel approach to these issues in two ways. First, it draws upon radical feminist theory to explicate the continuum of gender inequality, sexual harassment and sexual violence in organizations and to highlight the institutional nature of the problem (e.g. Kelly, 1988). Second, drawing upon the recent focus on business and human rights in CSR it utilizes Shemberg (forthcoming) and Enloe (2019) to reframe sexual harassment as a human rights issue rather than a human resources issue. It explores the efficacy of this approach using examples from literature and practice, and points to future directions for research and action at the organizational level.

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*Sneh Bhardwaj*

**Can tokenism on boards be explained by the gender of minority directors?**

Low representations of women on corporate boards across the globe has resulted in many nations enacting quota laws to address gender balance. While this has facilitated novice women's entry pathways to boards, mandated quota laws may result in board majorities dispensing only token roles to those in the minority, such as the newly appointed novice women. Lost opportunities manifest through limiting these board directors to token roles which, in turn, may over time reduce overall board effectiveness.

A qualitative study using a diverse cohort of Indian corporate board directors was undertaken to examine whether mandated laws have resulted in token roles for gender minorities. Drawing from both institutional and token theory, the study sought to describe corporate strategies used to meet quota law requirements and assess whether these activities resulted in only token roles for new gender-minority board directors.

Corporate board directors (14 women and 15 men) were interviewed. Women participants included those acknowledging their appointment being a direct result of quota laws and those indicating their appointment was based on merit only. All participants were questioned on their board experiences including directors' recruitment and observations of board director behaviours including contributions. Interview data, transcribed manually and coded with NVivo software, was analysed using through an inductive interpretive phenomenological approach.

Participants reported that novice women appointed as directors to comply with quota laws were subject to actions of other directors consistent with token or prejudicial treatment. Examples included the director selection stage where board appointments favoured unfairly those with family connections or existing board incumbents. Further, those appointed to boards were not supported in active board participation. On the latter point, findings suggested token board participation found among quota-appointed women could be explained by board inexperience and unsupportive board dynamics rather than their minority disposition.

The study highlights the intersection of institutional and token theories where institutional pressures result in the mandated entry of novice women directors to corporate boards. Thus, these directors become an open target for restricted board roles leading to criticisms as a result of the perceptions of boardroom incompetence. Regardless of cause, participants considered that these outcomes reduced overall board effectiveness.

The study findings, based on general agreement of views integrated from all study participants, have implications for governments' attempts aimed to promote gender parity and achieve better governance outcomes on boards. Selection processes related to making law-supported appointments should be transparent and objective to avoid allegations of discrimination. Novice women appointed to boards on their merit should be provided with mentoring support through strategies to promote inclusiveness in board activities and decision making. Future research, building on this study, should focus on identifying

corporate board dynamics that predict outcomes represented as token roles among women board directors.

Such actions taken to improve board recruitment and acceptance of quota-appointed novice women directors will enhance the success of enacted laws to support these women's board participation while likely increasing overall board effectiveness.

*Tommaso Pio Danese*

**From the darkness to life through female labor organizing: Fighting sensemaking and ensemble leadership sustaining labor trafficking**

Female leadership and right to organize are nowadays more and more important in order to compete for resources and political power (Mintzberg, 1985) in both big organizations and small workplaces. Around the world there are several hidden workplaces and female employees without protections and rights to organize, especially in female-dominated economic sectors such as garment industry and domestic work (Nisha Varia, 2016). These sectors are often affected by exploitation and abuses. In some countries, domestic workers result to be particularly vulnerable to forced labor and slavery, considering their insecure recruitment processes, absence of labor law coverage and enforcement, restrictions on freedom of movement and association (ILO). To this end, it is extremely important to organize these hidden workers in order to protect them and strengthen their own political power. I argue that in order to propose female labor organizing strategies it is essential to understand how slavery function in these sectors and how actors involved circumvent prevailing institutional logics. For this purpose, I propose a brand-new model based on labor trafficking in order to understand the whole path preceding labor exploitation (trafficking can happen even within a single community). This paper contributes to the existing management literature regarding modern slavery, studying organizational sustaining and shaping capabilities (moral legitimization and domain maintenance) proposed by Andrew Crane in his innovative article “Modern slavery as a management practice: Exploring the conditions and capabilities for human exploitation” (Crane, 2013). This framework informed by the theory that I propose here is constituted by three different organizational theories: institutional theory; sensemaking theory; ensemble leadership theory (Rosile et al., 2018). Institutional theory is taken into account to conceive labor supply chains as organizational fields. Sensemaking theory is adopted to propose some main dimensions for a deeper understanding of the moral legitimization shared in these alternative and competitive organizational fields (Crane, 2013). In this respect, I borrowed by Basu and Palazzo their model of CSR organizational sensemaking: cognitive, linguistic and conative processes (Basu and Palazzo, 2008). These sensemaking processes should be studied for each actor involved (employees, employers, intermediaries, unions, NGOs). Instead ensemble leadership theory is adopted to study domain maintenance and how these actors sustain modern slavery’s domain. It is assumed that all these actors play a pivotal and crucial role in sustaining and shaping contemporary forms of slavery, directly or indirectly, actively or passively. Domain maintenance is conceived as a set of capabilities and behaviors adopted by these actors to control, violate or ignore sensemaking processes. Each actor sustains modern slavery in its way. Overall, behaviors and processes identified through this proposed theory-guided model should produce specific and contextualized worker-driven social responsibility strategies, such as those implemented by The Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW) in their victories (Rosile et al., 2020). This paper enriches modern slavery literature (Allain et al., 2013; Crane, 2013; Crane et al., 2018; Lebaron, 2020; Caruana et al., 2020). Furthermore, this specific contribution aims to enrich the variegated literature on labor organizing (Milkman, 2007; Tapia, 2013; Fine, 2015; Però, 2020).

*Oona Hilkamo and Emma Sandström*

### **The Complexities Of Inclusion: Social Symbolic Work In A Femtech Organization**

Our study is set in the context of the rapidly growing femtech industry. The term Femtech is a label coined by Danish entrepreneur Ida Tin in 2016 to legitimize the market of technology addressing needs related to women's biology. In recent years, investments in this area have skyrocketed as what was once considered a niche market: In 2019, Femtech companies attracted \$1.69bn in venture capital funding and investments, with the value of the market estimated to reach \$3bn by 2030. Femtech has been considered as much a social movement advancing gender equality as it is a class of technology products. However, Femtech has also been criticized both for its focus on specific issues, such as reproductive health as well as its underlying assumptions about femininity and gender. This discourse is a prime example of the complexities of inclusion: work aiming to increase equality may on the other hand be seen as degrading or as excluding other groups of people.

To investigate the complexities of inclusion in the Femtech industry, we chose to focus our attention on cycle tracking applications, a hugely popular product category in the emerging industry. Throughout decades and even centuries, what is essentially a biological process has been imbued with social meaning. Social and cultural norms surrounding menstruation have deeply affected the lives of women as they have been seen as impure, and have been expected to hide the fact that they are menstruating. Cycle tracking applications are aimed at people who menstruate to track and understand their menstrual cycles and the physical and emotional changes during this time. For example, in addition to tracking menstrual bleeding, users can often use these applications to track their mood, sexual activity and bowel movements, all of which can be affected by the cyclical hormonal levels of the menstruating body.

We aim to uncover how through social-symbolic work, one organization aims to create inclusion for its community of users. The social-symbolic object we study is the gendered menstrual cycle. Our findings shed light on the complexities of inclusion by illustrating the challenges of balancing between familiarity and inclusivity by acknowledging biological differences as well as the multitude of gender identities. Through our preliminary analysis of one case company we identified linguistic and relational strategies aimed at creating inclusion by degendering menstruation. Linguistic strategies involved using gender-neutral verbal and visual language as well as contributing to the development of gender-neutral language. Relational strategies involved frequently reaching out to communities to gain perspectives on menstruation and language use from non-binary and gender-nonconforming people. These findings contribute to the literature on inclusive organizing and social-symbolic work by elaborating on the relationship between the different dimensions of social-symbolic work and the ways in which organizations can create inclusion beyond the organizational borders.



*Jessica Hobbs*

### **Disrupting 'Mother-land': Experiences of UK fathers who pioneered Shared Parental Leave**

The historically gendered perception of work and family roles in the UK is evolving. The latter half of the 20th century saw an influx of women into the paid workforce. A shift in national attitudes has moved away from the traditional family model of the father as breadwinner and the mother as homemaker (Taylor & Scott, 2018). The family norm in the UK is now dual-earner couples, although the mother still retains primary childcare responsibility (Connolly et al., 2016). In the early 21st century we are starting to see the beginnings of a reverse transformation with reports of men, especially those aged under 35, wanting to take on more family and home responsibilities (Chambraud & Chanrai, 2019). In 2015 the UK government introduced a new policy for Shared Parental Leave (SPL) which enables fathers to share the 50 weeks of leave from work in the first year of their child's life previously only available to mothers. In addition to enabling fathers to be more involved parents, the SPL policy was further intended to contribute towards greater workplace equality.

Initial take-up of SPL in the UK was estimated to be low, prompting research to focus predominantly on decision making and identifying the main barriers. Very little is yet known about the experiences of fathers' who have taken SPL. In this context, an exploratory qualitative study was conducted of 16 fathers who were among the first in the UK to take more than one month's parental leave and then return to work. The sample represented the private, public and third sectors with a wide variety of industries including Financial Services, Technology, Medicine, Law, Construction, Telecoms, Retail, Sport and the Armed Forces. Semi-structured interviews were analysed using King's (2004) Template Analysis technique to identify a hierarchy of themes. These themes were compared with those identified from the literature about mothers returning to work after maternity leave. Many similarities were observed but also some notable differences.

In order to make sense of the differences, the researcher constructed her own narrative of this first SPL cohort as a group of early pioneers on an exploratory expedition to 'Mother-land'. Their journey was often challenging as they beat an untrodden path with little support. They accepted personal risk and encountered a native population that were sometimes hostile. Yet, through the experience they derived precious benefits and received effusive praise on their return. These fathers acknowledged the persistence of historically gendered cultural expectations for parental roles but expressed strong views that they should change and a belief that expectations are changing. These pioneer fathers extolled the virtues of sharing parental leave and wanted to see more men follow in their footsteps.

This paper reflects on the comparison between these SPL pioneers and women initially entering the workforce. Disrupting the established maternal culture may be difficult and uncomfortable but has the potential to advance the transformation of gender role expectations towards greater equality in both the work and family domains.

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*Stephanie Chasserio, Typhaine Lebègue & Corinne Poroli*

**“Being an anchor in the storm”. When courage and heroism are feminine behaviors in a context of pandemic crisis**

The typical ideal of the entrepreneur remains profoundly built on male representations (Ahl, 2006; Collins & Moore, 1964; Ogbor, 2000). The normative entrepreneur is still assumed to be ‘essentially more masculine than feminine, more heroic than cowardly’ (Collins and Moore, 1964: 5). Heroism and courage are immediately related to masculine attitudes and behaviors in leadership (Lewis, 2015; Patterson et al., 2012). In addition, some studies seem to underline a propensity for women of being risk adverse and behaving defensively in crisis situation (Manolova et al., 2020). However, this topic is still underexplored.

The current pandemic context of COVID-19 has hit entrepreneurs hard and women even harder all around the world (Chmura, 2020; Etuknwa et al., 2020; Jaim, 2020; Martinez Dy & Jayawarna, 2020; Myers, 2020; Orser, 2020). However, a crisis environment is also conducive to leadership behaviors coming to light.

Our empirical research focused on established women entrepreneurs and how they run their businesses during this period of turbulence. Through a dozen in-depth interviews, we explored how they had adapted or even modified their business model, how they had supported their teams, and they exert their leadership. Their testimonies challenge the traditional gendered stereotypes of risk adversity, cowardice, or fear attributed to women entrepreneurs. On the opposite, these established entrepreneurs exert, with strength, their leadership to keep their teams aligned with their values; they experiment actions to exploit new business opportunities. Our results outline their capacity to innovate in their value proposition, to implement digital technologies, and to redefine their business. Far from the traditional gendered stereotypes, these women show courage and resilience in this pandemic storm. They try to be “an anchor in the storm”. Moreover, for some of them, the crisis is an opportunity to develop, to redefine their business strategy.

The crisis of COVID-19 should be also the opportunity to highlight the diversity of women entrepreneurs’ situation. The heavy toll paid by women cannot be disputed (Blaskó et al., 2020; ILO, 2020; Myers, 2020); but it doesn’t reflect all contexts. This research aims to contribute to the recent call of Manolova et al. (2020) to explore how women entrepreneurs lead their business and changes (in their business model) in a time of extreme exogenous shocks.

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*Valgerður S. Bjarnadóttir and Andrea Hjálmsdóttir*

**“I have turned into a foreman here at home.” Mothers and work-life balance in times of Covid-19 in a gender equality paradise**

Only a few weeks after the Covid-19 pandemic hit in the beginning of 2020, it became quite clear that lockdowns and other measures to prevent the spread of the virus would have a substantial impact on the lives of parents around the world. In Iceland, the first Covid-19 case was diagnosed at the end of February 2020. Almost a month later, strict measures were enforced, including a ban on gatherings of more than 20 people. Lockdowns were not imposed, but facilities like gyms, theatres, pubs and swimming pools were closed. Unlike most other countries, elementary schools and preschools remained open and have continued to be open, at all costs. Yet, the restrictions that were imposed during the spring of 2020 affected the daily routines of all children and their families in the country. This presentation focuses on the gendered realities of work-life balance in Iceland during the “first wave” of the Covid-19 pandemic, in particular how these societal changes reflect and affect the gendered division of unpaid labor, such as childcare and household chores.

The study draws on written, open ended real-time diary entries, collected daily over a period of two weeks in March and April during the peak of the pandemic in Iceland. The entries consist of personal reflections, representing the voices of 37 mothers in heteronormative relationships. The number of children in the homes of these mothers varied from one to six, but majority of them had two children. In most of the cases, both parents primarily or solely worked from home during the time of the study, and most of them were working full-time the whole period. The diary entries provided rich and invaluable insights into the lives of the participants.

The findings imply that, during the first wave of the pandemic, the mothers took on greater mental work than before. They also described intense emotional labor, as they tried to keep everyone calm and safe. The division of tasks at home lay on their shoulders, causing them stress and frustration. The mothers in our study felt guilty for not being able to live up to the standards they and society had for them. Getting to know the realities of mothers during this time, we saw how stressful the situation was for them. Their words reflected a reality in which they shouldered more of the housework and childcare than their partners. The findings suggest that, even in a country that has been at the top of the Gender Gap Index for several years, an unprecedented situation like Covid-19 can reveal and exaggerate strong gender norms and expectations towards mothers.

*Laura Martínez-Jiménez, Nazareth Gallego-Morón, Astrid Agenjo-Calderón and MGiulia Costanzo-Talarico*

**Educating the economists-to-be: gender (in)difference and hegemonic economic thinking**

Previous studies in several countries, as well as international activist initiatives, have pointed out the monopoly of the orthodox or neoclassical perspective in university teaching of Economics. This has been characterised as an “insane” ideological-intellectual practice that impoverishes not only the discipline itself —by extirpating pluralism, interdisciplinarity, the ethical dimension and the connection with actually existing socio-economic problems—, but also the process of (in)formation, critical training and empowerment of students as future economists. This educational hegemony of neoclassical economics also has its problematic gender dimension, which translates into the invisibility of critical and transformative theoretical-methodological perspectives, such as feminist economics, as well as of problems that particularly affect women (such as the feminisation of care work or wage discrimination) and of the female economists themselves as reference authors.

In order to verify the resonance of this diagnosis in the case of the Spanish university system, a mixed quantitative-qualitative methodology. Firstly, a content analysis of 79 syllabus of 3 of the most relevant subjects in Economics degrees (Macroeconomics, Economic History and Labor Market), from 15 Spanish public universities was carried out. Secondly, a statistical and interpretative analysis of 116 online questionnaires’ responses from economics students (60 women and 56 men) were made. It was analysed students’ opinions about the (im)proper training they receive to learn about diverse socioeconomic perspectives and issues, and to enter the labor market satisfactorily.

In relation to the analysis of the syllabus, the main results of our research indicate that: the dominant perspective of Economics in the Spanish public university system is also the orthodox or neoclassical thinking; the attention to gender perspective and gender issues in the subjects is very narrow; the majority of Economics lecturers, in general terms, are men; and references to female authors in the bibliography of the studied subjects are very limited. Regarding the analysis of students’ (self)perceptions, it stands out, on the one hand, the absence of significant gender differences between the opinions of men and women; and, on the other hand, their critical perception of the education they receive, defined generally as unidimensional in theoretical, methodological and empirical terms, as well as insufficiently effective for their integration into the labor market as future professionals.

What we argue is that the orthodox one-dimensionality of Economics as a subject of learning—including its intense gender blindness in theoretical and empirical senses— implies a pauperisation in the university education of economists-to-be. Potentially, this reality affects society as a whole, since it reproduces, through the legitimate voices of future experts and professionals, the economic-political and cultural hegemony of a dominant economic thinking that makes social inequalities invisible or naturalised, especially gender discrimination.

*Marco Túlio Rodrigues Ribeiro and Juliana Cristina Teixeira*

**Autoethnographic Racial Crossings on Black Masculinity In The Organizational Space During Brazilian Student Occupations**

In Brazil, gender relations are crossed by race, which can analyze from intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1990). Despite being a country marked by slavery, it has gained an image of racial democracy (Freyre, 2019), making it challenging to recognize the structural racism that defines unequal conditions and performativities (Butler, 2002) about black subjects in organizational places.

Speaking of gender as a power device is to talk not only about femininity but also about masculinity, and about distinct performances within these two categories (Rumens, 2017). In the case of Brazilian black men, race added as an intersectional category. Thus, conditions arise for the experiences of their masculinities, because the power of the masculine is linked a subordination of race. In addition to occupying a lower socioeconomic position in the country than white women (IBGE, 2019), they die at alarming rates (IPEA & FBSP, 2019) by a state necropolitics (Mbembe, 2019) that also imprison them in extensive scale (Borges, 2019; Moore, 2017).

Our study based on an auto-ethnographic 'experience-writing' (Evaristo, 2005; Petani, 2019) containing the report of a black man student of a public university, when assuming one of the leading management positions in the space of a student organization in a turbulent Brazilian political moment. The episode in which, in 2016, under President Temer's government, which began after a political coup (CEPR, 2016), students occupied their institutions in protest of the government's proposal of a freeze on public spending.

Having the student organization assumed visibility in occupation negotiations and communications, his marking as a body that performs black masculinity evidenced. "This visibility in line with structural racism had caused situations where the spaces occupied by me were confused with political apparitions". Therefore, amenable to challenge and explanation, such as at a time when he had lunch at the university restaurant, which did not happen to non-black managers. Thinking that places constituted by unequal power relations (Lefebvre, 1982), it is a gendered space that also racialized.

After protests from students culminating in a truculent police reaction, decided to move away from the organization's practices involving public space, which led others to interpret as a weak man. The analysis of self-ethnographic experiences had as its main result the perception that if performativities (Butler, 2002) of strength and courage in public space structured for male performances, these constructions exacerbated for black men. Because black male bodies, in addition to being marked as exceptions in Brazilian universities, which are hard spaces for blacks (Sansone, 1996), also carry the slaveocratic naturalization of their strength.

This dynamic is perverse in neglecting the genocidal performance of the Brazilian state, requiring dynamics of greater self-preservation of black men to stay alive, which may affect their performance in organizations. Thus, assuming the intrinsic afrocentrism to intersectionality (Bouteldja, 2016), using methodologies in which we black authors can present our experiences is an essential defense for this field of research. Here, bringing to the

centre of speech a black man contributed to the understanding of specificities of black masculinity experiences in an organizational space.

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*Ronaldo Gomes Souza*

**Psychological illness caused by virility at work: a study with masculine metropolitan civil guards in Brazil**

The objective of this work is to relate the organization of work, suffering and individual and collective defensive strategy of virility used by the masculine metropolitan civilian guards (MCGs) of Goiânia (a city from Brazil) with the denial of psychological illness at work. To that end, the guidelines of work psychodynamics are used, which allows us to delve into the gaps between prescribed work and actual work, as well as the relationships of pleasure / suffering and health / illness at work. The public security of the municipality, assumed by the Metropolitan Civil Guard (MCG) of Goiânia, faces and faced different social challenges to combat violence, maintain order and security of people, goods, services and local public assets. Studies in Brazil show there is a devaluation of this profession, which is practiced, historically, mostly by men. They face embarrassing problems caused by work organization such as lack of equipment and training, lack of recognition on the part of the institution itself, the population, and even family and the media. It is questioned, then, how these professionals deal with these sources of suffering, the defenses they use and the impact the virility masculine variable has in this process, more specifically those who get psychological sick at work. Thus, it is a thesis the metropolitan civil guards of Goiânia, men, to confront the suffering originated in the constraints of the organization of work, use the individual and collective defensive strategies of virility that is reinforced by the genre and producer of the denial ideology of psychological illness in the work category. In the literature, it is found man, historically, culturally and socially, is considered as strong, brave, courageous, agile, must protect, especially, children, women, the elderly, the weak, etc ..., defending an image of virility: something between being man, "real man", and being the superman, the hero. As the public safety profession is typically masculine and the work organization articulates prescriptions, desires, demands and needs for guards to take the place of the hero, when they are unable to occupy this place, they trigger his defenses to protect himself from suffering. The literature also points out man tends to deny the process of suffering and psychological illness. It is a qualitative research and is divided into pre-research and research itself. The pre-research was made by a semi-structured collective interview with 4 masculine guards and a non-participatory observation with 9 masculine guards who became psychological ill at work, as well as informal conversations and documentary analyzes. In the research, 15 individual interviews were carried out, consisting of 2 groups: one with the participants who were psychological ill at work (6 masculine guards) and the other with the non-psychological ill (9 masculine guards), who underwent Content Analysis (CA). The themes generated by the CA, the talks and reports in both pre-research and research, corroborate with findings in the literature, researches, and the thesis in question. It is concluded the whole social and cultural configuration that constitutes the history of the guard, involves this scenario: (a) lack of training and equipment of security, self-defense and / or weaponry. Also, (b) the basis of the hierarchy that the MCGs occupy in the relation of power among the other professionals of public security in Brazil are the less respected. Being a MCG (c) means disregard, disqualification, disrespect and lack of recognition by other public security professionals (police), as well as from media and the whole population. The MCGs (d) have to face changes and new requirements, laws, norms, rules and prescriptions of Goiânia's MCGs.

Indeed, it interferes in the psychodynamics of guards' psychological illness, mainly because this scenario (“a”, “b”, “c” and “d”), among other factors, trigger the individual and collective defenses of virility, which is crossed and aggravated by the masculine gender. The study contributed to the advancement of the understanding of the symbolic, violent and unhealthy construction of men's virility in dealing with castration situations in the face of challenges at work. And, it is also relevant to guide and reveal the importance of having a healthy work organization for the use of healthier defensive strategies to deal with the process and situations of suffering and psychological illness at work.

*Nathalie Clavijo and Claire Dambrin*

**Accounting care as a collective resistance to gendered norms at work**

This paper aims at contributing to research in gender and accounting by analysing how cashiers try to resist to gendered norms at work. The collective of cashiers which we followed for this research is working for the French leader of the building distribution industry, a sector where an idealization of masculine physical strength assigns women to administrative and accounting roles (Gallioz, 2006, 2007, 2009). Cashiers' occupation can be compared to clerical positions that have been investigated in the accounting literature where gendered norms have assigned women to low-paid and unqualified occupations (Cooper & Taylor, 2000; Loft, 1992; Walker, 2003a). Cashiers must host customers and care for their demands, which reminds the domestic roles that women in accounting realms are traditionally confined to (Komori, 2007; Komori & Broadbent, 2008; Komori & Humphrey, 2000; Llewellyn & Walker, 2000; Walker, 1998; Walker, 2003b; Walker & Carnegie, 2007). A consequence of hosting and caring is that cashiers have to manage the "dirty" emotions of the other (customers or the organisation they work for) (McMurray & Ward, 2014) which can be "out of place", "contextually inappropriate", "burdensome", or "taboo" (McMurray & Ward, 2014), p.1135). Women are supposedly more prepared to deal with such emotions (Hochschild, 1983). In the studied organization, the administrative and accounting functions are exercised by "hosting cashiers"<sup>1</sup> (according to company terminology), a highly feminised occupation held at 95% by women. This sexual division of labour is built upon essentialist ideals that assign individuals to appropriate occupations on the basis of assumptions about distinctively male and female traits and skills. Here, as seen above, women would be more suitable for cashier's work because they are seen as more caring, sensitive, emotional and organized but also weaker, more timid and irrational than men.

Following on Dorlin's conceptualisation of dirty care (Dorlin, 2017) and on Butler's work on gender performance and vulnerability in resistance (Butler, 1990; Butler, Gambetti, & Sabsay, 2016), we analyse how cashiers resist to such gendered norms. We use an ethnographical approach that includes direct observations drawn from a 5-month immersion in a store, non-participant observations of four cashiers' task force meetings spread over 7 other months, 10 interviews and document analysis. We show that cashiers make their accounting skills recognised as social constructions rather than responses to natural predispositions, in particular regarding their supposed "lack" of physical strength. We also analyse the various practices they engage in to subvert their accounting role and be considered as a salesforce. We introduce the concept of "accounting care" as a form of resistance to the gendered norms that dominated occupations can be assigned to. We define accounting care as the way a gendered occupation collectively claims more visibility in the eyes of other dominant occupations thanks to accounting tools (like dashboards) and the strategic use of accounting knowledge (like customer credit balance). We claim that this type of care concerns any dominated occupation, be it an accounting one or not, given the pervasiveness of the accounting language in modern organizations. We show that accounting care has mitigated outcomes: the collective enacting such care both transgresses the gendered norms assigned to it while it, at the same time, emphasizes the vulnerabilities of its occupation and the fragility of its subversion (in our case cashiers, valorise their sales

activities but doing so they make visible the non-significance of their sales performance in accounting terms).

Our paper offers three main contributions: we extend Butler's work on gender performance (Butler, 1990, 1997; Butler et al., 2016) by analysing collective initiations of occupational subversion; we extend Dorlin's work on dirty care by emphasizing new types of resistance to dominants; lastly, we contribute to gender research in accounting by emphasizing how certain modalities of accounting (devices and processes) can be mobilized to counter the dominating dynamics of other modalities (accounting as an occupation). Accounting care refreshes the conventional ways of considering accounting as both an instrument of domination (Miller & Power, 2013; Roberts, 1991) and as a masculine profession (Cooper, 1992; Haynes, 2017) and clarifies how accounting can participate to the emancipation of dominated occupations.

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*Sreenita Mukherjee, Patrizia Kokot-Blamey and Tessa Wright*

**A postcolonial feminist analysis of the experiences of female migrant architects from the Commonwealth, living and working in the UK**

This paper will present the first results of a larger research project: the lived experiences and career outcomes of female migrant architects from the Commonwealth in the UK architectural profession. We will employ a postcolonial feminist analysis, and the paper will, in particular, focus on considering the key challenges described by participants. In the UK, architecture is a regulated profession. The geographic origin of qualifications is often used as a part of a professional project and closure mechanism which can be used as a basis for exclusion. Professional bodies in UK architectural profession do not directly recognise any qualifications outside of the UK.

Adopting an intersectional framework merging postcolonial feminist theory with the literature on professionalisation and professional closure, this paper addresses the question: how does the geographic origin of their architectural qualification influence the experiences of female migrant architects from the Commonwealth, living and working in the UK?

With a commitment to feminist research design, we are carrying out semi-structured interviews with female migrant architects from Commonwealth countries. Some of the findings indicate that the re-qualification and re-certification requirements for labour market participation in the UK can create significant challenges for them.

This research intends to contribute to the literature on professionalisation and closure of architecture by examining the intersections of gender and race – an intersection hitherto underexamined in the context of architecture. Thereafter, we aim to incorporate important, under-researched antecedents of inequality and their mutual intersections in our empirical analysis– namely, place of qualification and migration status.

*Patrice Seuwou, Adejoke Ige-Olaobaju and Divya Shukla*

**Post-COVID-19 Challenges: Exploring the Learning Experiences of Ethnic Minority Female Students at a British University**

Students' learning experiences in Higher Education has the potential of transforming their lives in many unimaginable ways with its impact on the economy and the broaden society. Academic studies show that in recent times, there has been an increase in women's involvement in higher education. Many of these studies have examined this topic before COVID-19 pandemic from the standpoint of socio-cultural changes (a force for or a consequence of) and its influence on the increase in female students learning experience. With the COVID-19 pandemic, it has become evident that students' learning experiences in higher education have experienced a significant paradigm shift. Following the COVID-19 pandemic and the catastrophic transformation of human society, this study will present an exploratory investigation of individual and collective experiences of Ethnic minority female students' learning experiences, opportunities and challenges. Besides, it will explore the impact of these experiences on their satisfaction, examines these complexities in detail and present a comprehensible analysis of their key attributes in practice. This research used a phenomenological approach to understand the academic, social and cultural aspects of the issues identified above. This approach will be focused on the female student's perspective at a post-1992 University in England. A total of 10 Ethnic minority female students (UG/PG) personal experiences will be examined and analysed. The expected contribution for the present research would be to bring research-based evidence on several layers of complexity and considerable differences amongst different ethnic minority sub-groups with a focus on commonalities. The study further gives practical implications to enrich the students' learning experiences in higher education.



**Stream 43**  
**The Muslim Woman at Work. Islamic Feminism and the  
Rethinking of Gender in Organizations**

**Conveners: Cinzia Priola and Shafaq Arif Chaudhry**

*Reina Lewis*

**Modest fashion as a work-wear requirement: rethinking the labour of modest dress and behaviour in Saudi Arabia**

Academic and media commentary largely regards modest fashion as a concern for religious women; whether viewed as a personal choice and expression of religious identity or religious patriarchal oppression. In contrast, this paper focuses on how women encounter religiously related codes of modest dress and behaviour as a workplace requirement regardless of their own diverse religious and secular beliefs and practices.

Women working in the UK for secular global companies and organisations have to dress modestly for work when visiting Saudi Arabia where until very recently they have been obliged to wear an abaya, at times a headscarf. Regarding the abaya and dressed modest embodiment as a form of workplace mandated cross-cultural behaviour, the paper investigates how women's different religious, secular, and ethnic pre-employment subjective and embodied dispositions impact on career development and opportunities in the Middle East and in their 'home' global organisations.

Using data from interviews with women who work/ed in Saudi Arabia and women fashion mediators, this paper foregrounds the role of Saudi and Emirati women as informal cross-cultural fashion mediators, and examines if/how local abaya fashion designers produce design propositions for women unaccustomed to abaya-wearing. Despite that Saudi women often code the abaya as a cultural rather than religious garment, both non-Muslim and Muslim research participants report wearing an abaya as a process of incorporation into a distinctive form of religious dress and body management: Muslim participants from outside the region may feel spiritually uncomfortable in a different version of their own faith cultures; non-Muslims may feel alienated from their accustomed workplace impression management by modesty codes that are not their 'own'. I use sociological understanding of syncretic daily religion to analyse experiences of in-group and out-group religious dress requirements as exemplars that go beyond a binarized view of cultural ownership or appropriation.

My focus on the lived experience of international women workers in the UAE and Saudi Arabia problematizes organisational normative presumptions about the homogeneity of the Middle East workforce – and the presumed homogeneity of the UK workforce from which they are drawn. I argue that ethnic and religious diversity and issues of sexuality impact on women's ability to accommodate regional modesty codes, and on how others respond. Evidence suggests, for example, that Saudis accord greater latitude to white British women attempting modesty than to British women of South Asian heritage whose skin marks them as presumed Muslim to many local observers. To examine the capacity of organisations to comprehend the impact of intersectionality on the experience of work in the Middle East – and therefore of related career opportunities in the global organisation – I draw on ethnographic interviews with HR professionals and analyse training programmes.

I argue that organisations should recognise and recompense as labour the additional aesthetic and emotional labour work demanded of women – not men – in crafting modest professional appearances. I explore whether HR policies can have capacity to compensate those

employees whose intersectional identity components may prevent them from enacting the modesty behaviours required for career advancement in the Middle East theatre.

### **Biography**

Reina Lewis is Centenary Professor of Cultural Studies at London College of Fashion, University of the Arts London. Her books include: *Muslim Fashion: Contemporary Style Cultures* (2015), *Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem* (2004), and *Gendering Orientalism: Race, Femininity and Representation* (1996). She is editor of *Modest Fashion: Styling Bodies, Mediating Faith*, (2013); editor, with Zeynep Inankur and Mary Roberts, of *The Poetics and Politics of Place: Ottoman Istanbul and British Orientalism*, Istanbul: Suna and İnan Kırac Foundation (distributed by University of Washington Press) (2019); editor, with Sara Mills, of *Feminist Postcolonial Theory: A Reader*, Edinburgh University Press (2003); editor, with Peter Horne, of *Outlooks: Lesbian and Gay Visual Cultures*, Routledge (1996).

*Charlotte Karam, Fida Afiouni, Wassim Dbouk, Carmen Geha and Lama Mousawi*

**The KIP Index: Measuring Indigenous Data on Women's Recruitment, Retention and Promotion in the Middle East**

We seek to problematize the current constructions of women's economic participation in the Middle East. To date, most available data is measured and reported at the national level by international nongovernmental or intergovernmental organizations. These estimates are grim. For example, the World Bank (2017) estimates that, at the current rate, the region will likely only reach gender parity after 157 years, compared to 61-years in Western Europe and 62-years in South Asia. Current estimates of regional female labor participation rates are equally as gloomy, with Lebanon, Yemen, Syria, Iran, and Saudi Arabia ranking of the lowest globally. Even with the documented rise in the number of educated and/or skilled women in the region, the economic gender gap remains markedly high. Couple this fact with the estimated 50 million Arab women who will come of working age in the next eight years, then the picture is even more alarming. A long history of borrowed policies and billions of dollars in aid and related women economic empowerment packages have reportedly shown little impact on this dire situation, with most improvements being slow, regressive or restricted to particular sectors.

However, looking more closely, experts from within the region have begun to document – mostly qualitatively, some success stories. These stories however remain mostly narrative, with little locally generated, regionally-informed statistical measures. As a whole, the region is data starved, with the gaps in organizationally-relevant and gender segregated data looming wide. This has resulted in a lack of comparative knowledge allowing for the development of evidence-based organizational strategies for locally effective recruitment, retention and promotion of women. Based on this, we argue that there is a need for region-wide comparative measures that are epistemically grounded in an indigenous standpoint. Such measures would provide a better understanding of a nuanced intersectional forces shaping the status of women's participation in organizations in the Middle East is clear. Aligned with this, in this paper we present the KIP Index: the first intra-regional, organizational level comparative index measuring the nuances and heterogeneity of women's participation in Arab Middle Eastern organizations and translating multi-lingual knowledge into a measurable set of dimensions. By its design, this index engages new and innovative ways to explore the construction of gender-inclusive workplace specific to the region. In this regard, we present the development of an index that pays particular attention to the role that, for example, religion; war/instability; displacement/emigration/immigration; feudal/tribal/familial politics; and resource rich/poor political economies play in shaping the experiences of waged women in the region and, more broadly, the structures and processes constraining their contributions. Furthermore, the KIP Index attempts to integrate the voices of local women already engaged in paid work and the track records of employers that already recruit, retain and promote women.

Grounded in feminist decolonial assumptions that problematize many of the assumptions of previous international indices (e.g., coherent systems of governance, functional national business systems, etc.), we present this new index attuned to the dynamics of the region. We

believe that this measurement effort to be a timely and political endeavor, which emboldens and enriches the possibilities to speak directly for and from the region about concrete examples of gains made by real business cases and about realistic strategic recommendations that can serve as catalysts for future positive change.

***Rawia Ahmed, Randika Eramudugoda Gamage, M. Fernanda Wagstaff and Abdelrahman Baqrain***

**A Woman of Values - An Understanding of Women Entrepreneurs in the Middle East: Evidence from seven Arab countries**

Although looming literature proposes that women can contribute in a compelling manner to the entrepreneurship phenomenon (Sarfaraz, Faghih, & Majd, 2014) and despite the fact that women constitute fifty percent of the workforce in developing countries (World Bank, 2009), the management literature so far has fallen behind in sufficiently addressing the topic of women entrepreneurship in general and in the context of developing countries in particular (Yadav & Unni, 2016). This study aims at contributing to filling this void in the literature by taking a deeper look at women entrepreneurs in the Arab Middle East, and how they differ from their non-entrepreneurs female counterparts in the same region. Different from the typical focus that scholars so far have adopted in attending to gendered (male versus female) differences of entrepreneurs (Briely, 1989; Brush, 1992; Baker et al, 1997), or to entrepreneurship motivations and behaviors of women (Mirchandani, 1999; Brush et al, 1999), we take a pioneering approach in concentrating on the values and personality differences of women entrepreneurs as compared to non-entrepreneur women in the Arab Middle East. Specifically, we take a closer look at the work and cultural values as well as the personality of women entrepreneurs and how they differ from those of non-entrepreneur women in the same region.

For this purpose, we analyzed World Value Survey (WVS – wave 6) data of seven Arab countries in the Middle East (Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco, Tunisia, and Yemen). Results of independent T-tests revealed that women entrepreneurs in these countries differ from their non-entrepreneur counterparts in regards to: a) the values of importance of leisure and work in life, b) the values of self-direction and simulation (Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995), c) the openness to experience dimension of the big five personality, and d) some demographic variables similar to marital status. The results also challenge a widely adopted western perception of the Arab Middle East as a block with minimal diversity providing evidence that diversity exists within the region as manifested through a range of convergence and divergence of the above values among women of the seven countries.

Our contribution to the literature is multifold. First, we respond to several calls in the literature to further explore the under researched women entrepreneurship phenomenon especially in developing countries (Yadav & Unni, 2016; Goyal & Yadav, 2014; Gundry et al, 2002). Second, we propose a novel perspective of focusing on women versus women as opposed to the typical focus of women versus men in the entrepreneurship area. Third, we zoom in deeper onto the profiles of women entrepreneurs in the Middle East to map a clearer picture of them. This should help both academics – to scholarly proceed with this under researched field further, and practitioners -to better fathom the women entrepreneur stakeholders either in the form of employees, competitors, suppliers, partners, or customers. Finally, we initiate a pioneering discussion among scholars that the Middle East as a region should not be looked at as a block but rather as a region rich in diversity.

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*Hayfaa Tlaiss*

### **Islamic feminism in Saudi Arabia: A Strategy for Women's Career Advancement**

Investigating the careers of women in management has been the focus of ever-increasing research attention and studies, however empirical studies of Arab women managers lag behind and present three main shortcomings. First, there is limited understanding of how Arab women managers build their careers amidst institutionally mandated cultural and organizational constraints, with previous studies preoccupied with compiling an exhaustive list of barriers and challenges faced in the context of a conservative, masculine and patriarchal societal culture. Second, the geographic focus of available studies has been skewed towards specific countries, with the majority focused on United Arab Emirates (Tlaiss, 2013) and Lebanon (Tlaiss, 2014), with minimal studies focused on the careers of Saudi women managers. Third, if and when Saudi Arabian women's careers are studied, the majority of previous studies have been descriptive in nature and mostly focused on identifying the challenges facing Saudi women (e.g., Al-Asfour et al., 2017) with scant research focusing on gender and advancement strategies.

In an attempt to attend to this research gap and to the scholarly calls questioning the portability of career experiences when no consideration has been given to contextual socio-cultural, organizational, and regulatory forces (Pringle and Mallon, 2003; Tlaiss, 2014; Al-Asfour et al., 2017), this study explores the careers and advancement strategies used by Saudi Arabian women in senior managerial roles. We also explore the role (if any) of the women in advancing the careers of other women in their organizations.

To that end, this study capitalizes on Institutional Theory (IT) (Scott, 2004) and uses an intersectionality lens (Crenshaw, 1990) to better understand how the Saudi women's careers progressed through time at the intersection of influencing factors, including gender and gender stereotypes, and women's agency amidst the cognitive-cultural values, organizational normative boundaries, and regulatory forces in Saudi Arabia. This study takes a qualitative approach using in-depth, face-to-face semi-structured interviews with a number of women occupying senior managerial positions in private organizations across various sectors, including financial services, oil, education, telecommunications, retail and health services, and in cities including Riyadh, Jeddah, Damam, and Khobar. The interviews were analyzed thematically using template analysis (Tlaiss, 2014 a and b).

Our findings highlight the role of Islamic feminism in granting women the weapons needed to perform gender as per the feminist understanding of Islam. Islamic feminism has allowed the women to adopt several strategies in order to legitimize themselves as managers within the boundaries of their organizations and their careers in management within socially and religiously mandated barriers. Guided by Islamic teachings, the Saudi women in this study acted as agents of change within their organizations as they tried to reduce gender discrimination against women and to create gender-neutral organizational environments.



*Farah Fayyad*

**The historical tracking of the Palestinian Islamic feminist movement: forging a niche path in a neoliberalized and NGO-ized movement**

This paper is partially based on the qualitative feminist research conducted on Palestinian feminist organizing for my doctoral thesis which explores the historically contextual development of Palestinian feminist organizing and how contemporary forms of organizing demonstrate both a contestation of NGO-ization and a rise in alternative organizing. For the purpose of this paper, NGO-zation refers to the multi-layered and complex ways in which neoliberalism changed the face of civil society and altered practices in existing feminist organisations (Alvarez, 1999) and alternative organizing refers to the broad understanding of how various forms of organizing oppose familiar, traditional, mainstream, predominant, or hegemonic institutional arrangements (Cheney, 2014, n.p.).

There is a general consensus that the most contributing factor to the rise of political Islam was the Iranian Revolution as it politically, socially, militarily, and culturally transformed the Middle East (Izquierdo-Brichs & Etherington, 2017). The resurgence in what is often referred to as “revolutionary Islam”, “Islamism” or “militant Islam” entered the Palestinian social movement scene after the establishment of two critical parties: the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) and Hamas, established in 1981 and 1987, respectively (Robinson, 2004). The parties contributed to forging a niche path in the Palestinian feminist space – namely, Palestinian Islamic feminism which began to rise in the mid-1990s (Jad, 2018).

Historically grounded, the paper will explore the ideological, political and cultural factors that contributed to the rise of Palestinian Islamic feminism. It will also critically examine the current intra-party tensions that exist in the dominantly NGO-ized secular feminist space in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The intricate and elaborate ways in which the PIJ and Hamas use gender structure and gender discourse woven with religious and political ideology to organize and mobilize women particularly in its position as a hegemonic political power in Palestine will be explored. Such changes in ideology and discourse include the emphasis of the role of women in “reproducing the nation” (Jad, 2018), and the ways in which Islamic feminists attempt to alter past tradition into modern tradition by recruiting educated, modern, confident and politically aware women to join their organisations and by focusing on ways in which religious laws and doctrines can be used to further women’s demands for liberty and equality (Allabadi, 2008). The ways in which the Palestinian Islamic feminism has also created a wedge in the Palestinian feminist space by contributing to the “us” vs “them” polarizing discourse will be examined.

Although Palestinian feminism, in general, has been researched in domains such as Development Studies and Peace and Conflict Studies, the rise of Palestinian Islamic feminism is largely untapped and underrepresented as the overwhelming current research focuses heavily on Palestinian secular feminist organizations. This paper aims to debunk the myth that the Palestinian feminist space is homogenous by using the historical tracking of Palestinian feminism and Islamic Palestinian feminism as diverging movements to assist in theorizing on a context that is fraught with nuances, contradictions, tensions and fragmentations. An examination of Palestinian Islamic feminism also contributes to

discussion on the anti-colonial, anti-neoliberal, anti-capitalist paradigmatic shifts within the Palestinian feminist space.

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*Faisal Alkadi*

### **The Impact of Changing Socio-institutional Arrangements on Organisational Justice in Saudi Arabia**

This study investigates the socio-institutional arrangements in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia that can influence organisational justice in the retail sector. Institutional arrangements examine formal policies that are undertaken by both social and governmental structures (Schneider et al., 1997). Within the specific context of Saudi Arabia, radical changes have been implemented in labour market with the intention of increasing overall female labour participation. These sudden changes are arguably not accompanied by corresponding changes in social norms, continuing to conflict with a predominantly conservative tribal culture and strictly patriarchal interpretations of Islam (Sian et al., 2020). Gender equality is considered as a cornerstone of justice amongst societies. Therefore, these changes in the existing socio-institutional order creates institutional uncertainty and raises questions of justice amongst all key stakeholders, principally female and male employees, HR specialists/managers and officials within the government. This paper examines societal traditions in order to understand the interplay between customs and government policies vis-à-vis gender equality. Based on 26 interviews with Saudi Arabian women and male employees, as well as businesspeople, HR specialists and government officials, the research aims to scrutinise different levels of justice perceptions. A unique aspect of this study and the chosen sample was the emphasis on intersectionality that captured the hitherto under-considered dimension of tribe alongside gender and class. This dimension attempts to explore how tribalism and statelessness may influence the status of employees and their perceptions on justice in workplaces. In line with previous literature (Mobaraki and Söderfeldt, 2010; Alhejji et al., 2018; Syed et al., 2018; Tschirhart, 2014), the analysis highlights that societal traditions and misinterpretation of religious texts (in a Muslim majority country) can emerge as barriers for gender equality. However, the Western discourse on gender equality and feminism does not and cannot explore context-specific themes associated with Muslim and patriarchal societies (Tlaiss, 2015; Tschirhart, 2014; Hassan, 1995; Cooke, 2001; Syed and Ali, 2019). This paper challenges this prevailing discourse and explores the dynamics, and functioning, of gender equality in Saudi Arabia. It is argued that the public institutions exercise direct and significant influence on prevailing customs, populist interpretations of religion and subsequently perceptions of justice. This was evident through analysing various governmental bodies such as the Ministry of Human Resources and Social Development of Saudi. Although governmental plans to increase women in the labour market signal a positive movement towards women empowerment, the findings highlight subsequent drastic fragmentations of socio-institutional and organisational structures. Procedural and relational justice played a key role in establishing and legitimising unjust practices that in turn may impact distributive injustice. Such injustice can occur as managers' communication preferences impact the allocations of tasks and positions, creating distributive gaps between men and women. It was also recognised that gender equality reforms within organisations and society at large can only be achieved by the government given its socio-institutional and operational power within the Saudi context. Additionally, this study underlines how international mimetic pressures regarding gender equality and gender norms are reinforcing feminist movements within the Kingdom even though these movements have not developed

viable and game-changing socio-institutional muscle. This study contributes to the literature on organisational justice by incorporating themes of social justice, gender equality, socio-institutional change and the Saudi labour market.

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*Edith Pick*

### **Inside Out: Diversity Management in Arab-Palestinian Advocacy Organisations in Israel**

Critical diversity literature questions the emancipatory potential of diversity management while pointing out its role in contributing to marginalisation, segregation, and inequality. The literature often differentiates between the social justice case and the business case for diversity. It has been argued that the debate around gender and racial difference has shifted from focusing on workplace discrimination and injustice, towards a search for the profitability of diversity (Prasad 2001; Zanoni et al. 2010). This neoliberal and instrumental approach to diversity is currently being challenged by rising social movements (such as Me Too movement) that reshape the discourse around identity and oppression, including in areas of work and employment.

Nonprofit organisations can offer an interesting case for the study of equality, diversity and inclusion due to their unique position: their work is dedicated to social causes, but unlike grassroots groups they are also required to demonstrate professional management, thus challenging binaries between moral and utilitarian motivations (Tomlinson and Schwabenland 2010). More specifically, advocacy nonprofits can suggest new insights into the politics of equality and diversity as actors in political arenas. Advocacy organisations hold an adversarial role vis-à-vis the government, pushing for policy change, and are often considered progressive equality and diversity stakeholders (Tatli et al. 2012). However this does not necessarily make them inclusive and diverse as workplaces. My research studies advocacy organisations from those two related perspectives: as employers who manage diversity, and as advocates that represent minority groups on a national level. It looks at the relations between those two angles as experienced by employees.

The study of diversity management in the context of Arab-Palestinian advocacy groups in Israel is important for several reasons. Firstly, it offers a study of intersectionality which is rooted not only in issues of gender and race/ethnicity, but in the centrality of national identity, in the context of ongoing occupation and national conflict. Second, it offers a unique case of redistribution-recognition dilemma (Fraser 1995). Arab-Palestinian citizens, and especially women, suffer the consequences of decades of discriminatory mechanism of government funding. Concurrently they face increasing measures to delegitimise and marginalise Palestinian narrative, culture and identity, including Arabic language, from the Israeli landscape. Third, Arab-Palestinian women are situated in a unique position. While having significantly lower employment rates compare to both Arab men and Jewish women (despite increase in higher education rates), they are also situated at the for-front of struggles for recognition and representation in political and cultural arenas.

Against this backdrop, my paper will focus on the experiences of women within Arab-Palestinian advocacy organisations. First, I will present some preliminary data from recent fieldwork, and discuss its potential contribution to critical diversity literature. Second, I will explore some methodological dilemmas around the role of context, and the Israeli-Palestinian context specifically, within diversity management research.

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*Fedwa Jebli, Jamal El Baz and Diane-Gabrielle Tremblay*

**Conflictual Social/Work Identities and Arab Women's Self-esteem: The Case of Female Moroccan Employees in Event Planning Sector**

Female identity construction and processing in organizations has been largely discussed in literature. However, studies from non-western contexts are still lacking. Indeed, there is a need to know more about women's identity debate and issues from non-western social contexts such as Arab societies. Furthermore, existing gender literature on Arab women does not reflect how working women in conservative societies deal with some work identity requirements that are socially not accepted for women.

Our study tries to answer the following questions:

RQ1: How women in workplace manage conflictual social and work identities in Arab context?

RQ2: How conflictual social and work identities impact women's self-esteem in Arab context?

We adopt a qualitative approach as suggested by Yin (2003). Data gathering is based on 24 in-depth interviews carried out from June to September 2019 with women working for 2 selected event planning management companies. Event planning management is a growing industry in Morocco that organizes occasional events such as seminars, business meetings, conferences, artistic shows, etc. Women selected are between 22 and 42 years old, and the respondents are composed by 16 hostesses and 8 middle level managers. The selection of event planning business sector is based on the fact that employers in the event industry tend to ask female employees to adopt "modern", "chic", and "occidental" clothing, while they may not be comfortable in this. Furthermore, event management is characterized by atypical work schedules (late evening/night/weekend) which are socially considered as non-acceptable for women.

The main findings indicate that:

1. All interviewees consider that there is a conflict between their social identity and work identity. They explain this conflict by citing differences between social values and beliefs vs professional/organizational values. For example, all interviewees confirm that wearing "Hijab" is informally not allowed in their companies, which is in a contradiction with the Muslim identity of the Country.
2. Interviews describe a permanent effort to balance between social and work identities. Furthermore, interviews show that self-concept is linked to an intimate and continuous identity work within and outside workplace.
3. The majority of interviewees (20 of 24) confirm that "identity work" lead to a high self-esteem. According to interviewees, playing different roles help them represent themselves as resistant, competitive and capable. Furthermore, interviewees consider that "identity work" is a source of internal strength since it empowers and help assert women's self-esteem in a multifaceted environment.

*Kristin Aune and Lina Molokotos-Liederman*

**Modest fashion at work: women's employee experience in UK Muslim charitable organisations**

Modest fashion is a term used and popularised in critical and fashion studies by Reina Lewis (2013) to refer to a range of clothing practices, rooted in diverse religious traditions, in which women adopt particular styles of dress, cover certain parts of their bodies, or wear or avoid particular items, to express or adhere to religiously-related norms. The project from which this paper is drawn, 'Modest Fashion in UK Women's Working Life', funded by the UK's Arts and Humanities Research Council, includes in its focus an examination of faith-based charitable organisations as places of work with specific dress and behaviour codes. The faith-based sector is an important UK employment sector, increasingly called upon to deliver welfare services in times of austerity. Part of the research explores how women experience modest fashion practices, such as adapting their dress, when working for UK faith-based organisations (including Christian, Jewish and Muslim).

This paper will present data from semi-structured interviews with (religious and non-religious) women working for or with Muslim faith-based charitable organisations. It will examine how they feel about and experience (implied or explicit) modest dress and behaviour codes (whether or not they are enforced or encouraged by their employers). The paper offers new empirical data on modest work wear in religious organisations and new theoretical contributions to the study of religion, gender and work, a relatively new field.

First, in academic literature modesty and work wear are usually researched as a problem for minority religious groups, in relation to employment discrimination against modest dressers (Bradley et al. 2007) or legal arbitration of employee diversity demands ((Weller et al. 2013, Vickers 2014). We reconceptualise skills in modest dressing as an acquired form of aesthetic labour (Entwistle 2009) which may advantage individuals and organisations regardless of background.

A second body of literature addresses how religious women negotiate dress in everyday (non-work) contexts; much of it explores Muslim women's veiling practices (Çinar 2008, Barras 2010, Selby 2014). We instead focus on the workplace, where research exists on the dress of female religious leaders in places of worship (Page 2014), but not of female employees in a broader set of religious organisations. We also move beyond researching religious women, to researching women working for religious organisations. The paper considers how women working in religious organisations who may not be religious themselves navigate religious workplace dress codes and norms – for instance, how might a white atheist woman employed by a Muslim charity negotiate embodying a faith that she does not hold?

Finally, the paper contributes to the study of interfaith relations and social cohesion. In a religiously diverse, yet politically and religiously divided UK, where some women who are 'visibly Muslim' (Tarlo 2010) are targets of Islamophobia, interfaith dialogue, as a form of feminist 'transversal politics' (Yuval-Davis 1997), is crucial. Yet while women's workplace dress has potential to advance interfaith work, our findings suggest it can also hamper it.



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