Proceedings of the
2nd International Conference on Gender Research
Roma Tre University
Rome, Italy
11 - 12 April 2019



Edited by
Paola Paoloni,
La Sapienza University
Mauro Paoloni and Simona Arduini,
Roma Tre University

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Proceedings of the

2nd International Conference on Gender Research
ICGR 2019

Hosted By
Ipazia, the Scientific Observatory on Gender Issues at Roma Tre University
Rome, Italy

11-12 April 2019

Edited by
Prof. Paola Paoloni, Prof. Mauro Paoloni and Prof. Simona Arduini

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Preface

These proceedings represent the work of contributors to 2nd International Conference on Gender Research (ICGR 2019), hosted by Ipazia, the Scientific Observatory on Gender Issues and Roma Tre University, Rome on 11 - 12 April 2019. The Conference Chair is Professor Paola Paoloni, La Sapienza University, and the Programme Chairs are Professor Mauro Paoloni and Professor Simona Arduini, from Roma Tre University.

Ipazia, the Scientific Observatory on Gender Issues, aims to build a comprehensive and continuously updated framework of research, services, projects, and initiatives related to women that define the feminine condition at local, national and international levels. The observatory is working towards these objectives by facilitating workshops, seminars, conferences, studies, scientific laboratories on gender studies.

ICGR is now in its 2nd year and the key aim remains, the opportunity for participants to share ideas and meet the people who hold them. The scope of papers will ensure an interesting two days with researchers coming from a diverse range of backgrounds. The subjects covered illustrate the wide range of topics that fall into this important and ever-growing area of research.

The opening keynote presentation is given by Karmen Jelčić, CEO, Intellectual Capital Center in Croatia - Empowering Women Through IC: A Croatian case study. The second day of the conference will open with an address by Dragana Djermanovic, CEO Pepper Consulting Group, Novi Sad, Serbia - Female Entrepreneurship in the Digital era.

With an initial submission of 235 abstracts, after the double blind, peer review process there are 83 Academic research papers, 12 PhD research papers, 3 Masters Research papers and 1 work-in-progress paper published in these Conference Proceedings. These papers represent research from Austria, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Cyprus, Denmark, Ecuador, France, Germany, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Kuwait, Latvia, Mexico, Morocco, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, The Netherlands, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States of America, Vietnam and Zambia.

We hope you enjoy the conference.

Professor Paola Paoloni
La Sapienza University
Rome

Professor Mauro Paoloni and Professor Simona Arduini
Roma Tre University

April 2019

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Biographies

Conference and Programme Chairs



Professor Paola Paoloni, is a Full Professor at the La Sapienza University, Faculty of Economy, in Rome. She teaches Business Economics and Public management. Her main research interests include general management, financial reporting, female entrepreneurship and intellectual-based management. She is an author and co-author of several articles and books on above mentioned research areas. She is foundress and scientific director of "Ipazia" scientific observatory on gender issues.



Professor Mauro Paoloni is a Full Professor at the Roma Tre University, Faculty of Economy, in Rome, where he teaches Business Economics and corporate governance. His main research interests include reporting, corporate governance and banking systems. He has authored and co-authored several articles and books on above mentioned research areas



Professor Simona Arduini is an Associate Professor at the Roma Tre University, Department of Business Studies. She teaches Financial Accounting and Business Valuation. Her main research interests include not-for-profit organizations, accounting principles, value creation. She had been for one year the Department's delegate in the Roma Tre "Gender Equality of Opportunity" Committee and she has taught "Principles of Gender Budgeting" in several courses focused on Gender topics.

Keynote Speakers



Dr. Dragana Djermanovic is a digital transformation expert & speaker who has been proclaimed as "Woman of the Decade in Social Media and Leadership" at the international Women Economic Forum (WEF17) in New Delhi and is the only Serbian businesswoman enlisted in The Hundert's top 100 female entrepreneurs of Europe. As a representative of The European Public Relations Education and Research Association (EUPRERA) and Euroblog Association, she was an honorable jury member for the Social Media Awards and the respectable ambassador of WebIT committee of Internet Practitioners of South-Eastern Europe. Also, she was a jury member for European ICT awards in Luxembourg, as noble representative. Business Women Association of Serbia presented her "The Flower of Success", a prestigious award for the most successful female entrepreneur in her home country.



Karmen Jelčić is CEO of the Intellectual Capital Center in Croatia, which has recently merged with the consulting firm Center of Economics. She has been active as a consultant in the IC field for twenty years. During that time, she has participated in all major IC projects in CRO, gaining practical experience, which she promoted worldwide. She is author of the Intellectual Capital Handbook, which has been written to provide IC basics to entrepreneurs and is therefore free of charge. Furthermore has she been frequent guest speaker at many national and international conferences. During the past three years she has mainly focussed her efforts in the field of women in business. She has initiated the forming of an international women task force within The New Club of Paris as well as the first IC related project in Croatia aiming at empowering women through Intellectual capital. It was carried out in several Dalmatian cities with the support of the Croatian Chamber of Commerce, The Businesswomen Association, KRUG, and The Croatian Bank for Development.

Mini Track Chairs



Dr Iiris Aaltio, is a Professor of Management and Leadership at the University of Jyväskylä, Finland. Her research covers organizational culture, gender, diversity issues, and entrepreneurship, often in a cross-cultural context. She works at the editorial boards of Culture and Organization, Electronic Journal of Business Ethics and Organization Studies, and Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management. She is an author and editor of a variety of books, edited collections and journal special issues, lately in the "International Journal of Work Innovation". Her work has been published in journals like "International Journal of Intercultural Relations", "Equality, diversity and inclusion: An international journal", "Technovation" and "Human Relations".



Claudia Arena is Assistant Professor of Accounting at University of Federico II, Italy. Her research interests include gender diversity, accountability and sustainability in private and public sectors.



Simona Catuogno is Associate Professor of Accounting at University of Naples Federico II, Italy. Her research interests include corporate governance, gender diversity and accountability in private and public sectors.



Francesca Maria Cesaroni is a Full Professor in Business Administration at the University of Urbino Carlo Bo. She teaches Entrepreneurship and Small Business and General and applied accounting. She is the Director of the Research Centre on Entrepreneurship and Small-medium firms – University of Urbino. She is also a member of the scientific board of Ipazia – Scientific observatory on gender issues. Her main research interests include entrepreneurship, women entrepreneurs, small business, family businesses and corporate financial communication.



Dr Alessandra Ladro is a Researcher at the University of Naples "Parthenope" (Italy) and she is Adjunct Professor of International Accounting at the University of Cassino and Southern Lazio, where she was awarded her Ph.D. in Business Administration from. Her research interests include: intellectual capital; corporate disclosure; social media management; management control systems; gender studies. She is member of the SIDREA (Italian Society of Professors of Accounting and Business Administration) and of the SIDREA Gender Group of Study.



Elisabeth T. Pereira holds a PhD and Master in the fields of Economics and Business Management. She is Assistant Professor of Economics at the University of Aveiro (Portugal), and senior researcher in the field of Competitiveness and Innovation at the Research Unit GOVCOPP-University of Aveiro. She is author of several dozen articles, books, chapter of books and communications at international conferences.



Sara Saggese is Assistant Professor of Accounting at University of Naples Federico II, Italy. Her research interests include ownership structures and gender diversity in private and public sectors.



Fabrizia Sarto is Assistant Professor of Accounting at University of Naples Federico II, Italy. Her research interests include corporate governance, hospital governance, and gender diversity in private and public sectors.



Annalisa Sentuti, PhD, is a Research Fellow in Business Administration at the University of Urbino Carlo Bo. She teaches Business Administration and Accounting. Her primary research interests include small and medium-sized businesses, family businesses, corporate governance, female entrepreneurship. She is a member of the scientific board of Ipazia – Scientific observatory on gender issues.



Maria de Lourdes Machado-Taylor is a Senior Researcher Associate at the Center for Research on Higher Education Policies (CIPES) and currently works at the Agency for Assessment and Accreditation of Higher Education (A3ES) in Portugal. Her areas of research include Management, Leadership, Strategies, Higher Education Policies and Gender Studies. She has coordinated and contributed to multi-disciplinary and multi-institutional research projects funded namely by the Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT), Gulbenkian Foundation (Portugal), Capes (Brazil) and European Commission. She has received research scholarships from Gulbenkian Foundation and Fulbright (USA). She is the author and co-author of several publications

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Abbou Fatima Zahra is a postgraduate student in the institute of education at the University of Reading. Her area of research involves women and leadership in the Algerian higher education, gender, equity and feminist perspective.

Noreen Abdullah Khan Dr has 20 years' experience in researching and teaching in Higher Education within Sociology and Criminology, specializing in Gender, Social Norms, Gender Based Violence, including Domestic Violence, Rape and Sexual Assaults. She has published her research in these areas and contributed to many reseach and policy initiatives spanning Kuwait and the UK.

Noor Abu Jbara is an Industrial Engineer, holds masters degree in Innovation and Entrepreneurship from the University of Warwick, UK. She is a Lead Consultant and Researcher and has an experience in Management Consultation and Entrepreneurship fields. Noor's main research areas are entrepreneurship and women empowerment; her dissertation's topic was "Jordanian Women Empowerment through Entrepreneurship"

Carmen Acuyo Verdejo Dr Mª is Senior Lecturer at the University of Granada, Spain. She received her European PhD in Translation Studies from the University of Granada in 2003. She is currently involved in a Research Project, funded by the Spanish Ministry of Economics and Competitiveness regarding social and legal lacks in gender training at university level. Her main lines of research are translation in legal and social settings, multicultural analysis of legal discourse, legal translation training and language in Gender Studies.

Tindara Addabbo is Associate Professor in Economic Policy at University of Modena and RE (Italy). Member of CAPP, Ciret, CRID and European Gender Budgeting Network. She publishes in the areas of gender impact of public policies, measurement of well-being, disability, employment and wage discrimination by gender, income distribution and quality of work. Website: http://personale.unimore.it/rubrica/curriculum/addabbo

Wilfried Admiraal is full professor of Educational Sciences and director of ICLON Leiden University Graduate School of Teaching (https://sites.google.com/site/wilfriedadmiraal/).All authors were involved in a national project on the use of technology in primary and secondary education to support personalized teaching. This project was funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research.

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Changing Gender Norms by Applying a Relevant Theoretical Discourse for Ending Violence Against Women in Kuwait

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Abstract: Whilst the issue of Gender Based Violence and specifically violence against women has received widespread global attention in recent years, research and policy development in Kuwait has been lagging behind. The secrecy in which it is shrouded is heavily influenced by similar factors evident in other countries. There are also notable differences, primarily in the cultural differences that prevail in a conservative Muslim country, which give way to analysing the issue of violence against women using theories applicable within a Kuwaiti context. The present paper explores the importance of perceptions of gender and gender roles among Kuwaiti's to the experiences of violence against female survivors. The paper maintains that improved knowledge alone does not change attitudes and behaviours and so proposes a deeper change in Kuwait's social norms. It does this by also demonstrating the importance and usefulness of applying a theoretical framework which is compatible to the dominant cultural lifestyle in Kuwait and concludes that social change in attitudes can only truly be achieved if it is proposed within this framework.

Keywords: gender, Kuwait, violence against women, attitudes, social change

1. Introduction

Gender Based Violence (GBV) is a term used to highlight the unequal power relations between men and women. It is an important term because it highlights that these unequal power relations are based on gender roles or social norms. Whilst the term includes violence against women (VAW) it also encompasses a wide range of gendered and sexualised violence's against men and boys as well as those with gender non-conforming identities and sexual minorities. The present paper uses the term violence against women to identify and acknowledge that victims in the Kuwaiti context are predominantly women. Whilst research on violence against women in Kuwait is scarce, there is even less work conducted in the area of GBV against men and boys. The current paper is influenced by the commitment of the State of Kuwait to the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the universal Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) underpinning it, as set out by the United Nations (UN). This Agenda is a shared vision for developing plans and strategies to urgently address key political, economic and environmental challenges on a global level, in order to have a more protected and prosperous world. Whilst 17 SDG were established for this purpose, the most relevant to this paper is SDG 5 'To achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls' and specifically 5.1 'End all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere' and 5.2 'Eliminate all forms of violence against women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation.'[1] At the UN Sustainable Development Summit in New York on 25 September 2015, HH Sheikh Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, the Amir of the State of Kuwait committed Kuwait to the 2030 Agenda and the 17 SDG's it proposed. This was then incorporated into the Kuwait National Development Plan (KNDP) 2015-2020 in order to eliminate all forms of violence against women.

There is a growing acknowledgment in Kuwait that a thriving society must be rid of all forms of violence against women and some significant progress has already been made in achieving SDG 5 in terms of granting women political rights, equal educational opportunities, more adequate investment in women's health and promoting a broad, more inclusive framework for equality through research and key agency projects. However, to date, there is no research on the prevalence of domestic violence in Kuwait which compounds the issue of dealing effectively with it. There are also concerns with regards to the lack of legal reform to afford better protection for women and girls who have been subjected to violence. For example, and specifically, whilst perpetrators of stranger rape may be given the death penalty, there exists a glaringly clear problem in rape cases in which the offender may know his victim. For example, accusations of consent lead to all criminal charges being dropped against a perpetrator who agrees to marry his victim at the consent of her guardian. A wealth of research on rape documents what is widely acknowledged among researchers, academics and activists as the 'real rape' myth in which it is inaccurately believed in society that most rapes are carried out by a stranger, late at night in a public area, involving a weapon. For example, Feist et al., (2007) and Stanko and Williams (2009) document

[1] Global indicator framework for the Sustainable Development Goals and targets of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (A/RES/71/313) and annual refinements contained in United Nations (May 2018) E/CN.3/2018/2

that in less than half of all rapes in their study, were offenders and victims' strangers. Waterhouse et al., (2015) found that of the 400 cases of rape reported to the UK police, not a single case had all these mythical characteristics. Of those that were carried out by strangers, these were strongly linked to night-time economy activities such as visiting bars and clubs late at night. In this study, 70.7% of rapes were domestic or acquaintance rapes, occurring inside a residence. Given that there is a limited night time economy culture in Kuwait and given that clubs and pubs do not exist, along with the fact that women are strongly discouraged to be out very late on their own, it is fair to assume that such a 'real rape' scenario would be even less likely to occur in Kuwait. In spite of this, current rape laws are highly punitive only when the 'real rape' scenario is upheld.

Whilst some measures are currently in place to give women rights according to Islamic law, there is no doubt that progress is constrained by deeply rooted cultural attitudes and practices which define rigid traditional gender roles. Such gender roles are powerfully established in the all-important institution of family and promoted through the other major social institutions, grounded particularly in religion. Given that Muslim societies are so diverse, it is clear that attitudes and behaviours towards women will also vary. Whilst liberal Muslims, like most liberals generally, are more accepting of equal roles for women and men, conservative Muslims are more likely to discourage independence of women from their homes. This was apparent in research by Abdullah-Khan (2019). Of the limited sociological research conducted in Kuwait, it is evident that whilst there is widespread support for gender equality in the workplace and in education, there is more reluctance to include women for political leadership roles and as members of the judiciary. Abdullah-Khan (2019) demonstrates that this reluctance stems from a religious interpretation by some Muslims that women are incapable of taking on such roles. Other work by El Feki (2019) demonstrates significant support by men for inequitable gender norms in Kuwait. This study found that at least half of men expressed a strong belief in the traditional stance that men have the final say on decisions in the home (58 per cent), bear a duty to exercise guardianship over their female relatives (54 per cent) and, by extension, that boys are responsible for the behavior of their older sisters (87 per cent). More than half also believed that a woman's most important role is in the home (58 per cent), where they should bear responsibility for childcare (75 per cent). Furthermore, there is a profound resistance, by men and women, to allowing women to take important family decisions or to have any kind of gender-neutrality within their family structures. The gendered roles within the Kuwaiti family are quite rigid, as demonstrated by El Feki (2019) and Abdullah-Khan (2019) with women more engaged in child care and domestic chores much more than their male counterparts who take the lead in the family's finances. Whilst such data is useful to highlight some of the prevailing attitudes in Kuwait today, this was the primary purpose of those studies. There has been no attempt in the academic literature to explain or contextualise such attitudes. As a predominantly Muslim country, 75% of the population in Kuwait are Muslim, with 99.9% of the Kuwaiti nationals being Muslims.[2] Islamic Jurisprudence provides a legal and political framework, with a strong influence on social aspects of Kuwaiti life. Whilst women's rights in the Middle East region have dominated interest by western academics and observers, these have been portrayed as a direct consequence of Islamic practices misidentified as 'Islamic' and deemed as patriarchal and incompatible with gender equality. Images of oppressed and highly controlled women have fast become the norm in Western media. As Miller (2009) points out, there are 1.57 billion Muslims in the World today and clearly, their realities vary greatly. Controversial practises such as early and forced marriages, female genital mutilation, and honour killings are not limited to Muslim populations and whilst some of these practices do occur in Muslim populations, they are often geographically specific and therefore can be defined as cultural practices that have been justified through religion.

As in most societies around the world, the family in Kuwaiti culture plays a central role in establishing social, and specifically, gender roles. Given the very private nature of the family, sanctions for digressing from these roles can be severe and remain out of the public spotlight. The occurrence of domestic violence is also problematic, not only because of the trauma experienced by victims and oftentimes their children, but also because there is a profound reluctance to speak out and challenge family values. Domestic Violence is currently not a criminal offence in its own right and victims, should they decide to report to the police and seek criminal redress, are more often than not, encouraged by courts to reconcile with their abusive husbands as demonstrated by Abdullah-Khan (2019):

> *"When I went to court the judge asked me why I wanted a divorce. The judge wanted us to go to a consultant and not divorce so I said no I don't want to, he hits me. Where does he hit you? In our house. Do you have a witness? He would hit me in the bedroom. I need a witness. (Sundus, 52)"*

[2] June 2017 Population Statistical Report, Kuwaiti Public Authority for Civil Information.

These findings are reminiscent of much earlier research in other countries. For example, Parnas (1967) demonstrates the International Association of Chiefs of Police' endorsement of mediation over arrest in domestic violence cases. As Trujillo (2008: 455) points out, during this time, police responses were criticised for being 'biased, inconsistent and inadequate'. In reviewing these measures, it is evident that Kuwait is seriously lagging behind in terms of service provisions and an overall improvement in dealing with domestic violence cases.

Similarly, the same study found that when victims report to the police, they are also encouraged not to take further action:

"The first thing the police will say is why don't you stand with your husband? (Haya, 27)"

There is a clear need for legislative changes in Kuwait to protect women from violence, especially familial violence. Given the devastating physical, psychological, emotional and economic consequences of domestic violence, communities across the world have worked to provide a broad range of services for survivors and their families, ranging from refuges and shelters, support groups, counselling services, advocacy services and transitional housing. There is no doubt that such services make a significant difference to the lives of those using them. Sullivan (2018) developed a conceptual model to evidence the success of domestic violence programs which not only protect survivors and their children from further harm, but also promote their long term social and emotional well-being. Other rigorous evaluations of domestic violence services have demonstrated similar findings (see for example Macy el at, 2009). It is clear that despite the usefulness of such services, no such provisions exist for Kuwaiti survivors of domestic violence. One may speculate that this is because there is a level of denial that domestic violence exists in Kuwait. This is demonstrated by the glaringly large gap in research, with no statistics available on prevalence rates as well as the lack of legal redress available to victims of domestic violence. There is also a strong belief that the family plays a pivotal role in resolving what are deemed to be 'family issues' and so the need to have external services is yet to be recognised. In light of this, the absence of research in this sensitive area has an impact on the lack of support provided. There is therefore a clear need to conduct more research to explore the prevalence of violence against Kuwaiti women and girls, as well as the impact on their lives, the community, and wider society.

Research on public satisfaction with police responses to domestic violence by Wilson and Jasinski (2004) demonstrates that fulfilled expectations have an important impact on positive satisfaction which in turn impacts confidence in policing and reporting levels. Other research by Boateng (2016) also found that victims' levels of confidence in the police and satisfaction with police work positively predicts their decisions to report sexual assault. It is therefore clear that heightened confidence in police responses would encourage victims of violence to report to the police. In order for this to be realised however, there is a need to firstly examine police attitudes towards domestic violence using empirical date, to ascertain the extent to which negative attitudes prevail. It is known that in Western societies up until the 1980's social attitudes viewed domestic violence as a private family matter and this view permeated throughout the criminal justice system. Police reluctance to intervene in private matters deemed unworthy of attention, have been well documented (see for example Dobash and Dobash, 1979) with police officers also subscribing to myths about domestic violence. The complex nature of domestic violence is highlighted by Gover et al., (2011) who also point out that police officers may be poorly trained in dealing with such cases, often blaming victims, and applying discretionary powers to avoid making arrests (Wortley, 2003). The situation is indeed complex in Kuwait too where police discretion is routinely used, often in the hope of protecting victims by not taking further action. Research by Garner (2005) found that police attitudes towards domestic violence are capable of change and training can be one way in which that change occurs. Other studies such as Johnson (2004) and Logan et al., (2006) also indicate the need for domestic violence training for police officers in order to improve the situation for domestic violence victims. Research on violence against women identifies the importance of social attitudes in influencing responses to violence such as service provisions, criminalisation of violence and victim's recovery from their experience (Nayak et al., 2003). Nayak el at., (2003) also argue that negative beliefs and attitudes towards violence against women are consistent with more restrictive norms for women. Their comparative research on four culturally different countries, namely USA, India, Japan and Kuwait suggests that differences in attitudes between these countries may reflect their different beliefs about gender roles. However, the researchers also point out that there is a lack of published research on violence against women in Kuwait, which makes it difficult to draw firm conclusions. Other work by Anderson et al., (1997) illustrates that conservative ideology can influence gender norms. Nayak et al (2003) assert that a stronger gender-differentiation exists in Kuwait which may be consistent with a willingness to accept restrictive beliefs. Whilst researchers such as Nayak (2003: 341) propose an examination of

sociocultural influences on attitudes when applied to Kuwait, they also point out the essential need to examine the interactions between factors that provide the *social context* that shapes individual beliefs and behaviours, including socio-political, economic, historical and religious factors. Analysing the influences of these on social norms, and specifically gender norms, can provide context for understanding the roots of violence against women in Kuwait. Only by identifying these roots, can negative social norms be challenged in a way that is acceptable to Kuwaiti society.

Researchers of Muslim societies have identified classic patriarchy present within the family characterised by male domination, son preference restrictive codes of behaviour for women and the association of family honour with female virtue. However, as Offenhauer (2005) points out, scholarly work demonstrates that the degree to which these are present varies tremendously across regions and nations, and that the trend to move more towards modern roles or 'neopatriarchy', and away from traditional roles, is as apparent in Muslim and non-Muslim nations alike. It is evident that whilst there is on the one hand a concern amongst mainly Western activists that Islam is completely oppressive to women, this has been regarded with much distain by many Muslim women scholars who regard it as a form or orientalist sensationalism or imperial feminism which seeks to 'rescue' Muslim women from backward culturally oppressive gender norms. The response to this has been the development of what is now termed Islamic Feminism which seeks to resist patriarchal systems within an Islamic framework. Imminent scholars such as Mernissi (1991) and Wadud (2006) introduced an alternative, convincing theoretical discourse which challenged the traditional interpretations of an Islam which is patriarchal, and controls women, and promotes gender inequity. Instead, it is proposed that such practices do not concur with Quranic principles of human equality and gender justice and therefore need to re-examined. It is argued that notions of male authority over women is not in line with Quranic principles and that hierarchal oppressive constructs belong to a time and context where patriarchy formed the social and economic fabric of life. It is asserted that male superiority over women was a pre-Islamic concept, and one which is not supported by Quranic principles. Islamic feminism is therefore described as a 'feminist discourse and practice articulated within an Islamic paradigm' (Badran, 2009). Here, support for a more egalitarian model of the family is promoted by demonstrating contextually how Islam has been interpreted by male scholars only. Ahmed (1993), Badran (2005) and Mernissi (1991) offer sustained analysis of the three main texts in Islam, the Quran[3], the Sunna[4], and the Hadith[5] to scrutinise the foundations of gender discriminatory practices. They conclude that such practices of injustice and inequity are not collaborated sufficiently by these texts and in doing so, they cast doubt on male interpretations of Islam. Consequently, the alternative discourse they advocate seeks to challenge the sexist interpretations of Islam, which have sought to legitimise female subordination, to benefit the patriarchal elite. Researchers such as Mernissi (1991) also argue that as is the case in non-Muslim societies, in Muslim societies as well, religion is not the sole agent of patriarchal thinking and that more sociocultural and socioeconomic factors also play a dominant role in gender inequality which need to be explored. By actively engaging with the sacred and religious texts on which Muslims base their daily lives, Islamic Feminists are able to develop a theological argument in support of gender equity. In doing so, they can reach one of two main conclusions. They may either conclude that the Quran is inherently ethical and egalitarian, or then as a text, the teachings are no more or less patriarchal than any other major religions (Moghadam, 2003). With the first conclusion, it becomes apparent that patriarchal readings and interpretations are the problem, rather than religion itself. If the latter is to be accepted, the scared texts must be interpreted in the context of their historic time and place and so, a reinterpretation to disentangle cultural practices from the Quranic norms is essential. Here it is suggested that reinterpretations are vital to apply the message to current times. Given that Islamic sharia laws prevail in Muslim countries, the usefulness of applying an Islamic Feminist model cannot be underestimated. Sharia law is prescribed through the Quran and the other sacred texts of the Sunna and the Hadith. Legal systems within Muslim countries which fail to protect women can only be successfully challenged if Islamic jurisprudence is understood and reimagined through an Islamic feminist lens.

There is a call for Muslim women themselves to engage with the Quran so that they may contest the privilege of male interpretations. Only by exploring these interpretations, can they begin to deconstruct male power and evidence that gender equality is in fact a pivotal concept already present in Islam. Given that religion is a powerful force of influence in Kuwait, an education on the importance of ending violence against women, framed within an Islamic discourse, is the strongest influence to changing social and gender norms. Such a

[3] The sacred holy text in Islam

[4] The way of life of the Prophet Mohammad, peace be upon him.

[5] Interpretative moral codes which are based on the sayings of the Prophet Mohammad, peace be upon him.

movement must not only demonstrate the importance of gender equity in Islam, but must go further to use Quranic and religious texts which attest to the illegitimacy of committing violence against women. At the core of such work must also be the deconstruction of masculinities which must be reimagined within an Islamic framework in order to demonstrate to men and women that the 'real-man' image of toughness, aggression, control and dominance must be replaced with more Islamic attributes of tolerance, integrity and emotional kindness. As has been demonstrated globally, including men in the advancement of gender equality is much more successful than excluding them. Similarly, an Islamic discourse which does not alienate men or women but demonstrates to them the ways in which gender equality and social justice are very much at the centre of their religion, can be a very successful way to shift attitudes. This has already been witnessed in countries such as Malaysia which may be regarded as a liberal role model in the Islamic World, having successfully quashed patriarchal oppressive systems and introduced laws against domestic violence, within an Islamic model of justice.

In summary, there is no doubt that violence against women in Kuwait is a serious, often hidden problem, shrouded in secrecy, and particularly protected within the closed family institution. The nature, prevalence and impact of violence against women has not yet been realised in the wider community and there is therefore a clear need for much more extensive, detailed empirical research. The current paper argues that there is no single solution to ending violence against women in Kuwait. Instead, only a multi- faceted approach which combines practical, legislative and agency support underpinned by a theoretical model that is complimentary to the lives of Kuwaiti men and women, can be affective. Research by Abdullah-Khan (2019) demonstrates that there is more acceptance among Kuwaitis that men and women's roles in the family are more fluid and interchangeable. Such a shift in thinking is in its infancy and a much more accelerated effort is needed to demonstrate the usefulness of this to the Kuwaiti population, if it is to develop further. The impact of social norms on behaviours has already been demonstrated.[6] Patriarchal notions of gender which serve to support male control over women's lives are frequently masked in Kuwaiti society behind a misrepresentation of religion, which serves to benefit male patriarchs. It is therefore important to demonstrate that Patriarchy is not a religious practice born out of, or promoted by Islam, but instead that Islam needs to be reinterpreted within an Islamic feminist framework which demonstrates the equitable gender roles of men and women. The principles of gender justice which have been ever-present in Islam need to be realised in order to bring about significant changes in attitudes towards women. The negative and harmful impact of violence against women, not only on survivors, but also on their families, the community and society must also be realised, in order to encourage change. By demonstrating the wrongness of violence against women first and foremost through a religious lens, there is a stronger likelihood that social change will not be viewed as a western imperialist imposition, and is more likely to be accepted and adopted.

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[6] See for example, Haylock et al., (2016)

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Training in Gender-Based Violence: Perceptions From University Students

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Abstract: The role of translators and interpreters as socializing agents and linguistic and cultural mediators in situations of violence and conflict is paramount. Thus, with the aim of identifying, from third-year undergraduate translation students' perspective, the main training needs for translators to cope with this particular social phenomenon. To this end, a 14-item questionnaire was administered among 87 students. The quantitative analysis is complemented by a qualitative analysis through an additional open-ended question. The results obtained reveal that knowlegde about key legal concepts, synonymy and polysemy adquire a especial importance for the training of future translators.

Keywords: translation studies, domestic violence, gender-based violence, translator's training, university students

1. Introduction

Domestic and gender-based violence has become a scourge to society, and recent official figures not only speak for themselves but rather reflect a social reality in which the problem is far from being eradicated. According to the latest Domestic and Gender Violence Observatory report provided by the General Council for the Judiciary, in the second quarter of 2018 a total of 42,077 complaints were filed in Spain, a figure that supposes an increase of 20.1% with respect to the first quarter of the previous year. The information contained in the report sheds much light on the ins and outs of this social scourge and, given the rigorous and representative nature of this information, we consider it appropriate that it is included in this paper. This information is based on complaints filed, penal and civil proceedings registered, protection orders and safety and protection measures requested in the Courts for Violence against Women and sentences handed down by the jurisdictional bodies responsible for these matters.

According to the same report, the highest number of victims of gender-based violence is registered in the Balearic Islands, with the Autonomous Community of Andalusia taking fourth place behind Murcia and the Valencian Community. For the purposes of this paper it was considered significant to take into account the foreign element, an increasingly present element in this social reality, given that foreign women comprise 31.7% of the victims of gender-based violence and, in terms of sentences handed down, the percentage of foreigners prosecuted has reached 89.7%, as compared to 83.4% for Spanish citizens.

While we are aware there is no cure-all solution or magic formula that will make the problem disappear, there is no doubt that the issue must be approached from a multidisciplinary, i.e. psychological, sociological, legal, medical and social work perspective, as well as that of translation and interpreting, where the figure of the translator/interpreter is seen as an inter-cultural mediator and socialising agent, especially in multilingual, multicultural contexts. With this in mind the purpose of this paper is to attain the following general objectives:

- To identify the regulations governing linguistic assistance provided to victims of domestic and gender-based violence in Spain.
- To analyse, by means of a survey, the training requirements that students of the Faculty of Translation and Interpreting have identified as a means of acquiring more in-depth knowledge of this social reality.

Along these lines, the synopses presented in this paper offer a brief summary, from a theoretical perspective, of the principal contributions that have been made by both researchers and Spanish and European legislative bodies in the area of training and the right to linguistic assistance for victims of domestic and gender-based violence.

Hereunder we offer an explanation of the methodology used to carry out this quantitative and qualitative analysis of the training requirements as perceived by students of translation and interpreting at the University of Granada. And finally, on the basis of the results obtained, we will offer a series of pertinent considerations in an effort to identify any training deficiencies that the student body believe existent in the subject matter.

2. Theoretical framework

Concerns regarding alleviation of the effects of domestic violence and an effective approach to dealing with this social reality inevitably focus on suitable training. Numerous supranational initiatives have examined domestic and gender-based violence from a variety of perspectives, for example from a regulatory perspective (Organic Law 1/2015 of the 30th of March, which amends Organic Law 10/1995 of the Penal Code, Spanish Law 27/2003 of the 31st of July, which regulates protection laws for victims of domestic violence, or Organic Law 5/2015 of the 27th of April, which amends the right to translation and interpretation in criminal proceedings, among others) as well as from a perspective of sociology, (Espinar y Mateo, 2007; Coelho, 2016), education (Pérez y Bosch, 2013), psychology (Ferrer et al., 2006, 2011; Ferrer y Bosch, 2013), law (Gil, 2005, 2007, 2015a, 2015b; Lara et al., 2010; Marugán, 2015), gender studies (Marugán, 2015; Sánchez, 2017), medicine (García et al. 2013), media (Rodríguez, 2008) and translation training (De Marco, 2011; Corrius et al 2016).

The variety of pertinent studies and range of perspectives from which the subject of domestic violence has been approached is in line with the (often confusing) range of terminology used to define and/or describe this social reality, and while the objective of this study is not to offer an exhaustive analysis of this conceptual diversity, as this will be dealt with in the next phase of our investigation, we do wish to take into consideration this affirmation, if only as an example. On consultation of the official Spanish Legal Dictionary (DEJ), the content of which has been prepared by the General Council for the Judiciary and the Royal Spanish Academy of Language (RAE), we have noticed that, within the concept of *violence*, a number of categories have been established that are either not included in, or have not been clearly defined in corresponding legislation, and the classification of which does not correspond to that found in other reference sources. In principle, the concept of *violence* is defined as "Physical force inflicted by one person over another and that constitutes the means of commission of some crimes such as theft and crimes against sexual freedom, among others. See: sexual assault, crime of gender violence, theft, *vis physica".*

Hereunder we will examine some of the more significant contributions and, more specifically, studies relating to training (fundamentally on a university level), legislation and initiatives that are currently being developed in the various institutions.

2.1 Educational framework

From a training perspective, gender-based violence forms part of the curriculum for the Erasmus Mundus Joint Master Degree in Women's and Gender Studies in Europe (GEMMA) offered by the Institute for Women's Studies of the University of Granada, which features participation by professionals, researchers and experts in women' studies and also approaches the phenomenon of domestic violence. The principal areas of specialisation of the participants form the basis for solid, multidisciplinary training that covers a wide range of subjects, including migrations, social anthropology, health, education and language.

Along these lines, and for some years now, translation of this type of document has been incorporated, not merely as a training activity, but also as an awareness-raising tool among students of the Translation and Interpreting Degree Course offered by the University of Granada. More specifically, this subject has been incorporated as an obligatory element (in my case for language B – English) for the 3rd year syllabus for *Specialised Translation* and as an option in the *Translation for Humanities, Social and Legal Sciences* course.

Numerous research studies have attempted to offer a response to both university-level training and the aforementioned issues. Along these lines it is worth highlighting studies by Ferrer et al. (2006) that, on the basis of surveys completed by university students, emphasise the need for the incorporation of domestic-violence-related subject matter in the training plans for both students in general and for professionals who will be working with these collectives in the future. Ferrer et al. (2911) examine the predictive factors that differentiate university student bodies who have studied subjects relating to domestic violence from those who have not. García et al. (2013) examine the prevalence of gender-based violence in trainee nurses, the relationship this has to socio-demographic and personal variables, and the perception of the student nurses as primary care professionals. For their part, Ferrer and Bosch (2013) offer reflections on gender-based violence and, more specifically, prevention tools, as seen from a socialisation perspective.

2.2 Legal framework

The first normative reference that encompasses training requirements in this subject matter is included in Article 4.7 of Organic Law 1/2004 on Comprehensive Protection Measures against Gender-based Violence. In fact, in the consolidated version, the latest amendment to which is dated the 6th of October, 2015, the Spanish legislator, in Title I, considers, as a means of awareness-raising, prevention and detection, the requirement that universities «*include and encourage, in all academic fields, the transversal training and teaching of, and research into, gender equality and non-discrimination*».

Article 18 of the same law clearly states that all victims of gender-based violence must be «*fully informed»* at all times regarding aspects relating to both their protection and safety and the rights and assistance provided for them by law. Likewise, Article 18.3 establishes the prescriptive basis for coordinating the measures required for victims of gender-based violence in situations of particular difficulty in an effort to ensure effective exercising of this right For its part, Article 19.2 of the same law establishes aspects relating to the requisite *multidisciplinary* assistance and specialisation aspects of the team of professionals that will enable the victims' right to comprehensive social assistance, including information. This law, however, does not specify which professionals should take responsibility for providing multidisciplinary assistance for victims, what mechanisms will be provided for this purpose, or what information should be given to victims in the event these are of foreign origin.

These issues were clarified in 2015 with the introduction of Law 4/2015 on the Standing of Victims of Crime and the regulatory implementation of the same. This law offers a wide range of specific rights in terms of linguistic assistance, including the right to free translation of certain documents and the victim's right to be duly informed in *clear, straightforward and understandable* language from the initial moment of contact and continually throughout the entire process. In penal cases, and on request, the victim will be offered information regarding the content of the accusation and the date, time and place of the trial in addition to any resolution that may put an end to the procedure and any cautionary measures that may be either agreed upon or handed down by judicial or penitentiary authorities.

In the preamble to Law 4/2015, in section V, the Spanish legislator makes it clear that *comprehensive assistance* to the victim requires recognition of a series of rights described as *extrajudicial and basic* but which are common to all victims, whether or not legal proceedings have been brought or in the event they form part of criminal proceedings, or even before these have been initiated. In Title I of this law, Articles 4, 5.1 f), 6 b) and 9 explicitly establish their right to information adapted to their particular circumstances, to be informed in a language they understand, and to free linguistic assistance. For their part, Articles 6, 7, 19.2, 21.3 (a) and 27 (g) and (p) of Royal Decree 1109/2015 of the 11th of December, which implements Law 4/2015 of the 27th of April on the Standing of Victims of Crime and is regulated by the Office of Assistance to Victims of Crime, establishes guarantees regarding the effective exercise of the victim's right to be informed in a language they understand. By virtue of this regulation, the Office of Assistance to Victims of Crime will be responsible for providing the information required.

2.3 Institutional framework

From an institutional perspective, a number of projects have been created by national, international and supranational associations, such as the European Legal Interpreters and Translators Association (EULITA) and the Association of Professional Court and Sworn Interpreters and Translators (APTIJ), in an effort to address the problems posed by this social reality. The principle aims of these professional initiatives merely constitute a response to the need to safeguard and protect the rights that all persons have, not only to justice in any language and culture, but also to ensure effective exercise of their fundamental rights as established in the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1950). In this context, and as part of a multicultural social reality, the role of the translator and interpreter emerges as an integrating, socialising element that ensures this effective legal protection. Not in vain, a number of initiatives have been developed in Spain along these lines, one clear example being the *SOS-VICS: Speak Out for Support* (2012-2014) project of the University of Vigo, the fundamental objectives of which have been to provide assistance to foreign victims of gender-based violence and to raise awareness in society of the need to hire professional interpreters to provide the linguistic mediation required in these cases.

Also from an institutional perspective, the General Council of the Judiciary, via the Spanish Observatory on Domestic and Gender-based Violence, has developed a series of reference guides, statistical studies and action protocols designed to reduce and alleviate this problem and to inform the general public and, in particular, victims (actual or potential) regarding how they should respond in the event they should become involved in a case of domestic violence. Along these lines, 2015 saw the publication of the Practical Guide to Organic Law 1/2004 of the 28th of December on Comprehensive Protection Measures against Gender-Based Violence. In addition to clarifying the difference between domestic and gender-based violence, this guide outlines the basic rights of the victims and the different levels of action (regional, national and international) while describing other aspects relating to criminal and judicial protection and offering some procedural recommendations. Regarding statistical studies, the most recent is that corresponding to the second quarter of 2018, to which we referred previously.

Along the same lines, Spain's Autonomous Communities and Women's Institute have developed a number of training and information initiatives that include a series of informative guides relating to gender-based violence, women's rights, actions and procedures to be adopted in these cases, and protocols for detection and prevention of the same. As a result of the increase in cases of gender-based violence among adolescents, these initiatives also include the development of a guide for parents of adolescent victims of gender-based violence. Other initiatives include a women's helpline (900 number) that is active 24 hours a day, 365 days of the year, an online information and legal advice service, and a network of citizens and professional collectives that offer a united approach to combatting gender-based violence. Provincial centres have also developed a series of relevant workshops and training seminars.

3. Methodology

Regarding the methodology used to detect requirements that were considered opportune by students of the Translation and Interpreting Degree Course in the University of Granada in terms of their training as translators of subject matter dealing with domestic and gender-based violence, a survey consisting of 14 questions was developed. Once the objectives and variables to be studied had been defined, the questions were designed bearing in mind the guidelines on validity and trustworthiness suggested by experts in terms of both the subject matter and the methodology employed. The designs of other surveys and publications dealing with the same subject matter (Oppenheim, 2000 and Fink, 2003) were also taken into account.

The survey consists of three block of information, the first relating to the profile of the survey respondent (gender, age, education) and comprising questions 1 to 3. The second block contains content elements that the students consider appropriate for inclusion in a translators' guide focussing on domestic and gender-based violence. This block comprises questions 4 to 13 and should be completed according to the level of requirement using a Likert scale of 1 to 5, 1 referring to content items of greatest necessity and 5 those of least necessity. The questions themselves refer to Spanish legislation, institutions and associations that offer support to victims, a schematic of the judicial process corresponding to these matters, definitions of concepts relating to the subject matter, nuances in synonymy and polysemy in related terminology, identification of the documentation required for the care of victims, a contextualised glossary of frequently-used legal terminology, and information relating to other legal cultures. In the case of the last of these, the question was, on the one hand, to verify whether or not the students considered it a requirement that this information be included in other legal cultures and, if so, in which (semi-open question). The third block of information is of a qualitative nature designed to complement the previous questions and consists of a single open question (14) in which the students are free to suggest other elements not included in questions 4 to 13.

Following the corresponding pilot study the survey was distributed among students of Specialised Translation B-A English during the second semester of the 2016-2017 academic year using simple random sampling, the universe of subjects of which was represented by 87 students from a total of 100. The reasons that led us to distribute the surveys were twofold, the first being the fact that the subject is obligatory, a fact that, bearing in mind that the percentage of students taking language B (English) is the most numerous (approximately 120 students per course), means that the sample is more representative and, consequently, that the results obtained acquire a greater degree of trustworthiness. The second reason is that part of the subject matter content includes the translation of documents dealing with domestic and gender-based violence, meaning that the students already have some prior knowledge in the area. In this manner, and depending on the subject matter that has been dealt with in small groups, the students are free to assess and identify both their own training

requirements and the content that they consider appropriate for inclusion in a guide for translators in the subject matter. The section below reflects the results obtained solely from items relating to main areas of training and the profile of those surveyed.

4. Results

4.1 Quantitative data

The first block of information relating to basic information about those surveyed requires the following considerations: The sample contains a majority (97%) of women, which is not strange, considering that the number of female students in the Translation and Interpreting Degree Course has always been higher than that of males. The age group of 96.6% of the students surveyed is 20 to 25 (question 2) and their university training, in 97% of cases, has consisted entirely of translation and interpretation (question 3). In some cases we have also noticed the presence of students with other university qualifications such as a Degree in Biology (1 student) and studies relating to Sociology and the Spanish language (2 students). Regarding question 5, the inclusion of legislation regulating domestic and gender-based violence, 51.7% of students believe the inclusion of the same in a reference guide for translators is *very necessary* and 27.6% consider it *quite necessary.* The sum of the two percentages giving us a result of 79.3%, which means that almost 80% of students give a very positive value to legal framework and normative reference knowledge. Regarding question 7, the inclusion of reference guides, definitions and clarifications dealing with concepts related to domestic and gender-based violence, 56.3% of students believe the inclusion of the same is *very necessary* and 32.2% consider it *quite necessary*, the sum of the two percentages giving us a result that is identical to question 6 (88.6%). Question 6 makes refers to the knowledge for translators of the judicial procedure involving domestic violence and gender-based cases. For question 8, the inclusion of references and clarifications regarding possible causes of synonymy and polysemy in terminology relating to domestic and gender-based violence, 40.2% of students believe this to be *very necessary*, as compared to 25.3% who consider it *quite necessary* and 31% who consider it *necessary*. In this question, therefore, the perceived level of necessity is distributed equally. As for question 9, the inclusion and identification of those legal documents requiring translation in domestic and/or gender-based violence cases, 44.8% of students believe this to be quite necessary, as compared to 24.5% who consider it very necessary. As in the aforementioned questions, the percentage is quite high attaining almost 80% (79.3%).

4.2 Qualitative data

Question 14 was an open question in which the students were asked which elements of information they would include in addition to those proposed in the survey. The results obtained are both varied and illustrative, the majority of them relating to terminology and legal concepts inherent to the field of domestic violence. Some of the students' opinions are listed in the following table:

Table 1: Students' perceptions about training needs

Relationship with quantitative questions	Students' opinions
Question 5 (legislation)	1.- "Knowledge of the role of translators in domestic and gender-based violence cases". 2.- "Knowledge of the main steps within the judicial procedure for victims".
Questions 7 and 8 (legal concepts and terminology)	1.- "Demystifying misconceptions related to *domestic and gender-based violence*". 2.- "Definitions of *domestic violence* and *gender-based violence* in other legal cultures". 3.- "Identify "false friends" related to terminology and legal concepts involving domestic and gender-based violence".
Question 9 (resources for translators)	1.- "Corpus of original documents in different legal cultures involviong domestic and gender-based violence cases". 2.- "Contextualized glossaries". 3.- "Knowledge of parallel texts in other languages". 4.- "Examples of documents (requiring translation) in a domestic violence litigation".

5. Discussion

The main objectives with this study were to analyse the main training needs for translation trainees at undergraduate level and to identify the regulations governing the role of translators in domestic and gender-based vioelnce settings and the right of victims to linguistic assistance. In this respect, the following observations can be drawn from analysis of the results obtained:

1.- The first conclusion is that the methodology used was useful for the purposes of this study. A combination of quantitative and qualitative survey has shed light on what undergraduate students of Translation Studies perceive they lack when facing translation briefs regarding domestic and gender-based violence documents and what they need more in their training.

2.- Secondly, with respect to the statistical data, it is worth pointing out that a number of questions were very highly valued by the students in terms of their training as translators in subject matter relating to domestic and/or gender-based violence. These include questions relating to the concepts pertaining to the various fields that this reality encompasses, i.e. legal, social, work-related, medical and psychological (88.6%, question 7), or with the identification of and familiarisation with the main instances of synonymy and polysemy. And finally, the students also showed great interest in receiving the same training in other legal systems and cultures.

The importance of thematic or subject area competence for legal translators has been widely highlighted by several authors and institutions (Prieto, 2011; Engberg, 2013; European Master's in Translation Expert Group, 2009). The process of acquiring thematic competence and gain knowledge in a subject area, such as domestic/gender-based violence, is especially useful when two different legal traditions are involved. In our survey, the students language combination is English-Spanish-English and, therefore, the inherent differences between Civil Law legal system, (as is the case of Spain) compared to the Common Law legal system (as is the case of most English-speaking countries) is clear. In-depth training of thematic and intercultural competence render translations more accurate and optimize the translation process itself (Cao, 2007).

3.- Thirdly, from a qualitative perspective the responses provided by the students are also related to language use, which translates to an interest in, for example, knowing the difference between *domestic* and *gender-based violence*. They also showed an interest in learning terminology relating to other forms of violence in an effort to clarify possible doubts regarding synonymy and polysemy and to avoid incorrect use of a particular term in a translation. Along these lines it is worth pointing out that the very same *Practical Guide to Organic Law 1/2004 of the 28th of December on Comprehensive Protection Measures against Gender-Based Violence* presented by the General Council of the Judiciary already establishes this distinction when it affirms that «Domestic or family violence is that which occurs between ancestors, descendants or siblings, either of their own family or of that of the spouse or partner, or concerning minors or incapacitated persons who are subject to parental authority, guardianship, foster care or de facto custody of the spouse or cohabitant or living with him or another person covered by any relationship by which they are integrated into the nucleus of family cohabitation, as long as it is not acts committed against the woman by her partner or former male partner (whether it concerns marriage or other relationship of analogous affectivity). Gender violence, on the other hand, is violence inferred by men against women for the mere fact of being women and constitutes a manifestation of historically unequal power relationships (GCPJ, 2016: 29-30)».

This clarification in the definitions of domestic violence and gender-based violence by the Spanish General Council of the Judiciary is a clear example of the terminological confusion that exists around these concepts, often misused in Spanish language and, sometimes, even by legal experts.

4.- In addition, qualitative analysis of this study reveals the continued concern and interest shown by the students regarding correct use of legal language. As a result, the open question (14) comments relating to questions 7 and 8 were the most numerous. The fact is that, on the basis of practical lessons and internal lecture room dynamics in which they perform simulated translations of real cases of gender-based violence, the students already know about, and are aware of, the importance of not only *understanding*, but also employing the term, expression or concept that is most suited to the communication situation specified in the translation brief. In order to achieve this, the students are obliged to carry out a massive task of documentation that includes regulations, the use of parallel texts, the consultation of dictionaries and specialised guides and interviews with experts, among other activities. Not in vain, in February of 2017 the General Council of the Judiciary and the

Spanish Royal Academy of Language (RAE) published the *Libro de estilo de la Justicia* (Legal Style Guide), Chapter 2 of which illustrates the importance of clarity in legal language and reminds us of the guidelines that all collectives involved in the creation, application, interpretation and use of law should follow. One of these guidelines is that of introducing students to legal language (Muñoz, 2017: 16-18), which is precisely what has led the students to express their concern for the lack of available «explanatory notes that help the translator understand the text they have to translate (regulations), clarifications regarding possible causes of synonymy, identification of "false friends", examples of the use of terminology (conventionalisms), or demystification of erroneous concepts».

5.- Furthermore, the EMT expert group set up by the Directorate-General for Translation at the European Union in April 2007 includes in their reference framework for a training model, the textual competence as part of the intercultural competence for future translators. Intercultural competence is described in a dual perspective - sociolinguistic and textual – and is considered as the ability to compare and contrast between discursive practices in different cultures, that is, for instance, "knowing how to bring together and compare cultural elements and methods of composition; knowing how to compose a document in accordance with the conventions of the genre and rhetorical standard; knowing how to draft, rephrase, restructure, condense, and post-edit rapidly and well (in languages A and B)". That is the reason why students perceive that documental resources, such as corpora in different legal cultures, translations and sample documents arising from domestic and gender-based violence settings is paramount for their training.

6. Conclusions

As we can observe from the two previous sections, the results obtained shed much light on the training requirements that students of the University of Granada's Translation and Interpreting Degree Course perceive in relation to subject area dealing with domestic and gender-based violence. A brief look at relevant publications reveals a lack of either training plans *per se* or specifically designed training courses for university students in general and students of translation and interpreting in particular. There do exist, however, training initiatives the likes of courses, seminars and workshops that, on occasion, are implemented in universities and faculties and that approach this subject matter as a specific course element, as is our case, or as optional elements that form part of studies relating, on the whole, to medicine, nursing or education.

The role that linguistic assistance to victims plays in existing legislation has been reflected in this paper, and analysis of the training requirements in subject area dealing with domestic and gender-based violence from a student perspective has also been made clear via the carrying out of a survey and the qualitative and quantitative results obtained from it. The main implications of this study towards practice is the urgent need to create reference material as well as pedagogical activities aimed at enhancing translators' training in domestic and gender-based violence settings. This activities will be for both the pre-translation and the translation process itself.

While we are aware of the scarcity of resources and studies that approach this phenomenon from a translation perspective, this is also a motivation for us to continue our research into the area in an effort to overcome this deficiency. Future research will also focus on gathering valuable reference material in other cultures, especially legal documents requiring translation in domestic and gender-based violence.

I would like to thank the students for their willingness and goodwill during this undertaking, and not just for collaborating on this study, but rather for the interest they have shown in the subject matter from the outset; and while we cannot know for certain whether this is due to the fact that 97% of the study sample consisted of women, we have, in general, observed a notable interest on behalf of the student body, independently of their gender, origin, education or cultural background.

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Gender Budgeting From a Capability Approach Perspective: Evidences From Senegal

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Abstract: The capability approach has been extensively used to measure well-being recognizing its complexity and the interaction of different dimensions of well-being. Its setting with a focus on the individual and his/her agency in the construction of well-being without being subsumed within the family, makes it suitable to measure well-being in a gender perspective and it is at the basis of well-being gender budgeting (GB^{wb}). The objective of this paper is to show how the application of the capability approach to gender budgeting can lead to policies that are more effective in improving well-being and gender equity. The case study is the analysis of the forecast 2017 budget of the Municipality of Kaolack and its impact on education and health. Context analysis is carried out by using qualitative and quantitative data. Context analysis shows a high degree of deprivation in health and education achievements especially for girls and women. Budget analysis detects programmes that are directly or indirectly related to the development of the two dimensions and policies suggestions are provided. The paper shows that GB^{wb} can help policymakers to better finetune policies in order to reduce gender inequalities and lead to better achievements in well-being.

Keywords: gender budgeting, public administration, gender inequalities, capability approach, policy

1. Introduction

This paper applies the capability approach to gender budgeting. This is a relatively underexplored area of research. In fact, differently from other mainstream approaches, the capability approach to gender budgeting acknowledges the complexity of the process which converts public resources into individual and social well-being supporting capabilities expansion and effective functionings of both women and men. This approach uses a reproductive macro framework that places the process of social reproduction of the population among the structural processes of the economic system: an economic approach that openly includes domestic unpaid work as a basic condition of its sustainability (Picchio, 2003). The recognition of the structural position of the process of social reproduction and of the complexity of real life at individual level, marks the analytical perspective and policy, extending the assessment of budgets to functions, objectives and social dimensions that are usually hidden or marginalized.

The objective of this paper is to show how the application of the capability approach can lead to an improvement of policies to increase well-being of women and men and gender equity. The case study is the analysis of the forecast 2017 budget of the Municipality of Kaolack and its impact on education and health. The analysis was conducted in 2017 by our research group in strong collaboration with local team by using quantitative secondary data analysis and qualitative data collection. Results find that the resources devoted to education and health are far from adequate and the lack of investments in these areas have been shown to impact disproportionally on the well-being of women and girls. Also, some illustrative policy recommendations are given. These have also been presented to local and national governments fuelling constructive dialogue and negotiation on how to incorporate policy suggestions in 2019 forecast budget.

The remainder of the paper is the following. Section 2 introduces the capability approach; section 3 links the capability approach to the gender budgeting. Section 4 shows the steps for the application of GB^{wb}. The case study is illustrated in Section 5. In Section 5.3 policy suggestions are given. Section 6 concludes.

2. Well-being in the capability approach

The capability approach (CA) is an alternative framework for social justice based on the notion of capabilities, functionings and freedom of choice (Sen, 1999). Its main contribution consists in broadening the informational space needed for the evaluation of well-being. Individuals' well-being should be assessed based on their freedoms to live the kind of life that have reason to value (Sen 1999). These are called 'capabilities'. Functionings are observable achievements, as, for instance, with reference to the two capabilities analysed in this research, being educated or being in good health.

In Sen's words:

> *"A functioning is an achievement, whereas a capability is the ability to achieve. Functionings are, in a sense, more directly related to living conditions, since they are different aspects of living conditions. Capabilities, in contrast, are notions of freedom, in the positive sense: what real opportunities you have regarding the life you may lead" (Sen 1987, p. 36).*

The capability approach, as stressed by Robeyns (2005) puts human diversity in a central place rather than assuming an androcentric perspective. Moreover, capabilities and functionings refer to individuals and their well-being cannot be subsumed by the family. However, CA does not rule out interaction amongst individuals and that capabilities and functionings themselves can depend on individual's concern about other individual's dimensions of well-being. CA can therefore be defined with Robeyns (2003) as ethically individualistic but ontologically non-individualistic, characteristics that improve its use in well-being and inequality analyses. Moreover, CA considers the impact on the building of capabilities and on their conversion into functionings of social and environmental conversion factors that, in a gender perspective, can take into account discriminatory practices or social norms that can actually limit women's empowerment. According to CA, public institutions have a role at different levels of government in affecting the development of capabilities and their conversion into functionings.

A step forward in the analysis of well-being in a gender perspective is then reached by acknowledging its construction within an extended macroeconomic flow closely related to the role of women in social reproduction at global level (Picchio, 2003). In so doing we recognize the unequal distribution of unpaid domestic and care work and its contribution on the well-being of other subjects in given society norms that are usually neglected in standard macroeconomic theory.

3. Gender budgeting in the capability approach (GB^{wb})

Gender budgeting is a systematic analysis of the gender impact of policies built in the budget cycle meant to bear positive effects in terms of efficiency, equity and transparency (Sharp and Broomhill, 2002; Himmelweit, 2002).

In this paper, we apply the capability approach introduced in Section 2, to gender budgeting. We can trace the origin of gender budgeting in a capability approach to the first application of gender budgeting in Italy at regional level in 2002 to the budget and policies of region Emilia-Romagna situated in the North of Italy.

Differently from the traditional approach to gender budgeting, the well-being gender budgeting focus is twofold: it aims at analysing the impact of public policies on well-being dimensions and on gender equality in the achievement or in the development of each dimension of well-being.

In well-being gender budgets (GB^{wb}) the concept of well-being is based upon women's experiences of the real life processes that lead to its multidimensional dynamic composition. The centrality of women's experiences can be justified both in terms of fairness recognizing that it is necessary to live with dignity as stressed in Adam Smith and for the recognition of women's role in the process of social reproduction of women and men at global level, both in the domestic and public spheres (Picchio, 1992).

A process that consists of the development of capabilities and their conversion into functionings where, as Sen stresses, agency is crucial in the individual sense and making of one's own life. Agency is considered at individual not individualistic or utilitaristic level since, in this approach, the individual is embedded into a network of responsible entities that include also public institutions.

GB^{wb} approach uses a reproductive macro framework that places the process of social reproduction of the real women and men among the structural processes of the economic system: an economic approach that openly includes domestic unpaid work as a basic condition of its sustainability (Picchio, 1992, 2003). The recognition of the structural position of the process of social reproduction and of the complexity of real life at individual level, marks the analytical perspective and policy, extending the assessment of budgets to functions, objectives and social dimensions that are usually hidden or marginalized.

Differently from other approaches to Gender Budgeting GB^{wb} goes beyond a cartography of gender inequalities and makes a change of analytical focus that is then direct on the potential and effective doings and beings of real women and men. In so doing GB^{wb} can improve women's empowerment since its focus on capabilities & functionings reveals the extent of gender inequalities in the construction of well-being and drives to policies that can improve their development.

GB^{wb} highlights the role of women - for their centrality at global level in the social reproduction process - as subjects of vision and perspective acknowledging, as in the classical political-economy approach, normal and general human vulnerability (Picchio, 1992). GB^{wb} takes into account in its definition of well-being the complexity of the human body as methodological cornerstone and political ground and analyses the sustainable dynamic relationship between production and social reproduction – with its crucial role of unpaid work - disclosing what is hidden and mystified in the domestic sphere.

The first applications of GB^{wb} have been at local level in Italy (Addabbo & Saltini, 2009; Addabbo, Badalassi, Corrado and Picchio, 2011), then extended to Spain (Villota, Ferrari and Jubeto, 2009) and Turkey (Gunluk-Senesen, Yucel, Yakar-Onal, Yakut-Cakar and Ergunes, 2015). For an introduction to methodologies and applications see Addabbo, Lanzi & Picchio (2010) and Addabbo (2016, 2017).

4. Applying well-being gender budgets: tools and methodologies

In this Section we will present the tools and methodologies that can be used to apply GB^{wb}.

4.1 GB^{wb} phases and tools

We can distinguish different interrelated phases of GB^{wb}:

- Definition of a list of capabilities / well-being dimensions
- Context analysis
- Analysis of the expenditure and revenue side of the Budget
- Matricial Representations
- Policies suggestions
- Diffusion of GB^{wb} results.

To defining a list of capabilities one can use the general list of fundamental capabilities as defined in Nussbaum (2002) or context-specific by following Robeyns' criteria for the selection of capabilities, or as in Addabbo, Lanzi and Picchio (2010) on the basis of the functions and of the sedimented values of the institutions involved in the gender auditing process. One can also use a participatory process to define the list (this can increase community participation to the auditing process and awareness of gender differences and can lead the government to make commitments to a given list). In the application to Kaolack, we did select the two dimensions of well-being investigated by means of a participatory approach that has then be used also to measure the two dimensions achievements.

We then carry out a context analysis that does not limit itself to the measurement of observed indicators of functionings but tries, by using both qualitative and quantitative data and methodologies, to infer the degree of capabilities development and to what extent their conversion into observable functionings is an expression of individual agency or it is rather limited by a set of constraints (at individual, family or institutional level). Well-being dimensions and their interaction are analysed in a gender perspective highlighting inequalities and women's role in the development of others' capabilities. The context analysis using a gender perspective shows information gaps, gender differences and inequalities in the capabilities space; moreover it indicates the real

process of conversion of means into effective functionings and takes into account the contribution of unpaid domestic and care work.

Having assessed the context in terms of well-being and in a gender perspective, the application of GB^{wb} entails the analysis of revenue and expenditure side of the budget. In the analysis of expenditures, GB^{wb} analsyses not only the gender (direct or indirect impact) of policies and expenditures related to them but the direct impact on well-being dimensions. A matricial representation drawn by different departments (or areas) of the analysed institution, that takes also into account the institutional structure with regard to responsibilities, programmes, objectives and policies, is then used to provide a visual representation of the impact of different policies/programmes and departments functions on each well-being dimension and gender impact.

The application at different level of government can assess (by using the matrix representation of capabilities and levels of government) the interaction of different levels of government in the construction of gender well-being as the matrix representation can summarize the gender impact of specific programs on women and men. On the basis of these results better policy suggestions can be advanced.

4.2 Participatory methods in GB^{wb}

But what is the role of participatory methods in this setting? Participatory methods provide stakeholders and policy makers with deeper understandings of territorial processes (Clark *et al.* 2018) and more in-depth knowledge of the processes that lead to gender inequalities. This in turn has the potential to facilitate the identification of more appropriate budget choices. The combination of quantitative and qualitative methods is widely debated in the literature and proven to be effective in many cases, ranging from impact evaluation to causal analysis (Shaffer, 2013) and gender budgeting analysis.

By adopting participatory methods, women and men are considered as subjects well capable to interpret their daily lives and to navigate complexity. Being involved in the participatory process, they increase their level of awareness on issues of their concern and facilitate empowering. For the participative process not to be an end in itself, it is important that the knowledge produced by participatory analysis does influence the gender budgeting process so that, those participating in the process become increasingly aware that change at local level is possible and it depends also on themselves. Participation can be activated at the different stages of the gender budgeting processes depending on the purpose. Table 1 below represents the different phases of gender budgeting in the capability approach where one can introduce a participatory method highlighting then the different purposes that participatory methods can have according to the phase of the process.

Table 1: Stages of gender budgeting in the capability approach and participatory methods' purposes

Stage	Purpose
Onset of the process	Identification of the dimensions of well-being Understanding of the role of unpaid care and domestic work Understanding the context through a gender-sensitive lens (e.g. by involving women associations) Understanding the causal relations through different dimensions of well-being
Throughout the process	Validation of the dimensions of well-being Prioritization of dimensions Understanding dimensions in relation to the dimensions identifies
End of the Process	Participatory validation of the entire processes and results

Participatory methods include different tools that can be used depending on the context, characteristics of participants, availability of resources, objective (Biggeri and Ferrannini, 2014).

5. GB^{wb} applied to the Municipality of Kaolack

5.1 Research design and methodology

In this Section, we will introduce the evidences collected while applying the approach in the project: «Développement et application de la Méthodologie Budgétisation Sensible au Genre (BSG) axée sur le Bien-Etre ». This research project is a part of a broader program: *Projet d'Appui à la Stratégie nationale pour l'Equité*

et l'Egalité de Genre (PASNEEG). PASNEEG is part of the Italy-Senegal Country Program. It supports the implementation of the National Equity and Gender Equality Strategy of Senegal. Based on consultation with local stakeholders, education and health were identified as the key well-being dimensions to be analysed. For illustrative purpose we show here the results on education.

The context analysis was based on quantitative data and purposely collected qualitative data. Quantitative data included all the available data: sociodemographic indicators- provided by the National Agency of Statistics and Demography (ANSD), Kaolack national agency of statistics and demography, administrative data on the schools and hospitals, data on the attendance of school by gender and level of education.

Participatory analysis was carried out with the aim of:

- Localise the dimensions of education and health (Biggeri and Ferrannini, 2014)
- Understand the dynamic interaction among capabilities
- Understand the role of unpaid work

The methods used to carry out participatory analysis were:

- Structured Focus Group Discussion including O-GAP walk (Biggeri and Ferrannini, 2014)
- Time Use Exercise
- The Interaction Matrix
- Interviews to Key informants

The participatory analysis lasted 4 months and it included 2 fieldwork missions. The team was composed by international and local experts. Local experts were purposively trained on gender budgeting and capability approach. Specifically, we have carried out: 5 interviews to key informants to gain an insight on specific services (e.g. interview to school directors to understand the educational services); 5 structured focus group discussion with matrix score to map gender inequalities across selected dimensions; 2 O-Gap walks to map gender inequalities among children and youth; 2 time use exercises to reason about time allocation between men and women, and 5 interaction matrices to get an insight on the gendered nature of causal relations between deprivations in different dimensions. Participants were selected based on relevance, consistency and territorial provenience. Total number of participants involved in the participatory research was 100. Girls and women represented the 62% of the sample.

To carry out budget analysis 2017 Budget data have been analysed with special regards to the programmes and expenditures connected to education and health.

5.2 Context analysis

The context analysis revealed deprivation in the development of both capabilities with specific criticalities for women. Here we recap some of the available indicators as well as the results of the qualitative analysis.[1]

In terms of reproductive health, the data show that maternal mortality (related to pregnancy and childbirth) is still high in Senegal (434/100.000 but higher for adolescents) notwithstanding dedicated programmes, and it is higher in Kaolack than at national level. HIV is higher among women (0.8%) and higher in Kaolack than at national level. However, the criticalities are not only present in the reproductive health area. Actually, one can see that mental health problems are higher among women, women are more exposed to chronic diseases and significantly affected by arthrosis and heart diseases.

In terms of education there are higher drop-out rates for adolescent girls and there is a problem of quality of education and access to school.

Turning to the results of the qualitative part of the analysis, a first interesting result of the participatory part has been the very definition of health. Health is defined a positive state of being as «Xel Mu Dal». Not just as absence of diseases. The participatory analysis results consistently found a strong correlation between physical and mental health. Women and girls are more exposed to mental diseases due to the high burden of responsibilities

[1] For an extended analysis of the context in terms of gender on education and health at Kaolack see CAPP (2017).

(increasingly involved in economic activities beside domestic activities); the extended family was perceived as an obstacle for the mental health of the women.

The health expenditures at home are a locus of negotiation between men and women on this regard, it is interesting to note that sanitary pads are found to be bought by girls using pocket money.

Another important result concerns the effect of the unequal gender distribution of unpaid domestic and care work that, matched with gender distribution of paid work and resources impose a time and income constraint to the access of women to health care services or its postponement so that illnesses become more serious and more difficult to be treated.

Also the role of the neighbourhood to support child's health in case of emergencies becomes evident.

As regards to the allocation of time, there is a marked unbalanced distribution of time within the couple, with housework and childcare being performed almost exclusively by women.

As regards to Education, the participatory part of the project and the context analysis show that there are:

- Environmental problems together with lack of public transports create strong inequities along the lines of gender
- Problems in the quality of schools and in its heterogeneity within different town's districts
- Children have often to balance work (paid or unpaid) and studying activities
- Safety Problems that appear to be higher for girls with the risk of being subjected to violence in their way to and from school
- Gender inequalities in aspirations including also the impossibility for women to migrate.

5.3 Budget analysis: Preliminary results on education

The Budget analysis has been conducted on the 2017 forecast municipality budget recognizing the programmes that have a direct or indirect impact on the two dimensions. Considering the needs expressed in the context analysis in terms of deprivation in the two capabilities and particularly for girls and women, the budget analysis reveals that the resources devoted to education and health are far from adequate and that the lack of investments in these areas impacts disproportionally on well-being of women and girls.

Taking into account the impact on education, Table 2 shows the programmes that, considering the context analysis, appear to affect both directly (programmes devoted directly to education, as current expenditure in Education Youth Culture and Sport) or indirectly (as for instance programmes devoted to improve the status of road or lighting whose bad conditions, according to the context analysis, made them limiting the very access of children to school and the increase in feeling unsafe by girls attending them) education with a different impact on the observed gender inequalities. This analysis has been replicated for investment spending (Table 3).

Table 2: Programmes in 2017 Budget of Kaolack their impact on education.

Current Expenditure	
Expenditures on debts and insurances	
Participation on different services	
Mayor Cabinet	
Secretariat and Administration	
Trade	
Protection against accidents	Indirect
Public roads, parks and squares	Indirect
Cleaning	Indirect

Current Expenditure	
Garages	
Water Services	Indirect
Public Lighting	Indirect
Education Youth Culture and Sport	Direct
Health, hygiene, and social action	
Cemeteries and funeral parlours	
Festival and public ceremonies	
Other Expenditures	

Source: Our elaborations on Budget 2017 Kaolack

Table 3: Programmes in 2017 Budget of Kaolack their impact on education.

Investment Expenditure

Investment	
Administrative equipment	
Public roads	Indirect
Protection against accidents	
Infrastructures (Manufacturing, trade)	
Health, hygiene, and social actions	
Education, Youth, Culture and Sport	Direct
Information	
Tourism	
Development action	
Purchase of large materials	
General studies	
Financial operations	

Source: Our elaborations on Budget 2017 Kaolack

5.4 Connecting gender budgeting to well-being: a policy making arena

On the basis of the context and budget analysis carried out on the municipality of Kaolack a set of public policies suggestions have emerged, specifically relevant to the well-being dimensions under political scrutiny (education and health) and to the enhancement of gender budgeting. On this regard, the effort in data provisioning and transparency led to an improved budgeting capacity due to the empowerment of local government officers and civil society, obtained both during the participatory process in the GB^{wb} application and for its return to the community in terms of the possibility of realizing the suggested policies. In fact, a dedicated funding from national to local level was made possible on the basis of the research results and its policies suggestions.

These new policies were suggested in a well-being perspective, for instance it was recommended to increase public investment in street lighting system and in roads to improve mobility to schools and health services.

Other specific well-being policies were suggested for education in the Kaolack application of GB^{wb}, amongst others:

- Improving schooling infrastructures

- Provide spaces for students to do homework in the afternoon
- Promote new pedagogical approaches to teaching (e.g. peer education) taking also into account the number of students per classes and providing training to teachers taking into account also their work-life balance (given the high number of women in this profession and their role in care and domestic work)
- Analyse the textbook contents with regard to gender stereotypes to contrast them
- Increase the availability of gym infrastructures designed not only for 'male' sports and introduce policies to contrast gender stereotypes in sports
- Improved access to sanitary products and provision of safe sex-toilets and improving their quality, water supply and privacy, thus contributing to reducing girls' drops out (see also Jewitt and Riley, 2014)
- Increase the availability of school canteens with a positive effect on education as school canteens can allow students to remain at school also in the afternoon avoiding mobility and can have a positive effect also in terms of health by providing quality food at lunch. This policy has also a positive effect on women's capability of working both directly since the employees in canteen are mainly women and indirectly by reducing the input of time that mainly women as main carers devote to preparing lunch at home.
- Increase vocational training paying attention to gender employment segregation by promoting attendance of not stereotyping courses

Specific policies suggestions for health attain:

- Investment in health infrastructures and, within hospitals, in dedicated spaces to care for psychological health
- Increase the house visits of *sage femmes* and specialized doctors, taking into account the low mobility of women and their tendency not to access public services both for time and income constraints as well as lack of safety in mobility. This can have a positive effect on women's and girls' health, considered in a gender perspective, not limited to reproductive health. One should also tackle the problem of *sage femmes* working conditions, including low wages
- Extend public programmes to reduce the incidence of adolescent pregnancies with a positive effect on their health and on their school attendance.

6. Conclusions

Growing inequality and social insecurity make change urgent and its process open and pragmatic. GB^{wb} could be a fruitful tool for public discussion and reflection on the sense of policy, distribution of resources, and on the structural quality of the production and social reproduction relationship.

As the application of the approach to the Kaolack case shows, GB^{we} allows to take into account in the definition of the context and of the policies that can be implemented women's agency. Moreover, GB^{we} application has contributed to increase the awareness of the need of measuring capabilities and functionings, for a greater transparency and accountability on public action.

Qualitative analysis in Kaolack shows that at local level there is an active civil society open to change and capable of taking the challenge of owning a project that connects a feminist perspective with a multidimensional approach to the well-being of women and men, opening a space for supporting both potential achievements and effective functionings.

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Mission (Almost) Impossible: Becoming a Female University Rector in Poland

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Abstract: The world of academia is considered to be a symbol of openness, transparency and inclusiveness. In Poland, however, this seems not to be the case when we look at the extreme gender imbalance in rectorship positions. In this paper, we look for explanations for what is so peculiar about the Polish governance model of public universities, academic culture and the process of rectors' election that prevent women from being elected to rectorship positions. We examine legal foundations of academic leadership in Polish universities, and on the basis of qualitative research, try to reconstruct the trajectory of careers of female academic leaders. By doing so, we explore formal and informal selection mechanisms for leadership positions, paying special attention to various ways of earning 'trust' as a key asset for career advancement, then converting trust into organizational visibility. In the analysis, we focus specifically on performing vice-rectorship, which was identified as a critical stage in a long and rocky path to be elected to the rector position. By doing so, we will distinguish three models of performing vice-rector roles (stewardship, partnership and leadership). Each model embraces and reflects different organizational and professional assets being at the disposal of individual academics.

Keywords: female university rector, gender balance, higher education governance, Poland

1. Introduction

The absence of women in senior executive positions is not a novelty, and there are numerous reports that provide us with rich data on gender inequality across the economy (Women in Business, 2018; Gender Statistics Database of the European Institute for Gender Equality, 2018). This problem also concerns higher education, since, according to the Times Higher Education World University Rankings data (Bothwell, 2017), less than one-fifth of the world's top 200 universities are led by women. In Europe, the average proportion of women in top academic positions is approximately 15% (European Commission, 2008). This paints a rather gloomy picture which proves to be even worse when focusing on Poland. Polish higher education is undoubtedly getting feminised: female students, including doctoral students, outnumber males; the number of doctoral degrees awarded to women has recently surpassed the number awarded to men (GUS, 2017).

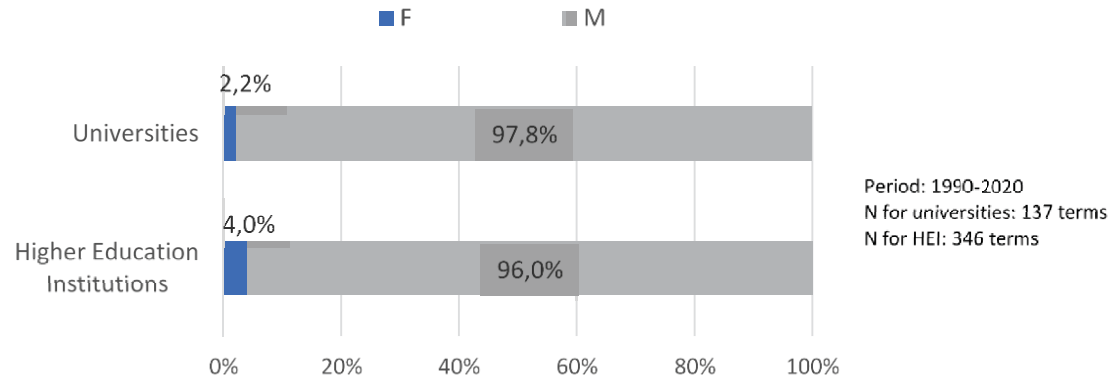


Figure 1: Empirical analysis of Polish rectors

However, those changes seem not to be reflected in the power structure of higher education institutions (HEI). Indeed, our empirical analysis (Figure 1) of Polish rectors shows that there is shockingly disproportionate representation between males and females. Moreover, among comprehensive universities – traditionally the most prestigious HEIs – this disproportionate representation is even worse. Since the 1990s, Polish universities have had only two female rectors (serving a total of three terms) (Figure 1), and at present (the 2016–2020 term), none of the 18 Polish universities is led by a female rector. Taking into account that the same research

shows that 27% of vice-rector positions are held by women, it becomes undisputable that there is a form of glass ceiling that effectively stops women from being elected for rectorship positions. Thus, this paper is intended to identify causes of female absence in rector positions by examining the different patterns of vice-rectorship role performance.

This paper is empirical by nature, but the aspiration behind it is to make a conceptual contribution to the existing state of knowledge about barriers preventing women from being elected to rectorship functions. In order to address this complex, sensitive and multidimensional research problem, this investigation employs qualitative methods in order to identify structural, social and cultural barriers that have influenced the trajectory of female rectors' career development within universities' power structures. The paper is based on two fundamental data sources. The first is legal boundaries of academic leadership (Law on Higher Education), which were investigated with a particular focus on formal structures of university governance. Therefore, the examination includes national legislation as well as university statutes that set the structural foundations of leadership elections. The second data source is the qualitative analysis of 15 individual, semi-structured, in-depth interviews that were conducted with female academic leaders who either at present or in the past have been vice-rectors or rectors of universities. All the conducted interviews (each lasting approximately 75 minutes) were separately transcribed and coded by two independent researchers in order to establish a framework of analysis.

2. Rectors in the structural arrangements of university governance

The university governance of Polish universities is to a large degree centrally regulated by national law (MNiSW, 2005); therefore, the logic and general rules are similar across the country. This reflects the traditionally strong position of the academic community, and as Michael Dobbins (2015) has rightly acknowledged, it remains *relatively change resistant until most recently and characterized more by steadfastness of historical institutions than policy change*. In general, rectors and vice-rectors are elected democratically by representatives of the academic community, which embodies principles of autonomy, collegiality and self-governance (see: Kwiek, 2015; Antonowicz & Jongbloed, 2015).

Rectors are elected by 'the assembly of university electors' (Art. 71 Law on Higher Education) which is meant to represent the entire university community. The structure of the council is specified in university statutes; however, the higher education law guarantees students at least 20% of votes. Traditionally, university statutes have provided senior academics with 50% of votes. The rector is elected by a simple majority for a four-year term and can be re-elected only once.

Outwardly, the process of electing vice-rectors appears to be driven by a similar logic, but this is only partly the case. Analogously, vice-rectors are elected by 'the assembly of university electors' and also need a simple majority to be approved. Unlike candidates for rectorship (who can be nominated by a certain number of electors), candidates for vice-rectorship (the so-called 'rectors' team') can be proposed only by a newly elected rector. In fact, they are appointed by the rector and the 'council of electors' only approves this choice as candidates for vice-rectorship naturally receive political blessings (and support) from newly elected rectors.

The structural arrangements of university governance provide important information about legal and organizational frameworks under which rectors are elected. However, the latter is a social process that rests upon less formalised, albeit powerful, mechanisms of upward mobility in the university hierarchy. So, the next step of our analysis is to examine the trajectory of the careers of female university leaders (rectors and vice-rectors) in order to understand how university governance structures as well as academic culture influence the gender profile of rectors in Polish universities.

2.1 Stage 1: Earning trust

The powerful nature of informal arrangements is manifested in the criteria for candidates to be considered for rectorship posts. The higher education law requires candidates to have a doctoral degree, but it is commonly known that *habilitation* is the real mandatory condition because it symbolises academic seniority and translates into full-fledged membership in the academic community. However, habilitation is not enough to begin the long journey toward rectorship. It also requires having the trust of close but well-established peers in order for candidates to be given an opportunity to demonstrate their organizational, professional and managerial skills. There is a wide range of organizational tasks to be assigned at various levels within a university. It usually starts from small issues on the faculty level, but if the candidate performs well, the significance of the tasks increases.

However, it should be noted that these efforts (performance) need to be spotted and appreciated by well-positioned individuals who have both the formal authority to evaluate the candidates and the organizational capacity to lift them up in the organizational hierarchy.

The character of these organizational tasks could vary significantly depending on the need. However, based on interviews, we can conclude that the nature of the tasks assigned partly reflects the candidate's professional authority, previous experience and personal features, but most importantly, the organizational need at the moment. These tasks are usually both difficult and time-consuming, linked to more operational (than exposed) positions such as vice-deans, quality assurance officers, Erasmus coordinators or the dean's proxy for research evaluation. They are neither financially attractive nor particularly prestigious, and in addition, they require commitment, hard work and continuous communication with a number of people. In return, they offer a platform for networking and building a position within the department or even the university overall. Such opportunities come as a personal offer from someone close by and slightly above in the university's hierarchy (but not at the very top). What is even more important, however, is that these propositions symbolise a certain degree of trust expressed by peers – a key asset in building the candidate's position. The nature of those propositions makes them alluring because they seem to test the candidate's commitment to university affairs and also the extent of other professional and social skills directly related to core academic activities such as teaching and research.

Entrusting organizational tasks seems to be a trigger for 'career' development within HEIs. If successful, candidates are gradually assigned positions and tasks with higher profiles; the higher the profile of those positions, the greater the exposure they provide for accumulating social capital. These include 'deanship' positions or rectors' proxies for quality assurance, research evaluation, research infrastructure and internationalisation, etc. It is interesting to note that regardless of the type of position and the way it is filled (election or appointment), some form of patronage is always involved. On numerous occasions, the interviewees underlined that they were asked by a powerful figure (a former dean, rector or vice-rector) to apply for given positions, and they also received strong support to secure election or appointment.

2.2 Stage 2: Transferring trust into organizational visibility

The achieved positions within HEIs may considerably differ with respect to their profiles, but more importantly, also in regard to their specific capacity to transform trust into organizational visibility. The analysis indicates that one of the key drivers of success in the journey for rectorship is the ability (skill) to convert trust that a candidate was awarded by being appointed or elected into organisational visibility. Organizational visibility appears to be a heterogeneous concept, and the analysis of the interviews allows us to distinguish three types of merits on which this visibility can be built: (a) operating, (b) scientific and (c) strategic.

The first type of merit refers to the ability to complete given tasks regardless of their nature. Being effective at administering people and accomplishing tasks within HEIs is a difficult challenge. If the candidate proves to be successful, this becomes a valuable asset that helps to provide good visibility across the university through networks of co-workers. However, building visibility through operating merits sets some limits on the career prospects of those individuals who are seen mainly as loyal stewards.

The second type of merit is associated with research and (to a lesser extent) technology. It is linked with management and development of large research teams that become respected on an international scale. In this area, we particularly refer to the successful application of ERC grounds (even leadership in H2020), KNOW status, being awarded the 'excellent' category (A+) in national research evaluation exercises. Equally important are successful applications for structural funding for development of research infrastructure. The latter also often covers the supervision of the entire investment process. Earning merits in this field is regarded as highly prestigious. It naturally fosters a candidate's visibility because scientific achievements are widely respected by the academic community and also appreciated by university management. Most recently, it has gained importance due to growing policy pressure toward research excellence (Antonowicz, Kohoutek, Pinheiro, & Hladchenko, 2017), which directly benefits universities in academic, reputational and financial ways. Individuals who convert their trust into organizational visibility through the field of research and technology easily become prominent and respected university figures, which is a favourable starting point for 'being asked' to take senior executive positions.

The previous two types of merits were based on the ability to fit into or adapt to the university structure and its existing patterns of performance. The third type of merit – strategic – can be earned through a combination of various activities (including teaching and research), but what makes it 'strategic' is associated with the ability to make instrumental use of it in order to maximise the candidate's organizational visibility. Building visibility on the basis of strategic merit also requires engaging with other people while accomplishing organizational goals. Particularly, we mean discovering and mobilising individuals previously trapped in a (to some extent) feudal structure of university governance. Last but not least important, strategic merit helps to build strategic alliances within the university that help to make changes and increase individual prominence.

These three types of merits on the basis of which individuals may convert their trust into visibility have critical impacts on further career development within the university governance structure. It helps to make steps in the journey through the university hierarchy ladder and become a vice-rector. Of course, those well-performing individuals have more options (other than becoming vice-rectors), such as positions in national agencies, representative bodies or expert bodies at the national level. The latter are also attractive and financially rewarding, but they are experts' positions, not managerial functions. So, being elected as a vice-rector appears to be a more natural (and also more prestigious) development of a professional career. This is a linear process, but not an automatic one, because only a small fraction of those prominent individuals receive propositions to take vice-rector positions. We allude to the fact that the governance of Polish universities is often the result of a compromise of balancing interests between different internal stakeholders, and the final composition of the rector's team must also reflect the representativeness of the academic community.

2.3 Stage 3: "Game-changer" – performing the role of vice-rectorship

The contextual analysis shows that the period of being a vice-rector plays a critical role in the careers of female academic leaders. In the study, we explore different ways female rectors approach their roles as vice-rectors and perform them accordingly. The analysis of interviews allows us to distinguish three major patterns of female academics' performance of vice-rectorship functions: (a) stewardship, (b) partnership and (c) leadership.

The analysis of interviews indicates that the model of performing vice-rectorship functions is deeply affected by the way individuals had previously earned trust in the early stages of their careers, and further, how they converted this trust into organizational visibility (Figure 2). As discussed earlier, most of the interviewees received their first small organizational tasks (e.g. organizing conferences or providing *ad hoc* help to colleagues in administrative work) from their direct superiors. This helped them to acquire peers' trust, and if the tasks were successfully completed, became the basis for assigning bigger challenges with more responsibilities that could affect not only close circles, but possibly the entire department or research centre. Those bigger tasks – if performed well and with extraordinary engagement – frequently led to formal positions at the faculty or institute level (e.g. vice-dean, dean's proxy, head of a research institute). However, a critical factor that largely determines the model of vice-rectorship performance (stewardship, partnership and leadership) is the type of merit which had initially been used to convert trust into organizational visibility.

These three models are distinguished on the basis of the attitudes of interviewed female vice-rectors in respect to their roles in their universities and toward their professional careers within and outside of the organizations. In order to build the taxonomy, the interviews were transcribed (a total of 300 pages in Polish), analysed and coded separately by two independent researchers. Each researcher identified 'phrases' in which interviewees referred to how they perceived their vice-rectorship roles, and this was followed by attempts to classify them into broader categories. In the next step, two researchers cooperatively established major analytical frameworks, namely three types of patterns of performance of vice-rectorship functions, and finally, jointly re-coded the analysed interviews.

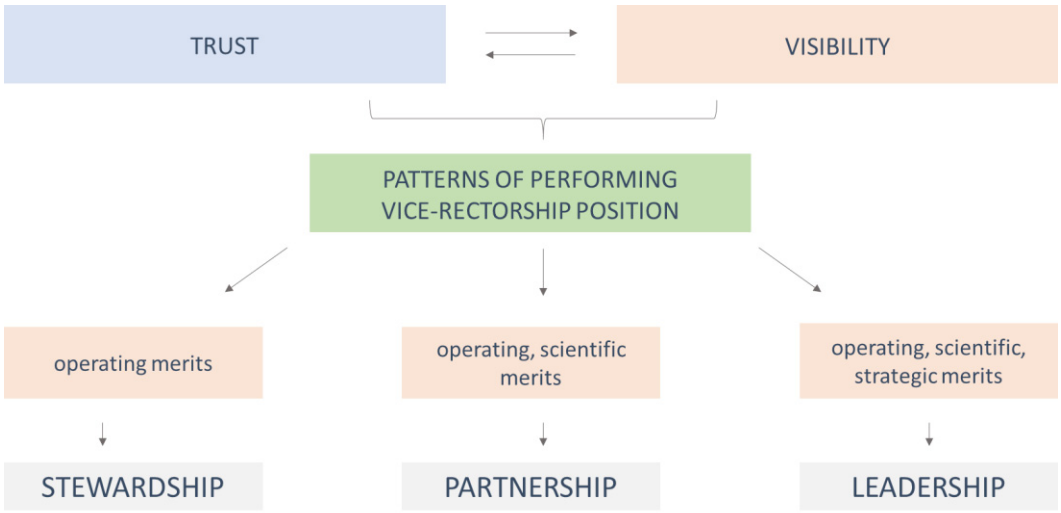


Figure 2: Career model

3. Performing vice-rectorship

3.1 Stewardship

Female vice-rectors who performed the stewardship model (hereafter referred to as: stewardship vice-rectors) began their managerial careers within their universities through tasks related to administration of teaching programs, quality assurance and student affairs. The motivation to engage in more administrative, organizational or managerial affairs was driven by internal or external factors. Internal intentions emerged as a personal need to improve working environments.

> *I was always not only interested in writing scientific papers, but I was also interested in teaching (...) But when I started, nobody was thinking about it and there were few people who wanted to devote time to sit and take a look how to do this and why this way (...) so I wrote some teaching programs, I gave tips to academics how to teach, e.g. that this month you have to do this and this in class; so I think I showed that I know how to do things so I was elected vice-dean for student affairs and then for vice-rector. (respondent No. 1)*

> *I really like to learn and I have drive for it (...) so I naturally took such positions as the supervisor of the first-year group, or did similar things that showed that I have skills that are needed for university. (respondent No. 3)*

External motives usually stemmed from a very specific family situation which made them choose a certain career path within their universities.

> *The fact that I became a mother dominated my career; as my husband also worked at the university, we organized childcare that way that he works during the week and I ask for teaching part-time students during the weekends. This work on part-time studies turned out to be very important for me because at some point, the dean received positive information about me and I became a second-year group supervisor, and then my closer cooperation with the dean group began, and from that moment, it was targeted in administrative functions. (respondent No. 6)*

Taking the 'teaching path' as a field of expertise requires absorbing considerable amounts of procedural and substantive knowledge. Such unique assets provided with certain prominence within their working environment produces good position, albeit in a narrow but important field of higher learning. In addition, these unique competencies have also been legitimised outside of their universities, namely through participation in various national bodies (e.g. the Polish Accreditation Committee) as invited speakers during national conferences on higher education or by producing expertise for state agencies or think tanks.

The proposition of accepting a vice-rectorship position was seen by female candidates as a rational decision by the newly elected rector who needed highly experienced and knowledgeable experts on his team. For women with internal motivations, this proposition was seen as a form of appraisal of their current work and an opportunity to continue their mission. By contrast, for women driven by external motives, being offered a vice-

rectorship position (with a portfolio reflecting the field of their expertise) was recognised as the best possible option in the given circumstances, even if other portfolios would perhaps better suit their aspirations and give them more prestige.

Notwithstanding the motivations, all female stewardship vice-rectors recognised their managerial, administrative and organizational experience as important assets for their universities. They also had little doubt that their knowledge, skills and work experience made them fully qualified to take these posts.

> *During my career, I showed that I have a lot of knowledge about teaching, so the position of vice-rector was offered to me because of my involvement and because I demonstrate that I knew what and how to do it. (respondent No. 10)*

> *I get important grant, 15 million PLN for our Institute, huge sum of money (…) and I supposed this was why the dean, when leaving, entrust me with the dean position and then rector proposed me vice-rector position (…); I was the dean really liked by students and I could help the rector during his campaign when relationships with students were at risk. (respondent No. 1)*

In the stewardship model of vice-rectorship, visibility within the university is developed on the basis of unique competences which cause the vice-rectors to see themselves as experts, and others also tend to share such a view. However, due to the narrow and specific nature of those competences, their visibility is limited to a relatively small circle of individuals who deal with such issues (e.g. quality assurance, finance) regularly on various organizational layers. Therefore, the vice-rectorship proposition is often – informally and indirectly – initiated, appreciated and supported by those networks; however, it hardly goes beyond that group.

3.2 Partnership

The partnership vice-rectors earned peers' trust on the basis of scientific merits – exceptional publication records, successful application for research grants or international postdocs. However, they also managed to convert this into organizational visibility thanks to spectacular development of their research teams, labs, centres or even departments. In short, they managed to transform their individual performance into the research excellence of larger units.

> *Before me, in this department nothing was done at all, nobody published anything. (...) So, I organized the team, I got one grant for the equipment, and then another. (...) In the beginning, everything was not very modern and not very automated, and the idea was to go much further, expand the scope of research. (...) I also played hard at the meetings, I was always fighting for our department and I actually did a revolution; at the beginning nothing happened here, and after 18 years from that moment, we have reached the first place when it comes to scientific achievements. (respondent No. 11)*

In the partnership model, the organizational visibility exceeds individual performance, and it comes from the success of her team's effort. The visibility is also slightly limited among active research staff, though it has considerably greater exposure (than in the stewardship model) as research achievements are more prominent and prestigious than any others. So, the proposition to take a vice-rectorship position is also (as in the stewardship model) indirectly preceded by being informally shortlisted. The fundamental difference between the partnership and stewardship models in terms of selecting candidates is that in the first case, the shortlist is made by prominent research figures, whereas in the second, it is usually proposed by networks of experts in certain fields (e.g. quality assurance). In the very hierarchical Polish academic culture, it matters considerably who legitimises and supports candidates for vice-rectorship functions. Prominent university figures are much more respected than networks of experts. Naturally, in both cases, the recommendation list usually includes several names, and a final decision also reflects other factors, among which the most important seems to be the representativeness of various internal stakeholders.

The interviewed vice-rectors whose performance was classified as 'partnership' demonstrated a strong identification with their basic role as researchers. Each of them made numerous references to research in general, seeking to legitimise their authority to perform vice-rectorship functions. Clearly, they had earned their trust and converted it into organizational visibility mainly on scientific merit, so this has been the driving force in their career development. In fact, they did not seem to suspend their research activity after taking the position, as they were always prepared to return to their research teams or labs.

> *I think very often now that I miss researching. I would like to put on my lab coat again, go to the laboratory, because this is what I love the most at university. Nothing is more important than scientific work. (respondent No. 13)*

Partnership vice-rectors openly treated their university leadership positions in a rather instrumental way. In their narratives, they appeared to be at just another step in their careers, considering it an ambitious project or interesting new experience that, at the end of the term, would only enrich their professional portfolios.

3.3 Leadership

In the leadership model, the foundation for earning trust and converting it into organizational visibility rests upon extraordinary activity in collegial bodies in various aspects of the university governance structure. It appears to be driven largely by curiosity and a strong personal commitment to influencing the working environment, faculty or even the entire university. The main background for earning trust is participation in decision-making processes by volunteering for and carrying out time-consuming and unpopular administrative tasks such as writing protocols from faculty meetings or coordinating communication in return for access to the decision-making bodies. Such a person is open and flexible, gradually also becoming more reliable and therefore trusted to take responsibility for more serious challenges in many different areas (whatever is needed at the moment). The individuals become widely recognised as being able to deliver what was promised regardless of unfavourable circumstances. They are typical 'all around players' able to face very different challenges in the line of duty. It should come as no surprise that they are always where important decisions are being made, and their organizational visibility is the consequence of a gradual process of growing into the university decision-making structure.

> *I was always around, I was everywhere: for a few years I was the secretary of the faculty, I was a representative of the young academics, so I went to the faculty council and things like that; I had contacts because I was in Polish scientific society. My department, of course, valued scientific work more than any other activities which were viewed as distractors and a waste of time, but I did not think like that; I knew that if I want to stay in this department, I need to know how it works (...) so I tried to go in this direction, I did not treat it as the worst thing in the world (...) I was truly interested how the university works. (...) My main driver was the organizational temperament, not the ambition for doing career. (respondent No. 3)*

If such organizational activism is supported by academic excellence in research, these two become mutually reinforcing and provide exceptional organizational visibility within the university. The leadership model stands out by combining 'under one roof' three different competences: organizational, managerial and scientific, which is a unique combination. The organizational visibility built on leadership merit exceeds the boundaries of a single institute or faculty, also going far beyond networks of professionals within a university. Therefore, unlike in the two previous models, in the leadership model, the proposition comes directly from the newly elected rector without peers' recommendations, as the candidate enjoys the image of leader-to-be across the university.

4. Conclusions

The analysis shows that the election of university leaders (rectors and vice-rectors) is far more complex and informal, albeit a well-institutionalised and legitimised process. This study produces several findings. First, individuals who have been elected for rectorship functions are definitely not random, and their journeys toward rectorship (often unintentionally) had started long before they were appointed or elected to their first formal functions in the university governance structure. Second, the identified 'game changer' in the professional careers of academic leaders (both male and female) is the ability to convert trust into organizational visibility through strategic merit, and female academic leaders have clearly failed to do so. This is mostly because from an early stage, they tend to be allocated to less prestigious tasks in order to 'get the job done', which negatively affects their future careers within the university governance structure. Third, through this process, female academic leaders are driven by career path dependency, which leads them into stewardship or, at best, partnership models of vice-rectorships. In most cases, even the latter is not enough to launch a successful campaign for rectorship. So, the initial assumption of this study that was undertaken to seek a key to understanding the absence of female rectors in the ways that vice-rectorship functions are performed turned out to be only partly true. The analysis showed that performance of vice-rectorship functions is indeed a critical factor in the quest for rectorship, but it turned out that 'performance of rectorship' is not a matter of the candidate's choice (at this stage), but rather is a consequence of decisions made (consciously or unconsciously) in the early stages of a career within the university governance structure.

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The Digital Communication in Fashion Companies: Is it a Gender Affair?

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Abstract: The goal of the paper is to investigate the connections between the prevailing gender of top management in a fashion company and the use of social networks and digital media. Particularly, the main research question is "how does gender affect the relevance of Information and Communication Technologies in the Italian luxury fashion companies?". For centuries, Italy has been the benchmark for the high fashion and luxury sector and while the ownership of the firms is often longer totally Italian, the majority of the production is still "made in Italy". During the financial crisis, the luxury industry has not been affected by downturn much, also thanks to "Millennials", who assign a symbolic meaning to luxury goods as they endow relevance to virtual windows created by social networks. The brands capable of seizing the opportunity of digital communication (i.e.: e-commerce; social network pages; sponsorships and commercial agreements with "influencers"; etc.) have overcome the adverse economic cycle rapidly. As digital communication is a resource for the future, is it a male or a female affair in the luxury fashion world? Is gender relevant for the development of social media? To answer to the above questions, we set a data sample of Italian fashion firms, operating in the luxury segment and equipped with one or more famous brands. For each firm, we collected, in addition to the main financial and economic ratios, some "digital" indicators (such as the number of followers or number of "likes", usage of e-commerce, partnership with famous "fashion bloggers", etc.) and some governance and management gender indicators. Applying statistical techniques to the data set, we demonstrated that the use of technology is not a male prerogative and that even if the use of ICT may positively affect the economic performances of a luxury brand, the management's gender is not decisive in a firm's choice to develop revenues through digital communication.

Keywords: fashion companies, gender and ICT, gender in luxury firms, social media and luxury sector, top management gender in fashion industry

1. Introduction

In the last two decades, the growing impact of social media has not only heavily affected the way companies communicate with their customers, but has also considerably changed business models and the scale of winning strategies.; firms now have to adapt themselves to the renewed environment, to the interconnected world and to the emerging technologies.

We believe that social media represent a revolution, not only on the sociological side, but under the economic profile, too. The motivations underlying the choice to use social media (search for self-esteem, need to appear, etc.) are similar to those that justify the purchasing of luxury goods and, particularly, of luxury fashion goods. We are certain that the excessive use of social media in the fashion sector is connected to the overexposed mediatically image of femininity, a behaviour that is typical in misogynistic environments.

Luxury fashion companies are little by little turning goods and brands into experiences. Luxury is no longer distinguished by high quality and high prices, but by the ability to represent the "inaccessible" and the "superfluous". These characteristics stimulate human vanity, whose highest claims are social media, a "showcase" in which everyone can feel famous, even if it's only for the duration of a "story". As social media is a resource, for digital natives, to develop their own identity, fashion represents, for some people, a source of empowerment (T. Chittenden, 2010).

Even if some authors (S. Kitaura, Y. Washida, 2015) underline the negative effects of "network media" on fashion industry, the empirical evidence shows a totally different situation. Italian luxury fashion companies have rapidly adapted to the changed environment; they have taken the challenge of social media and, thanks also to "Millennials", who assign a symbolic meaning to luxury goods, they overcame the economic crisis years.

The Italian luxury fashion sector is globally unique and its fame is also due to the work completed in the past by many "female" entrepreneurs - like Luisa Spagnoli, Miuccia Pada, the Fendi Sisters, etc. (F. Picciaia, 2017).

For all the aforementioned reasons, we think it is interesting to explore the links between the gender of companies' directors and the use of ICT in the luxury sector. We deem that a deeper knowledge on this phenomenon can help either the academics, to improve the literature on gender, or luxury fashion companies, which will be able to use social media, preserving their competitive advantage, without making the human person an object.

To understand if gender affects the use of ICT and, particularly, of social media in the luxury fashion sector, we answered the following research question: does the percentage of women on board affect the usage of social media? Moreover, to realize if the impact of social media on companies' productivity is bigger in "female" firms than in "male" ones, we asked the following questions: Does the usage of social media in "female" companies affect the revenue growth more than in male companies? Does the usage of social media in "female" companies affect the revenue per employee more than in male companies? Does the usage of social media in "female" companies affect the return on assets ratio more than in male companies?

To resolve these questions, we set a data sample of fifty Italian fashion firms, producing apparel or shoes, operating in the luxury segment and equipped with one or more famous brands. For each firm, we collected, in addition to the main financial and economic ratios, some "digital" indicators (such as the number of followers or number of "likes", usage of e-commerce, partnership with famous "fashion bloggers", etc.) and some governance and management gender indicators. Applying statistical techniques to the data set, we found interesting results on the impact of gender on the use of social media.

This paper will proceed as follows. In the next section, we provide the relevant literature review both on the luxury fashion sector and on the impact of social media on luxury brands; in the same section, we also analyse the literature on gender and ICT. Then, we describe the process of selection of the data set and the statistical functions applied to the data. Finally, we comment on the results, underline the limits of the model and suggest some future further researches.

2. Literature review

To understand the connections between gender, luxury fashion and ICT, we explored different strands of research, for each of these three topics: studies on luxury brands, on fashion and ICT, on gender and social media and on female entrepreneurship in the fashion sector.

Many empirical and theoretical researches on the subject of luxury fashion sector concern marketing studies; therefore, they affect the consumer side of these companies, as the link between fashion, brands and consumers' motivation is obvious. Tong, Su and Xu (2018), for instance, apply the Aaker's brand personality framework in the context of luxury fashion brands to show that luxury satisfies customers not only by functional attributes, but also by symbolic qualities.

However, these studies have never provided a punctual definition of "luxury". In the 2012, K.W. Miller and M.K. Mills (p. 1472) argued, "Paradoxically previous studies improve knowledge and increase brand luxury confusion. This is because of the variability in approaches, definitions and correspondingly different names, types and numbers of dimensions in brand luxury typologies. One of the areas of agreement in the brand luxury literature is the lack of agreement regarding what is a luxury brand".

As the researchers have not yet sketched the boundaries of the sector, very few studies have tried to explore subjects connected with luxury companies' accounting, financial and governance profile. A. Shamsuzzoha, T. Kankaanpaa, L.M. Carneiro et al. (2013) address the topic of value-added business opportunities arising from "non-hierarchical collaborative networks for complex product design and manufacturing" in the fashion industry; but they study SMEs operating in the general fashion sector and not in the luxury one. C.H. Chiu, T.M. Choi, X. Dai et al. (2018), otherwise, deal with the choice of allocating advertising budget between two groups of consumers in a luxury fashion company.

Much more explored, in the last decade, is the theme of the relationship between fashion (or, more specifically, luxury fashion) and information and communication technology.

Pioneer studies investigated the phenomenon of e-commerce and e-marketing, in a gender perspective too. R. Puspa Nirmala and I. Janita Dewi (2011), with reference to the Indonesian market, conclude that gender does not affect the intention of people who shop online; R. Setiowati, Hartoyo, H.K. Daryanto, at al. (2015) underline the marketing effect of ICT adoption in Indonesian SMEs in the fashion industry. The role of the world wide web on fashion retailing in western countries has been, conversely, studied by H. McCormick, J. Cartwright, P. Perry et al. (2014), who consider such this channel a way to develop the industry. A. Shephard, S. Pookulangara, T.R. Kinley et al. (2016), using cognitive theory, delve into the impact of media and fashion on people's shopping behavior: as general media influence both male and female consumers, personalized media has an impact on male fashion leaders. Other, more recent, research fields, like those of R.F. Bertram, T. Chi (2017), look at the advantages of e-commerce in terms of carbon emission and energy savings.

The introduction of ICT as a tool to improve production and reduce cost in the textile sector is a research field that some scholars have explored to explain the dramatic changes that have affected the sector in the last three decades (A. Baccini, M. Cioni, 2010; M.T. García-Álvarez, 2015; M. Carulli, A. Vitali, G. Caruso et al., 2017). New technologies have allowed companies to achieve flexibility, speed in orders, zero-stock policies, customization and to set value creation strategies based on diversification and internationalization.

In the last two years, the attention of academics has shifted to social media, even if the most explored topics remain those related to brands, consumers and marketing. The study of S.M. Correia Loureiro, M. Maximiano, P. Panchapkesan (2018), with reference to "Masstige brands", applies the consumer engagement principles to luxury fashion. I. Pentina, V. Guilloux, A.C. Micu (2018) identify social media engagement behavior in the same sector, interviewing thirty luxury consumers inside major designer stores in Paris and revealing eleven behaviors involving customers in the development of brands (from following and liking to modifying products or suggesting a new interpretation).

E.L. Jung, H. Songyee, B. Watkins (2018) suggest luxury companies improve the positive perception of their brands by determining the visual complexity of social media based on customers' familiarity with the brand. W. Charoennan, K.P. Huang (2018), enhancing the marketing advantages of social media, examine the role of social and psychological values on conspicuous consumption and observe that, in this field, the consumption behavior is not yet controlled by customers, but by other individuals (such as influencers).

The positive effect of social media, in terms of brand equity and purchase intention, on luxury fashion companies, was verified by A.J. Kim and E. Ko (2012), who used structural equations to test their hypotheses on the Korean market. In the last year, C. Amendola, M. Calabrese, F. Caputo et al. (2018) conducted an empirical analysis of the Italian market on a sample of 1125 customers in four fashion stores, to demonstrate that the use of advanced ICT improves the customers' level of satisfaction.

Some other researchers have studied the phenomenon from a wider point of view, providing a systematization of the bibliography on the topic of social media marketing and luxury firms (E. Arrigo, 2018) or simply monitoring the trend of the sector (V. Cosenza, P. Nannelli, 2017 and I. Mohr, 2013).

In the last ten years, there have also been a significant production of studies, related to fashion companies, on the impact of gender in the use of social media.

In the field of marketing and retailing, some authors (J.E. Workman, S.H. Lee, 2010) analyze the effects of materialistic values in different cultures (individualistic and collectivistic) through gender and fashion consumers. After having described the difference between fashion consumers and fashion followers, they conclude that females have higher total scores on materialism than males, i.e. women give more relevance as men do to the possibility of acquiring possessions. Other scholars (S. Cho, J. Workman, 2011) conducted a survey using a sample of college students to test if gender, fashion innovativeness and opinion leadership affect the choice of the shopping channel ("touch", "non-touch" or multi-channel); the results show that, while innovativeness and opinion leadership influence young consumers, gender is immaterial for the choice of the shopping channel.

There are, moreover, studies that investigate phenomenon like cross-gender extension (i.e. extension of brands from the male market to the female one and vice-versa, N. Veg-Sala, E. Roux, 2018), applying a semiotic approach, to find the new brands' growth drivers.

Very few authors have explored the topic of gender in the fashion industry from the governance perspective or under the female entrepreneurship profile.

One pioneer study, conducted by W. Larner and M. Molloy (2009) observes that globalization and feminization have grown at the same pace. Particularly, the New Zealand fashion industry had an unexpected success, becoming an export-oriented sector of the economy, thanks to women, employed as workers, managers or designers in small and middle size firms, who contributed to their country emerging as an international player.

R. Trequattrini, S. Manfredi, A. Lardo et al. (2018, p. 288) observe that the fashion industry "in the last few years, has experimented new forms of female businesses connected to the creation of new markets deriving from the development of the Web 2.0". Adopting the model of an androgynous organization, they deal with Chiara Ferragni's case, a famous Italian blogger who became a fashion entrepreneur; she is the symbol of new entrepreneurial organization models, whose foundations have the integration of female and male elements and a remarkable use of social media to share values with customers. The Authors underline some strategic factors that allowed Chiara to have success, such as the ability to create intimacy with the web community and the capability to change a business model (from the blog "The Blonde Salad" to the new instrument of Instagram). They therefore remark (p. 297) "the introduction or reintroduction of some specific characteristics of women companies, considered as female archetypes", like hospitality, fertility and generativity, consistency and intimacy make organizations "much more generative".

A broader literature, on the other hand, concerns the issue of the links between ICT and gender.

In addition to more generic studies focused on ICT as a tools for women's empowerment (N.J. Hafkin, S. Huyer, 2007) or aimed to measure the digital gap between female and male population (A. Gargallo-Castel, L. Esteban-Salvador, J. Pérez-Sanz, 2010), some scholars have recently explored specific fields. Particularly, they have studied the role of social media for women entrepreneurs and the effects of female directors on company technological innovation.

With reference to the first topic, the majority of studies highlights the relevance of social media in developing countries, to increase the business effectiveness and competitiveness and to improve the quality of women's life (H. Gillard, D. Howcroft, N. Mitev et al., 2008; C. Lugaye Ukpere, A.D. Slabbert, W.I. Ukpere, 2014, p. 554; P. Paoloni, P. Demartini, F.M. Cesaroni, 2017).

Relative to the subject of technical innovation, the previous literature, dealing with the impact of female directors on companies' innovation, provides conflicting conclusions. Conversely, S. Saggese and F. Sarto (2018) examine a dataset of Italian companies belonging to the high-tech industry to deduct, applying the multivariate analysis, that (p. 176) "the presence of a critical mass of female directors positively influences the company's commitment to innovation".

As the aforementioned literature has never analyzed if the gender of luxury fashion companies' directors affects the use of social media, it's interesting to conduct an empirical research on Italy's top fifty companies.

In order to predict the impact of gender on the usage of social media, matching first directors' gender with usage of social media and then directors' gender and usage of social media with firms' performance seems necessary. Therefore, the final hypotheses are as follow:

H1: Does the percentage of women on board affect the usage of social media?

H2: Does the usage of social media in "female" companies affect the revenue growth more than in male companies?

H3: Does the usage of social media in "female" companies affect the revenue per employee more than in male companies?

H4: Does the usage of social media in "female" companies affect the return on assets ratio more than in male companies?

3. The empirical research

3.1 The sample, tool and data collection

To test the aforementioned hypotheses, we selected a sample of one-hundred larger Italian fashion companies.

The tool we used for the sampling was the Bureau Van Dijk database "AIDA". We chose The ATECO codes 141310 "Mass production of outer clothing" and 152010 "Footwear manufacturing". Analyzing the top fifty firms of each group, we opted for only twenty-five "luxury fashion companies" for each code.

We did not include in the sample the discarded companies for one of the following reasons:

- they produce sportswear or sport shoes (included motorcycle wear and mountaineering or skiing shoes);
- they produce work clothes or shoes or accident prevention clothing;
- they are no longer in a "going concern" situation, because they ceased by merger or they are in liquidation;
- the 2016 or 2017 financial statement is not available;
- they have brands that evoke cheap products and, however, they are not famous in the luxury market.

The companies selected have a revenue range from about euro 888 million to about euro 21 million.

For each company we collected the following data, using "AIDA":

- availability of financial statements at a date between December 31st 2016 and June 30th 2018;
- total revenues in the last available year and in previous years;
- number of employees in the last available year;
- revenues per employee in the last available year;
- total assets in the last available year;
- EBITDA and net income in the last available year;
- ROS, ROE and ROA in the last available year.

Figures n. 1, 2 and 3 synthesize the main financial and economic variables and the most important financial and productivity ratios of the sample's companies in the last available year.

Then, reading the Notes and/or the Director's Report, we looked for the total number of male directors and the total number of female directors.

Finally, we examined the web site of each company, and – if available – the Instagram page and the Facebook page and we observed the following information:

- possibility to buy via e-commerce;
- actual number of followers and posts on Instagram;
- actual number of "likes", followers and photos on Facebook;
- the Facebook page's date of creation and the date of the first Instagram post.

We also surveyed whether famous bloggers, influencers or singers/show-men/show-women were tagged in the company's page, as literature suggests (K. Sedeke, P. Arora, 2013).

3.2 The data analysis and the results

To investigate the aforementioned questions, we matched a combination of analytical and statistical methods, applied to the data. The analytical method was used to choose the variables suitable to express each research question, and the statistical one was applied to test them.

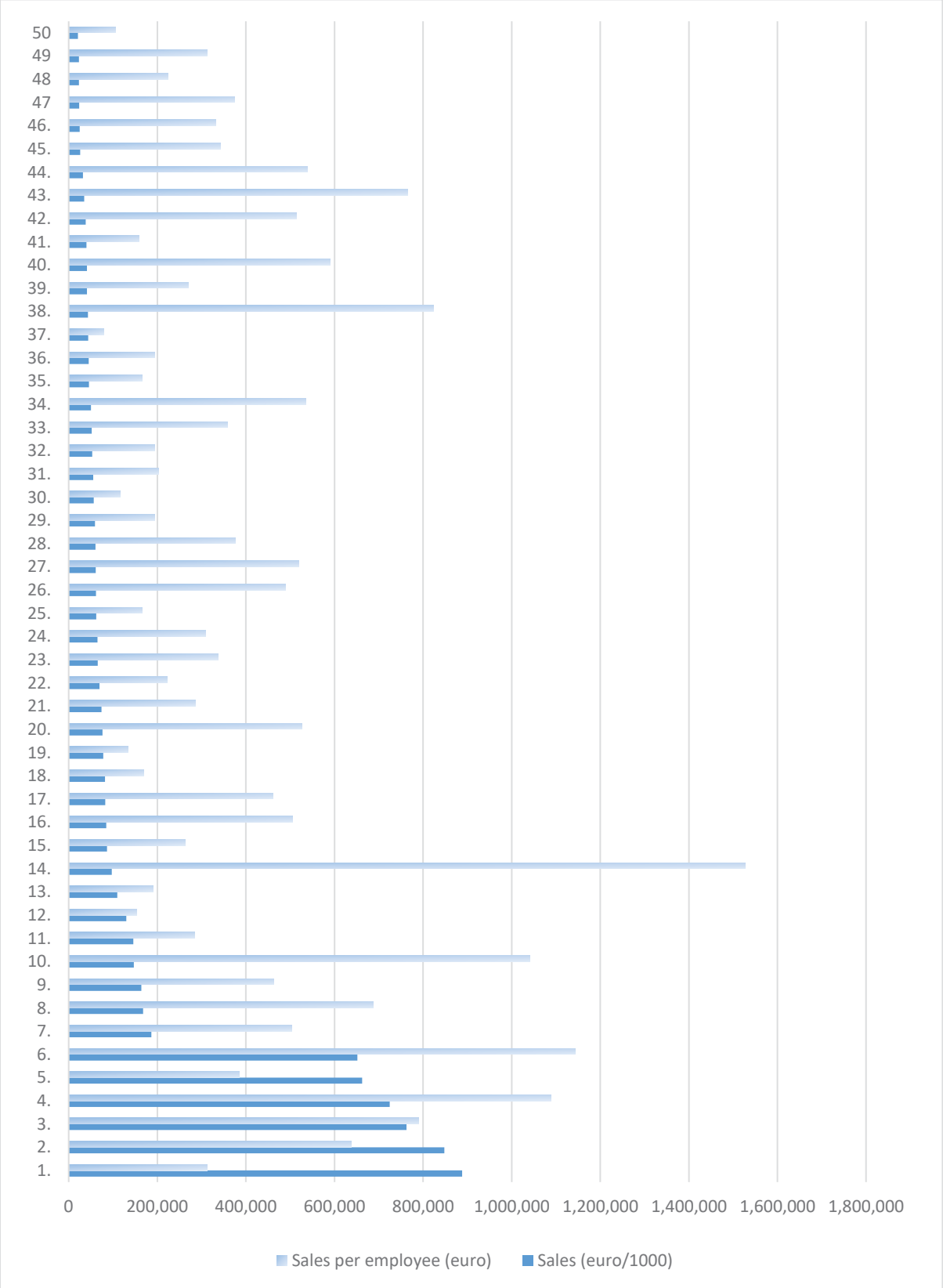


Figure 1: Sales (euro/1000) and Sales per employee in the last available year for the 50 sample's companies

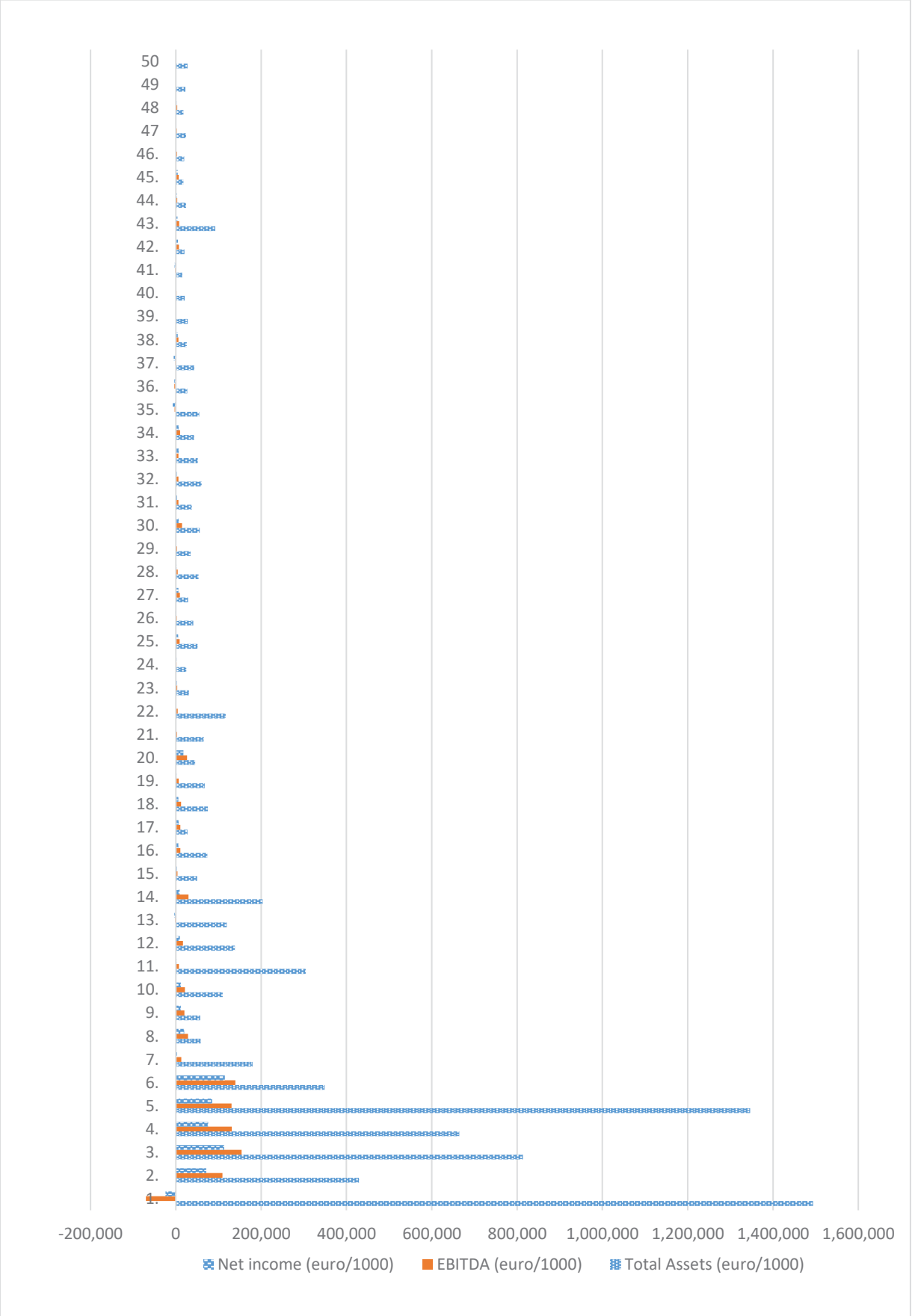


Figure 2: Net Income, EBITDA and Total Assets (all euro/1000) in the last available year for the 50 companies

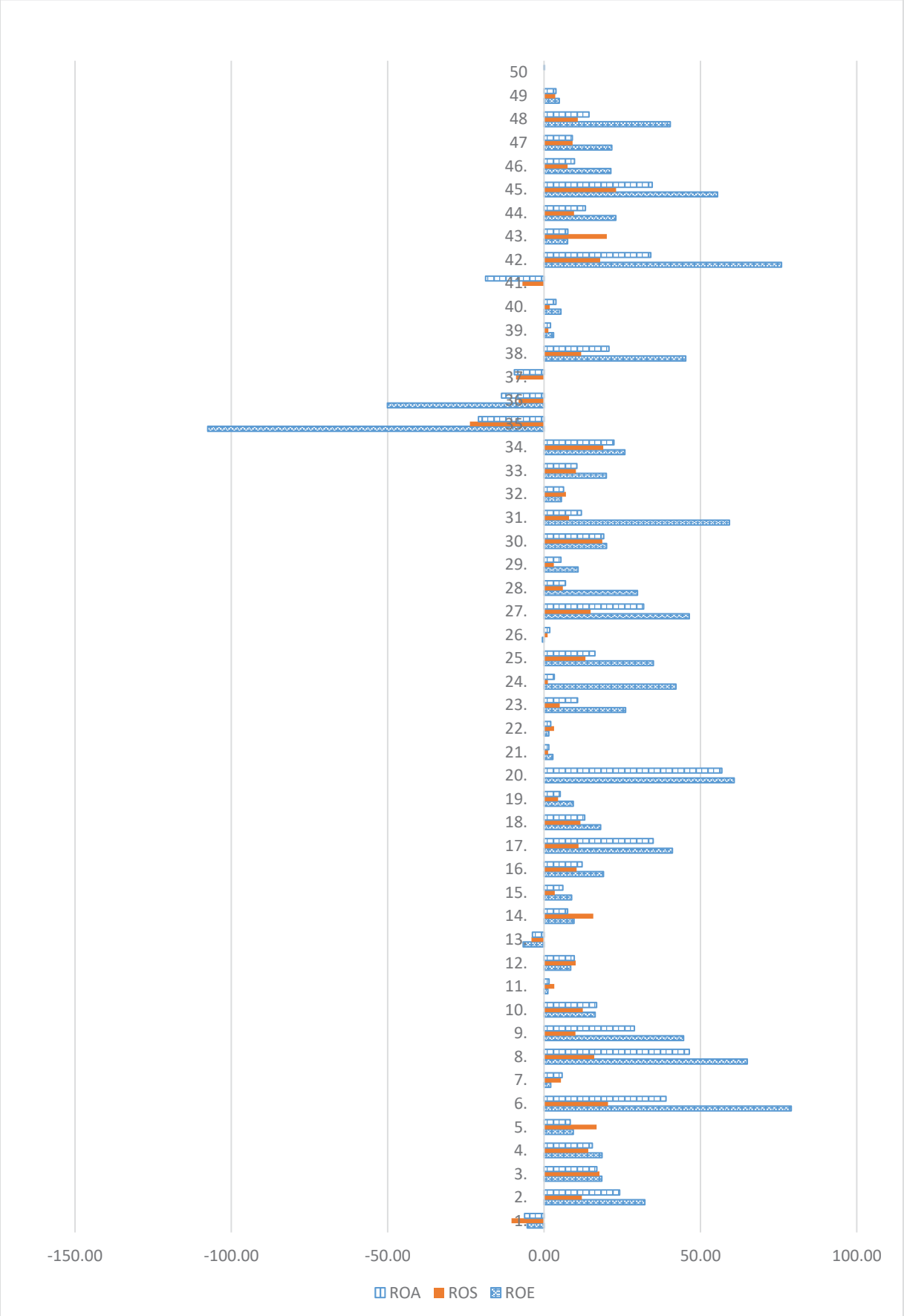


Figure 3: ROE, ROS and ROA (all %) in the last available year for the 50 sample's companies

With reference to the first research question (does the percentage of women on board affect the usage of social media?), we conducted five hypothesis tests in a simple linear regression model. The independent variable was the percentage of female directors on total directors and the dependent variables were: number of Instagram followers; number of Instragram posts; number of Facebook followers; number of Facebook "like"; number of Facebook photos. For each regression, we tested the null hypothesis H_0 ("there is no relation between the independent variable and the dependent one") versus the alternative hypothesis H_1 ("there is a linear relationship between the two variables"), at a 95% confidence level (5% error level). As the p-value was significantly higher than the error level, we could not reject the null hypothesis. The low level of R-squared confirmed the results of p-value.

Relative to the second, third and fourth research question, we divided the sample into two sub-samples: the "female" one and the "male" one. We considered "female" enterprises those in which the percentage of women on the board of directors was 30% or more. For each sub-sample we conducted three hypothesis tests in a multiple linear regression model. For each research question and for each sub-sample, the independent variables were the social media indicators: number of Instagram followers; number of Instragram posts; number of years between the first post Instagram and December 31, 2017; number of Facebook followers; number of Facebook "like"; number of Facebook photos; number of years between the first Facebook photo and December 31, 2017. The dependent variable was, conversely, a performance ratio for each hypothesis test: revenue growth, revenue per employee, ROA.

The "female" companies sub-sample analysis showed a good level of R-squared (but not a significant level of p—value) for the revenue growth: there could be a moderate influence of social media indicators (and, particularly, of Instagram followers) on revenue growth if women on board are almost 30%. As only fifteen companies have almost 30% women on board, the degree of freedom of the statistics are few and, therefore, we could not consider this result statistically significant.

Also in this case, the null hypothesis could not be rejected, for any model and for any sub-sample.

4. Conclusions and implications for future research

The current study contributes to emphasize the literature debate on the role of women on board and to deepen the topic of the impact of social media on the luxury fashion companies.

As the literature review presented earlier shows, the academics, who examined the connection between gender, social media and fashion sector, explored this subject primarily on a marketing point of view. At the same time, very few authors analyzed the subject of gender in the fashion industry from the governance perspective or under the female entrepreneurship profile. No one has applied quantitative, statistical methods to test the relationship between gender and usage of social media.

Therefore, we believe the current study can open the way for new lines of research, concerning the financial and economic consequences of the phenomenon. Indeed, the statistical tests we applied demonstrate that the use of technology is not a male prerogative and that even if the use of ICT may positively affect the economic performances of a luxury brand, the management's gender is not decisive in a firm's choice to develop revenues through digital communication. Maybe gender may affect firms' financial results, but not through the usage of social media. The statistical results confirm also that the gender digital divide is less if the social and educational level increases, as many scholars claimed (A. Gargallo-Castel, L. Esteban-Salvador, J. Pérez-Sanz, 2010).

The current research also presents numerous limitations. The sample includes companies that produce luxury shoes and clothes, but not those that deal with the trade of the same goods. The sampling number of the "female" companies is too small to give statistically significant results. The eventual multicollinearity between variables has not been detected.

We are confident this study represents a first step to develop gender studies in sectors that are experimenting new business models and, over all, to seize the opportunities that new technologies offer (such as, for example, the reduction of the gender gap between generations) without underestimating the risks that they may hide.

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Gender Diversity in Public Hospitals' TMT: The Impact on Financial and Non-Financial Performance

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Abstract: Several public reforms have tried to ensure the involvement of women in hospital governance to encourage their career advancement and their representation in top management positions. However, literature suggests that women are still under-represented in global health leadership and highlights a strong gender discrimination in the healthcare sector due to the barriers that limit their career advancement. Despite the evidence shows that women are still under-represented as leaders, there are many reasons to believe that including women in the top management team (hereafter TMT) may be beneficial for hospital outcomes. Relying on various gender theories, previous corporate governance research has extensively shown that board gender diversity fosters the close monitoring of the strategic decisions, brings to the boardroom critical resources, and stimulates the debate among directors enhancing the exchange of ideas. However, limited efforts have been made with regard to the performance effects of women involvement in hospital governance. The article investigates the effect of women in TMT on hospital performance. To this aim, it examines a sample of 102 Italian public hospitals, including general, teaching and research hospitals. We collect information on hospital performance and composition of TMTs from multiple data sources (i.e. NHS databases, hospital reports, and hospital websites). We capture hospital performance with reference to both financial and non-financial outcomes. Indeed, much of the criticism of focusing only on the impact of women on financial performance stems from the idea that it may diminish prospects for overall improvement due to the complex and multifaceted purposes of healthcare organizations. Findings document that the presence of women in hospital TMT does not affect the financial performance, while it has a negative effect on non-financial dimensions. The paper has contributions for theory and practices. From a theoretical standpoint, analyzing financial and non-financial performance implications of women in hospital governance, our results contributes to the existing empirical research on women in governance by providing insight into the healthcare sector that is still under-explored. From a practical standpoint, our research suggests the importance of fostering the participation of women on TMT to bring hospital governance with values, backgrounds and skills able to improve organizational results. Thus, it calls for proper normative actions aiming to foster a higher participation of women at apical positions in hospital governance.

Keywords: public hospitals, women, financial and non-financial performance, TMT

1. Introduction and theoretical background

Despite policy makers have recently issued a number of reforms to foster the involvement of women in Top Management Team (hereafter TMT) of public hospitals (Fields and Keys, 2003), women are still under-represented in global health leadership. Indeed, the anecdotal evidence documents a strong gender discrimination in the healthcare sector and points out several barriers and challenges that hamper their career advancement (Weil and Mattis, 2001; Lantz, 2008; Adams, 2005; Kazemek et al, 2000). In particular, research shows that female directors/executives of public hospitals are overall less than 10% (Desvaux et al, 2010) and are more likely to be appointed to middle management positions rather than top managerial one (i.e. CEO and Chairman) (Elston, 2009). However, it is important to consider that there are many reasons to include women in TMT (Catalyst, 2011). From an ethical standpoint, a greater female representation as directors/executives should be considered for equality reasons (Brammer et al, 2007). Conversely, other scholars suggest that increasing the gender diversity in hospital boards is not simply a moral or social issue, but also a question of effectiveness and competitiveness. This line of research highlights that the inclusion of women can be interpreted as beneficial for the organizational performance for a number of reasons (Galindo, 2006).

In this regard, literature suggests that the leadership characteristics of women appointed to the board/TMT play a pivotal role for organizational results. Women are more likely to play a coordination role rather than a controlling one, and they present a democratic leadership style based on the power decentralization (Rosener, 1995). In addition, unlike their male counterparts, women foster the resources' exchange within the organization and improve its body of knowledge, skills and competencies. Moreover, female managers increase the firm relational capital (Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998) by building interpersonal relationships with their subordinates and encouraging the supportive treatment of colleagues (Zhang and Bartol, 2010; Eagly and Carli,

2003). At the same time, women present additional leadership qualities, such as the risk averseness, that are beneficial for board decision-making (Croson and Gneezy, 2009). Finally, the women ability to identify sustainable investment strategies (Charness and Gneezy, 2012) makes them more effective in fulfilling the board responsibilities (Terjesen et al, 2009).

These characteristics are especially relevant in healthcare professional organizations. Indeed, in this context the involvement of women can positively affect the organizational outcomes due to the internal and external pluralism (Cuccurullo and Lega, 2013; Cuccurullo, 2003). On the one side, gender diversity balances the needs of all internal actors (e.g. clinical and administrative staff), on the other side, female leaders foster the development of relationships with the external stakeholders (e.g. patients, local authorities, National Department of Health).

Studies that have empirically investigated the role of women in TMT and board of directors support these conclusions and have mainly investigated the women implication for financial performance. In this regard, examining a sample of companies belonging to the Fortune 500 list, Adler (2001) reports a positive relationship between women's involvement in TMT positions and the company economic performance in terms of profitability. By shifting the attention to the board, other studies document that women's involvement provides benefits for market performance (Francoeur et al, 2008; Ntim, 2015). For example, examining a sample of Spanish companies, Campbell and Mínguez-Vera (2008) show that the presence of women in the board of directors positively affects the Tobin's Q. Similarly, Gordini and Rancati (2017) report that the proportion of women on board has a positive and significant effect on Tobin's Q. Comparable findings are provided by Erhardt et al (2003) and Mahadeo et al (2012), respectively for developed and emerging economies. By focusing on multiple countries, Terjesen et al (2016) also find that firms with more female directors have higher market (Tobin's Q) and accounting (return on assets) performance.

Shifting the attention to the healthcare sector, Buchner et al (2014) find that the relationship between the effectiveness of the strategic role of the board and the performance of German hospitals is influenced by the presence of women. Focusing on gender heterogeneity of the TMT in a sample of Spanish hospitals, Naranjo-Gil et al (2008) show that the involvement of women in senior positions stimulates the strategic shift with positive effects on hospital performance.

It is worth noting that, in healthcare, organizational results should be managed according to the multiple performance dimensions that allow to satisfy the interests of different stakeholders (Kleinpell, 1997; Dansky and Gamm, 2004). Nevertheless, many organizations fail to address effectively these issues as a high performance to the patients can often be successfully reached at the detriment of the budget constraints (Fottler, 1987). Recent literature strongly emphasizes the importance to complement the management of traditional financial and non-financial performance in order to satisfy the manifold need of various stakeholders (Voelker et al, 2001; Funck, 2007). For instance, while clinical performance (e.g. waiting times, length of stay, re-infection rates), might be of interest for patients and clinical staff, non-financial one is of interest of the administrative staff (e.g. financial return). To achieve an acceptable performance level in every area, literature claims that it is important to effectively manage each of them and it is duty of the top managers to balance the conflicting goals of the organization and ensure its long-term survival (Ballantine et al, 1998).

Building on this, literature has documented the positive implication of female leaders for non-financial performance by mainly examining the Anglo-American setting. In this regard, investigating the case of Foundation Trusts UK, Ellwood et al (2015) show that the presence of female chair or CEO encourages the improvement of social performance while reducing costs for medical negligence. Analysing a sample of US hospitals, Dunham and Yhouse (2007) report that the presence of women in top position is positively related to the excellence of hospitals in terms of quality of care, patient satisfaction and operational efficiency. However, the generalisability of such findings could be problematic when focusing on different healthcare sector due to the peculiarities of hospital setting in terms of regulatory and economic environments, cultural differences and governance structures (Abor, 2017).

On the basis of this premise, this study aims to explore the effects of women in the TMT on both the financial and non-financial performance of Italian public hospitals.

2. Method

In order to appreciate the implications of women involvement in TMT for hospital performance, this study examines a sample of Italian public hospitals.

The initial sample comprises the entire population of 247 Italian public healthcare organizations in 2015. From this sample, we have excluded 139 public local healthcare organizations in order to focus on public autonomous hospitals (general, teaching and research). Then, we have deleted organizations for which we were unable to retrieve data for the empirical analysis (i.e. 6). Thereby, the final sample consists of 102 public autonomous hospitals (see Table 1) of which 78% are leaded by female top executives.

Table 1: Sample selection

Italian public healthcare organizations	247
- Public local healthcare organizations	(139)
Autonomous general, teaching and research hospitals	108
- Hospitals with governance missing data	(4)
- Hospitals with performance missing data	(2)
Final sample	***102***

Due to the lack of a single database from which retrieving all the data needed for the empirical research, we have gathered secondary organizational, governance and performance data from the Italian NHS database and additional data sources. More specifically, we have collected the hospital status (in terms of research, teaching and general) and the TMT compositions from the NHS database publicly available online on the website of the Italian Department of Health. At the same time, we have retrieved the number of beds and the value of operating expenditure from the hospital reports. Differently, we have extracted the performance data from the "National program for assessing the outcomes of health-care interventions" (Programma nazionale valutazione esiti – PNE) provided by the National agency for the regional health service. Finally, we have integrated women demographic information (i.e. age, tenure, international experience) from the directors' CV and the professional networking websites (e.g. LinkedIn).

Concerning the variables, we have captured the financial performance (F_PERF) through an efficiency indicator measured as the value of operating expenditure divided by the total number of beds (Succi and Alexander, 1999). The raw value of financial performance is inversely related to the costs structure of the hospital operations, meaning that when the relative costs (to the number of beds) are higher the hospital is less efficient.

Our measures of non-financial performance are 3 self-constructed variables catching different qualitative aspects of hospital outcomes. Specifically, the employed variables measure the ability of the hospital to achieve an excellence target in terms of numbers of admissions, procedures/re-admissions and mortality rate. In particular, the first variable is the number of admission indicators that achieve an excellence target divided by the total number of admission indicators (NF_PERF_ADMIS) and appreciates the excellence in the volume of cares. The second one is the number of procedure and re-admission indicators that reach an excellence target divided by the total number of procedure and re-admission indicators (NF_PERF_PROCED) and proxies for the excellence in care delivery processes. The last one is the number of mortality indicators with an excellence target divided by the total number of mortality indicators (NF_PERF_MORT) and catches the care effectiveness. The above mentioned variables assume a value ranging from 0 to 1. In particular, when the variable is equal to 1, it indicates that the hospital achieves the excellence target in each indicator related to the delivered care. Indeed, in the variable computation, we overall consider only indicators concerning the specific cares delivered by the hospital.

Turning the attention to the governance variables, we have used the number of women in TMT as proxy for the gender diversity (N_WOMEN). Following prior literature, we have also included in our models a number of control variables at governance level. More specifically, we have controlled for (i) the women age (WOMEN_AGE), measured as the average age of women in the TMT (Tihanyi et al, 2000), (ii) the women tenure (WOMEN_TENURE), computed as the average number of years of women in TMT (Vandenbroucke et al, 2016), (iii) the women experience (WOMEN_EXP), proxied by the number of women in TMT with international experience (Tihanyi et al, 2000), and finally (iv) the size of the TMT (TMT_SIZE), computed as the total number of TMT members (Ellwood and Garcia-Lacalle, 2015).

As for the organizational variables, we have included dummy variables to differentiate hospitals according to their status. More specifically, we have distinguished among general, teaching (TEACH_HOSP) and research (RES_HOSP) hospitals (Sarto et al, 2016). Finally, we have controlled for the hospital size (HOSP_SIZE) measured as the total number of hospital beds (Abor, 2017). The following table provides an overview on the above explained variables (Table 2).

Table 2: Description of variables

VARIABLES	DEFINITION	SOURCE
F_Perf	Value of operating expenditure divided by the total number of beds	Hospital Financial Report
Nf_Perf_Admis	Number of admission indicators that achieve an excellence target divided by the total number of admission indicators	NHS
Nf_Perf_Proced	Number of procedure and re-admission indicators that achieve an excellence target divided by the total number of procedure and re-admission indicators	NHS
Nf_Perf_Mort	Number of mortality indicators that achieve an excellence target divided by the total number of mortality indicators	NHS
N_Women	Number of women in TMT	NHS
Women_Age	Average age of women in TMT	NHS
Women_Tenure	Average number of years of women in TMT	NHS
Women_Exp	Number of women in TMT with international experience	Hand-collection
Tmt_Size	Number of TMT members	NHS
Res_Hosp	Dummy variable assuming value “1” if research hospital (IRCCS), “0” otherwise	NHS
Teach_Hosp	Dummy variable assuming value “1” if teaching hospital (AOU), “0” otherwise	NHS
Hosp_Size	Total number of hospital beds	NHS

We have separately estimated four empirical models for each financial and non-financial performance indicator as dependent variable. More specifically, we have used the ordinary least squares (OLS) regression analyses.

3. Results

Table 3 reports the descriptive statistics related to the variables employed in our analyses. Firstly, it can be seen that the number of women (N_WOMEN) in top management position is on average 3.32. This figure attests an underrepresentation of women in the TMTs of our sample, as the average size of TMT (TMT_SIZE) is essentially higher (i.e. 22.79). Still considering the governance explanatory variables, women appointed as top managers are on overage 55 years old (WOMEN_AGE) and hold their position for almost 7 years (WOMEN_TENURE). Only a small proportion of them (WOMEN_EXP) (on average less than 1 woman) has instead developed expertise through an international experience. As far as the organizational variables, most of analysed hospitals are general (55%), while teaching (25%) and research (20%) hospitals account for the minority. Finally, still concerning the organizational variables, hospital beds are on average 763. By focusing on the performance measures, the descriptive findings show that the efficiency is on average 0.39 and, more interestingly, the hospitals included in our sample are more performing in the admission indicators (NF_PERF_ADMIS) (0.32) than in the procedures (NF_PERF_PROCED) (0.13) and the mortality (NF_PERF_MORT) (0.11) ones.

Table 3: Descriptives

VARIABLES	MIN	MEAN	MEDIAN	MAX	SD
N_Women	0	3.32	3	14	2.44
Women_Age	0	55	59	65	15.5
Women_Tenure	0	6.89	6.85	17.56	4.4
Women_Exp	0	0.53	0	3	0.84
Tmt_Size	1	22.79	21	57	12.3
Res_Hosp	0	0.2	0	1	0.4
Teach_Hosp	0	0.25	0	1	0.43
Hosp_Size	52	763.31	690	4189	533.01
F_Perf	0.15	0.39	0.37	1.62	0.20
Nf_Perf_Admis	0	0.32	0.32	1	0.18
Nf_Perf_Proced	0	0.13	0.09	1	0.17
Nf_Perf_Mort	0	0.11	0.08	1	0.15

Turning the attention to the main purpose of our paper, Table 3 shows the results of the OLS regression analyses on the effect of women involvement in TMT on hospital performance, by replicating the same model for each performance measure.

Specifically, Table 4 shows that the number of women in TMT (N_WOMEN) is negatively and significantly related to non-financial performance, and more specifically to the admission indicator (model 2a: $\beta = 0.179$; $p < 0.1$). This result suggests that the higher is the female involvement in hospital TMT, the lower is the ability to achieve excellence target in their cares. Differently, findings highlight that there is not a significant relationship between the presence of women on TMT and the hospital financial performance. Taking into account this result, our analysis does not support the expectation that, in the healthcare sector, the women involvement in TMT has a positive effect on hospital performance.

Table 4: OLS regression models

	F_PERF	NF_PERF_ADMIS	NF_PERF_PROCED	NF_PERF_MORT
	(1a)	(2a)	(3a)	(4a)
N_Women	0.005	-0.018*	0.012	0.004
	(0.013)	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.007)
Women_Age	0.0003	0.004***	-0.0005	-0.0002
	(0.0015)	(0.0012)	(0.0011)	(0.0008)
Women_Tenure	0.007	-0.002	0.0018	-0.018
	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.0038)	(0.0027)
Women_Exp	0.012	0.004	-0.018	-0.055
	(0.026)	(0.022)	(0.020)	(0.014)
Tmt_Size	0.003	0.0023	0.00069	0.00118
	(0.0027)	(0.0022)	(0.0021)	(0.0014)
Teach_Hosp	0.15 ***	0.093**	0.11**	0.017
	(0.055)	(0.048)	(0.042)	(0.028)
Res_Hosp	0.20 ***	0.0016	-0.053	-0.024
	(0.057)	(0.046)	(0.043)	(0.030)
Hosp_Size	−0.0002***	0.00015***	0.00002	0.00002
	(0.00006)	(0.00005)	(0.000049)	(0.000034)
Const	0.33***	-0.007	0.065	0.078
	(0.093)	(0.077)	(0.072)	(0.05)
R^2	0.34	0.34	0.23	0.13
R^2 Adj	0.26	0.27	0.15	0.03

Significance level indicated by: * p-value < 0.1; ** p-value < 0.05; *** p-value < 0.01
Standard Errors are provided in parentheses

As far as the control variables are concerned, the findings show that the women age has a positive effect on non-financial performance measures. Differently, the TMT size has a negative effect on the financial outcomes as the value of operating expenditure divided by the total number of beds is inversely related to the financial performance.

4. Concluding discussion

The paper investigates whether the presence of women at “apical roles” of hospital governance has an effect on the related financial and non-financial performance. Using data from a sample of 102 Italian public hospitals, we measure the financial performance by the hospital efficiency, while we catch the non-financial performance through a set of self-constructed indicators capturing the ability of the hospital to achieve an excellence target in terms of volume of cares (i.e. admissions), care processes (i.e. procedures and readmissions) and care effectiveness (i.e. mortality rate).

Relying on the multiple regression analysis, our study documents that the women involvement in TMT produces a negative effect on non-financial outcomes. This result is not in line with the mainstream literature suggesting that, increased female representation on corporate boards should improve organizational outcomes by introducing diverse perspectives to the boardroom/TMT (Campbell and Mínguez-Vera, 2008). Our findings can be explained taking into consideration that gender diversity can hamper the team cohesion, the decision-making process and therefore the organizational outcomes (Arena et al, 2015). However, in the context of our research, the presence of a negative relationship of women and the non-financial outcomes is only found for the clinical

procedures. Indeed, the participation of women in the hospital TMT is more likely to influence the processes through which the hospital delivers cares, while the volume and the effectiveness of cares can be also affected by external factors (like the epidemiologic risks) that are not under the direct control of TMTs. Moreover, we find that the presence of women in the TMT of Italian public hospitals does not affect the hospital financial performance. This result is in line with the research on gender diversity (Torchia et al, 2011) suggesting that when women represent only simple tokens (Kanter, 1987), they are not able to influence the processes and dynamics of TMTs. This finding also confirms those studies on financial performance in the public and healthcare sector (Veronesi et al, 2014) according to which female managers, as their male counterparts, are not particularly concerned with cutting costs to the detriment of the quality of cares and tend to comply with budget constraints (Ellwood et al, 2015; Dunham and Yhouse, 2007).

Taking into considerations the above discussed findings, the paper contributes to the literature on the gender-performance relationship (Adams and Ferreira, 2009; Francoeur et al, 2008; Adler, 2001; Ntim, 2015) by examining the influence on both financial and non-financial hospital performance of the women involvement in the hospital governance positions. Moreover, the results of the study have implications for practitioners, managers, stakeholders and regulators. Indeed, by showing that the involvement of women in TMT does not have positive effects, our findings call for proper normative actions aiming to foster a higher participation of women at apical positions of hospital governance.

Nevertheless, our study has some limitations that could be addressed by future research on the topic. Indeed, our examination of women in hospital TMT, employing secondary data, follows a quantitative approach that does not take into consideration the behavioral side of hospital governance (Forbes and Milliken, 1999; Huse, 2007; McNulty and Pettigrew, 1999). Thereby, future studies should take into considerations primary data retrieved from in-depth interviews to female managers so as to examine the influence of processes and dynamics of hospital TMT on their ability to bring a positive contribution for the related results. Finally, future research should also assess to what extent the influence of women in TMT on hospital performance depends on the educational and the background differences with male managers.

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Recent Changes in Gender and Sexuality Policy in India: A Postcolonial Analysis

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Abstract: In the past few years, several important policy changes regarding gender and sexuality have occurred in India. In the month of September 2018, two pivotal rulings were made by the Supreme Court of India. (1) On September 15, 2018, the Supreme Court overturned Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code (IPC), a relic of the British Penal Code that had outlawed sexual activities deemed to be "acts against the order of nature." Previously, this had ostensibly criminalized both homosexuality and gender nonconformity. (2) On September 26, 2018, the Supreme Court decriminalized adultery by overturning Section 497 of the IPC. (3) In July 2018, the Lok Sabha, the lower house of the Indian Parliament, passed the Trafficking of Persons bill. If passed in the Rajya Sabha, the upper house of the Indian Parliament, and signed into law, the bill would define new offenses under Section 31 of the IPC as "aggravated forms of trafficking," punishable with imprisonment for 10 years to life, plus fines of a minimum of 100,000 Rupees. (4) In August 2018, the Transgender Persons Bill passed in the Lok Sabha, but has not yet passed in the Rajya Sabha. This bill would introduce regulations where individuals would need to be medically screened in order to be legally recognized as a third gender person in India. In 2005, India created a new third gender designation (E), distinct from males (M) and females (F), opening the option for people to register under this designation on their passports, voting registration cards, and other legal documents. Taken together, these policy changes mark significant shifts to the ways in which the State in the Indian context regulates gender and sexuality. This paper seeks to review these current policy changes in light of the history of how sex work and gender nonconformity have been regulated in the historical periods before, during and following colonialism.

Keywords: India, gender, sexuality, adultery, Section 377, homosexuality, South Asia

1. Recent Changes in Gender and Sexuality Policy in India: A Postcolonial Analysis

In the past few years, several important policy changes regarding gender and sexuality have occurred in India. Taken together, these policy changes mark significant shifts to the ways in which the State in the Indian context regulates matters of the body, particular the bodies of women and queer folk. Some of these policy changes may contribute toward the reversal of the legacy of multiple centuries of sexual repression in India and may lead to the creation/return to more fluid notions of gender and sexuality that may have existed on the subcontinent prior to British colonialism. Other changes mark the continuation of colonial and neocolonial views about the illegality of sex work coupled with binary notions of gender and sexuality.

In this paper, I will review policy changes as they relate to two main issues: gender nonconformity and sex work in the periods before, during and after colonialism. My argument develops on critiques that falsely posit South Asian culture as being intrinsically regressive and monolithic in regard to gender and sexual norms. Growing on the work of other scholars (Khan, 2017; Dutta & Roy, 2014), I also argue that colonial policies criminalized indigenous South Asian forms of gender and sexuality, deeming them to be abnormal or immoral. Making these identities and practices illegal were part of the larger colonial project of "civilizing" the natives. These civilizing narratives continue to plague international discourse on gender and sexuality today. I will provide a historical analysis of how laws regarding gender nonconformity and sex work have changed from precolonial, colonial and postcolonial eras, and how these shifts have a bearing on current discourse on gender and sexuality in India.

At the surface, lumping together changes in policy regarding sex work and gender nonconformity may appear unrelated. However, I will argue that sex work and gender nonconformity are connected as they share a transnational space that draws sex workers, gay men, injection drug users, and gender-nonconforming people into a broader category of "at risk" populations for the HIV epidemic. This lumping process creates both empowered criminals and global subjects (Lakkimsetti, 2016). This means that both sex workers and queer folk have been given the right to make claims on the Indian state and on transnational civil society because of their instrumental role in curtailing the HIV epidemic. Nonetheless, their actions (at least up until recently in India) remain criminalized.

While there is significant overlap in the targeting of both groups as being at high risk for HIV, there remain significant differences in how these groups are framed in international advocacy circles (Lakkimsetti, 2016). Their connected importance is fundamental to capitalist initiatives to sell antiretroviral drugs, campaigns which are

primarily championed by pharmaceutical companies. For sex workers, discourse regarding trafficking operates under a carceral framework that pitches the agendas of anti-trafficking organizations against sex workers' demands for recognition of their sexual labor. Much of the research on sex work is framed around victimization and abolitionist paradigms, depicting sex workers as powerless victims in need of rescue from Western benefactors (Swendeman et. al., 2015). Somewhat similarly for gender-nonconforming people, HIV advocacy organizations created a space for public recognition of their marginalized identities, sometimes framing queer people as the helpless victims of homophobia and transphobia in their backward cultures. In this homogenizing process of international queerness, disparate identities become reduced and standardized against a biomedical syntax of gender and sexuality, a discourse which often lacks a context-specific, semantic understanding of identity.

2. Decriminalizing gender nonconformity

On September 15, 2018, the Supreme Court of India overturned Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code, a relic of the British Penal Code that outlawed sexual activities that were ambiguously deemed to be "acts against the order of nature" (The Times of India, 2018). The policy historically originates from the English Buggery Act of 1533, introduced by Henry VIII in England. Exactly which behaviors and identities are considered "against the order of nature" is subject to interpretation. However, the act ostensibly criminalized both homosexuality and gender nonconformity. During colonial times, the reluctance to accept physiological and psychological deviation from "moral" and "normal" behavior became the justification for regulating sexuality (Foucault, 1990). Basheer, Mukherjee & Nair (2009) critique that these penal codes "embody a prudish Victorian morality, under which only 'procreative' sex is seen as 'natural'" (p.433).

The queer rights organization, Naz Foundation in New Delhi, led advocacy efforts to decriminalize Section 377 over the course of multiple years. They argued that in interpreting Section 377, the Delhi High Court reinforced archaic and foreign Victorian values that scoffed at sexuality that was purely for the sake of pleasure (over reproduction). However, they also noted that, from a constitutional perspective, the phrase "order of nature" is indeterminate. In *Naz Foundation vs. The Union of India*, the government sought to rely on the notion of a public, ahistorical morality as a justification for criminalizing behaviors under Section 377. The Union of India argued that popular notions, not the constitution, were responsible for defining morality. The court instead ruled that determinations of right and wrong are inherently subjective, making it impossible to assign determinate meanings to the phrases "unnatural" and "against the order of nature" (Basheer, Mukherjee & Nair, 2009), thereby nullifying Section 377.

3. Decriminalizing adultery

On September 26, 2018, the Supreme Court decriminalized adultery by overturning Section 497 of the Indian Penal Code. Section 497 punished a woman for having sexual relations "without the consent or connivance of her husband" with up to five years in jail, a fine, or both. The Supreme Court ruled that the penal provision on adultery was unconstitutional and "manifestly arbitrary" (The Times of India, 2018).

The court ruled that adultery can be grounds for divorce, but it cannot be considered a criminal offense. The bench held that adultery can be treated as a civil wrong for the dissolution of marriage. Justice Chandrachud added that a woman after marriage does not pledge her sexual autonomy to her husband. Therefore, outlawing consensual sex with anyone (within or outside of marriage) cannot be regulated (Times of India, 2018). The law was deemed discriminatory in that it did not allow a wife whose husband was committing adultery to seek remedy. It de facto sanctioned adultery committed by women, if her husband had agreed to the affair (Rajalakshmi, 2018). But men were not expected to obtain similar approval from their wives if they had extramarital sexual relationships. Implicitly, adultery on the part of husbands was perceived through the colonial lens to be a male right. The criminality of women's extramarital affairs essentially treated women as chattel, property. If another man trespassed on the property of a man's wife, the State could hold that man criminally liable.

4. Regulating sex work

In July 2018, the Lok Sabha, the lower house of the Indian Parliament, passed the Trafficking of Persons (Prevention, Protection and Rehabilitation) bill (PRS, 2018). If passed in the upper house, the Rajya Sabha, the bill would define new offenses under Section 31 of the Indian Penal Code as an "aggravated form of trafficking," punishable with imprisonment for 10 years to life, plus fines of a minimum of 100,000 Rupees. While the jargon

of the bill appears to be progressive, it actually serves to reiterate the narrative of sex workers as uniformly being victims of abusive trafficking operations. This approach fails to recognize that a substantial proportion of sex workers engage in the industry out of personal choice, not as a result of force or victimization.

There have been several vocal opponents to this bill, including the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (2018), who urged that the bill failed to adopt a human rights-based or victim-centered approach to sex trafficking. Opponents also argue that the proposed bill directly targets consensual sex workers and third gender communities who regularly engage in both sex work and panhandling as their main sources of their income. While sex workers are well organized in urban areas, no sex worker unions were consulted in the drafting of the bill. Conflating sex work with sex trafficking goes against the stipulations set forth in the United Nations' Palermo Protocol (2000), which defines trafficking as the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of threat or use of force for the purpose of exploitation.

The Trafficking of Persons bill is a manifestation of limitations already set forth in Sections 370 and 370A of the Indian Penal Code, which define trafficking as the exploitation of persons in acts including prostitution or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor, slavery, or servitude. This proposed bill is a continuation of the Immoral Trafficking (Prevention) Act (ITPA), passed in 1986. The ITPA did not distinguish between victims of sex trafficking and adults who choose to engage in sex work. Both groups are the targets of anti-trafficking rhetoric and action (Walters, 2018). Notably, the ITPA does not require the consent of the people being "rescued," thereby unjustly targeting sex workers and imprisoning them in protection homes. The jargon of the Trafficking of Persons bill, likes its predecessors, tacitly assumes that sex work only occurs through coercive means and that people do not make a choice to engage in this labor.

5. Legally defining a third gender

The next area where there have been significant policy changes is in how gender is socially constructed and legally recognized in India. In 2005, India created a new third gender designation (E), distinct from males (M) and females (F). Individuals are allowed to register under this designation on their passports. In 2009, the third gender designation was also added to voter registration documents. Similar trends have occurred throughout South Asia. In April 2014, the Supreme Court of India went beyond simply legally recognizing a third gender, to also making discrimination against members of these communities unlawful. Hijra are now considered a scheduled caste in India, a government designation which allows them access to affirmative action-style measures through the State, including access to publicly provided benefits (rations) and seats reserved for scheduled castes/tribes on *panchayats* (local village councils).

In August 2018, the Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Bill passed in the Lok Sabha, but has not yet passed in the Rajya Sabha. While sounding to be progressive, the proposed bill requires screening committees, which include physicians and psychiatrists, to verify the authenticity of third gender people in order for them to be legally recognized as a third gender. In other words, if you are a hijra with a penis or testicles, you could be disqualified from being considered a "real" third gender person. To better contextualize these policies, I will now briefly review how sex work and gender nonconformity have been regulated in precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial eras in India.

6. Sex work and gender nonconformity in the precolonial period

In precolonial India, the modern notion of sex work did not exist in the same form as today. Rather, concubines, courtesans, handmaidens, and *devadasis* engaged in song and dance performances that are now referred to as sex work. These groups were often in good standing with the state and frequently received support from local temples, nobles, or royalty (Tambe, 2009; Punekar & Rao, 1962). Similar to the place of sex work in precolonial India, gender nonconformity was also treated differently in precolonial times. One of the most notable gender-nonconforming groups on the South Asian subcontinent are *hijra. Hijra* are a gender/sexual minority with historical origins tracing back over a thousand years (Reddy, 2006). They are considered neither men nor women (Nanda, 1990), but rather occupy a third gender category (Kalra, 2012; Jaffrey, 1996). However, it is important to note that the term *hijra* is not exactly synonymous with the term "transgender," as some people who identify as being transgender do not consider themselves to be *hijra*, and vice versa, some *hijra* do not consider themselves to be transgender. These labels are neither mutually exclusive nor completely overlapping. The third gender label includes a range of identities, including *hijra*, *kothi*, *kojja, kinnar*, *shiv-shakti*, *aravani*, *jankha,*

khusra, *bugga*, *khwaja saras*, and others. Without going into detail on how these identities differ, it is important to note that the distinctions between third gender identities in South Asia and the transgender identity in Western contexts stem from the historical and cultural socialization of each group within their respective settings.

Hijra are individuals who were typically identified with male sex at birth, raised as boys, but who identify with more effeminate gender roles and gender expression. *Hijra* include individuals who are cross-dressers, transvestites, intersexual, or simply gender-nonconforming. Seen to be auspicious due to their androgyny and/or asexuality, *hijra* are still often present at weddings, childbirths, and other special occasions to bless a newly married couple or a newborn child, receiving money in exchange for their blessings. A *hijra* identity does not necessarily connote an exclusive sexual attraction to men. One can be part of this community, yet continue to have sex with or even be married to women.

Hijra were perceived as undermining colonial power by discrediting the morality of the colonists. Prior to the consolidation of power under the British Raj in the nineteenth century, some *hijra* and *kwaja sara* received revenue from land that was granted to them by local rulers. The downfall of the Mughal Empire, the Rajput dynasties, the Nizam, and other local South Asian principalities led to the loss of royal patronage of hijra who served these roles within the upper echelons of society (Rao & Rao, 1970).

7. Policing sex work during colonialism

Public health efforts in the colonies developed largely as a reaction to colonialism (Levine, 2003). Efforts to control venereal disease (VD, later known as syphilis) were part of the colonial project to protect the colonizers and modernize the natives. The threat to the empire's posterity laid in the salacious sexual acts of native women. It then became the White Man's Burden (Kipling & Wise, 1899) to help brown women recover from their sexual and cultural failings. The image was created of people who were so steeped in their own traditions that they foolishly questioned the rationality of modern Western medicine. The climate of the colonies was thought to breed disease, and the unbridled heat of tropical environments was equated with the moral degeneracy of its inhabitants. Misconceptions of the colonies as sources of filth and disease were vivid in the colonial imaginary. Moral causes of disease became enmeshed with medical discourse on pathology.

The state's interest in regulating sex work was targeted at preventing ill health among British soldiers through sexually transmitted infections (Stoler, 2002). VD rates for British soldiers in India were higher than in other parts of the empire (Levine, 2003). When VD and gonorrhea outbreaks occurred among soldiers in Bombay and Delhi (Levine, 1994), the British Empire scurried to control what was seen to be the source of contagion—brown women. As one medical officer claimed in 1887, the single source of disease for sailors' infection was the particular "contaminating" woman with whom they had consorted (Tambe, 2009). By casting Indian women as the object of oppression and illness, the empire was able to justify its presence in India with the humanitarian goal of spreading civilization. The Raj saw the British as an agent of progress from the barbarity of traditional Indian culture (Nandy, 1982).

In the colonial context, Indian women were represented as ignorant, uneducated, tradition-bound, domesticated, and victimized (Kapur, 2011). In multiple colonies, local tradition was placed at odds with European modernity. If the Third World woman was infantile, backward and incapable of autonomy, then it was central to the colonial project to "empower" and "liberate" her. As anxiety regarding control over the expanding territory of the British East India Company grew, so too did anxiety regarding the bodies living within these lands (Ghosh, 2006). Accusations of moral impiety between British men and Indian women gave rise to disciplinary regimes that regulated social interaction between Britons and Indians. These tensions regarding race and class were worked out in the domestic and intimate spaces of colonial family life (Stoler, 1995).

Laws in the late colonial period continued to configure a new relationship between the state and prostitution. The first Police Rule, Ordinance, and Regulation Act of 1812 listed brothels as a source of disturbance. At the time of the passing of this act, prostitution was not considered a crime on its own, but was deemed instrumental to the committing of crimes. Procurement and enticement into prostitution was ruled an offense in 1827, 1860, 1921, and 1923; brothel keeping was similarly deemed illegal in 1860, 1902, 1923 and 1930 (Tambe, 2009). The Penal Code of 1860 introduced sections 372 and 373, making the buying or selling of girls and women into prostitution a criminal offense. The term "common prostitute" was introduced into Indian legal discourse by the

colonial state, contributing to the rise of a devalued form of sex work. In 1838, the secretary of the Government of India advised the Government of Bombay to apprehend "every common prostitute… behaving in a notorious or indecent manner" (Kapse, 1987, p203). This notion of sex work as a debase act, committed by the lower classes, stood in contrast to honorable womanhood, espoused by the white colonizers, and later also the *brahmin* caste bourgeoisie. Race, gender and class lines of social hierarchy were sharply reified through the colonial project.

Under colonialism, the policing of gender and sexuality became a useful metaphor for the subjugation of the bodies of colonized people. One of the first health interventions in several British colonial settings was regulating prostitution by disciplining women's "unclean" habits (Levine, 2003). A series of regulations were passed in India that mimicked regulations in the metropole. In England, the Contagious Diseases Acts were first passed in 1864, allowing police officers to arrest prostitutes, subject them to compulsory medical examinations, and imprison them for their crimes in lock hospitals and lock wards. Similarly, in India, social policies delineated how the British Empire sought to police prostitution. State-regulated brothels became an integral component of the sexual order in British colonies (Tambe, 2011). The Cantonment Act of 1864 instituted compulsory medical examination for all practicing prostitutes in cantonments or military camps. The Indian Contagious Diseases Act of 1868 expanded the rules of the Cantonment Act to cities.

Discourse regarding prostitution became racialized when separate guidelines for treatment were mandated for white prostitutes in England versus brown prostitutes in India. While there were limits on the amount of time that prostitutes could be held by police or hospitals in England, prostitutes in India could be held indefinitely (Tambe, 2009). Prostitutes in India were required to register with the state and were subject to more frequent medical examinations. The registry included details regarding the caste, residence, age and physical description of each prostitute.

In the second phase of the Contagious Diseases Acts from 1880 to 1888, medical and police authorities were provided even more liberties in enforcing the law. After 1883, registration of prostitutes became voluntary in England, but remained compulsory in India (Tambe, 2009). Brothels were reserved for the sole use of soldiers who were stationed in Indian ports. Only prostitutes who had been screened for VD were allowed to work in these state-regulated brothels. By regulating (over criminalizing) prostitution, the British Empire institutionalized the policing of sexuality and more specifically, sex work. While the registration system was abolished in 1929 (Punekar & Rao, 1967), the process of surveying sex workers would reappear decades later with the emergence of epidemiological tracking of HIV cases. In the colonies, prostitutes were formally registered in a Panopticon-style system where their actions were carefully monitored. Mimicking the tracking systems used to monitor the criminal and the insane, the registration of sex workers demonstrates how the empire became not just a mode for governance, but a vehicle for moral and behavioral surveillance. Medical discourse, grounded in the fear of contagion, served to safeguard against the moral and racial degeneracy that could potentially occur via prostitution.

This mission is complicated by the notion that sex work, particularly in the postcolonial paradigm, may be seen as creating new opportunities for social and economic independence for women. Sex work transformed traditional gender norms, allowing women to become the heads of their household. Not having employment opportunities in the formal economy, sex workers were able to earn money, acquire property, become landlords, and support their families. Calling this phenomenon "whorearchy," McClintock (1991) notes that for these women, prostitution was the best defense against colonialism, forced marriage, hunger, and destitution. Prostitution allowed women to accumulate money and property for survival. Instead of losing their property to sons, brothers, or other male family members, had they been married to men, female prostitutes were able to leave their earnings as inheritance to other women, thereby reinventing the structure of property ownership and effectively cutting men out of the inheritance scheme.

Alternatively, sex work may be viewed as being reproductive of male labor power relations (Zatz, 1997). Female sex workers in South Asia often performed the very same roles that they would perform in their own homes without pay, i.e. cooking, washing clothes, and cleaning the house. Without the institution of marriage, women could sell their companionship and domestic services to men. This commodified sexual labor in a way that was directly dependent on the wages on which their male clients relied to pay for sex. The site of labor reproduction—either inside the room of a brothel or on the street—determined the type of sex work in which women were willing to engage and the price they were willing to charge for it.

Sex work, therefore, serves as an analogy for both imprisoning and empowering colonial subjects (Lakkimsetti, 2016). The ways in which the metropole policed prostitution reveals the underlying anxiety of an empire grappling to validate its own existence. The architecture of lock hospitals, the registration process of prostitutes, and the mandated medical examinations for VD all offer vivid examples of the means by which this policing took hold. Sexual relationships complicate a straightforward hierarchy between colonizer and colonized, white and brown, male and female. Similar patterns of power and control over the colony were manifested in the treatment of third gender people in India during British colonization.

8. Policing of gender nonconformity during colonialism

Similar to the ways in which sex workers were policed during the colonial era, *hijra* have also been the target of state policing. As Hinchy (2014) notes, in the 1850s the British discovered a community of eunuch performers, known as *hijra*. British colonizers classified *hijra* as a distinct group within the many castes and tribes they codified throughout British India. In 1871 the passage of the Criminal Tribes Act (CTA) defined *hijra* as criminals and legalized their surveillance. This act again reified the colonial regulation of social and sexual mores. Under the CTA, *hijra* could be arrested for dressing in women's clothing, dancing, or playing music in public places. The CTA criminalized "any eunuch so registered who appears, dressed or ornamented like a woman, in a public street or place, or in any other place, with the intention of being seen from a public street or place, or who dances or plays music, or takes part in any public exhibition, in any public street or place" (British Library, 1871). Notably, sodomy is not on this list of punishable acts. Local government officials were required to maintain a registry of the names and personal details of *hijra* who were suspected of kidnapping or castrating children, a suspicion that was often made of gender-nonconforming people. Archival research appears to substantiate that these regulations were either not enforced or were difficult to enforce as there are few documented cases of *khwaja sara* and *hijra* disobeying colonial laws (Khan, 2017).

Colonial attempts were made to erase *hijra* as a visible gender identity in public space through prohibition of their performance and dress (Hinchy, 2014). *Hijra* could also be criminalized *hijra* through prosecution of the "unnatural offence" clause under Section 377 of the British Penal Code. This legislation implied that gender-nonconforming people were also criminals and their behavior legally punishable. Attempts to discipline masculinity and perceived obscenity in the South Asian context were ineffective as they were met with inadequate policing resources, allowing *hijra* to take advantage of gaps in surveillance. The British colonial government judged *hijra* to be a "breach of public decency" (Preston, 1987, p. 372), associating their acts with obscenity and lack of moral decorum. Following Indian independence in 1947, *hijra* officially lost their state-sanctioned support from local temples, courts, and principalities. This marginalization caused many rural communities of *hijra* to migrate to cities, often taking up the profession of panhandling or sex work as a means of livelihood. Even within their own families, communities and religious institutions, *hijra* continue to experience stigma and discrimination for their gender nonconformity.

9. Understanding policy changes in gender and sexuality in light of post-colonialism

It is clear that the sociopolitical contexts for gender and sexuality vary widely between the Western world and South Asia, from the usage of various labels for gender identity to the social connotations afforded to those labels. The distinctions in vernacular signal a difference in the way that gender is anthropologically constructed in each culture. In Western scholarship, gender has increasingly changed from being constructed as an inherent trait possessed by individuals, largely in relation to the possession of particular genitalia or chromosomes, to being constructed as a learned or ascribed trait that operates through the performativity of speech, dress, and behavior (Butler, 1999). While transgender people may be part of the "new forms of queer subjectivities" (Blackman, 2009, p. x) in the Western context, *hijra* had historically held an accepted social position in South Asia for centuries. A transgender person in the Western context is often described as being in the process of "becoming" or as being "in transition," supposedly from being male to female, or from female to male. Meanwhile, the third gender person in South Asia just is. No transition is necessary, though many people do undergo hormone therapies, penectomies or the removal of testicles. Nonetheless, there is no end game or finite gender binary towards which the *hijra* is working. They are not in the process of arriving at their destination; they are already there. Verbiage regarding "transitioning," "passing" or being "clocky," which are more heavily used in Western contexts to refer to transgender people, may only serve to reinforce the very binary that gender-nonconforming people are trying to avoid.

An alternative to this duality may be offered through the notion of being genderqueer or genderfluid (Richards et al., 2016). Recent research in gender and sexuality studies has obscured the traditional distinctions between gender and sex, arguing that both anatomical sex and gender are socially constructed, resulting in a more complex appreciation of gender that acknowledges the interplay between biology, identity, performance, power, and practice (Towle & Morgan, 2008). Such an understanding of gender may be more similar to the ways in which the *hijra* and third gender identity are socially constructed in South Asia.

Overall, these gender and sexuality policy changes signal important shifts in the way that the State in the Indian context regulates (or no longer regulates) the private, sexual lives of its citizens. In some ways, these changes also mark a return to a more fluid understanding of gender and sexuality, as may have existed on the South Asian subcontinent prior to colonization. On the other hand, the anti-trafficking bill and the transgender rights bill that were passed in the Lok Sabha earlier this year reflect narratives that pigeonhole sex workers and third gender people into the category of oppressed victims. The progressive policies that have decriminalized homosexuality, gender nonconformity and adultery were pushed through by the judicial branch of the Central Government of India. These policies stand in stark contrast to the policies being pushed through the Parliament, which reflects more conservative, populist views of the current dominant political party in India, the Bharata Janata Party (BJP). In sum, these changes in gender/sexuality policy reflect a reliance on the discourse of human rights-based approaches to social justice for the validation of identity. Such juridical approaches envision the role that the State plays in ensuring equitable rights for all its citizens. While this is surely a necessary step in the legal recognition of minority rights, a purely juridical approach ignores the social forces at play that often remain unphased by these laws. Because all of these policies are still nascent in their implementation, and some have not yet passed the Rajya Sabha, it remains to be seen if and how they may reshape notions of gender and sexuality throughout postcolonial India.

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The Effects of Digital Storytelling on the Creative Writing Skills of Literature Students Based on their Gender

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Abstract: Creative Writing in the education of English Language and Literature is a crucial skill yet difficult to acquire. For this reason, various methods and techniques have been tested to enhance the efficiency of this learning process. One of the technological tools used in the field of education in the last decade is digital storytelling. Due to current advances in digital tools and techniques as 21st-century basic skills, digital storytelling has emerged as an art that combines images, audio and video to tell a story sometimes using a narration overlay, and sometimes a musical background (Frazel, 2010). With the help of these emerging technologies, the students create their story in which many skills like decision-making, critical and creative thinking are effectively employed. Research shows that in the process of creating their own digital stories, the motivation, as well as the participation of the students, has increased; in line with their success in this process, their problem-solving skills, as well as creativity, have also improved. The aim of this study is to analyse the effect of digital storytelling on creative writing skills based on student gender. This study also seeks to determine whether there is a remarkable difference between male and female students' creative writing skills when they are introduced to certain technological tools. The course was designed with a blended learning approach; the stories of the students created by suitable programs and applications were shared on Google-classroom, an open source learning management system. In order to evaluate the digital stories created by the students, the researchers formulated a rubric including a list of criteria related to the field of creative writing, and the students' stories were assessed by five English Literature Professors. Qualitative Approach was utilized in this research. This study was carried out with 3rd-year undergraduate students in the department of English Language and Literature in a foundation university in Turkey.

Keywords: digital storytelling, creative writing skills, blended learning, gender

1. Introduction

As an ancient art, storytelling has been a great tool to share and interpret experiences, wisdom and values throughout history. Storytelling is also the original form of teaching and can enhance students learning (Pedersen, 1995). Digital storytelling is an adaptation of storytelling and brings new life to the ancient art of written or oral storytelling through computer-generated text and multimedia tools. It is one of the many technological tools used in the field of education in the last decade and has various definitions. Briefly, it is the art of combining narrative with digital media such as images, sound, and video to create a short story (Robin, 2008). As the modern expression of the ancient art of storytelling, digital storytelling can also be described as an art that aims to engage individuals in "authentic learning experiences that provide real-world relevance and personal value within a situated context" (Walters, Green, Wang, & Walters, 2010). The Digital Storytelling Association further defines digital storytelling as:-

> *"The modern expression of the ancient art of storytelling. Throughout history, storytelling has been used to share knowledge, wisdom, and values. Stories have taken many different forms. Stories have been adapted to each successive medium that has emerged, from the circle of the campfire to the silver screen, and now the computer screen (Matthews-DeNatale, 2008)."*

There have been some studies conducted on the effects of digital storytelling and the use of digital tools and technological environments in the field of education (Yang and Wu, 2012; Blackwell, Lauricella and Wartella, 2014; Cordero, Kristina, et al., 2015; Nishioka, H. (2016). It seems that there is no research or study carried out on to find out gender differences in creative writing skills when digital storytelling technique is used. Thus, this study aims to determine the approaches of female and male students to digital storytelling in which they need to acquire and develop "digital creative writing skills" – a new term, recently created by Adam Koehler (2013). In other words, this study seeks to determine whether there is a remarkable difference between male and female students' creative writing skills when they are introduced to specific technological tools. Finally, our study aims to enhance critical thinking skills, as well as creativity, which is an essential component of pedagogical improvement in technology education in Turkey.

2. Digital storytelling and creative writing skills

Digital storytelling can be used for learning purposes by both teachers and students. When teachers create their own digital stories, they can use them as hooks at the beginning of a lesson to capture the attention of their students (Burmark, 2004) and as a bridge between the students' prior knowledge and the new material (Freeman & Freeman, 2009). Students, on the other hand, can develop various types of literacy such as information literacy, visual literacy, technology literacy, and media literacy through digital storytelling. Thus, the use of new technological tools within lessons has become extremely important in this digital age (Suki and Suki, 2017). When students create their own digital stories, they also participate in the multiple steps of designing, creating and presenting their stories and thus, can increase a full complement of literacy skills that are aligned with technology. Labelled as "Twenty-first Century Literacy" (Brown, Bryan and Brown, 2005), these multiple skills are as follows (Robin, 2006):

- (a) *Research Skills:* Documenting the story, finding and analysing the information;
- (b) *Writing Skills:* Formulating a point of view and developing a script;
- (c) *Organisation Skills:* Managing the materials used and the time it takes to complete the task;
- (d) *Technology Skills:* Learning to use a variety of tools, such as digital cameras, scanners, microphones and multimedia authoring software;
- (e) *Presentation Skills:* Deciding how to present the story to an audience best;
- (f) *Interview Skills*: Finding sources to interview and determining questions to ask;
- (g) *Interpersonal Skills:* Working within a group and determining individual roles for group members;
- (h) *Problem-Solving Skills:* Learning to make decisions and overcome obstacles at all stages of the project;
- (i) *Assessment Skills:* Gaining expertise critiquing their own and others' work.

In addition to the skills mentioned above, decision-making, critical and creative thinking skills are also effectively employed in the process of digital storytelling. In other words, if students are asked to analyse/interpret and reflect intellectually and creatively on their experiences of this process of digital storytelling (Benmayor, 2008; Luzon and Leton, 2015), digital storytelling calls upon students' theoretical thinking skills, and thus their theoretical thinking skills enhance creative expression.

Students should also be aware of the fact that digital story development requires writing a story and following the time-honoured tenets of good writing and thus not like blog writing, text messaging, or typing text onto the slides of multimedia software (Frazel, 2010). The discipline of creative writing is a distinctly twentieth-century phenomenon (Dawson, 2005; Berney and Betrancourt, 2016; Suki and Suki, 2017); creative writing studies not only help teachers, writers, and scholars of creative writing better theorize our current methods and practices but also aid us in understanding the ways current digital environments have begun to affect the act of composing "creatively."

3. Method

The data of this research, which was designed with a qualitative approach, was collected by semi-structured and non-guiding interview technique (Karasar, 1998; Büyüköztürk, Çakmak, Akgün, Karadeniz and Demirel, 2016). Befitting to the overall purpose of this study, this technique was used in order to target an interview process that would enable the interviewee to realize their experiences on digital storytelling projects carried out with the aim of developing creative writing skills in the course of women's literature in a realistic and holistic manner (Yıldırım and Şimşek, 1999). To this end, the interviews were based on open-ended questions. In the analysis of the data obtained from the interviews, the constant comparative method of data analysis (Glasser and Strauss, 1967) was used.

3.1 Procedure

The course was designed with a blended learning approach; the materials of the course as well as the syllabus were uploaded on Google-classroom, an open source learning management system (LMS). Also, class discussions and the stories of the students created by suitable programs and applications were shared on this online platform. At the beginning of the semester, the researchers explained what digital storytelling is, what it is used for and which programs and applications can be used in the process of creating their own stories. A rubric was

developed for the evaluation of the projects, and it was announced to the students along with the syllabus on which the contribution of their digital projects to their final grades was also indicated clearly.

Scriptwriting might be challenging for most students, and collaborative scripts may be even more challenging (Frazel, 2010); yet, digital storytelling encourages creativity among students through social interaction (Carbonaro, 2008) and enhances students' social, communication, language and cognitive skills (Carlotto & Jaques, 2016; Lowe & Boucheix, 2016; Stebner, Kühl, Hoffler, Wirth, & Ayres, 2017). Hence, students were divided into groups of three and were asked to rewrite the end of a story, entitled "The Yellow Wallpaper" (1892), by Charlotte Perkins Gilman, with a different end and to digitally narrate the new end in order to develop their creative writing skills.

At the stage of grouping the students, one male student along with two female students was chosen to form each group because there are two female characters and one male character in the given story: the woman who tells the story (the narrator), the husband of the narrator and her husband's sister. However, this information was not explicitly stated in the instructions in order not to affect the creativity of the students and thus the outcome of their projects. The students in the classroom were grouped into seven project teams, and three girls were enrolled in only one group. In this way, it has been ensured that the working groups were homogeneous regarding gender.

3.2 Participants

This study was carried out with 3rd-year undergraduate students in the department of English Language and Literature in a foundation university in Turkey. Out of 28 students within the course of Women's Literature, 26 students (20 female and 6 male) in groups of three participated in this study voluntarily. The data of this research was obtained by a semi-structured interview form distributed to these students online.

Critical reading and thinking, creative writing, understanding and analysing creative writing, problem-solving, working collaboratively and participating effectively in group discussions are some of the skills that students are expected to gain in English Language and Literature department (Day, Richard and et al., 1998; Liu, Moore, Graham and Lee, 2002). The creative writing skill, which is expected to be affected positively in this study, is determined as the primary variable and it is aimed to evaluate the positive effect of digital storytelling on this skill. For this purpose, it was decided that the students of English language and literature department were a suitable group for the aim of this study. While determining the study group, purposive and convenience sampling method be used. Purposive and convenience sampling is based on items that are completely available, fast and easy to reach. It is the most commonly used strategy in qualitative research but at the same time the least desirable one to use (Patton, 2002; Taherdoost, 2016). All 26 students in the class participated in the digital storytelling process. In order to collect the research data, a semi-structured interview form prepared under the opinion of two experts from the field was sent to all students online. A total of 24 students, 6 of whom were male and 18, were female filled in the form.

3.3 Data collection

Data were collected using semi-structured and non-guiding interview technique. In order to determine how the students perceived digital storytelling tasks, expert opinions from the faculty members in the field of language education and educational technology were taken. In line with expert opinion, nine (9) basic questions were determined. In order to prevent any loss of information in the data collected from the interview, the interviews were collected with an online form. Permission was obtained from each student who responded to the interview form so that the records/data could be used. In the interview form, it was noted that the names of them on the form would not affect their passing grade for the course. It is believed that an explanation like this would allow students to feel comfortable in answering the interview questions.

3.4 Data analysis

In this study, the data from the transcripts of the students' answers to the interview questions were analysed using the constant comparative method of data analysis. In this process, the transcripts were read by two encoders, the resulting patterns and the main themes revealed by each encoder were found, the transcripts were read again, and the coders were able to identify common themes. By taking into account the common themes, the coders then examined the data and finally described the data. The rates related to themes were

calculated according to gender variable and shown as tables. When creating tables, each gender was evaluated by its total number (male students n=6, female students).

4. Findings and comments

In the study, 26 participants answered the interview form on an online platform. The findings obtained from the responses of the participants were collected under three main themes, and direct quotations from their responses were also given. In the expressions directly quoted from the responses, the names of the participants represent the figures given in parentheses. The main themes that arise from their responses are as follows;

4.1 Structure of digital narrative groups

Students' views on whether to work individually or with a group in the digital storytelling process differed. As seen in Table-1, the majority of the students (42%) stated that they preferred to work individually (17%) because of the difficulties of the group members coming together. However, some students, who think that digital storytelling takes much time and is a labour-intensive process, have stated that if they are allowed to choose the group members, they can make a successful group work by using time more effectively. For example, female student (4) stated that they would like to select their group friends by saying that *"At least the groups created by the students themselves will create a positive study environment."* On the other hand, female student (5), who preferred to study individually instead of working in a group, stated that *"...but working as a group was a problem for me. Because I go to work and it is challenging to get together with my friends. So I think it would be better if it were an individual study."* Female student (8) points out the necessity of her choosing her group by stating that *"If I could choose the group I would work with, if it could be with my best friends, I think I would enjoy it more."* Another male student (26) who expressed his negative attitude towards working in a group stated that *"Since I had a group assignment and not everyone contributed to the group with equal devotion, my attitude towards this project was negative. On the other hand, it was a different experience, and I liked the way that it kindled my imagination and the chance to learn a technological tool."*

To sum up, it was understood that the views of the students about whether digital storytelling studies should be done individually or in groups did not differ immensely according to gender. 42% of the female students stated that they preferred to work individually while 50% of the male students stated that they like individual work more than group work. The opinions of the majority of both male and female students are that these studies should be carried out individually or with the members of the group determined by themselves.

Table-1 Statistics of student opinions on group work and individual work

	Gender	Number of students	Frequency	Rate	Total Frequency N=24	Total Race N=24
Group working	Female (n=18)	s(8), s(23), s(25)	3	17%	3	17%
	Male (n=6)	-	-	-		
Individual	Female (n=18)	s(1), s(5), s(6), s(17), s(18), s(20), s (24	7	42%	10	42%
	Male (n=6)	s(6), s(21), s(26),	3	50%		

4.2 Attitudes towards digital tools and environments in literature

Students' views on the use of digital tools in the field of literature differed. As understood from Table-2, while some students (38%) emphasised the necessity of developing a literary project in digital environments as a requirement of the information age, some students (58%) showed a negative attitude by emphasising that there is no need for technology in literature. For instance, female student (14), who thinks that digital storytelling is a positive and beneficial application in literary studies, stated that *"I think the lesson has become more colourful and creative. I also think that as future educators, it can be effective in learning new things and teaching them to our students."* Female student (1) with a positive attitude also stated that *"I like it very much, I feel developed in a different area."* Likewise, female student (17) displays a positive attitude towards technology and digital environments by stating that *"I like digital storytelling, it is beautiful regarding capturing the future, but it would be more beneficial if it were an individual project. Even pupils can create digital stories as a part of their assignment at primary school."*

Students who think that technology cannot be related to literature have demonstrated a negative attitude toward digital tools and applications. For example, female student (4) stated that *"My views about this project are completely negative. I do not think it has anything to do with our department and I think it is a waste of time for us in such a hectic period at school."* Female student (7) also stated that literature is not very suitable for digital environments as obvious in the statements: *"Yes, completing the end of a story is relevant to our studies, we have been educated in the field of literature for three years, so we can analyse, and examine the text, but I think that the digital part of this task should not be compulsory. Some literary writers refuse technology, and in some cases, we have to think that a literary writer, if not sharing a piece of writing, should not be very attached to technology."*

Likewise, female student (6) who thinks that digital tools and environment does not have any positive effect on her creative writing skills stated that *"At first I thought such a story would have a positive impact on my creative writing skills but in the process of creating my digital story, it turned out to be the opposite. I think it is not beneficial."* Despite her negative opinions on digital storytelling, female student (8) expresses a positive opinion about the LMS system on which the class resources are shared, and the class communicates effectively by stating that: *"...but I find it very nice to use this online class application actively in every course."* Besides, a male student (9) emphasises that this project has made different contributions to his creative skills although he says that he is having difficulty using digital tools and environment by stating that *"If I said that this technique does not have any positive aspects in my learning, it would be unfair."*

When opinions about whether digital tools and environments are suitable for literature or not are taken into consideration based on gender, while 61% of the female students emphasised that technology and literature are not very compatible areas, only 50% of the male students emphasised this incompatibility. It is interesting to note that concerning the perception of effort expectancy, male students were less computer anxious than female students. On the other hand, 39% of the female students and 33% of the male students displayed a positive attitude towards digital tools and environments. Only one male student did not comment on this issue.

Table-2 Statistics of attitude towards technology

	Gender	Number of students	Frequency	Rate	Total Frequency	Total Rate
Positive attitude towards technology	Female (n=18)	s(1), s(2), s(5), s(14), s(15), s(17), s(24)	7	39%	9	38%
	Male (n=6)	s(9), s(26)	2	33%		
Negative attitude towards technology	Female (n=18)	3, 4, 7, 8, 11, 13, 16, 18, 20, 23, 25,	11	61%	14	58%
	Male (n=6)	S(6), s(21), s(10), 12	3	50%		

4.3 Impact on creative writing skills

As shown in Table 3, most of the students (67%) thought that their creativity has improved by creating a new end to the given story rather than using the digital storytelling technique. In other words, some students stated that digital storytelling does not contribute to creative writing skills, and these creative aspects can develop in written texts as well. For instance, female student (13) stated that *"I do not think you can focus on the story much because digital writing is a waste of time and is not so efficient."* Female student (16), likewise, stated that *"I think it is more useful for us to submit assignments in classical text format rather than digital media."* Another female student (19), who thinks that there is no need for digital storytelling for the improvement of creativity, stated that *"I think writing a story or creating a different end to a given story is the task of a literature student and I love doing it. However, the animation part of the project, or rather the digital part, is not very interesting to me, and I think it is a waste of time for me."*

On the other hand, 33% of the students emphasised the importance of digital storytelling in their creative writing skills, which can be considered as an appropriate result for the course and the research. For instance, female student (6) considers this project as an activity that improves her creativity by stating that *"Yes, I did a brainstorming and I came up with very different ideas for the end of the story, I really felt like a screenwriter."* Likewise, female student (23) supports the use of digital storytelling in improving writing skills by stating that *"It was a different experience. What I liked about it was the chance to develop my imagination and to learn about*

technological tools." Female student (15) also stated that *"Digital storytelling helps me to improve my creativity. Because I am forcing myself to create something new."* Female student (14) also emphasised the positive effects of digital storytelling on her creative writing skills by stating that *"I think that the course has become more colourful and creative."* Despite the difficulty of coming together with his group members, male student (21) expressed his positive attitude towards digital storytelling as clear in the statements: *"It was a useful study to improve our creative thinking skills, but it was hard to get together with my friends because we were busy with other courses as well and some of our friends in my group were out of school. Nevertheless, it was quite nice and productive to create a new end to the given story with my friends."*

When students' views on creative writing skills of the digital narrative were examined by gender, it was observed that both male (33%) and female students (33%) demonstrate similar opinions about the positive effects of digital storytelling on their creative writing skills. Likewise, as seen in Table 3, both female (67%) and male students (67%) stated that creating a new end to a given story has an immense impact on their creativity.

Table-3 Statistics of student opinions on creative writing skills

	Gender	Number of students	Frequency	Rate	Total Frequency	Total Rate
Effect of digital storytelling	Female (n=18)	2, 5,14,17,21,24	6	33%	8	33%
	Male (n=6)	26,9	2	33%		
Effect of creating a new end	Female (n=18)	2,7,8, 11,14, 15, 16,18,19, 22, 25,23,	12	67%	16	67%
	Male (n=6)	10,6, 12,21, 26	4	67%		

5. Conclusion and suggestions

As the results of the study show, both male and female students preferred individual study rather than the team working. Instead of addressing the impact of group work or individual study on creative writing skills, students emphasised the difficulty of working collaboratively, when especially one of the group members fails to fulfil the task of the group. However, there are studies in the field of literature that show the importance of group work in the development of creative writing skills (Paulus, 2000; Mak and Coniam, 2008). On the other hand, it has been stated that it may be necessary to work within a group because digital storytelling stage takes much time and requires hard work, but it would be more appropriate and efficient to have students decide on the selection of the group members. It is also understood that in addition to the positive attitudes of some students in using digital tools in literature, some others have a negative tendency. When the attitudes toward technology and digital environments were evaluated according to gender, it was seen that female students were more negative than male students. However, in contrast to this study, in some other studies, it was observed that female students displayed a more positive attitude toward digital storytelling (Suki and Suki, 2017). In order to eliminate the negative attitudes toward the use of digital tools and environments in the field of literature as mentioned above, it may be useful to give students more detailed and practical information with specific examples about the tools and applications that can be used in digital storytelling. In other words, before carrying out studies that require the use of technological tools, a needs analysis can be conducted to determine what skills students lack and then a short workshop can be done to improve their weaknesses. In this context, students can perform a similar task in a computer laboratory by using digital tools and applications before the course starts.

Concerning the development of creative writing skills, it was understood that both female and male students preferred story completion to develop their creative writing skills with new insight and thus, they were satisfied with the stories they created. We also found out that writing a different end to a story unleash their creativity making them feel like a true writer, and that the digital writing process was much fun (Karimi and Lim, 2010). Although both male and female students expressed their struggle to use technology, they also enjoyed the digital storytelling process and considered it as an opportunity to develop 21st-century skills. In a similar study, Suki and Suki (2017) concluded that female students in their research found the technology useful as it allowed them to learn quickly and to express their creativity. Other studies have reached similar conclusions: for instance, use of animation and storytelling within lessons was thought to be enjoyable for students since technological tools are easy to use, and the information conveyed is clear and understandable. Hence, students felt that it was easy to be competent at storytelling as technology and digital environments stimulate the imagination and creativity of students (Cox, 2001; Christiansen 2011; Hunter and Hunter, 2006; Venkatesh, Tong and Xu, 2012). Therefore, it is advisable for educators to use not only completion tasks but also digital storytelling technique in order to improve the creative writing skills.

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Gender Equality in Academia: Comparative Perspectives From Feminist Institutionalism

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Abstract: New Institutionalism (NI) explores how institutional rules, norms, and cultures constrain the choices and actions of individuals when they are part of an institution. Feminist Institutionalism (FI) applies NI through a gendered lens, starting from the premise that institutions are highly gendered, and considers how they constrain and/or enable gendered change. In their approach to institutional analysis and understanding of underlying mechanisms, NI and FI share common assumptions and concerns, such as institutional creation, continuity and change, structure and agency, and power. At a European level, the EU through its Research and Development programme, Horizon 2020, considers gender as a cross-cutting issue to be mainstreamed. Specific EU initiatives to support Research Performing Organisations (RPO) in implementing gender equality strategies seek to removing those barriers that generate gender discrimination in scientific careers. There are dedicated calls, targeted at research performing and financing organisations, to implement gender equality plans. RPOs promote gender equality and diversity through initiatives coordinated at national level. This study compares two of these initiatives: the Athena SWAN Charter in Ireland and the Italian "Comitati Unici di Garanzia" (CUG). It uses a qualitative exploratory approach, based on desk research, drawing upon scholarly research and grey literature in Ireland (and UK) and Italy. The paper examines the impact of these gender equality strategies and their implications for institutions across the EU.

Keywords: feminist institutionalism, academia, gender equality, Athena Swan Charter, CUG – Comitato Unico di Garanzia, Horizon 2020

1. Introduction

The loss of women scientists working in academia at each stage of the career pipeline and their underrepresentation at senior levels (Ovseiko *et al.*, 2017) are well documented. More acutely, women continue to be a minority among science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) degree holders, despite accounting for half of all university graduates.(European Commission, 2013) The gender deficit resulting from this under - representation hinders gender-sensitive innovation in academia and is a negative influence on society at large (Forsberg and Stenbacka, 2018).

According to New Institutionalism (NI), formal organisational practices and structures are shaped by myths, rules, and conventions that are grounded in the wider environment (Zucker, 1977; Meyer and Scott, 1983). Feminist Institutionalism (FI) applies NI through a gendered lens, starting from the premise that institutions are highly gendered, in order to consider how this influences gendered change.

In Academia, structural change to promote gender equality is pursued in diverse ways. Ireland and Italy represent two different approaches: in Ireland, the Athena Swan (AS) Charter utilises a dual top-down and bottom-up initiative while in Italy, the CUG (Comitati Unici di Garanzia) model represents a mainly top down model.

This paper is the first exploratory step in a wider comparative study, aimed at identifying similarities and differences between progress towards gender equality in academic and other organisations. The wider research objectives are to gain a greater understanding of how gender equality is promoted in two interconnected sectors, academia (STEM disciplines) and ICT small and medium enterprises (SME), in Ireland and Italy. It will explore the roles that individuals play within the selected institutions in promoting gender equality and responding to resistance to change, in order to understand the ways in which these organisations shape individual behaviours.

This paper compares two initiatives: the Athena SWAN Charter and CUGs, both of which are used to promote gender equality in Academia. Using secondary data, the pros and cons of each approach are explored, to provide key themes and issues for future analyses, based on primary data collection.

The following section sets out a literature review on NI and FI. The subsequent sections relate to the main characteristics of the AS Charter and CUG, the methodology used for the study, including the tentative analysis and results, conclusions and suggestions for future research.

2. Literature review

While former institutional theory depicts institutions as "efficient solutions to predefined problems" (Holm, 1995). New Institutionalism (NI) includes the role of actors and actions in the creation of institutions, and explores how institutional rules, norms, and cultures constrain the choices and actions of individuals (Jepperson, 1991; Battilana, Leca and Boxenbaum, 2009). Lowndes and Roberts (2013) affirm that institutions have entered a third wave of NI in which institutions are forms of social organisations that may be both formal and informal. Individuals devise rules and these rules govern how they interact and behave (Helmke and Levitsky, 2004). Institutions shape change, through a complex game of rewarding or sanctioning behaviours (Lowndes, 1996). Formal institutional rules are clearly designed and detailed. They are spread through official channels, while informal institutional rules are less evident, and enforced through informal power, culture and structures (Lauth, 2000). NI has developed around four approaches: rational choice institutionalism; historical institutionalism; organizational (or sociological) institutionalism; and discursive (or constructivist) institutionalism. In contrast, Feminist Institutionalism, places emphasis on continuities rather than on the differences among these approaches (Mackay et al. , 2010).

Feminist Institutionalism (FI) applies NI, starting from the premise that institutions are highly gendered, and considers how they constrain and/or enable gendered change. Hence, gender "not only operates at the level of the subjective/interpersonal (through which humans identify themselves and organize their relations with others) but is also a feature of institutions and social structures, and a part of the symbolic realm of meaning-making, within which individual actors are 'nested'." (Mackay, Kenny and Chappell, 2010, p. 580) Understanding institutions could benefit from a gendered analysis in several areas, including structure, power and agency.

According to FI, all rules are gendered, and not only contribute to the gendered power dynamics but influence the opportunities for change in institutional settings (Krook and Mackay, 2011). While in the past FI has been applied mainly to political institutions, more recent research strands have extended to other types of institutions. The Australian construction industry, a male dominated sector, has been examined to observe the formal institutions in the area of gender equality (Galea et al., 2015). To do so, the authors applied two concepts introduced by Lowndes and Roberts (2013): *robustness*, which refers to the maintenance of policy strength and resistance to change over time, and *revisability*, defined as the capacity for policy amendment or alteration, which is required when a policy fails to achieve its stated objective. Robustness and revisability "have proven to be useful tools for exploring the complexities of institutional design processes because they have helped to explain why some policies rather than others are successfully implemented and endure over time." (Lowndes and Roberts, 2013, p. 27).

Verge et al. (2018) have identified the types and forms of resistance to the integration of gender into the Higher Education curriculum in a Spanish University. They describe the informal (non-written) rules underpinning the reinterpretation of gender equality and the gender mainstreaming policies that had an impact on the implementation phase of new curricula in their institution. This case is particularly interesting as it refers to a country in which mainstreaming gender in higher education has been prescribed by law but where the resistance to change is demonstrably high.

In order to explore the institutionalisation of gender equality and the career progression of women, the FI perspective suggests that institutions constrain or favour certain types of behaviour (Chappell et al. , 2006). Institutions change over time, while apparently showing stability. This has inspired scholars to identify and describe mechanisms of incremental institutional change (Van der Heijden, 2012): displacement, drift, conversion and in particular institutional layering, "the introduction of new rules on top of or alongside existing ones" (Mahoney and Thelen, 2010, p. 15). Campbell (2004, 2009) suggests that incremental institutional change may require bricolage, the recombination of institutional principles and practices in new ways, and/or, translation, when new elements are blended into already existing institutional arrangements.

3. Athena SWAN Charter, Ireland

The Athena Project, 1999-2007, was a UK based national Science, Technology, Engineering, Maths and Medicine (STEMM) diversity project to advance and promote the careers of women in STEMM disciplines in higher education and increase the number of women recruited into top posts.

The Athena Project initiative has been continued by the Athena Scientific Women's Academic Network (SWAN) Charter: https://www.ecu.ac.uk/equality-charters/athena-swan/about-athena-swan) launched in 2005 in the UK to advance the representation of women in STEMM, with the support of the Equality Challenge Unit (ECU), now ADVANCE HE. The Athena SWAN Charter encourages and recognises commitment to advancing women's careers in higher education and research in four areas: representation; progression of students into academia; journey through career milestones; and the working environment for all staff.

Athena SWAN (AS) represents an award that universities, departments and research institutes can apply for by initially signing up to the Charter's ten key principles. Members are expected to apply for an institutional Bronze award within three years of joining the Charter, starting on a path that may lead to a Silver, and finally, a Gold award. The data needed for submitting award applications are collated and analysed by Self Assessment Teams (SATs), comprised of members of staff within the institution/School/Department. The application must include an action plan, defining, for each action addressing (currently or in the following four years) the issues identified in the application, success/outcome measure, the persons (or positions) who will be responsible for the action, and a timescale. Actions, and their measures of success, should be Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Relevant and Time-bound (SMART). In May 2015 the Charter was expanded in the UK to facilitate applications from Arts, Humanities, Social Sciences, Business and Law disciplines (AHSSBL).

In Ireland, Trinity College Dublin (TCD) were partners in the INTEGER FP7 project (2011-2015) that sought urgent and high-level policy changes to ensure gender equality, through acting as institutional change agents. TCD's INTEGER teams composition were modeled on Athena SWAN Self Assessment Teams, following consultations with Athena SWAN award holders in the UK. "In order to anchor/institutionalise the gains from INTEGER, and build upon them, required an external stimulus which was provided by the establishment of an Athena SWAN national committee which led to the extension of the Athena SWAN awards to Irish HEIs" (Drew *et al.*, 2018, p. 329).

Following discussions with Irish HEIs and key stakeholder RFOs, the AS Charter was launched in Ireland in 2015. By 2018, eight universities and one Institute of Technology in Ireland had achieved Bronze institutional awards. The importance of gaining the award has increased as a consequence of the decision of three of Ireland's RFOs (Science Foundation Ireland, the Irish Research Council and the Health Research Board) requirement that Higher Education Institutions should hold Bronze awards by the end of 2019, in order to be eligible for research funding and, by end of 2023, they will be expected to hold Silver awards. The decision was led by the overarching funding body the Higher Education Authority (HEA) that funds all HEIs (Higher Education Authority, 2016).

The Annual Report *Review of Gender Equality in Irish Higher Education Institutions* (Higher Education Authority, 2016), tackled gender inequality in the Irish higher education system. Drawing on the work of the Higher Education Authority Expert Group, the Gender Equality Taskforce was established in November 2017 to identify significant measures that could accelerate progress in achieving gender equality in Irish HEIs. The Gender Equality Taskforce has developed an Action Plan to accelerate the rate of progress towards gender equality and to ensure that progress is constant and sustainable. In the meetings with stakeholders, the relevance of the Athena SWAN process to the HEIs progresses has been emphasised, and in fact the first recommendation issued in the report refers to institutional gender action plans, included in AS applications: "Each HEI will develop and implement a gender action plan (including goals, actions and targets), which will be integrated into the institution's strategic plan and into the HEI's compacts with the HEA" (Gender Equality Taskforce, 2018, p. 19)

4. Comitati Unici di Garanzia, Italy

The "Comitato Unico di Garanzia per le pari opportunità, la valorizzazione del benessere di chi lavora e contro le discriminazioni" (CUG) is a central committee to guarantee equal opportunities and promote workers' wellbeing and protection against work discrimination. Introduced in 2010 (Italian law of 4 November 2010 n. 183/art.21.), the CUG is mandatory in all Italian public sector organisations through combining the competences of the committees for equal opportunities (CPO - Comitato Pari Opportunità) and anti-mobbing.

The CUG's mandate is to guarantee: equality and equal opportunities between men and women; the absence of any form of discrimination and violence, direct and indirect, in areas related to work (access to it, and working treatment and conditions) as well as in professional training and careers/promotions; and occupational safety.

The CUG is an administrative authority, independent of politics, aimed at protecting different sectors of social relevance. Its role is the defence and protection of citizens. Each public organisation has a joint committee composed of members elected by the organisation's components. In the case of a University, the members are elected by academics, administrative staff and students with the gender ratio of 50/50 for each subgroup.

A CUG has proactive, advisory and verification tasks to implement data collection and analysis, positive action plans, gender budgeting, welfare surveys and climate surveys. The public organisation should consult the CUG before adopting internal acts in its areas of competence. The formal opinion issued by the CUG is an instrument to control the discretion of the employer in matters affecting the dignity, health and freedom of workers. The CUG opinion is obligatory albeit non-binding: if the administration decides not to comply with the opinion expressed by the CUG, it must justify its reasons in the answer to the CUG. Under Italian law, the public administration can only refuse to accept the CUG's opinion in very rare cases, since this would be an arbitrary action expressing a misuse of a public authority's powers. The CUG can challenge the non-acceptance in any case. An in-depth study of this aspect, which seems to point to a contradiction, is not possible here. However, it is worth noting that Civil law applies under the Italian legal system, while in Ireland Common law is applied. The main difference between Civil law and Common law lies in the way in which general and abstract regulations are created: through laws which are based on abstract hypotheses (Civil law), and through verdicts issued by judges based on concrete cases (Common law). Therefore, the fact that a CUG is a legally entity is in itself a guarantee which enables certain obstacles to be overcome (such as non-acceptance of an opinion).

In order to carry out its task the CUG needs to be connected within the institution it belongs to and with the outside world. Its statutory role of guarantor places the CUG at the centre of a network of skills, figures and roles, internal and external to the administration, which facilitates the evaluation of every question it is asked to express its opinion about, as it has the power to interact formally with a network of organisations and individuals (Quinz, 2018). University CUGs have the power to interact with formal and informal networks, to harmonise the approaches to gender equality and facilitate, for example, work-family balance.

5. Methodology

AS and CUG are important as they are the formal institution in which the promotion of gender equality can be embedded in Universities. To identify relevant knowledge about AS and CUG, initial keyword / search string searches of electronic databases of scholarly publications were conducted. These sources have not provided a sufficient corpus of high-quality, relevant, peer-reviewed articles referring to the two initiatives in Ireland and in Italy, therefore grey literature has been added, to broaden the evidence search beyond the limits of the little corpus of academic journals (Adams et al., 2017).

This paper therefore involves the analysis of scientific literature, legislative documents, project reports planned by Higher Education institutions, national and regional reports, websites and other online documents related to AS and the CUG. Some grey literature was collected through attendance at two local meetings related to AS in a university in Ireland and a national conference and a national training event of the CUG network in Italy.

The activities took place in September - December 2018, apart from the participation at the national CUG conference, May 2018, to build an initial picture of the differences and similarities in the roles of AS and CUG in influencing the promotion of gender equality in academia, observed through the FI lenses. All persons contacted to collect documents and grey literature have been given written information about the purpose of the study, who is undertaking it (the article's author) and how it will be disseminated and used.

6. Findings

In Ireland, the threat of lack of funding for organisations that do not hold the AS Charter has recently acted as an incentive to Universities and Departments to apply for the AS award. Eligibility for research funding has become thus a strong strategy within AS, as it is a necessary step to ensuring Universities continue to make gender equality a priority. Participants in a UK study of AS "perceived that the linkage to research funding had motivated institutional leaders to be engaged in achieving Athena SWAN awards. Respondents also sometimes

stressed the importance of maintaining incentives and resources for Athena SWAN activities and the sustainability of the positive changes after the required Silver level awards were made" (Ovseiko *et al.*, 2017). The mandatory aspect of the CUG is embedded in law and sanctions are real: Universities that do not activate a CUG are banned from recruiting. However, some Universities have still not elected a CUG. "Among the major reasons that explain such a slow change to reach gender equity in research, despite the amount of available knowledge, is identified the lack of skills and experience, of universities and research institutions, to apply this approach to their own tools and procedures. The consequences are the persistence of direct and indirect discrimination, exclusion or marginalization of women from decision-making processes, from research and evaluation" (Biancheri, 2018).

The evolution of the two initiatives is another aspect emerging consistently in the white and grey literature about AS and CUG. In both initiatives there have been adjustments to adapt them to changes in society. For example, in many Italian universities, the introduction of double student ID cards for transgender students, who will be able to use their new identity in the academic field without amendments being made to the civil registry (CUG, 2013). In Ireland, Maynooth University has incorporated 'intersectionality' as part of its Athena SWAN application, taking into account factors that can overlap with gender inequality, such as race and ethnicity: "A gender action plan for 2018 to 2021 also commits the Co Kildare university to launching a gender identity and expression policy for transgender and gender-diverse staff and students" (Murray, 2018). The promotion of a broader approach to diversity and inclusion is common to the two initiatives, however, in documents such as the Piani di Azione Positive, formal documents detailing the action plans issued every three years by the CUG, is mentioned the necessity to constantly monitor gender related issues. The shift in the AS Charter towards gender equality rather than women specifically, including a focus on areas where men are underrepresented, is also considered interesting in practical terms. Its primary focus is still the systemic under-representation of women and gender inequalities.

Concerns about diluting gender issues leads to another topic: the view that gender equality is perceived as something that mainly, or only concerns women. When actions are related to gender equality rather than diversity (although both initiatives require a gender balance in their committees), the practical workload appears to fall mainly to women. A UK single case study referring this problem suggested that a "simple explanation might be that, as the under-represented gender, women felt more personal interest in becoming involved in a programme for change and the programme itself does not provide a mechanism to ensure that this work is evenly distributed"(Caffrey, et al., 2016, p. 7). This extra load in Italy has no positive impact on women's careers, and this is felt as a problem.

While in Italy the difficulties encountered within the Universities are reported, the negative perception is offset to an extent by the awareness that successful actions are favoured by the possibility of networking with other organisations' CUGs, with a positive impact on the final results. The CUG is in fact presented in public speeches as a "transmission belt between the public administration and its stakeholders" (Tomio, 2018).

7. Discussion

The results of this research show more similarities than differences among the two initiatives observed. While it is impossible to claim generalisability, the findings may contribute to future research activities focused on the collection of primary data.

According to Thelen (1999), when studying how layering is applied in organisations, incremental and endogenous change is important and the role of forces external to the organisation must be considered. The CUG is an example of layering, having added both actors and instruments to previously existing initiatives. Institutional transformation has been guided not by replacing the older committees, but merging them and adding new functions thereby favouring the creation of CUG networks across different types of organisations (Kodilja and Tomio, 2018). Smith underlined the risk of 'confusion and futility' (1983, p 164) in the layering process, and this research confirms this risk, through the time needed to get familiar with the systems, and the complexity of creating and incrementing networking outside the University.

The efforts involved in networking could have at least one positive side: the Italian documents cite almost unanimously the advantages offered by networking activities among different public organisations' CUGs. UK research suggested that the impact of the AS was perceived to be undermined by wider institutional practices,

national policies and societal norms, which are beyond the programme's reach (Caffrey 2016; Ovseiko 2017) and the Spanish research conducted in a University promoting gender equality shows resistance to change (Verge et al. (2018). It is unclear whether the Irish and Italian Universities could see AS and CUG as a contrast between a University system, which is clearly committed to gender equality, and the outside world which could interacts negatively with what would otherwise be possible to obtain through wider institutional and societal changes. The strong collaboration among CUGs belonging to different public organisations under the Italian initiative offers a chance of coordinating actions.

The risk of gender segregation described in UK based research (Munir *et al.*, 2014; Caffrey, Wyatt and Fudge, 2016) is evident in Italy, where the events promoting the CUGs in Universities promoted by the *Conferenza Nazionale degli Organismi di Parità delle Università italiane*, the national network of CUG members, are overwhelmingly attended by women, suggesting that there is still a real risk of gender equality being considered a women's issue even in contexts, like the CUGs, in which there is a formal gender balance.

8. Conclusions

This exploratory paper provides an overview of AS and CUG based on desk research. It is obvious that geographical size facilitates uniformity of approaches and coherence in Ireland, where all the 7 Universities and 14 Institutes of Technology are currently involved in the AS Charter. In Italy, there are 68 state universities. However, despite this difference there is a general appreciation of the progress seen in Universities/Departments where AS/CUGs are actively implemented, as well as of the advantages of belonging to networks promoting training and exchange of information, the AS with other Universities and the CUG also with external organisations with which they must collaborate by law.

In conclusion, the implications for practice and research may be useful for Universities engaging in international projects promoting gender equality projects. As suggested by UK research (Ovseiko *et al.*, 2017), survey questionnaires could be used to collect comparable data at international level.

Gender Equality Plans represent a core element of the AS initiative and the EU approach to gender equality in the Horizon2020 programme. Observing the structure of the Italian Piani delle Azione Positive (PAP), the three-year strategic planning documents issued by each CUG, it is evident that only minor adjustments are needed to transform them into Gender Equality Plans, as in the AS initiative. This is indirectly demonstrated by observation of the work done by numerous Italian Universities in many EU-funded projects aimed at implementing Gender Equality Plans, available on FP7/H2020 project websites.

The higher education sector has already shown willingness and ability to harmonise and coordinate its efforts at international level. One example is the process that led to the European Credit Transfer and accumulation System (ECTS) credits, the standard means for comparing, measuring and recognising learning achievements in higher education across the European Union and other collaborating European countries. Nurturing a similar process to formally harmonise existing gender equality initiatives in academia might create a more efficient European academic system incorporating gender equality and inclusion.

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Mary Tibaldi Chiesa, the United States of Europe and the European Movements

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Abstract: This essay aims to highlight, within the context of the Europeanist movements after the second world war, how the idea of the United States of Europe, as a geo-political and geo-cultural concept, was received and perceived in the institutional project of the federalist Mary Tibaldi Chiesa. A federalist who also placed Eastern Europe in a supranational setting, that is the United States of Europe, hoping for a configuration similar to the United States of America. If the priority was the foundation of the United States of Italy, the birth of a united Europe would have been of paramount importance, condicio sine qua non for the formation of a global federation. For the federalist, not only did Europe encompass the Western States of the old continent, but also the Eastern ones. In such perspective, it was necessary to consider Russia an integral part of the European project, linked to Europe by Christian civilization. According to Tibaldi, it was indispensable to overcome the divisions of the Cold war, entrusting, in this regard, a role of primary importance to the United Nations. For many European movements, the implementation of Tibaldi's project could have synthesized the desire for peace of European nations contributing to build a new order and thus eliminating imperialism, already considered by the Italian federalist the most dangerous mechanism in the framework of relations among the European States.

Keywords: Mary Tibaldi Chiesa, United States of Europe, European integration, European movements, federalism

1. Introduction: Research goal, state of art, research methodology

Mary Tibaldi Chiesa (Berardi, 2012; 2018) was confirmed to the Partito Repubblicano Italiano (Republican Italian Party) on 30 September 1949 however, from the 6th of July, when she was first elected as a member of the Parliament, her parliamentary activities had no pauses. On 13 July she took part in the vote for the ratification and execution of the Statute of the Council of Europe: "I voted in favor of the Assembly of Strasbourg, but I did not conceal that it did not represent a genuine and frank federalist formulation" (Tibaldi Chiesa, 1955, p. 11). What was unconvincing to her was the lack of popular participation in the decision making process of the new supranational entity, the fact that it was impossible for the community to have influence, even in a small way, on the final choices. Ultimately, she considered federalism "a very delicate formula, and […] if it is not implemented as it is and as it should be, it will not work, as a medical prescription which the proportions of its ingredients have changed. Nevertheless, I considered that first step of primary importance towards the constitution of an Assembly of an ultra-parliamentary nature and of a transnational atmosphere. Even facing public opinion, it would have been worth promoting and spreading federalist idealism" (Tibaldi Chiesa, 1955, p. 11).

In the same way, she chose to support Italy's Atlantic choice, as did her party. However, her acceptance was not passive, rather she submitted an order of the day for the Parliament afternoon session on 20 July 1949 in which it was stated: "The Chamber (House of Representatives) wishes that the North Atlantic Treaty, having arisen from complex contingencies, can lead today's allies to become shortly the first nucleus of a federation open to all people of the world, to free forever humanity from fear and misery" (Atti Parlamentari, 1949a, p. 10690).

Mary Tibaldi Chiesa's federalist matrix lead her to oppose every governmental pact strictly without the participation of the people. Therefore, her support for the ratification of the Atlantic alliance was not unconditional, rather aimed to implement a new international politics, able to place collective interests before national ones: "It is a new world that starts, and it is for this reason that we, now, in front of the Atlantic Treaty, look forward with hope to these aggregations of nations. And the hope is this: that they materialize to become something of a superior and much wider order" (Tibaldi Chiesa, 1949, p. 5). An indispensable element for a new international politics, able to overcome the selfish choices of each European State, was the inclusion of the civil society in the deliberative processes, even in Eastern Europe. Thus, "the need for having in those federalist assembly true representatives of the people. This is the pre-condition" (Tibaldi Chiesa, 1949, pp. 5-6). As underlined by Anna Scarantino, Mary Tibaldi Chiesa "sustained the globalist "parliamentary" line, aimed at selecting groups of members of the Chamber of Representatives and Senators delegated by their respective Parliaments, in order to establish a global Constituent Assembly, from which a global Constitution should have been derived" (Scarantino, 2006, p. 79).

Through the consultation of principle bibliographic sources and the comparison between Italian and European context, this essay attempts to analyze and contextualize this pro-Europe project. Without being exhaustive, it moreover aims to stimulate reflection and debate upon the central role played by the female figure in Mary Tibaldi Chiesa's thought and work, emphasizing, in particular, some of her most important ideas offered in the debate of the formation of the United States of Europe.

The originality of the research lies in the discussion of a topic not much investigated, indeed, there aren't many significant and critical writings on this theme. The analysis will aim to highlight the role of Mary Tibaldi Chiesa in the Italian and European politics after the Second World War.

2. A staunch federalist

The peaceful choice implied, for her, a constant commitment by all European governments. They had to understand that a future of prosperity for each nation could have been guaranteed only through the removal of all international tension, up to the point where a global Constitution would have been realized, the last achievement towards the definitive affirmation of the federalist principle: "So, we must build this peace with our hands: and so, thinking today for a better tomorrow, we have to wish for the following: that public opinion is called as it has been for European federalism, so that statesmen, specialists, ministries as well as representatives of the people are ready tomorrow to create the global Constitution, sole guarantee of long-lasting peace for the world!" (Tibaldi Chiesa, 1949, p. 6).

It was the Minister of Foreign Affairs Carlo Sforza to accept, upon recommendation, the order of the day of Mary Tibaldi Chiesa who, as she would have been later reminded, tried to enunciate every word "with concern and sense of responsibility" (Tibaldi Chiesa, 1955, p. 12).

Already in September of the same year, she represented Italy at the XXXVIII Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in Stockholm. For the republican, such international organization should have become the first nucleus of a universal Parliament, that is a "Constituent Assembly of the people united by the federalist bond" (Tibaldi Chiesa, 1955, p. 13). Right there in attendance for the first time beside Vice President of the Chamber of Deputies Giuseppe Chiostergi, she made clear the role of women in the European integration process: "the Inter-Parliamentary Union is something to some extent superior to the Parliaments, as it brings together the representatives of the people elected in different countries and it is supranational, while Parliaments are national. […] Women have to actively work in order to form a net of invisible threads, and in the mesh of these nets war will be imprisoned forever, protecting women and children, who represent the future of the world" (Tibaldi Chiesa, 1955, p. 13).

Also in her role as member of the National Council of Italian Women, Mary Tibaldi Chiesa believed that the emancipation of women could proceed in parallel with the federalist path. Indeed, the National Council of the Italian Women "for several years looked in favor upon global federalism, although more as a generic final objective than in its real political, economic and social perspectives" (Scarantino, 2006, p. 79). The global perspective would have ensured the total political emancipation of women. According to the republican, after all, "an enormous disequilibrium still existed between the majority of women in the electorate and the scarceness of female representation elected within the various councils and the various municipal, provincial and national assemblies" (Tibaldi Chiesa, 1953, pp. 14-15). Women had the honor to "realize the solemnity of the vote, which must represent an arm of peace in their hands for the establishment of a new world" (Tibaldi Chiesa, 1953, p. 15). Women, for her, were obliged to vote with consciousness and responsibility in administrative elections, because "here this isn't about private money but public money, which is sacred, as it is everybody's heritage" (Tibaldi Chiesa, 1955, p. 10) and to contribute to the creation of a vast nucleus of peace "within the Municipality and the Province: when they are managed by a good administration, cities and towns are peaceful" (Tibaldi Chiesa, 1955, p. 10). This burdensome choice was even more significant in the political elections where, according to the republican, woman should choose "not only honest and loyal, but competent people" (Tibaldi Chiesa, 1955, p. 10), with "a tradition of political party and an individual experience so as to be entrusted" (Tibaldi Chiesa, 1955, p. 10), in order to "fulfill properly and with honor the mandate committed to them by the electorate" (Tibaldi Chiesa, 1955, p. 10).

The new world, according to Tibaldi Chiesa, required the establishment of a European federalist system, an interim goal for the formation of global federalism, where both civil society and women were called to take up

governmental roles and responsibilities. After all, for her, the female figure had already played a highly significant role in the Italian Risorgimento, while always safeguarding private obligations: "[Each] woman is a mother. First and foremost. From "*Dall'intelletto d'amore"* women, mothers should sense the need to bond with their sisters. Compelling and binding need. The most beautiful dream, the most beautiful crown of female kindness" (Tibaldi Chiesa, 1953, pp. 14-15).

3. For the European unity

Mary Tibaldi Chiesa was a member of the European Federalist Movement, founded in Milan in August 1943 by Altiero Spinelli and Ernesto Rossi among others. It was committed to stimulate, in the immediate aftermath of the hostilities, the process of European integration, considered a precondition for the eventual eradication of international conflicts. Hence, if the establishment of a universal Constitution was the ultimate goal, it was first of all indispensable an European Constitution able to involve all the peoples of the continent in its formation process. She also joined the Universal Movement for a Global Confederation, established in Montreux in 1947, that would spread soon in the Western hemisphere.

As Lucio Levi pointed out, such movement: "After the second world war, she chose two different strategic approaches. The first, ignoring the UN (United Nations), aimed towards a qualitative leap that could determine the immediate transition from the division of the world into States to a universal federation. The second, which aimed at reforming the UN, in order to strengthen and democratize the organization" (Levi, 2005, pp. 132-133).

The Republican was also part of the Italian Parliamentary Group or a Universal Federation, established by the parliament member Ugo Damiani, in the role of secretary general, under the chairmanship of the Christian Democrat Giovanni Battista Adonnino. Mary Tibaldi Chiesa fully supported the thought of the federalist and globalist Emery Reves, who, in the work *Anatomy of the Peace,* vigorously affirmed the need to overcome the national dimension of the State: "We live in a geocentric world of national States. We consider the economic, social and political problems as national problems, in whichever country we live in, the center of our political universe is our own nation. […] Our Ptolemaic political conception in a Copernican industrial world are going bankrupt. […] We must move our focus point and look towards all nations and at all national issues in act, in their correlative functions revolving in accordance to the same laws, without any fixed point created by our own imagination for our convenience. […] it is just a dream believing that we can maintain peace with the tool of diplomacy and politics among people who live in separate national units, without creating a sovereign legislative body, independent judiciary institutions and executive bodies that express and exercise the sovereignty of the people, binding all equally" (Reves, 1990, pp. 43-46 and 136).

According to Tibaldi Chiesa, disarmament became the *condicio sine qua non* in order to impede each nation from causing harm to its neighbor, thus replacing power politics with those based on solidarity and mutual respect. Hence, on 22 October 1949, she presented to the Chamber of Deputies an order of business: "The Chamber of Deputies, in light of the serious danger deriving from the military power of the world's major countries […] requested the Government to promote the establishment of a Committee of experts of scientific, military and political problems responsible to examine the issue of atomic energy control and of armament. Moreover, to strengthen the UN Security Council and the most suitable tools so as to achieve the gradual disarmament of all nations, cooperating with the establishment of a global federalist order, the only effective guarantee of peace and security for the world" (Atti Parlamentari, 1949b, p. 12671).

In the new global federal framework, the republican stated, dominant and dominated people should not exist. Respect and dignity of each collectivity would have become absolute values. Hence, it appeared pointless talking about colonies and colonialism. She vigorously supported in fact the independence of all African countries which, as well as European countries, were entitled to see the self-determination and self-government principle respected.

4. Beyond the borders of the Cold War

In this context, therefore, she observed that women could fulfill their mission as messengers of peace in every instance, only if they had the chance and possibility: "I strongly believe in a federalist propaganda carried out by women among women […], and I take here the opportunity to say […] I am still very sorry […] women in Italy are not engaged in diplomatic careers yet, as I am convinced that, as Indian women have done very well, becoming

morally appreciated and notable in their actions […] also in Italy women could do well in diplomacy as in other places" (Tibaldi Chiesa, 1949, p. 10).

International problems could not be solved without an immediate institutional change not only in Europe but also in the rest of the world: "There are […] issues for the well-being of people that can never be resolved other than at a global level. It is for this reason that we, global federalists (of course we are also European federalists, as Europe is the continent where we live), are convinced that we must "broaden", otherwise these issues won't be resolved. Many people are incredulous towards us, but fortunately it is not so everywhere" (Tibaldi Chiesa, 1949, p. 11).

The steadfast republican was also delighted for the Nobel Peace Prize, in September 1949, awarded to the President of the Universal Movement for a global Confederation, Lord John Boyd Orr, past FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization) Director-General from 1945 to 1948. Together with the French politician and federalist Paul Reynaud, they were among the biggest supporters of the institutional overcoming of the State-centric vision. Mary Tibaldi Chiesa, closing her speech at the Chamber of Deputies, reiterated the request to establish in the immediate future a Commission of experts, once again, able to provide solutions to complex issues of a political, economic, social and military nature still not efficiently handled by the European governments, contrary to those that followed one another without offering concrete answers to modern world problems.

The Commission, indeed, in her view, was to cover what had been "loudly requested by all people of the world, what has always been considered a utopia by scientists (and they are many, unfortunately): control on armament, in order to achieve a gradual disarmament control of atomic energy, strengthening of the UN Security Council. All this in order to reach a federal global government that all people, most who long for peace, have the right to wish for" (Tibaldi Chiesa, 1949, p. 14).

During the sitting of 22 October 1949, Mary Tibaldi Chiesa was the signatory of the order of the day that, among others, emphasized that "peace, prosperity and freedom in the world could not be guaranteed until democratic States would not have reached a unified political and economic organization" (Atti Parlamentari, 1949b, p. 12687). In such perspective, therefore, the Government and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were called to support the action of the Council of Europe and to sustain, in the appropriate *fora*, a political line aimed to widen the power of such Institution "in connection with the task assigned to it in the interest of the European people" (Atti Parlamentari, 1949b, p. 12688).

Both orders of the day were accepted as a recommendation by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Carlo Sforza, who also considered necessary widening the competence of the Council of Europe and an acceleration of the European integration process. Mary Tibaldi Chiesa, in the work *La mia vita politica (My political life)* would have clarified: "Peace is not a word and it is not enough wishing, invoking, proclaiming it. Peace is a building that must be erected stone by stone, with solid foundations, otherwise it can neither hold nor stand. The foundations of the house of peace are freedom and law. We therefore must say: peace in freedom through the law" (Tibaldi Chiesa, 1955, p. 17).

The Parliament, from this perspective, became a stronghold of the rights for the people, the guarantor for the community of the mission entitled to the State, the largest nucleus of peace where appropriate foreign policy choices must be made to address the needs of the civil society : "As each family belongs to the vaster human family, so is each country, not a point suspended in air but a country in the midst of other countries, part of the continent where the world is situated" (Tibaldi Chiesa, 1955, p. 19).

An enormous calamity for the future lay in massive costs that governments allocate for armaments, which not only increased the risk for new international conflicts but also took valuable resources away from the community. To build peace, instead, "the problem of the complete, universal, simultaneous and controlled disarmament should have been resolved" (Tibaldi Chiesa, 1955, p. 26). So, without contrasting with the Republican line in supporting the Government, she always tried to uphold her principles. She did this as well, for example, on 6 March 1951 on the occasion of the order of the day presented by the Christian Democrat Giuseppe Bettiol, when the Prime Minister Alcide De Gasperi put forth the question of confidence. This was related to the request of extra spending from the Ministry of Defense to be carried out during the financial year 1950-1951 for the country's strengthening of security. In such circumstance, she preferred abstaining from voting, as she considered unacceptable with her Federalist project increasing military expenditures. Therefore, the following

day, in agreement with "the Honour President of the *Pax* Association for a Global Federation, Angela Giulia Sangiorgi, and with the President, honorable Ugo Damiani" (Tibaldi Chiesa, 1955, p. 26), she submitted to the Chamber of Deputies an order of the day where she stated the immediate urgency of establishing an ultra-national organization for the promotion of actions aiming at international peace, and she invited the International Red Cross to adopt the initiative with the governments of all the countries, also those non belonging to the UN. She thought that there was the need to convene "a conference for the effective disarmament and its control, and for establishing, with the support of all Nations, an international organization provided with means adequate and suitable to guarantee its functioning, with its own representatives deployed in each Nation and not belonging the Nation itself" (Atti Parlamentari, 1951, p. 26863).

Moreover, she encouraged the Government to support this proposal "by the International Red Cross in the belief that, faced with this initiative, no Government would have assumed the responsibility towards the people of a refusal and therefore the proposal would have obtained the consensus by the Governments consulted" (Atti Parlamentari, 1951, p. 26863).

According to the Republican: "at the present time you cannot think about an immediate stop to the armament, since it would not be controlled. But we can think about an action for a controlled disarmament, through an international conference […] for the active disarmament and also for the establishment of an international force, with units employed in each country, which the order of the day specified not belonging to the own country so that the disarmament could be controlled" (Atti Parlamentari, 1951, p. 26863).

In his reply, honorable Randolfo Pacciardi, while accepting the main points of the order of the day as recommendations, pointed out: "Regarding the order of the day of Ms. Tibaldi Chiesa, I declare that the Government is favorable in general, that is, it is in favor for all the possibilities to be presented in the institutional forum an effectively controlled disarmament. However, it expresses its doubts on the possibility that such control can be assigned to the International Red Cross" (Atti Parlamentari, 1951, p. 26857).

Despite all efforts made to convene a Conference for the disarmament, she did not succeed in her attempts: "I sent [the order of the day] to all heads of state, Sovereigns, Prime Ministers and Ministers of Foreign Affairs. I received many letters of approval, but the initiative did not succeed, because the International Red Cross did not deem to accept the invitation to be admitted to the Conference" (Tibaldi Chiesa, 1955, pp. 26-27). Nevertheless, she did not despair, in the hope that the intervention of the UN could replace the refusal of the International Red Cross. The disarmament and the condemnation of militarism were the preliminary conditions for the fulfillment of her federalist plan, in line with what already was theorized by one of her teachers, Carlo Cattaneo: "In peacetime, militarism devours every food of war. All treasures that science has applied to industry, agriculture, locomotion, unexpected in civil society, are swallowed by the militarism pit. And with all this furious and senseless profusion no power is sure to have 24 hours of peace" (Cattaneo, 1944, p. 279).

The same Cattaneo reiterated "the day when Europe […] wrote on its forehead the United States of Europe, not only would it have escaped from this sad need for conflicts, fires and gallows, but it would have also profited by a hundred thousand million" (Cattaneo, 1944, p. 279).

According to Mary Tibaldi Chiesa, Italy considered also some federalists of great substance among its great intellectuals, foremost Carlo Cattaneo himself. As she described the hero of the *Five Days* as a "man with its feet on the ground, as a good Lombard […] he was appreciated also abroad for his economic essays. Carlo Cattaneo knew the needs of the new world" (Tibaldi Chiesa, 1949, p. 14). According to the Lombard intellectual (who, with spirit of emulation, had looked at the institutional model of the United States of America, as she did), customs barriers had to be eliminated in order to ensure the well-being of the industrial and commercial sector: "The more customs are abolished, the more the trade area will expand, the more industry draws courage and vigor from the two highest principles of the division of labor and free emulation" (Cattaneo, 1860, p. 489). Together with the abolition of the customs barriers, Ms. Tibaldi Chiesa considered as necessary also the adoption of a single currency for all nations of the continent, thus favoring the economic and financial European integration. Therefore, she re-invoked the intervention at the Chamber of Deputies of the Minister of Foreign Affairs Carlo Sforza, when, considering the membership of Italy to the Council of Europe as indispensable, he stated: "If, for example, we succeed in the Assembly of Strasbourg – without performing miracles, because that is always dangerous, as expected miracles are performed only by dictators, not by Assemblies – if we succeed in creating, for example, a deep unity among the European railroad systems, if we create a single European

currency, if we provide many possibilities and ways to exchange and contacts in the widest range of human expression, we will give the impression to all Europeans that something new exists, as the consequence of such decisions will not be ideological statements but specific facts that will impact their daily lives, removing and diminishing stupid nationalistic borders […]" (Atti Parlamentari, 1949c, p. 10308).

5. Conclusion: United States of Italy and United States of Europe

According to Tibaldi Chiesa Italy could offer a significant contribution to the establishment of a new world., in fact she indeed believed: "[…] our thoughts and our minds are free and those who are familiar with such problems, each in his or her own field, could cooperate in this endeavor, trying once again to provide an Italian contribution for peace and harmony of the people" (Tibaldi Chiesa, 1949, pp. 14-15).

The Second World War was therefore also considered by Mary Tibaldi Chiesa the biggest mishap, capable of determining the spiritual involution of all nations, thus impeding the slow and necessary path of people towards progress and civilization. Therefore, it proved to be the primary responsibility for the laceration of ties of both solidarity and cooperation that, instead, should have joined together the nations, also those dominated by the Soviet regime. After all, according to the federalist, also Russia, once freed by Communist domination, would have become a full member of the United Sates of Europe, as it was tied to Christian values as the rest of the continent. In this way, all Eastern Europe would have become one of the founding pillars of the new continental Federation.

Therefore, she did not lose the optimism for the future. The establishment of the United States of Italy should have been the first step for the formation of the United States of Europe. Women should have played a new role, as they were for too long emarginated from the political life of the country: "In the new era Women must […] know how to hold up, as a firm pillar, the building of the transformed and renewed world and humanity. They will do so, as they have done during the two dreadful world wars when they were able to hold the weight of their families together with the strain of work in factories, schools, fields, while men were faraway fighting" (Tibaldi Chiesa, 1953, p. 4).

After the second world war, the international community was at a crossroads. According to her, if each nation had put the collective interests above those selfish vested ones, all divisions and contrasts, produced and intensified by the war, would have leveled out until disappearing. If, instead, each State had continued to pursue the political choices that caused the conflict, peace would have never become a stable status: "Now, unfortunately, the world is divided, divided and tormented by discords which bring forth new conflicts, which could escalate once again from a national to an international level. With the means of the modern military science, that would mean extermination of mankind and destruction of our civilization" (Tibaldi Chiesa, 1953, p. 4). It was the UN that could become the original core of the future global Constituent Assembly, which would have hosted the representatives of all nations. With this in mind, she condemned all forms of colonialism, deeming it imperative for all nations the right to self-determination.

Women are now called upon to hold prominent positions in the political *agon*. Their presence could be a guarantee for a better future. With this in mind, she had chosen to become a leading figure in the political life of the country, inheriting the moral legacy of her father and of all the other Republicans who dedicated their entire existence to the country. Women, able to overcome with courage the suffering of procreation, had now the honor to distinguish themselves within the institutional framework, offering their support in establishing the new federal order without hesitation.

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An Organisational Structure Approach to Gender Differences in Career Progression Experiences in an Academic Setting

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Abstract: This study is currently a work in progress. The overall aim of this study is to explore similarities and differences in career progression experiences of men and women in an Irish University. The study uses the organisational structure approach as a theoretical lens to examine a range of factors that can facilitate and impede career progression. To date data has been collected through online surveys. The next phase of the research will be data analysis before presenting the results to reflect career progression experiences based on gender, focusing specifically on differences in the patterns of results recorded between the genders.

Keywords: organisational structure approach, career progression, gender differences, mentoring, networking, family friendly work policies

1. Background of the study and progress to date

Before discussing the literature in the area, this section outlines the progress to date to contextualise the literature which follows hereafter.

An online survey was administered and distributed during a 3-week period in a public University in Ireland. A follow-on reminder email was sent after two weeks. A total of 154 responses were collected, of which 102 responses were useable. Surveys were eliminated if gender of the respondent was not identified or if the survey was incomplete. The data currently being analysed by SPSS, so that correlations and relationships can be established between the different variables. Once the data has been analysed the results will be presented and discussed using the organisational structure approach as a theoretical lens. This data will be analysed to determine the experiences of both males and females of the promotions process, identifying whether or not they felt organisational culture, tokenism, mentoring, access to family friendly work policies and networking had an impact on their career progression. These results will be organised to reflect the experiences based on gender and to determine whether gender of the respondent had an impact on the results recorded. The implication of these results will then be considered. These results will be presented and discussed at the conference

2. Women in academia

The study of women in academia has attracted attention over recent years. Representation of female academics at senior levels in universities have not achieved large numbers, despite the existence of inclusion programs and equal opportunity practices in many universities (White, Cox and Cooper 1992; Dugger 2001). Figures published by the Higher Education Authority in Ireland highlight that gender inequality is an issue for the sector. Across Irish universities, only 19% of professors are women., while in institutes of technology, women make up 45% of academic staff but just 29% of senior academic staff (HEA, 2015). In 2005 the Athena Swan charter was established to encourage and recognise commitment to advancing the careers of women in science, technology, engineering, maths and medicine (STEMM) employment in higher education and research, which has since expanded to arts, humanities, social sciences, business and law (AHSSBL) (Equality Challenge Unit, 2018). In 2017, three Irish universities were honoured by the Athena SWAN Charter for their work in the battle against gender inequality: Dublin City University (DCU), University College Dublin (UCD) and University of Limerick (UL) (Kennedy 2017). More recently, in what has been described as a "landmark move in gender wars", Mary Mitchell O'Connor, Minister for Higher Education in Ireland, announced female-only professorships in attempt to redress the imbalance in the Irish Education Sector.

3. The organisational structure view

The organisational structure view (Kanter 1976) examines structural factors within organisations and concludes that the distribution of opportunity and power and the social composition of groups within organisations may be the critical variables for understanding the lack of progression for women in the workplace. Furthermore, Kanter (1976) argues that opportunities for women in the workplace are blocked as women tend to have little power in the larger organisational hierarchy, adding that those who do get close to the top are often

predominantly surrounded by colleagues who are male, and are often perceived as tokens. Overall, it can be argued that organisations' structure, rather than inner traits and attributes, can be attributed to the lack of female progression into the managerial role, leading Kanter (1976) to suggest that the critical factor for women may not be their gender but their number.

In addition, Kanter (1977) identifies two specific job situations, advantageous and disadvantageous ones, which can directly influence behaviours in the workplace. Advantageous job situations are positions located at the upper levels in organisations which offer power and access to resources for their occupants. Such positions are traditionally held by individuals whose social category is in the majority, that is, males. Disadvantageous job situations on the other hand, are located at lower corporate levels and offer little power to their occupants, along with fewer opportunities. Such positions are held by individuals whose social category is few in number, that is, females. Overall, individuals in advantageous positions develop attitudes and behaviour which help them to accelerate, while those in disadvantageous positions develop attitudes and behaviour that reflect and justify their job situations, which in turn, offers limited advancement in the workplace (Fagenson 1990). Kanter (1977) also pointed out that because women are traditionally placed lower down in the organisational hierarchy feminine traits tend to shape their behaviour, in addition to making them more dependent on others to meet their needs, based on their level of power and access to resources, compared to individuals at upper levels. In other words, if women were placed in high level jobs, they would exhibit the behaviours that men have exhibited in those positions (Kanter 1977; Riger and Galligan 1980). Assuming female and male managers occupy the same role within an organisation and have equivalent access to status and power, there is no reason to expect gender differences in leadership styles (Eagly, Karau and Makhijani 1995). This suggests that when examining gender differences in leadership behaviour it is important to compare women and men who occupy the same position in the organisation and are at the same level in the organisational hierarchy.

Like the gender centred perspective, the organisational structure perspective is not without its criticisms. While the gender centred perspective has been criticised for disregarding situational variables (Fagenson, 1993), the organisational structure perspective has been criticised for failing to control for factors other than the structure of the organisation (Martin 1993). The primary focus on organisational structure overlooks the saliency of other important organisational factors including norms and culture, policies, training systems, promotion, and reward systems (Fagenson 1990; Gregory 1990). Other factors in the job environment, such as the attitudes of workers towards female managers, may impede women's success (O'Leary 1974), for example, female workers may be overtly hostile to women as managers, or they may discriminate in a more subtle way, for example, attributing women's success to factors other than their ability. Bass *et al* (1971) found that negative attitudes towards women were based not on males' belief that women are less competent or qualified, but on the fact that having women as colleagues or bosses upsets the traditional patterns of difference between women and men. Women who move upwards in an organisational structure upset this traditional balance of power and, in doing so may discomfort and threaten men as well as token women. Based on this perspective, it appears that the solution to women's plight in organisations would simply be to replace men with women in senior level positions, meaning that gender stereotyping and sexism would dissipate.

However, despite the criticisms of the organisational structure view, it still has relevance in explaining the plight of women in senior organisational positions. The next section considers a number of internal organisational factors which can attribute to the lack of females in higher managerial positions: the old boy's network, mentoring, networking, tokenism and access to family friendly work policies.

3.1 The old boys club

The *"old boys club"* has been identified as a barrier for women. This refers to "social reproduction" or "cloning" whereby the directors and managers at higher echelons are replaced by those akin to themselves (Kanter 1977). Historically, and also to a lesser extent in the present, companies have been directed and managed by white older males and therefore the cycle continues whereby those of similar character keeps rising through the ranks. This is sometimes called taste-based discrimination whereby personal tastes can cause a preference for male leaders with the opinion that being a leader is a masculine activity (Pande and Ford 2012). Possibly of even more concern are the findings which suggest that even if women behave in a style stereotypically seen as being male, then this will have a negative effect on how they are seen by the organisation as a whole (Rudman 1998; Heilman 2001).

3.2 Mentors

Davidson and Cooper (1992) assert that female role models in higher managerial positions act as important influencers in terms of career aspiration for other women. Given the small number of female role models in senior levels, women often find themselves with no alternative other than to "adapt" to the organisational culture by taking on male attitudes and values which can lead to a feeling of marginalisation (Fiedlen and Cooper 2001). Catalyst (1997) highlights the presence of predominantly male cultures, particularly in the industrial sector, making the sector unfriendly to women, which creates an extra burden for women in the workplace. Davidson and Burke (Davidson and Burke 2004 p. 63) highlight "mentoring can have an impact on the gender culture in an organisation". Mentoring is viewed as a facilitator of organisational advancement and success for women in the workplace. However, despite its usefulness it is not commonly available to women in the workplace (Hopkins and O' Neil 2007). Research conducted with senior managers has identified mentoring as a specific strategy employed by women to enable them to climb the corporate ladder (Ragins, Townsend and Mattis 1998; Vinnicombe and Singh 2003; Davidson and Burke 2004). Ragins (2002 p. 44) claimed that mentoring may be the "ice pick" for breaking through the glass ceiling.

3.3 Tokenism

The issue of "tokenism" is also significant when looking at mentoring for women in the workplace. As women progress into executive levels they are increasingly likely to experience tokenism, where a woman is the first to enter a particular role which may leave them feeling isolated and excluded, often leading to discrimination (Desmarais and Alksins 2005). Being a token woman not only means a lack of female support, it provides an environment with few role models of women in executive positions, making the mentoring relationship between female colleagues difficult to foster at particular levels of the organisation (Gatrell and Cooper 2007). Studies have found that a smaller proportion of women at upper management level result in greater intentions to quit (Burke and McKeen 1996) and actual turnover (Cohen and Elvira 1997) for women in lover levels of the organisation. Furthermore, Riger and Galligan (1980) note how certain dynamics prevail when tokens are present in a group, arguing that tokens are likely to be scrutinised more closely, pressured to side with the majority and expected to conform to stereotypes.

3.4 Networking

The importance of informal networks is another barrier to women in business. Networking is a critically important activity for women's career success and well-being (Hopkins and O' Neil 2007). It provides both a social support and internal visibility within the workplace. Women rely on relationships as a source of learning and development (Van Velsor and Hughes 1990) and for instrumental emotional support (Forret and Dougherty 2004). These informal networks appear to be more easily accessible for males, as the level of interaction tends to be stronger between the male dominated higher ranks in the organisation and males aspiring to these higher ranks. Villiers (Villiers 2010) notes how the elite male network maintains its well documented dominance and power. Individuals who are not part of the network are excluded from positions for which the network acts as a pathway. Networking also contributes to the social capital necessary for advancement into top management, since it gives encouragements that lead to training that leads to advancement. This lack of available networking opportunities for women results in inferior strategic positioning within the organisation and decreases the likelihood of ever reaching the position of CEO (Zelechowski and Bilimoria 2004).

Within organisations women are often at a disadvantage because they are not in influential roles, therefore they are limiting their networking abilities (Hopkins and O' Neil 2007). Ibarra (1997) suggests that the demographic composition of an organisation affect personal networks by predetermining the options available to women. Lyness and Thompson (2000) note that women are often excluded by dominant groups of men in the organisation, thus limiting the possibility of accessing networks that are critical for advancement and success. The lack of access to influential networks often result in women being overlooked for challenging assignments in the organisation resulting on lower visibility within the workplace. Above all, networking helps increase visibility, enhances industry knowledge and improves a person's ability to offer innovative recommendations in the workplace (Villiers 2010).

3.5 Domestic and family issues

The inability to balance the demands of work and home combined with long working hours have been cited as barriers to women's progression within the workplace (Cross 2010). For example, it has been shown that women "take on the bulk of childcare responsibilities and domestic tasks" (Ramb 2008 p. 6). The number of dual earner families has increased in recent years, as has the combined hours parents are working, while the demands of maintaining a family and caring for dependents have remained unchanged. With more people working for pay and family work hours rising, balancing work and family life has become an increasingly critical issue (Berg, Kalleberg and Appelbaum 2003). This, coupled with the ageing population has brought the issue of reconciliation between work and care commitments to the fore (Russell, O'Connell and McGinnity 2009). Research indicates that women take on the bulk of childcare responsibilities and domestic tasks (Cross and Linehan 2006; Kan, Sullivan and Gershuny 2011; Evertsson 2014). The challenge for working parents is facilitating the sharing of roles in a fair and equitable manner to relieve the double burden of domestic and employment duties (Fine-Davis, Fagnani, Giovannini *et al* 2004; Evertsson 2014). The challenge for organisations is finding ways to support working parents with flexible working options, and in turn retaining valued employees (O'Connell and Russell 2005; Bloom, Kretschmer and Van Reenen 2011; Feierabend and Staffelbach 2016). Furthermore, Cooke (2012) indicates that the desire for flexible working, while once the focus of junior employees is now being expressed at the most senior levels of management.

In this regard, Groysberg and Connolly (2013) report that organisations offering benefits, such as FWAs, that help employees balance professional and personal commitments, support inclusion and diversity in the workplace. Results published by Nagamootoo (2014) indicate, that among 773 UK working fathers, if men played an equal or main caregiver role in childcare, 47% of female partners had progressed their career since having had children. On the other hand, if men played very little or a moderate role in childcare activities, only 26% of female partners had progressed their career. Although the workplace is gradually offering greater flexibility in order to accommodate these different roles through policies connected with the work-life balance and family friendly measures, such workplace flexibility is a relatively new concept and does not necessarily resolve the difficulties the working mother often faces (Villiers 2010).

Taken as a whole, the organisation structure perspective argues that women's progression in the workplace is limited based on an organisational environmental condition as opposed personal characteristics.

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Condemned to Manage: Women Managing Cooperative Stores in Poland in the Period of Socialism (1945 – 1989)

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Abstract: The purpose of this comparative case study is to gain understanding and to explain the organizational role of women working in organizations typical for the Communist period in Poland, in particular administrative functions and dysfunctions of management positions. For the study, we selected food cooperatives (i.e. grocery shops) typical for this time. The studied period covers the years 1974-1989 when cooperative shops were in operation, under the supervision of women managers who fulfilled that function when no management principles known nowadays were in place. We selected the method of a comparative and retrospective case study with the study area covering the work of two women in management positions in two cooperatives operating in the Communist era: one located in the countryside and the other in the city.

Keywords: cooperative stores, management in socialism, women managers

1. Introduction

For years, women managers in organisations have been perhaps not the mainstream, but the significant objects of scientific research in English language countries (Eagly, Heilman, 2016). Particularly, attention is paid to their less chance, comparing to men, for having managerial positions (Moss Kanter, 1977/1993), low representation of women managers in mass media (Elliott at al., 2016), or trivialisation of and narrowing their organisational roles, which does not support the social reception of women managers. Presentations of women leader personalities are based on traditional women roles in culture – namely wives and mothers (Kapasi et al., 2016). Women leadership is assessed as less advantageous than that of men, more often it is devaluated (Kulich et al, 2007), women are rarely taken into account as regards managerial positions, because these roles do not fit the female gender stereotype (Eagly and Karau, 2002). Women, who want to be promoted in organisations, adapt to male models of managerial roles (Höpfl, Matilal, 2007).

Meanwhile, the situation of women managers in the Eastern and Central Europe countries that had operated in the command economy system for more than 40 years is hardly identified. In the case of Poland, this period is considered as a peculiar "black hole" in the research on the situation of women, namely in respect of their emancipation, women's political, social and organisational prime mover (Mrozik, 2011), despite their growing professional activation (Fidelis, 2010) and their attempts to overcome the traditional breakdown of occupations into the male and the female ones (Polkowska, 2007), maintaining, at the same time, their traditional family roles (Sekuła-Kwaśniewicz, 2015). Despite the transformation of economies after 1989, the progress of cultural and social changes affecting women's role and functioning, also in organisations, was slower. The present research on women's voice and their situation in Polish organisations (Kostera 1996, 2003; Bogacz-Wojtanowska, Wrona, 2017) proves the growth of significance of roles of women managers (especially in social organisations) with both the continuous stereotyping (Środa, 2009) and the marginalization still existing in the public sphere (Graff, 2001). This is why regular disclosing in the research the situation, which is historical already, can allow not only to deeply understand the present situation of women in Polish organisations, but also to be a certain contribution to understanding various contexts of women's roles in organisations in different political, socio-cultural and economic situations.

The research problem we take on concerns the situation of women in organisations in the light of changes in roles played by women and women's social and occupational improvement in the communist era. How they were taking managerial roles, what challenges they were facing in respect of functions and dysfunctions of managerial positions and what managing tools they had at their disposal. In this paper we try to describe and explain the organisational roles of women working in food cooperatives typical for the communist era, as Poland become one of the most "cooperative-packed" countries in the world in that period. The researched period involves years between 1963 and 1989, when cooperative stores managed by women were operating. They were managers in time when no methods of management currently known to us were in force.

2. Cooperative movement and trade in times of the Polish People's Republic (1945 – 1989)

The story of women in cooperative stores in times of the Polish People's Republic (PRL) should be started with an introduction into the situation of the cooperative movement in Poland in that period. The established state's control and policy over the whole cooperative sector caused fast organisational, financial and technical development as well as development of hierarchic structures over local individual cooperatives. The extent of operations of cooperatives, their roles and significance in providing goods and services were extended, the same was with their share in employing citizens and their infrastructure and resources of their financial bases (Brodziński, 2014). In times of communism, nationalization of industry and control over community initiatives, including forced collectivization of agriculture, caused that a huge number of cooperatives was dissolved and the new ones were established upon the new, socialist terms and conditions. First of all, the obligation of equal service to all stakeholders caused that cooperative employees had no privileges or extra benefits because of belonging to the organisation. The consequence was, on one hand, the better image of the cooperative in the eyes of the neighbourhood, but, on the other, the weak sense of loyalty and links among employees and the organisation (Brodziński 2014).

The process of organising and managing municipality cooperatives was taking place in difficult conditions and socio—economic and political context. There was a shortage of sufficient assets, infrastructure, transport, qualified personnel, financial means, and, as the centrally planned economy was in force, cooperatives were considered as being in social ownership (Anulewicz 2012).

The municipality cooperatives "Samopomoc Chłopska" (Farmers Self-Help) were one of the main forms of the rural cooperative movement. Due to the post-war administrative reforms, they became, along with state enterprises, the form of collective economy within rural areas. Municipality cooperatives' extent of operations was limited to the area of one municipality. Their primary objective was to purchase farming goods and to provide rural populations with means of production, food and industrial items. Meanwhile in cities, the socialist "Społem" cooperative became the key post-war organization of the Polish cooperative movement. It was granted with monopolistic rights to take over all domains of economic life (Mysiakowska-Muszyńska, Muszyński 2015). Both rural and city cooperatives were associated in the Central Cooperative Association, which appointed cooperative centres to support the work of cooperatives within the framework of both management and instructing and reviewing charge (Brodziński 2014).

The rural and city cooperatives mentioned above, subordinated to the state of that time won the so called post-war "battle for trade" in Poland (Zugaj 2016). Individual farmers named by inhabitants were dealing with trade still in the first post-war years, later on nothing but cooperative stores were existing. Since the 1960s, intra-district wholesale outlets and provincial rural transport cooperatives had taken providing services to these populations, including supplies to stores (Brodziński 2014). Elimination of other economic institutions dealing with supplies and trade caused that municipality cooperatives had a quasi-monopoly on supplies for inhabitants. As a consequence, it was the "monopoly of hindrance", since cooperatives were criticised for shortage of goods, inefficiency and no thrift, shortage of qualified personnel (mainly in accounting departments), which caused the dissatisfaction of inhabitants and economic losses of cooperatives (Romański 2012, Brodziński 2014). Shortage of goods was caused also by lack of control over employees and ordinary thefts due to continuous deficit of goods. The criticism for operation of municipal cooperatives was also the effect of their negative reception by inhabitants, as these organizations had a significant function in performance of the state policy, so they were obliged to hand over contingent supplies from farmers (Brodziński 2014) and were taking over assets of pre-war cooperatives. Poorly developed transport increased problems in delivery transport of goods, which caused store supply shortages (Zugaj 2016). In addition, the system of strict rationing goods existed, caused by shortage of goods on the market. That system (diverted in particular ten-year periods) involved giving food ration coupons to nationals. Coupons entitled to buy strictly defined volumes of goods, first of all food (Zawistowski 2016).

Trade and the cooperative movement were also subject to the strict control exercised by various state institutions, first of all agricultural and food supply committees (Zugaj 2016). An additional institution, namely the Workers' and Farmers' Inspection (IRCha, the acronym of the Polish name of that institution, means "chamois leather"), was introduced after the martial law to fight against speculation of goods. The then state explained the problems of cooperatives by the existence of the "store mafia", "class conflict" and hidden collaborators of "kulaks" among cooperative personnel and management (Zugaj 2016).

3. Women in PRL

The situation of Poland after World War II significantly affected the labour market transformation. Final overcoming the unemployment issue and growth of the number of job offers, yet without changing conditions of work and pay, were the consequences of war effects and introduction of the policy of price controls in the economy (Wutezi, 2010). The tough situation of Polish families, low number of children in families and growth of women's awareness and of their education level caused that women decided to be active in terms of labour (Polkowska 2007, Wutezi, 2010). That process complied with the principles of real socialism, where "the mass entry by women into the public sphere sustained and strengthened the traditional model based on heroic and protective virtues" (Titkow, 2001). Women's occupational activity was one of the elements of the state's policy against social inequalities, yet, despite this, differences between genders still formed the social hierarchy (Fidelis, 2010). The period of socialism in Poland diminished disproportions in education of men and women. However, it is significant that women accepted in a certain way their lower positions in organisations. This is called the "slave's gratitude" in the literature (Domański, 1999). Yet the number of women's organisations decreasing after the war caused the disappearance of social and political women's activity (Sekuła-Kwaśniewicz, 2015).

At the same time, the feminisation of occupations considered to date as the male ones was taking place, loudly popularised by mass media, which "glorified the work of women, praised their achievements and encouraged them to take up new professional challenges" (Miłoszewska-Kiełbiewska, 2015). Women - tractor drivers, later on, women-bricklayers became the icons of the communist propaganda. Slogans mobilising to overcome the traditional breakdown of occupations into the male and the female ones were also formulated (Polkowska, 2007). Women's occupational activity was being linked to the traditional family roles that had been played to date: raising children and housekeeping. This was unambiguously assessed in the public opinion, so a part of women could face no acceptance by their environment (Sekuła-Kwaśniewicz, 2015). Following these changes, also the nature of family relations between a man and woman was changing, most often taking the form of partner housekeeping (Szpak, 2013). Women in the period of PRL were necessarily involving in the cooperative movement, looking for their occupational chances in it.

4. Research methods

In order to show the research problem, we let two main characters – women managers of two cooperative stores - take the floor. One of them (Maria) managed a cooperative store belonging to the Samopomoc Chłopska cooperative in a summer resort village, while the other (Zofia) had a managerial position at a big city cooperative store, belonging analogically to the Społem Cooperative. The researched period concerns the years from 1963 to 1989, when both stores were operating.

We chose the comparative case study method. The work of two women at two managerial positions in two cooperative stores of the socialist Poland was the area of our research. We wanted to find in this way the specificity of work of women at a store, understand what challenges they faced at their managerial positions, what organisational dysfunctions restricted them and what were the tools they had at their disposal. We chose the retrospective case study (Eisenhardt, Graebner, 2007) as we wanted to be satisfied with understanding the historical occurrence such as work in cooperatives in the era of PRL from the present point of view, where the impressions, judgments and assessments of our interlocutors are descriptions under reinterpretation, marked with experience from the post-communist time.

Our case study was based on the interpretative and symbolic paradigm. We used within its frameworks the quality research methods such as the biographic interviews and the archive document analysis. Six interviews were conducted in total with two women managers at the turn of 2017 and 2018.

5. Outcomes

5.1 Zofia – deputy manager of a city store of the Common Food Cooperative (PSS) "Społem"

Zofia's history dates back to 1963, when after three years of education in a vocational school she was graduated as a store assistant. In order to get a job, newly graduated school students filed their job applications, curricula and school certificates of completion. All the students, who graduated from that school together with her and who applied then, got job posts in a big city store. Zofia's first job was the job of a store assistant at PSS "Społem", the next one – also at PSS "Społem", as high as a deputy manager (1964-69). As Zofia passed GCSE, she could have the mention "intellectual education" in her certificate. This documented then to Zofia's employers that she

was adequately qualified to work at a managerial position. Zofia emphasized very large similarity between the stores she worked at, both in managing, customer service, and in the "daily routine".

Goods and getting goods

Stores in the city centre were supplied every day, because food wholesale outlets were near, and goods were transported from wholesale outlets of various types. Stores far from the city centre were supplied more rarely. The ordered goods were brought not until an order was considered to be large enough and the transport to be profitable. In those days, shortages of goods in stores were something usual.

There were salt, sugar, several types of charcuterie, eggs, butter, milk, margarine, kasha, beetroots, sauerkraut, potatoes, carrots, apples, alcoholic beverages, cigarettes among the goods usually available at the store. Yet it was totally impossible to guarantee particular products to be always on sale, as this depended on the Bureau of Supplies and their possibilities of getting goods.

Goods were placed on shelves by the staff people present at the store while being supplied. They were also responsible for the correct calculation of supplied goods. Goods were usually placed more or less in the same place so that customers and store assistants would not lose time for searching. As Zofia says, there was no practice of hiding goods to be sold to the so called "own people". There were situations that someone asked for something to be retained for him or her, because he or she was to go back for the goods afternoon or when coming from work, but these were usually regular customers (our interlocutor calls them as "own people"), to whom a favour like this was usually done. But the goods needed for own family were bought at once and brought home.

Everyday work, home duties and reception in the local community

Zofia arrived at her workplace always at 7am. If there were customers as early as then in front of the store, customer service was the first thing to do. Next, goods located in the storage room were laid out on shelves, while goods incoming during the day – put into the storage room. Customer service all day long was the main activity, at the end of the day cleaning and tiding up the whole store began, adding new goods again and cash calculation:

As early as after coming to work, special working clothes were put on own clothing: everybody looked the same, no matter at what positions he or she worked. No badges showing a store assistant's position or name were carried. Customers rather did not know who the manager was and who the deputy was.

Zofia recalls that the store assistant occupation was much respected in the community. Inhabitants were polite towards store employees, both as customers and outside the store, showing with gestures and words that they recognized a lady assistant, whom they knew. Customers very often repaid with small presents, sometimes with home-made food, which was shared together, in return for favours in the form of retaining certain goods for them.

Bigger shopping was always until midday, because supplies took place in the morning and customers knew that. Most often goods were sold out until midday, so customers coming in the afternoon knew that nothing could have been bought in the store and they took that into account. They had no claims, "because this was known". There was also a book of complaints and requests in the store, always hanging close to the counter. Every customer could take it and enter his or her complaint there.

Rules of running the store

Everybody coming to work at the store was taught the same rules. Therefore, many matters were unchangeable and "as they had always been". Newly employed people learned from long time employers, who had learnt from their predecessors. Nothing was changed and modified, neither in customer service nor in the sale or management or the look of the store room.

Zofia made a report at the end of each month. She described in it takings and outgoings of goods and the cash amount to be sent back to the bank. Daily reports made drawing up the monthly report easier. There was a

special notebook in the store with notes introduced on an ongoing basis on what was out of stock and what should have been ordered, and at the end of the day an employee placed a respective order. As there was the two-shift work, both shifts had to transfer notes and take care of making notes on an ongoing basis, telling the next shift about the shortages and needs and also about the daily decisions necessary for the store operation.

Everything was calculated "manually" on a paper sheet. Everyday cash was calculated and prepared, put into an envelope. It should have been delivered personally to the bank. In the later period, cash was stored everyday in a special safe box at the bank. If a store was farther from the city centre, on the outskirts of the city, a guard arrived and picked cash to the car.

Store operation-related decisions were always made by a highest rank person present at the store on that day. Zofia was responsible for making decisions on money reimbursement for a deficit or any stolen or broken goods.

Zofia's history ends 6 years later, when she was forced by external circumstances to leave from work. She had to exchange store management into home management. Yet, as Zofia recalls, in those days it was not obvious for women to take up official work, both because there was simply a shortage of work for women and also because certain women were ashamed of being employed.

5.2 Maria – manager of a rural cooperative store of the Samopomoc Chłopska cooperative

Maria's story begins in 1975, when she was offered with the position of manager in a one-post textile store in her home town. Maria had a lot of expertise from work in stores and food industry, good repute, and she desired to change her life situation. Her professional experience, the fact of fulfilling qualification requirements according to standards of those days (secondary education and trainings in customer service and sale) as well as her membership in the cooperative were her huge assets. In addition, her little child and family required her attention, and to date she had very often worked in shifts and on Sundays, which make it difficult for her to take care over the family.

She worked the whole 12-years' period at this position alone, only during holidays someone else from another store belonging to the cooperative (always a woman) replaced her.

Goods and getting goods

Clothing and textiles were the store goods. Maria emphasized that although there was a demand for all, for any product in those days, the basics such as towels, net curtains (if nice), bedding, bed linen, items for children, were the bestsellers.

The continuous shortage of goods and the continuous fight for goods – both of customers and of her herself - were the basic rules Maria was operating in compliance with. Some goods were so deficit that they appeared in the store rarely, usually a few pieces only, therefore customers had regularly to skirmish with one another for them.

Summer months were the toughest time, when crowds of tourists arrived to the town; they also did the shopping in the store. Goods were allotted according to a percentage key, calculated based on the number of inhabitants. The office personnel of the district cooperative wholesale outlet had such key, and they calculated the volume and the extent of textile goods for the village population. This was completely nonsense in the summer, but no one accepted any comments, anyway, it was meaningless to inform superiors, because no one would do anything in this matter; there was a shortage of goods, and this was obvious for everyone.

Maria also fought for goods. Her fight began in the wholesale outlet, where orders were placed. She ordered goods in person twice or three times a month. She closed the store then and went to the wholesale outlet located in the capital city of the province. As late as in further years she made phone orders. There were special departments and show rooms at the wholesale outlet, where goods were selected and ordered. Next they were supplied on Wednesdays, sometimes on Mondays. Customers perfectly knew the days of supply. The problem was that she was never supplied with the goods she had ordered.

Getting goods was important not only because of customers' expectations, but also on account of implementation of the plan mentioned below. This is why Maria, as every other cooperative store manager, fought in various ways to have the best assortment possible, most often giving small presents.

The problem was that packets of coffee or tea were also deficit goods, so Maria had to obtain them somehow. Someone brought it from abroad, someone gave something to someone else – everything could be a present to win wholesalers' favour. Interesting that Maria paid attention that everybody did so, so wholesalers were very wilful and "spoilt". Maria thinks even today that this was bribery and violation of law, yet the problem is that it was impossible to function otherwise.

Everyday work, home duties and reception in the local community

Maria's workday started at 8am, when she opened the store and served customers. "Cash at hand was calculated" at midday and after the workday. Cash was closed in a safe to be picked by a guard on the next day. In later years she paid cash onto an account at the post office. It was a very important procedure to record the serial numbers of huge value notes in a notebook, just in case someone decided to steal them.

She closed her store after 4pm; when business was brisk, she recorded the note numbers, and next she cleaned the store and filled out documents. The most important thing was to fill out the revenue and cost register and to draw up a report with numbers of invoices and the daily cash amount. Days of supplies were not as usual, because then she had to take over the goods (compare the supplied goods to the invoice), stock shelves with supplies, and next, sell the goods at once.

Her store was in a large privately owned building, where the cooperative had the store room and the storage room leased, without any appropriate sanitary appliances. Poor conditions were not something unusual in the 1970s. Yet as times went by, Maria saw that the conditions at other stores were getting better, despite bad economy, while she personally started to see the inconveniences of her workplace. On the other hand, the rural community compensated the disadvantages of her workplace to her. She felt that all village inhabitants had a very positive approach to her; she had a sense of being important and appreciated. She was invited to all local and church festive events, she was involved in the life of the local primary school, and she was also in charge of money in the secondary school forms of her children.

Maria says her work was twice as important. Firstly, she worked, because otherwise they would not be able to earn their living from her husband's salary only. Secondly, woman's work and the nature of it were elevating: she was appreciated in her home town, as most women had no professional work; they worked at their farms only. She belonged to the small group of rural women, whose lives were different. She had many acquaintance friends, also among guests of the summer resort, which was then the village where Maria's history takes place. Her home was working otherwise than rural homes: she often had holidaymaker guests, as she did not work at a farm till late. Thus the rhythm of her life was not of the rural nature, just because of the work she was doing.

Rules of running the store

The store Maria assumed in 1975 had its own design, which in fact had not been changed for years. No one painted the interior or changed the layout of the shelves and the counter: everything looked the same. Only the layout of goods was planned by Maria, who decided where to place particular textile products. The arrangement of products in the store was her concept. There was a rule in force: a customer has to see a product. If the sale of something was not good, she exposed that product "higher" on the shelves. In addition, the arrangement of products had to be designed not to attract a thief: rolls of fabric were close to the door, while small items close to the counter and within Maria's arms reach.

The Municipal Cooperative provided trainings to their employees three times per year in the cooperative day room. They concerned attitude to customers, but also plans and technical matters. Yet Maria alone made all decisions in the store. The most vital was to perform the monthly plan imposed by the Cooperative. Her bonus depended on that. In order to implement the plan, the key issue was to have enough interesting goods and in huge amounts. People were buying a lot, so the key was to get goods at the wholesale outlet. The situation of regular retail prices imposed in the communist era did not support to implement the plan and to earn money for the cooperative. The only thing that could be done was to sell as many goods as possible, where the amount

of goods depended on wholesalers. Open exposure of goods was the next issue. Nothing could be hidden or concealed from customers. As times went by, this rule was subject to control more and more, especially as the economic situation in Poland was getting worse. There were inspections from the cooperative, those exercised by commissioners during the martial law, later by IRCha.

Cooperative inspections reviewed also the book of complaints and requests (the latter caused nothing). Problems occurred during holidays. Before holidays, Maria had always to make the hand-over inventory and hand over the store to a lady manager to replace her. When she was back from her holidays, she took over the store from her deputy, who followed the same procedure. It was very important, because any cash deficit or surplus meant very serious problems in those days. Maria recalls an incaution fellow store manager, who spent several years in prison for her recklessness. Maria was not afraid of a cash deficit, but she recalls that each inventory was a bit stressful, despite a certain limit for permitted loss due to thefts or damages to goods.

Maria's history in the textile store ends in 1987. Then she was offered to employ at a department store in the town nearby (the registered seat of the Municipal Cooperative), because the textile department manager did not make enough earnings to the Cooperative (failed to implement the plan). This was why the managerial position of the entire large textile department was offered to Maria.

6. Conclusion

The characters of our cases described the times of their work in the command economy and those times-related occurrences as something usual both for them and for all the people living in those days. They were not surprised by shortages of goods or by their poor assortment and quality. This was rather a sentimental story, with various processes and decisions resulting from the political and economic history accepted as a part of life in those days not to be claimed or complained. Everyone was in the same situation and everyone understood the situation of the other.

The managerial positions of our interlocutors were fictitious. Our characters were first of all store assistants; they had to implement the tasks and plans coming from the cooperative centre. In fact, their position in hierarchy was low. At the same time, their tasks and organisational rules were complicated. Firstly, the need to implement the assumed financial plan specified by the Cooperative, not by the manager herself, at the lack of full possibility of getting goods, was the greatest challenge. This triggered unique entrepreneurship to get goods by persuasion and small presents; it is difficult today to call this bribery. These souvenirs such as coffee, tea or cigarettes were deficit goods, so giving them was totally forbidden, while burdening store managers with total responsibility for the success of their undertaking. In other words, responsibility was imposed, but no tools were given in return. Freedom of making decisions did not compensate difficulties, as that independence was in fact fictitious (Kostera, 1996). Secondly, the work organisation, work conditions and no possibility of improvement did not incite any frustration or claims. Yet as times went by, the awareness of existence of these factors was growing, and thus it caused the sense of being tired with absurd and nonsense situations not to be avoided or overcome, so they were being observed with growing helplessness. Most often the so called PRL absurd was observed "at the meeting of usual life, the political system and bureaucracy – so, office, propaganda and newspeak" (Grębacka, 2011). Thirdly, managerial problems were strengthened by regular controls with unclear criteria, especially those exercised by volunteers - members of the ruling party (Gieorgica, 1991). Simultaneously, in the awareness of our interlocutors inspectors were incompetent in the field of store management and they were rather not dangerous. A deadlock of many roles to be played, not only organisational, but also family and social ones is typical for one of our characters (Maria). She shared the care over her children in the family sphere, at the same time taking the co-responsibility for the financial support for her family. This is where the situation comes from, typical for those days, where "the socialist ideology set up the "working mother" raising her children and, at the same time, driving a tractor and working at a factory" (Dunn, 2008). At the same time, here we have to do with the case harmonizing with those mentioned in the research made by Fidelis (2010). She proves that women in the early times of PRL were actually emancipating, obtaining economic independence and prestige in the community, which as a consequence caused that there was more partnership in family relations and that traditional social rules were less strict. Yet the case of Zofia corresponds rather to the judgment permanently established in the Polish public discourse that the emancipation of women in PRL was apparent and that instead of declared equal chances, they were burdened at work and at home in double amount as well as that the declared empowerment of women was in fact leading to their passivity (Mrozik, 2011). Zofia had to withdraw from work, at the same time she felt unappreciated and rather not understood as a working woman

and a mother (similarly as in the research made by Sekuła-Kwaśniewicz, 2015). But Maria's situation in her village was different – she felt appreciated in her local community.

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Oppressed men: Representations of Masculinity in Buchi Emecheta's *The Joys of Motherhood*

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Abstract: Masculinity studies is a growing body of scholarship that has influenced literary studies, particularly in the interpretation of male characters as presented in literary works. The representation of the male characters in Emecheta' s *The Joys of Motherhood* (1979) has attracted the attention of scholars who have examined the hegemonic construction of masculinity and its changing conceptions. However, most critics' interpretation of the male character Nnaife is disconcertingly negative, considering him as deficient, irresponsible, and responsible for the gender oppression faced by the female characters, Nnu Ego and Adaku. Using a close reading approach, this paper provides an alternative interpretation of Nnaife's character; one that seeks to examine the novel's representation of male oppression in both colonial and traditional contexts and reflects the role colonialism plays in the reformulation of traditional conceptions of African masculinity. More specifically, through the lens of masculinity studies, it makes visible the fractured perceptions of the colonized self because of intersections of gender, tradition, colonialism, and power as they are presented in the novel. It argues that the male character Nnaife is torn between his traditional duties as a husband and father and his situation as a colonized, which leads him to experience a double consciousness by performing a dual identity as an African and colonized man.

Keywords: masculinity, male oppression, tradition, colonialism, power, double-consciousness

1. Introduction

Research on masculinity is a recent phenomenon in literary studies. Current studies on masculinity have focused on the plurality, fluidity, and complexities of gender construction of men in opposition to the Gramscian concept of phallic hegemony that perpetuated the pattern of practice which allowed men's dominance over women to continue. These recent studies have emerged from scholars' contestations and reformulations of the concept of masculinity based on research findings and theorizing from disciplines such as sociology, science, psychiatry, history, psychology, and other social sciences about the male sex role with its attending potential for change in men's conduct and worldview. These studies have reshaped the theoretical underpinnings of hegemonic masculinity and greatly contributed to the growing analytic scholarship on men's studies within the humanities and social sciences. They have revolutionized the readings and interpretations of the portrayal of male characters in literary texts. In the "Introduction" to the seminal work *African Masculinities*, Ouzgane examines the portraiture of men and masculinities in African films, novels, and essays which address "contemporary issues such as aids and globalisation" and identify "spaces for re-interpreting masculinity. Earlier research on the subject, as pointed out by Ouzgane on the changing views of masculinity in Africa, had been pioneered by Robert Morrell and by Miescher and Lindsay. Morrell's work discusses "different forms of masculinity. This paper will synthesize some ideas concerning the formulation of the concept of masculinity from the aforementioned critics in order to examine how Emecheta appropriates them in reshaping notions of masculinity.

Since its publication in 1979, Emecheta's *The Joys of Motherhood* has been widely accepted and critically analyzed as a feminist text that addresses concerns about gender inequity and women's oppression. Much of the written scholarship on *The Joys of Motherhood* (1979) focuses on the novel's critique of traditional Ibo society. Specifically, such articles read Emecheta's text as a denunciation of the reproductive practices of the Ibo people, practices that do harm to women by promoting (and indeed institutionalizing) the idea that a proper wife should seek only to beget and care for her offspring. As critical texts that recognize Emecheta's attempt to expose the gender politics operating within indigenous Africa, these readings are important, but not much has been done to examine the portrayal of the African male experience in the novel. In *the Treatment of Patriarchy in Buchi Emecheta's The Joys of Motherhood and Sefi Atta's Everything Good Will Come,* O Oso (2017) examines patriarchy in the novel, but the focus is solely put on the female characters and their oppression. Another group of scholars have focused on colonialism and the representation and the oppression of African women. According to N Uwachina (1993), in her novel, women oppression is the main subject of her writing. From a similar point of view, Mojola (1989) posits that Emecheta's novels consistently reveal her commitment to the cause of women and her concern for their freedom from all practices and beliefs which impede their material and spiritual progress. The focus on female oppression is perhaps because the male characters do not seem to figure

prominently in her novels. This study, however, sheds light on the burden of African manhood, contributing to the study of gender in the novel.

Moreover, most critics' interpretation of the male character Nnaife is disconcertingly negative, considering him as deficient, irresponsible, and responsible for the gender oppression faced by the female characters, Nnu Ego and Adaku. Eustace Palmer (1983) is perhaps the best place to begin such an analysis because of the status it has since acquired in African literary criticism. His criticism of Emecheta's male bashing is shared by several critics. For instance, Catherine Acholonu (1989) believes that Emecheta "oversteps her bounds in her portrayal of male characters in an exaggerated state of idiocy, irresponsibility and insensitivity which reduces the plausibility and reliability of her point of view". Nii Okain Teiko (2017) makes a similar observation on *The Joys of Motherhood* and describes Nnaife as someone "who only takes pleasure in impregnating his wife, to breed more children as a means of boosting his ego as a man" and "lounges about in indolence, drinking palm wine and playing his guitar all day and evening, similar to Unoka, Okonkwo's father, in Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*". Similarly, Etter-Lewis Gwendolyn (2010) believes that "Nnaife is deficient or weak in physique and moral convictions". It is possible to argue that there are elements of distortion and exaggeration in Emecheta's works especially in her presentation of males most of whom turn out to be a little better than monsters. Emecheta probably needs to exaggerate their brutality of unattractiveness to make her feminist points. These portrayals, however, obfuscate his turmoil and the overwhelming expectations placed on him as an African colonized man in urban Lagos.

This research paper provides an alternative interpretation of Nnaife's character, one that seeks to examine the novel's representation of the male oppression in both colonial and traditional contexts and reflects the role colonialism plays in the reformulation of traditional conceptions of African masculinity. More specifically, it makes visible the fractured perceptions of the colonized self because of intersections of gender, tradition, colonialism, and power as they are presented in the novel. As a result, the male character Nnaife is torn between his traditional duties as a husband and father and his situation as a colonized, which leads him to experience a double consciousness. In this paper, I argue that Emecheta's *The Joys of Motherhood* depicts an oppressed and hybridized masculinity, in both the traditional and colonial contexts, in which the male character, Nnaife, experiences a double consciousness by performing a dual identity as an African and colonized man. Nnaife is subjected to strong pressures, particularly in the urban environment, where he is emasculated and feminized, and at the same time has to fulfil traditional roles as a polygamous man.

2. A "man" in Ibuza is a "boy" in Lagos: Nnaife's emasculation

> *African men consciously grappled with different forms of masculinity, engaging with, adopting, and discarding various expectations and images of proper male behaviour.*
>
> *__Lindsay and Miescher, 2003 (Introduction: Men and Masculinities in Modern Africa)*

Throughout *The Joys of Motherhood*, Emecheta demonstrates how the practices of masculinity are contested and transformed during the colonial period by focussing mainly on Nnaife's experiences in urban Lagos. Nnaife represents a subordinate masculinity in a colonial setting where emasculation, in the novel, happens at several levels. This is first and foremost illustrated by the setting of the story. In *Men and Masculinities in Modern Africa*, Carolyn A. Brown (2003) argues that "in the racialized discourse of colonialism, African subordination was represented as weakness, effeminacy, or "childlike immaturity". Similarly, Emecheta, in the novel, represents Nnaife with womanly and childlike qualities, which reflect the status of the African man in colonial cities, as will be demonstrated throughout this section. Nnaife Owulum, an Ibuza man lives in urban colonial Lagos, exactly in an old room in the "boys' quarters" behind the white master's and mistress' house. The labels used to refer to subordinate masculinity, during the colonial period, differ from one context to another. For instance, *Ormeek* is a Maa word for "modern" (and effeminate) Maasi men (Lindsay and Miescher 20). In the Nigerian context as well as in Emecheta's novel, as will be seen throughout this section, "Boy" is the label which refers to a historically subordinate masculinity. Lindsay and Miescher (2003) assert that the term "boy" refers to an important 'social category' in many African context, including "biological maleness, social (but not necessarily physical) immaturity, and, in colonial situations, racialized inferiority in relation to "men"". In fact, the place where Nnaife lives and works reflects his undermined position and degradation, working as the white men's servant. In addition to the setting, the type of job that Nnaife exercises is demeaning and effeminizing him. Consequently, Nnaife's manhood has been robbed, as one of the female characters in the novel claims: "how could a situation rob a man of his manhood…their manhood has been taken away from them… All they see is

the money, shining white man's money" (51). Thus, Nnaife's migration to Lagos is correlated with the loss of his manhood, which is reflected in the novel in more than one aspect.

To start with, the setting of the story is a gloomy atmosphere. Lagos is depicted as a "soft place" (46) where men' s manhood is robbed as work, in urban centers, maintained and controlled by members of the colonizing class, is usually effeminizing. The novel describes the "square room", where Nnaife lives and which symbolizes Lagos, as a "place of sacrifice". It is "painted completely *white* like a place of *sacrifice*… where men's flesh hung loose on their bones, where men had bellies like pregnant *women*, where men covered their bodies all day long" (46 italics mine). The novel reveals that their bodies are transformed not only by the lack of exposure to the sun but also by less physical work. Indeed Nnaife falls short of the ideal masculine in Ibuza where men like Nnu Ego's first husband is considered more masculine by both Nnu Ego and Ibo culture because of his work in farm.

Throughout the novel, this "place of sacrifice" is compared and contrasted to the traditional village, Ibuza to demonstrate not only the difference between these two places, but also between Nnaife and his brother. To this, the omniscient narrator praises Ibuza as a place where men practice hegemonic masculinity, through the example of Nnaife's brother who belongs to "the *clear* sun, the *bright* moon, to his *farm* and his rest *hut*, where he could *sense* a nestling cobra, a scuttling scorpion, *hear* a howling hyena… where his *people* had *lived* for five, six, seven, *generations* without any *change* at all" (46 italics mine). Carolyn Brown argues that labor has affected African workers' construction of masculinity. She refers to race as a 'crucial' factor in the colonial encounter. She adds that gender was constantly "created and re-created" both through work experience and in their roles because of their work. She points out that colonial officers and employers feminized and infantilized African workers. Moreover, her essay demonstrates that from the 1930s to 1945, men drew strength from their positions in home communities "to challenge emasculating treatment in the workplace and were empowered by the specialized nature of their work" (Lindsay and Miescher 15-16). Likewise, Emecheta reflects the emasculating effects of the workplace in Lagos and compares it to the rural Ibuza where men preserve their traditional (hegemonic) masculinity, as exemplified by Nnaife's brother. Therefore, space plays an important role in defining a man's masculinity in the novel, as the position of Nnaife's brother in Ibuza forms a sharp contrast his own position in Lagos.

In contrast to the senior Owulum [Nnaife's brother], Nnaife first job in Lagos is quite demeaning, working as a washer man for colonial masters. Nnaife's subverted gender role and feminization reflect the emasculating condition of the colonial urban city. The "boys' quarters" is one of those places where feminization is made concrete. Teiko (2017), in an essay that discusses the reformulation of African masculinities in the text in the context of marriage, argues that "colonialism has reformulated masculinity and changed the status of work". Similarly, Ennin (2012) also describes him as "the emasculated man […] reduced to a servant washing the clothes and underwear of his white madam" in the context of the effects of colonialism on the African. Therefore, by engaging in this domestic task, Nnaife acknowledges his powerlessness and lack of authority in the colonial sphere, which leads to his own emasculation.

The reference to Nnaife's physical appearance equally draws out a commentary on his feminization in Lagos. In her presentation of Nnaife, Emecheta portrays him as:

A man with a *belly* like a *pregnant* cow, wobbling first to this side and then to that. The belly, coupled with the fact that he was short, made him look like a barrel. His *hair*, unlike that of men at home in Ibuza, was not closely shaved; he left a lot of it on his head, like that of a *woman* mourning for her husband. His *skin* was *pale*, the skin of someone who had for a long time worked in the shade and not in the open air …And his *clothes* __Nnu Ego had never seen men dressed like that: khaki shorts with holes and an old, loose, white singlet…like living with *a middle aged woman*! (42 italics mine).

This shows that Nnaife's job as a washer man affects not only his social status in Lagos, but also his physical appearance, which reinforces his emasculation. Moreover, he is different from those "tall, wiry farmers, with rough, blackened hands from farming, long, lean legs and very dark skin" (43) who live in Ibuza and work in farms, including Nnu Ego's father Agbadi, her first husband, and Nnaife's brother. Here, Nnaife serves as a background against which the male characters in Ibuza are posed. There are several instances in the novel where Emecheta stresses on the differences between Nnaife and his brother, the senior Owulum. She reveals that the two share the same foreheads and the same gestures, but not the same status and job that is reflected through

their physical appearance. For, "they are different as water and oil" (43). This metaphor symbolizes the extent of the effect of space and job on defining Nnaife's masculinity in the novel.

Furthermore, in her description of Nnaife, Emecheta uses smell, another sense in addition to sight, to make her presentation and descriptions of Nnaife more specific and effective: "He did not smell healthy either, unlike men in Ibuza who had the healthy smell of burning wood and tobacco. This one smelt all soapy, as if he was over-washed" (44). Besides, the use of the definite pronoun "this", in the early pages of the novel, shows also Nnaife's uniqueness compared to other men. About these descriptions, Ernest N Emenyonu argues that Emecheta makes the reader "obliged to share Nnu Ego's disgust and contempt for the man who was to be her husband" (138). Not only, "there is feeling in this passage characterized by its apt and vivid imagery culminating in the irony of the last but one sentence. One immediately gets the classic picture of the unwilling beauty and the enthusiastic and ravaging beast" (138_9), as Emenyonu claims, but also ironizes Nnaife's own status. Ogunyemi in her own words, interprets Nnaife's situation as someone who is "washed out, with his pale skin and soft job" (255). Thus, his smell mirrors his own position in Lagos.

Nnaife is further enslaved when he is forced to join the army. While he is working as a grass-cutter at the railway with other Africans, he received orders to go into the lorry. We are told that "men *screamed* like *women* as some of them were caught" (144 italics mine) and Nnaife is among them. This comparison to 'women' indicates their 'disempowerment' and 'feminization' in front of colonial powers. Besides, Nnaife's experience reminds him of the past when slaves were caught and taken to an unknown destination. Thus, feeling himself a slave leads him to wonder whether slavery still exists (145) and indicates his actual enslavement. Nnaife and the others are unable to do anything as "squeals of pain warned the others to stay put and be good "boys" (145). Terms such as 'good boys' are not merely a metaphor for enslavement and emasculation; they are literalised in the actual act of submission and compliance, which is literally writ large in the text. Furthermore, in *The Joys of Motherhood*, both the colonizer and African men are presented and compared. Emecheta compares the colonizer to *God* and Africans to a property when Ubani [Nnaife's friend] tells Nnu Ego about Nnaife's engagement in the army. He says, "There is nothing we can do. The British *own us*, just like *God* does, and just like God they are free to take any of us when they *wish*" (148 italics mine). Joining the army according to Ubani is inevitable and indicates Nnaife's disempowerment.

Overall, through this constricting setting, *The Joys of Motherhood* exposes the paralysing consequences of colonialism through Nnaife's emasculation. Lagos is depicted as an emasculating world, where African masculinity is dissolved and where all social and economic opportunities are deemed impossible. African Masculinity is shown to be subordinated, reconfigured, and contested during the colonial period.

3. The burden of tradition and masculinity in a colonial urban setting

In a colonial society so fundamentally structured upon the marginalization of colonized African men, Nnaife faces an additional set of interstitial spaces that tests his traditional masculinity. Nnaife finds himself compelled to maintain the traditional values of the community by accepting his deceased brother's wives and children, despite his financial difficulties. Thus, despite his denied dignity in Lagos, his options outside the colonial public sphere are similarly sparse. Therefore, he remains not liberated from the constraints of traditional masculinity and becomes caught between various layers of patriarchal norms.

When Nnaife returns home, he is informed by his friends about the death of his elder brother. One of his friends, Nwakusor, addresses Nnaife using his father's name Owulum and reminds him that "the day a man is born into a family, the responsibilities in that family are his. Some men were lucky in that they had an elder brother on whose shoulders the greater part of the responsibility lay" and now, "you, Nnaife, until last week were one of those lucky men. But now, that big brother of yours is no more…" (115). The fact of referring to him using his family name stands as a reminder of his identity belonging to the Owulum family and most importantly to the Ibuza community. Moreover, it points to his responsibility and the way he is expected to behave as an ideal head of the family.

What seems to be problematic in such situations is the fact that patriarchal norms impose customs without taking into consideration one's economic status, particularly in colonial urban settings. But for Nnaife, Lagos would save him from the endless demands of his large family. The narrator informs us, "At home there would be no end to the demands his family would make on him. He had more chance of living longer if he didn't go

into what looked like a family turmoil" but "Of course he would be sending money to the Owulum wives, and would see that their sons kept small farmings going" (116). In many ways, Lagos, a place where a man's manhood is robbed, is as problematic as Ibuza. In the message Nnu Ego sends to Ibuza, she informs Nnaife's people that "things were difficult in Lagos, that Lagos was a place where you could get nothing free, that Nnaife's job was not very secure, that she had to subsidise her living with her meagre profits" (118). However, despite her explanations about their difficult situations, Nnaife is compelled to assume his patriarchal traditional role and protect his family financially as the custom does not differentiate between rich and poor people. Rather, it becomes a must.

As an Igbo man, husband, and father Nnaife wishes to fulfil his roles. However, the environment of the colonial society makes it difficult to maintain his position as head of the family, thus, it spoils the African man's sense of responsibility. Such success proves hard to come by, especially during trying economic times of war when:

Many people were *caught* in the *middle*: people like Nnaife and his family, families who had left their farming communities to make a life from the cities. It was comparatively easy when there was no war; one could always be a domestic servant. Now with the war, the masters were at the front fighting. Money was short and so were jobs. And in Nnaife's family there were many *more mouths* being added to those to be *fed* (126 italics mine).

Thus, in the context of society of Lagos, it is difficult for Nnaife to maintain that sense of responsibility as the other men of his community. Consequently, he finds himself in a predicament as he has to assume different roles: as a polygamous husband and father of several children.

Consequently, this cultural conflict affects Nnaife not only economically, and socially, but also psychologically. His new status as a polygamous husband and a father of several children requires him to engage in sacrifice and provide for his large family on a regular basis. But, this challenging situation that Nnaife faces culminates in his despair. This is more evident when Nnaife spends all evening playing with his guitar and drinking all over the neighbourhood (130). The narrator justifies this situation when he reports that "Nnaife grumbled that theirs [Nnu Ego and Adaku] had not been much of a home to him. There was always moaning from Adaku, there were the babies climbing over him, and there was she Nnu Ego complaining about the cost of food" So, "He stayed out to forget" (131). Through the depiction of Nnaife, we learn that because of the overwhelming expectations and the current situation in Lagos, he cannot perform his masculinity according to hegemonic patriarchal norms.

4. Subverting gender roles: Female masculinization

Emecheta depicts Nnu Ego and Adaku as women who display masculine traits similar to those of men. She uses them as an example of women who transcend conventional gender boundaries. By "female masculinity", we mean women' attainment of positions or characteristics usually regarded as the preserve of men…which means that individuals could change their genders in certain contexts (Lindsay and Miescher 2003). From a traditional patriarchal perception of a man, Emecheta depicts Nnaife as feminized because he is forced to perform feminine roles while his wives work and assume masculine roles. So central is the switching of roles to this text that this condition is allegorized and physically instantiated in chapter seven "The Duty of a Father", nine "A Mother's Investment", twelve "Men at War", fourteen "Women Alone", and fifteen "The Soldier Father" which features Nnaife's feminization and Nnu Ego's and Adaku's masculinization. The very narratological construction of these chapters and their place in the narrative draws attention to itself. For not only does the narrator narrate, but also provides commentary on different occasions. We are confronted with this situation in the scene where Nnu Ego goes to work in the market while Nnaife stays at home and takes care of their son. In this scene, Nnu Ego reverses masculine and feminine roles as she assumes a masculine role while Nnaife is effeminized. The narrator informs us that "Nnaife did not like this arrangement and grumbled about it, but there was nothing he could do. Not only did life in Lagos rob him of his manhood and of doing difficult work, now it had made him redundant and having to rely on his wife" (87). From such lines however, it should be wrong to condemn Nnaife for not being able to meet the needs of his family. Evidence from the novel confirms my position that the author justifies that Nnaife's staying home is not a result of laziness, but an outcome of the harsh economic pressures faced in Lagos. This scene, however, has led several critics to condemn Nnaife for his irresponsibility while sympathizing with Nnu Ego. For instance, Teiko (2017) argues that Emecheta "problematizes the kind of masculinity that abandons the paternal role of providing for the home". It is obviously because of this feminization and masculinization that such critics as, Teiko regards Nnaife as an irresponsible husband and father. He goes on to interpret this shift in roles as a

The image of masculinization and feminization, in the novel, is further enhanced when African men were forced to leave their families to join the army. The fact that men are absent means that African women have to take more responsibilities toward their families while husbands were away fighting for the colonizing armies. In a scene when in a moment of reflection Nnu Ego reveals, "I was born alone, and I shall die alone. What I have gained from all this? Yes, I have many children, but what do I have to feed them on? On my life, I have to give them all. And if I am lucky enough to die in peace, I even have to give them my soul" (186). The sting of the sentences proves that masculinizing women, such as Nnu Ego, in urban Lagos, has shattering effects on her well-being because of the obligations imposed on her, while simultaneously depicts her powerlessness. In this respect, she has to act as a mother at home and a father outside the houses. As it stands, Emecheta makes us realize, throughout the novel, that joining the army affects both men and women.

5. "But I am only a black man": Nnaife's self-definition and the other's perception

> *A new relationship with money, such as through stable wage labor, would therefore be likely to have an important impact on men's places in their homes and communities, as well as their self-definitions as men.*
>
> *__Lindsay 2006 (Money, Marriage, And Masculinity On The Colonial Nigerian Railway).*

In the public sphere, Nnaife is not only feminized by his demeaning job, but also by his masters' treatment and perceptions. Thus, race is used in the construction of various masculinities in the novel. Nnaife is bestialized, in a scene, when the white man treats him with disdain and refers to him as a "baboon". We are told that when Nnaife greets his masters and wishes them a good night after he has finished his job, "Dr Meers peered over the paper, smiled mischievously and answered, "Good night, baboon" … he heard Dr Meers laugh and repeat the word "baboon" (41-2). The use of the word "baboon" encapsulates the inferior position of Nnaife and the cold treatment he receives from his masters. It is worth mentioning that Nnaife is curious to know the meaning of the word "baboon" as he is "determined to ask someone in the near future what the word "baboon" meant" (42). However, as will be discussed hereafter, one could argue that Nnaife's limitation and powerlessness are shown when he accepts to be called a baboon, as he thinks that: "We work for them and they pay us. His calling me a baboon does not make me one" (42). In this context, the whites have offered a sort of background against which the blacks like Nnaife define themselves. Accordingly, Emecheta uses "white masculinity" as a tool to construct the "African self", making dichotomies literary such as strong/weak or master/slave.

The same reaction appears in another situation when Nnaife wrongly assumes he is the one referred to as "old boy" by the golf players (93). This argument is further reinforced by Tsitsi Dangarembga's, who claims that

> *…My sense is that in [the colonial situation], one [is] always working with this split consciousness as it were…. [The colonized is shocked] to have to suddenly start developing this other consciousness that deals with [them] as "the powerless", "the disposed" and labels [them] as such, [requiring them] to internalize this to some extent in order to be able to cope in that system. Because, if [they] don't accept that label at some level, that system will destroy [them]…. I wouldn't call it "personality" – but more a double consciousness (George & Scott, 1993)*

The point is that Nnaife believes in his imperfection and this is evident in a scene when hestates, ""But I am only a black man, and I don't expect to know everything". He was one of the Africans who were so used to being told they were stupid in those days that they started to believe in their own imperfections" (83). Moreover, he is portrayed as someone who is quiet dependent on his masters. This is most and foremost shown when he struggles to find a job after the masters' leave to England (86). Nnaife's waiting for another colonial master suggests his dependence on his white masters and his internalization of his subordinate position.

Colonialism has stripped Nnaife's manhood and has undermined his authority as hegemonic masculinity not only in the public sphere, but also in the domestic sphere. Nnaife's identity in the novel is affected by his role as a husband and a father unable to fulfil his duties properly because of the restricting conditions in Lagos. In this respect, it can be assumed that Nnaife's relationship with Nnu Ego is widely affected by his role as a husband and father as it is difficult for him to maintain that sense of responsibility that he acquired in his tribal community while she has to assume the traditional role of a man as a provider and breadwinner to raise her children. This is illustrated when Nnu Ego considers him as "one of the inevitabilities of fate" (47). Therefore, he has no authority because according to her, a man who washes women's underwear is not a man (49). This argument is reinforced by Cornwall, Lindsay, and Brown, who claim that "the 1940s and 1950s witnessed an increased emphasis on Nigerian men as financial providers in their families. But when women earned money as well, or

when men's economic opportunities diminished, men became less able to control their wives than previously" (Lindsay and Miescher introduction 20). We are told that "He [Nnaife] would find any excuse to pick a quarrel with Nnu Ego" (87). These elements from the novel indicate that the gender troubles between Nnaife and Nnu Ego and the loss of control are symbolic of Nnaife's deeper powerlessness.

6. Conclusion

In *The Joys of Motherhood*, Emecheta wants to underscore what it means to be a man, a husband, and a father in the Nigerian society during the 1940s. She wants to explore the dilemma of the rural and urban man whose efforts to come to terms with the situation in which he finds himself is overwhelming. Reading *The Joys of Motherhood* through a specialized analytical lens valuably reveals a complex nexus of over determining social, cultural, and economic vectors at play in the life of Nnaife. Such an analysis finds Emecheta's male protagonist positioned at the conjunction of multiple and compounding interstices that give rise to his increasing dilemmas and psychological turmoil. Thus, Emecheta's unflinching portrayal of masculinity, when it is imposed on men as a tag of their identity, exposes the harsh realities of the lives of men. Moreover, through her male and female characters, Emecheta has explicitly demonstrated that gender roles can be reversed and that masculinity is a position that can be occupied by both males and females. Therefore, this leads Nnaife to experience a double consciousness, low self-esteem, and disdain from the others.

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Gender Differences Over Decision-Making in the Work-Family Interface of Microentrepreneurs in Ecuador

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Abstract: Drawing upon the family embeddedness perspective in entrepreneurship, this paper makes two contributions to the literature on gender and entrepreneurship. First, I incorporate the role of the family into the analysis of entrepreneurs' decision-making using micro-enterprises as a unit of analysis to show differences under both assumptions: the presence and absence of the work-family interface in entrepreneurship. Second, I used gender as a category and provide empirical evidence on gender differences on the determinants and factors at the individual, household, institutional and enterprise levels that differentially influence the decision-making of male and female entrepreneurs. The empirical analysis includes multi-group multiple-indicator multiple causes (MIMIC) models with categorical variables. Results suggest that considering the enterprise as an isolated sphere conceals several determinants of decision-making that are overshadowed mainly for female entrepreneurs. Indeed, females that own a microenterprise in Ecuador participate actively on entrepreneurial decision-making as well as male entrepreneurs, but the gendered division of labour and gender roles and perceptions emerges when the family is included in the analysis.

Keywords: work-family interface, decision-making, entrepreneurship, structural equation modelling, MIMIC model, bi-factor model

1. Introduction

Drawing upon the family embeddedness perspective in entrepreneurship that assumes that the business and the family are two interrelated social institutions (Aldrich and Cliff, 2003; Dyer, 2003; Loscocco, 1997; Steier, Chua and Chrisman, 2009), in this paper I make two contributions to the literature of gender and entrepreneurship. First, I incorporate the role of the family into the analysis of entrepreneurs' decision-making using micro-enterprises as the unit of analysis to show differences under both assumptions: the presence and absence of the work-family interface (WFI) in entrepreneurship. Second, I used gender as a category and provide empirical evidence on gender differences on the determinants and factors at the individual, household, institutional and enterprise levels that differentially influence the decision-making of male and female entrepreneurs.

The analysis of the WFI is relevant to the literature of gender and entrepreneurship because its absence or presence yields different conclusions when trying to explain the gender gap in entrepreneurship. The gender gap in entrepreneurship shows that women are *less likely to participate in self-employment and entrepreneurship* (Minniti, 2010), exhibit *limited performance with smaller business ventures* (Cliff, 1998; Klapper and Parker, 2011) and have *higher exit rates than male entrepreneurs* (Fairlie and Robb, 2009; Watson, 2003).

In the absence of the WFI, research that explores gender differences on entrepreneurship highlights that female entrepreneurs underperform compared with their male counterparts. This "female underperformance hypothesis" proposed by Du Rietz and Henrekson (2000, p. 1) pictures the gender gap on entrepreneurship because of "female deficiency" as criticized by Ahl and Marlow (2012, p. 4). Under this hypothesis, variations in performance are attributed directly to female-specific differences on individual capabilities and preferences(Klapper and Parker, 2011), female lack of entrepreneurial orientation and self-efficacy (Wilson, Kickul, and Marlino, 2007) or female-specific personality traits (Wagner, 2007) that constrain female participation in entrepreneurship.

Conversely, considering the existence of the WFI where the enterprise is an entity that may be influenced by gendered institutions such as the family (Mirchandani, 1999), the gender gap in performance and differences among female and male entrepreneurs may be explained by a *gender division of labor* and *gender norms and perceptions* that assign women the major responsibility for child-rearing (reproductive role) besides business activities (Díaz-García and Jiménez-Moreno, 2010; Fuentes-Fuentes et al, 2015). Thus, the gender gap may also

be explained by the relationship of balance or conflict between entrepreneurial activities and household chores and resources (Jennings and McDougald, 2007; Powell and Eddleston, 2013).

Exploring gender differences over decision-making in the entrepreneurs' WFI is particularly relevant in the Ecuadorian context for two main reasons. Firstly, self-employed females outnumber their male counterparts, and the gender composition of self-employment is more biased in favor of females than in other countries and regions in the world (Marlow and McAdam, 2013). In fact, women-owned microenterprises represent around 54% of the total and are the main source of female employment in the country (INEC, 2010). Secondly, regarding intra-household decision-making, evidence shows that Ecuadorian households are mainly characterized by a relatively higher degree of joint decision-making and women are more likely than men to make autonomous decisions within the household when they are not in a relationship or when the 'norm' of joint decision-making is not met (Deere and Twyman, 2012). However, there is no evidence about gender differences over decision-making in the enterprise in the country.

The remaining of the paper is organized as follows. In the next section, I provide a brief literature review of the family embeddedness perspective on entrepreneurship. Section 3 outlines the empirical model used to explore decision-making under the absence or presence of the WFI using MIMIC models. Section 4 contains the data structure and characteristics. Section 5 reports the results of the determinants of decision-making described in previous sections. Finally, section 6 concludes with a summary of key findings as well as the limitations and suggestions of future research.

2. The family embeddedness perspective on entrepreneurship

The family embeddedness perspective suggests that business and family are inextricable "intertwined institutions" rather than separate spheres (Aldrich and Cliff, 2003, p. 590). Instead of analyzing how one sphere influences the other, separately, Jennings and McDougald (2007) argue that the family embeddedness perspective allows linking WFI factors and strategies to the formation, management, performance and closure of entrepreneurs' business ventures. Under this perspective, the WFI factors, strategies, determinants and outcomes in both spheres are constrained or enhanced by *socially constructed* arrangements and practices (Gupta et al, 2009; Marlow and McAdam, 2013).

Differences in the WFI respond to the way in which entrepreneurs manage their multiple roles within the family and the enterprise. On the one hand, there is the conflict perspective (trade-offs) among the work and the family spheres. Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) argue that since time and resources are limited, pursuing multiple tasks and achieving balance between the family and the work are mutually exclusive. On the other hand, there is the enrichment perspective (synergies) proposed by Greenhaus and Powell (2006), where individuals may experience affective and instrumental support from one sphere enhancing and nurturing positively the other. Therefore, the family and the business are complementary rather than competing spheres, reinforcing each other.

Although the bulk of the empirical literature about these issues adopts the conflict perspective (see e.g. Jennings, Breitkreuz and James, 2013; Maertz and Boyar, 2011; Parasuraman and Simmers, 2001), some authors emphasize that there are gender differences on how male and female entrepreneurs experience conflict or enrichment in the WFI. For instance, Jennings and McDougald (2007) and Kirkwood and Tootell (2008) claim that female entrepreneurs are more likely to experience greater conflict in the WFI than their male counterparts. On the contrary, Eddleston and Powell (2012) found that female entrepreneurs are more likely to create work-family synergies that nurture their work-family experiences, while male entrepreneurs have more instrumental support at home from other relatives in the household. Furthermore, Powell and Eddleston (2013) argue that since female entrepreneurs are usually excluded from resources such as human, social and financial capital, they are more likely to benefit from the family-to-business enrichment than male entrepreneurs.

In this context, the family embeddedness perspective allows exploring how gender systems and gender stereotypes constrain or enhance entrepreneurship. Therefore, it is important to analyze the strategies that both female and male entrepreneurs engage in to manage conflict or balance in the WFI. Jennings, Hughes and Jennings (2010) identified the direct strategies that female and male entrepreneurs enact to manage the WFI conflict and found no gender differences in the strategies that enhance or constrain growth performance at an aggregated level. Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) and Greenhaus and Powell (2003) argue, instead, that the

conflict (if any) between the work and the family is only evident after individuals have made the decision to get involved in one sphere or the other. I extend this latter proposal and attempt to identify the gendered entrepreneurial profiles through decision-making analysis to explore apparent conflict or enrichment in the WFI among female and male entrepreneurs.

Decision-making analysis is more common in the literature about empowerment and entrepreneurship and also shows the prevailing assumption of the absence of the WFI. Within the bargaining approach that considers decision-making as proxy of bargaining power (Agarwal, 1997), the literature has been mainly focused on intra-household decision-making concerning only female entrepreneurs based on the general assumption that women may be empowered through entrepreneurship. In this literature, the decision-making analysis in the enterprise sphere is considered as secondary or irrelevant. In the best of cases, decisions within the enterprise are included in composite indicators (De Mel, McKenzie and Woodruff, 2009), assuming a unidimensional scale. Furthermore, since the family is usually considered as females' domain, there is no empirical evidence about gender differences among female and male entrepreneurs in decision-making in the family sphere.

In the absence of empirical and methodological evidence to explore gender differences over decision-making in the WFI, I present in the next section the methodological strategies and the empirical analysis that I use to explore gender differences of the determinants that influence decision-making under the presence and absence of the WFI using a MIMIC model.

3. Empirical model

This section includes the empirical model used to explore gender differences of the determinants that influence decision-making under both assumptions: the absence and presence of the WFI. The estimation of both models follows a MIMIC model. The MIMIC model is a special case of structural equation modeling (SEM) proposed by Jöreskog and Goldberger (1975) that represents a system of simultaneous equations for the endogenous latent variables and is widely used in the social and behavioral sciences.

The MIMIC model allows regressing both indicators as well as the factors to the exogenous variables and consists of two parts: (a) the measurement part, linking observed variables to each other via a confirmatory factor model and (b) the structural part, linking variables to each other via a system of simultaneous equations. The MIMIC model was included for the first time in the analysis of decision-making in the family sphere by Mabsout and Van Staveren (2010), who identified intra-household decision-making power as an output (measurement part) and explored possible correlations of socioeconomic characteristic and family-related factors at the individual, household and institutional levels (structural part).

Drawing upon Mabsout and Van Staveren (2010), I extended the use of the MIMIC model for exploring gender differences of the determinants that influence decision-making in the absence and presence of the WFI. The main difference between the two models is expressed in the measurement part of the MIMIC model while the structural part remains the same under both assumptions. Under the absence of the WFI the measurement part includes only categorical scores of entrepreneurial decision-making items reflecting the latent variable of decision-making in the enterprise sphere (E-Factor), while for the assumption of the presence of the WFI the measurement part includes information on categorical scores of both entrepreneurial decision-making items (E-Factor) and intra-household decision-making items (F-Factor).

The introduction of both spheres in the analysis poses several methodological challenges when the focus is on group differences in the overall index instead of separate analysis of decision-making in each sphere. In addition to establishing traditional psychometric properties of the latent variable and measurement invariance across groups to ensure unbiased comparisons across male and female entrepreneurs (Millsap and Olivera-Aguilar, 2012), the empirical analysis should explore dimensionality over decision-making in the WFI.

In this paper I use the bi-factor model proposed by Holzinger and Swineford (1937) that specifies that for a given number of items (decision-making items), correlations among items can be accounted by: (i) a general factor (WFI-Factor) representing the common variance across items and (ii) a set of group factors (E-Factor and F-Factor) where variance over and above the general factor is shared among subsets of items over decision-making in the enterprise and the family spheres. The model assumes that the general factor and the group factors are orthogonal with no correlation between them.

The bi-factor model has several advantages over other multidimensional models (correlated factors and second-order models). First, the application of a bi-factor model shows "solid foundation" for representing multidimensionality when multiple factors are included in the analysis (Reise, 2012, p.1). Second, the bi-factor structure of the data allows exploring the effects of several determinants over the general factor controlling for multidimensionality of group factors (Raykov and Pohl, 2013). Finally, evaluating a bi-factor structure allows testing whether multidimensional data are "unidimensional enough" to fit with a unidimensional model, as proposed by Reise et al (2013, p. 6).

In the remainder of this section, I present the path diagrams for the multi-group MIMIC models under both assumptions: (i) a unidimensional multi-group MIMIC model in the absence of the WFI and (ii) a bi-factor MIMIC model considering the existence of the WFI. The models show the hypothesized relationship between categorical scores reflecting the latent variables under both assumptions regressed on individual, household, institutional and enterprise characteristics reflecting sets of explanatory variables.

3.1 Multi-Group MIMIC model with categorical variables in the absence of the WFI

Following Muthén (1989) and Kaplan (2008), the MIMIC model under the assumption of the absence of the WFI can be defined for each independent group (g = male, female) in the path diagram shown in Figure 1. The measurement part of the model includes the endogenous latent variable η representing the construct of decision-making in the enterprise sphere (E-Factor) for decisions over business management, profits, purchases and credit for business $(y_1 \cdots y_4)$ denoted by categorical responses $(y_1^*, \cdots, y_4^*)$, $(\lambda_1 \ldots \lambda_4)$ are the factor loadings for the endogenous latent variable of each decision within the enterprise and $(\varepsilon_1 \ldots \varepsilon_4)$ are coefficients of uniqueness. The structural part of the model included in the figure shows the relationship between the endogenous latent variable η regressed on observed covariates x_{jg} at each level (j = individual, household, institutional and enterprise) where $(\Gamma_1 \ldots \Gamma_4)$ is a matrix of regression coefficients relating the endogenous latent variables to the exogenous observed variables at each level, $(\Delta_1 \ldots \Delta_4)$ are vectors of error terms and ζ is a vector of disturbance terms (multivariate normal with zero mean). Finally, the observed variables are represented with squares or rectangles, latent variables with circles or ellipses and the hypothesized directional effect of one variable on another (direct effect) with a line with a single arrowhead.

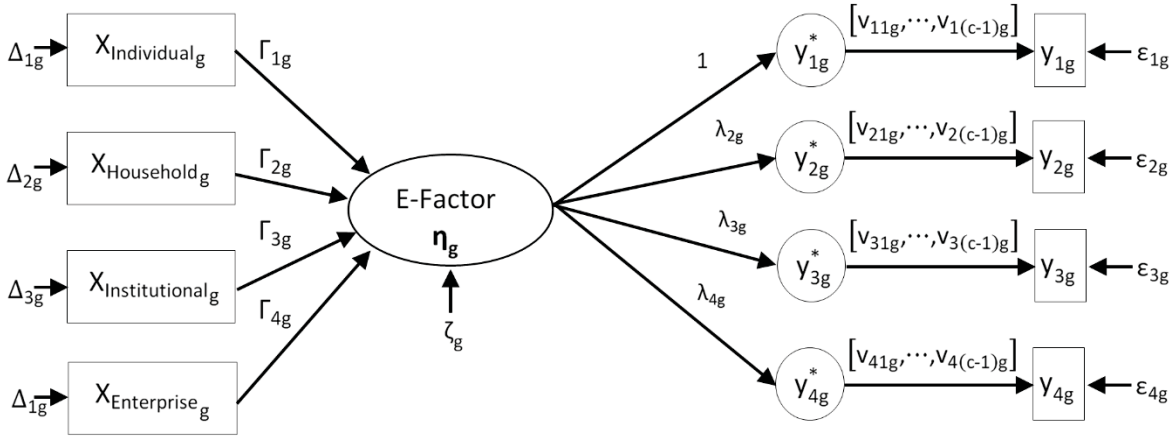


Figure 1: Path diagram of the MIMIC model under the assumption of the absence of the WFI

The observed covariates included in the analysis at the individual level are age, marital status and education of the entrepreneur. At the household level, the variables are whether there are children in the household, the presence of other adult members of the household (>18-years-old), a compound Household Asset Index and a proxy of household health status. At the institutional level, explanatory variables included are the relative household income contribution (perception), a proxy of the socioeconomic characteristics of the place of residence, a gender roles perception index and whether or not the person assigns monetary value to his/her household labor. Finally, at the entrepreneurial level, the model incorporates the economic sector of the enterprise, the type of enterprise (self-employed, employs family members, and employs others that are not family members) and an indicator of basic accounting skills.

3.2 Multi-Group MIMIC model with categorical variables in the presence of the WFI

The path diagram of the hypothesized Bi-factor MIMIC model under the assumption of the presence of the WFI is shown in Figure 2. The measurement part of the model includes the latent response variable for the general factor η_1 (WFI-Factor) of decisions over business management, profits, purchases, credit for business, dwelling, expenditures, leisure time, childbearing, health of children and education of children, $(y_1,\cdots,y_{10})$ are denoted by categorical responses $(y_1^*,\cdots,y_{10}^*)$. In addition, the model controls for group factors of decisions in the enterprise sphere η_2 or E-Factor of $(y_1,\cdots,y_4)$ decisions and the family sphere η_3 or F-Factor containing intra-household decision-making $(y_5,\cdots,y_{10})$, $(\lambda_1 \ldots \lambda_4)$ are the factor loadings for the endogenous latent variable of each decision within the enterprise and $(\varepsilon_1 \ldots \varepsilon_4)$ are coefficients of uniqueness. As seen in the figure, the structural part of the model remains exactly the same as the model in section 3.1. Finally, observed variables are represented with squares or rectangles, latent variables with circles or ellipses and the hypothesized directional effect of one variable on another (direct effect) with a line with a single arrowhead for the general factor and with dashed-line with a single arrowhead for the group factors.

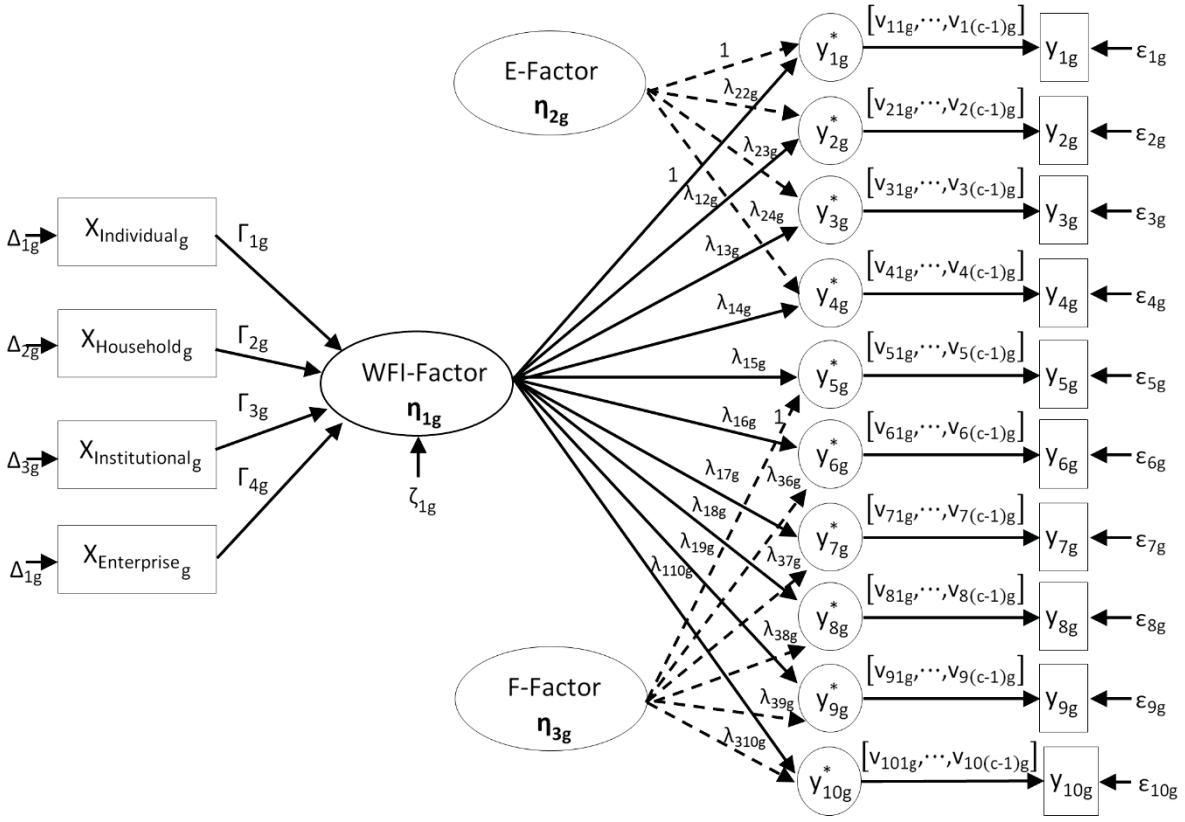


Figure 2: Path diagram of the Bi-factor MIMIC under the assumption of the presence of the WFI

4. Data and settings

This study uses data from a cross-sectional survey conducted to microentrepreneurs from the northern region of Ecuador from February to June 2013 and comes from a longer and detailed questionnaire administrated to investigate several characteristics of microentrepreneurs that have an ongoing business for more than one year and employed from 1 to 9 employees. After listwise deletion, the final sample included 747 microentrepreneurs, 60.2% of which were women. The main characteristics of the samples by sex reflect two differentiated profiles of male and female entrepreneurs. At the individual level, females in the sample are younger (age), less likely to be married and have lower levels of education compared with male entrepreneurs. Almost a quarter of females in the sample have incomplete primary education or no education and only 12% have tertiary education. At the household level, female entrepreneurs are more likely to have children and live in less wealthy households. Differences at the institutional level show that females tend to consider their household income participation as complementary or secondary but recognize the importance of their housework contribution since they are more likely to assign monetary value to housework activities regardless of the time spent on those activities.

Female entrepreneurs also consider that both men and women are equally capable of performing traditional gender roles. Finally, at the enterprise level, females are more likely to work in commercial activities such as grocery stores, trade and retail and are most often self-employed, while men are more likely to use family labor and employ non-family workers.

5. Results

The MIMIC models for the absence and presence of the WFI were estimated with maximum likelihood estimation with robust standard errors and a mean and variance adjusted test statistic (WLSMV) using the lavaan package in R. Table 1 includes the goodness-of-fit indices and the cut-off values to evaluate the models. The models show adequate goodness-of-fit indexes for the multi-group models as well as for the analysis of the separate sample under the absence and presence of the WFI. Results of the psychometric properties, measurement invariance and multidimensionality of the scale are available upon request.

Table 1: Goodness-of-Fit of models under the absence and presence of the WFI

	Absence of WFI	**Presence of WFI**	**Cut-off values[(a)]**
χ^2 (df)	155.054 (130)	534.87 (428)	
Pr(χ^2)	0.066	0.000	>0.05
RMSEA (90%CI)	0.023 (0-0.035)	0.026 (0.018-0.033)	<0.05
CFI	0.995	0.988	>0.95
TLI	0.992	0.986	>0.95
SRMR	0.011	0.033	<0.05
WRMR	0.807	1.239	<0.90

Note: RMSEA= root mean square error of approximation; CFI= confirmatory fit index; TLI= Tucker Lewis index; SRMR= standardized root mean square residual; WRMR= weighted root mean square residual. (a) Based on Muthén (2004) and Saris, Satorra and Van der Veld (2009). Author's own calculation based on field-work (CACMU, 2013).

The results of the measurement part of MIMIC models are summarized in Table 2. The coefficients of the E-factor under the absence of the WFI and the coefficients of the WFI-Factor, E-Factor and F-Factor under the presence of the WFI have the expected signs and are statistically significant ($p < 5\%$). Under the assumption of the absence of the WFI, the standardized coefficients can be interpreted as follows: for a standard deviation increase in the E-Factor, the probability for female entrepreneurs to make decisions over business profits alone (and together with someone) increases by 0.975 standard deviations. Under the assumption of the presence of the WFI, standardized coefficients show that for the male sample a standard deviation increase in the WFI-factor (general factor) increases the probability for male entrepreneurs to make decisions alone (and together with someone) mainly in decisions related in the enterprise sphere (standardize coefficients > 0.7), while in the family sphere the only decision that increases the probability of making autonomous decisions above that threshold is the one relating to expenditures in the household. On the contrary, for the female sample, an increase in the WFI-factor increases the probability for female entrepreneurs to participate in the decisions (alone and together with someone) mostly in the family sphere. In the enterprise sphere, the only decision that exceeds the 0.7 threshold is the one concerning decision-making about business management. Therefore, including the family sphere in the analysis of entrepreneurship has more influence for the female sample than for the male sample.

Table 2: Measurement part of the multi-group MIMIC models under the absence and presence of the WFI

Item	**Male Sample**				**Female Sample**			
	Absence of WFI	**Presence of WFI**			**Absence of WFI**	**Presence of WFI**		
	E-Factor	**WFI-Factor**	**E-Factor**	**F-Factor**	**E-Factor**	**WFI-Factor**	**E-Factor**	**F-Factor**
Purchases[(a)]	0.971	0.804	0.545		0.977	0.656	0.720	
Business Management	0.988*	0.797*	0.582*		0.966**	0.726**	0.634**	
Credit for Business	0.837***	0.802**	0.324**		0.847***	0.674**	0.517**	
Business Profits	0.946***	0.730***	0.599***		0.975**	0.665**	0.703**	
Dwelling		0.684**		0.561		0.848**		0.390
Expenditures		0.811**		0.389***		0.799**		0.409***
Leisure Time		0.544**		0.578***		0.869**		0.298***
Childbearing		0.374**		0.484***		0.668**		0.365***

Item	Male Sample				Female Sample			
	Absence of WFI	Presence of WFI			Absence of WFI	Presence of WFI		
	E-Factor	WFI-Factor	E-Factor	F-Factor	E-Factor	WFI-Factor	E-Factor	F-Factor
Family's health check-ups		0.600**		0.537***		0.775**		0.557***
Children's Education		0.437**		0.655***		0.690**		0.531***
N								

Note: SEM - Categorical Variables. Estimator: Robust Weighted Least Square (WLSMV). (a) Fixed to one to identify factor metric. Author's own calculation based on field-work (CACMU, 2013).
Sig.: *** p < 0.001, ** p < 0.01, * p < 0.05.

Table 3 shows the structural part of the MIMIC models and contains the coefficients for all covariates at the individual, household, institutional and enterprise levels. In the absence of the WFI, there are common variables affecting the E-Factor of both male and female entrepreneurs. At the individual level, the standardized coefficient for being married for men is (-0.314) and for women is (-0.238) and both are statistically significant (p<1%); being married reduces the probability of making autonomous decisions within the enterprise. At the institutional level, female and male entrepreneurs that consider they have the major contribution to household income are positive and statistically significant (p<1%) to entrepreneurial decision-making compared to those that consider they do not have any contribution. The standardized coefficient when they perceived that they make the contribution alone for the male sample is (0.339) and for the female sample is (0.281) and both are statistically significant (p<1%). At the enterprise level, having employees that are not family members reduces entrepreneurial decision-making and has a negative and statistically significant (p<5%) effect for both samples but the standardized coeffect is greater for the female (-0.237) than for the male (-0.197) sample. Furthermore, there are covariates that influence the E-Factor differentially for both men and women entrepreneurs. At the individual level, the age of women (0.172) is positively and statistically significant (p<5%) associated with entrepreneurial decision-making. At the household level, males who have visited the doctors for any reason have a negative and statistically significant effect over decision-making considering the absence of the WFI.

Table 3: Structural part of the multi-group MIMIC models under the absence and presence of the WFI

Determinants	Male sample		Female Sample	
	Absence of WFI	Presence of WFI	Absence of WFI	Presence of WFI
Individual Level				
Age (ln)	-0,025	0,018	0,172*	0,175*
Married/Consensual union (Ref.: No)	-0,314**	-0,344**	-0,238**	-0,273**
Level of education (Ref.: Less than primary)				
Primary education	-0,111	-0,115	0,098	0,151*
Secondary education	-0,057	-0,098	0,187	0,2*
Tertiary education	0,085	0,045	0,11	0,177*
Household Level				
Children (Ref.: No)	0,002	-0,045	0,033	0,049
Other HH members >18-years-old	-0,098	-0,203*	-0,047	-0,128*
HH Asset Index	0,047	-0,017	-0,148	-0,119
HH Heath proxy (Ref.: No attention/Control or Prevention)				
Health Check-ups & Illness	-0,299*	-0,17	-0,061	0,044
Illness	-0,331**	-0,276*	-0,096	0,041
Institutional Level				
Household Income Contribution (Ref.: Someone else)				
Shared	0,080	0,161	-0,046	0,044
Alone	0,339**	0,505**	0,281**	0,565**
Social Comparative Index 2010	-0,081	-0,036	0,109	0,092
Roles Perception Index	-0,116	-0,127	-0,018	-0,04
Assign monetary value to housework (Ref.: No)	0,026	0,004	0,052	0,045
Enterprise Level				
Economic Sector (Ref.: Agriculture & Other (5))				
Commerce/trade/retail	0,070	-0,059	-0,008	-0,136*
Manufacturing	0,045	-0,063	-0,03	-0,04

Determinants	Male sample		Female Sample	
	Absence of WFI	Presence of WFI	Absence of WFI	Presence of WFI
Service	0,001	-0,112	0,022	-0,082
Type of enterprise (Ref.: Self-employed)				
Employer (family members)	-0,063	-0,1	-0,112	-0,094
Employer (no family members)	-0,197*	-0,148	-0,237**	-0,141*
Accounting Skill Component	0,003	-0,01	-0,064	-0,053
R^2	**0,425**	**0,570**	**0,479**	**0,752**
N	**297**		**450**	

Note: SEM - Categorical Variables. Estimator: Robust Weighted Least Square (WLSMV). Author's own calculation based on field-work (CACMU, 2013).
Sig.: *** p < 0.001, ** p < 0.01, * p < 0.05.

Finally, in the presence of the WFI, the results show that the introduction of the family into the decision-making analysis highlights some determinants of decision-making that are overshadowed under the absence of the WFI, mainly for the female sample. At the individual level, the effect of the age for the female sample and marriage for both samples is bigger in the presence of the WFI than for the analysis of the enterprise as an isolated sphere. More interestingly, education, which was not significant in the absence of the WFI, appears to be positive and statistically significant (p<5%) at any level of education for the female sample. At the household level, the presence of other adults in the household appears to be negative and statistically associated (p<5%) with making autonomous decisions in the WFI for both male (-0.203) and female (-0.128) entrepreneurs but is greater for the male sample. At this level, the effect of the variable of the HH health proxy, which was statistically significant in the absence of the WFI for the male sample, is no longer significant in the presence of the WFI. At the institutional level, the perceived autonomous contribution to the household income, which was greater for male than for female entrepreneurs in the absence of the WFI, is now greater for female than for male entrepreneurs and is the main explanatory variable for decision-making in the WFI. The standardized coefficient when entrepreneurs consider that they make the contribution alone is positive and statistically significant (p<1%) for the male sample (0.505) and for the female sample (0.565). At the enterprise level, the variable of having employees that are not family members, which was statistically significant for both samples under the absence of the WFI, is only statistically significant for the female sample (-0.141) when the WFI is considered. Finally, female entrepreneurs that have an enterprise in commerce, trade and retail have a lower probability of making autonomous decisions when compared with the ones that have an enterprise in agriculture and other related activities.

6. Conclusion

This paper makes several contributions to the literature on gender, empowerment and entrepreneurship. The incorporation of the family embeddedness perspective into the decision-making analysis using gender as a category represents the first empirical application that explores gender differences over decision-making in the WFI of entrepreneurs. In the literature about entrepreneurship, the analysis of the enterprise is usually isolated from decisions within the household, whilst in the literature of empowerment, most empirical applications focus mainly on women's intra-household decision-making, leaving both men's decision-making and the analysis of decision-making within the enterprise almost unexplored.

The introduction of the family sphere in the analysis of the enterprise is highly suggestive of the potential benefits for further empirical research focused on the WFI. The analysis shows that under the apparent homogeneity in the patterns of entrepreneurial decision-making, clear gender differences can be identified over intra-household decision-making, particularly the ones encompassing decisions related to childbearing and childrearing. This result clearly suggests that the existence of a sharp gender division of labour regarding conception and child-related tasks may have effects that spill over other domains and in particular over the entrepreneurial one. In fact, the analysis of the WFI allowed showing significant differences mainly for female entrepreneurs consistent with the conflict perspective described in the literature.

The comparisons of possible determinants influencing decision-making under the assumptions of the presence and absence of the WFI showed that considering the enterprise as an isolated sphere conceals several determinants of decision-making that are overshadowed mainly for female entrepreneurs. The comparison between both assumptions describes a realm within the WFI where women decision-making is attenuated

mainly by the conventional bindings of the marriage institution, the presence of other adults in the household and/or situations of income dependency within the household. Interestingly, the degree of perceived income independence within the household is even more relevant than other objective factors such as the wealth of the household, formal education and enterprise characteristics for female and male entrepreneurs under the analysis of the WFI.

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Working From Barriers to Strategies: Career Advancement for Women Administrators

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Abstract: Only 24% of superintendents are women in K-12 districts in the United States, though women outnumber men in these settings. There are barriers that prevent career advancement and equal rewards for women. These barriers can be internal, such as lack of confidence, low aspirations or duties in the home environment and/or external barriers such as discriminatory practices or systems and structures of society. The purpose of this study was to examine survey data on 88 women administrators (i.e., assistant principals, principals, central office administrators) regarding the internal and external barriers and strategies to career advancement that would lead to a superintendency in a Midwestern state. Participants completed a 53 item questionnaire. An Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was used to analyze the data on perceptions of barriers, effects of barriers, and strategies by marital status, ethnicity, age, position, and level of education. The Pearson product moment was used to show the magnitude or strength of the relation between variables. Barriers, effects and strategies were rank ordered according to perceived significance of barriers for respondents. The results of the study added to the accumulating data on female administrators and the factors which create barriers to their full participation in educational administration.

Keywords: external barriers, internal barriers, women administrators, strategies for advancement, women superintendents, career advancement

1. Introduction and background

In the year 2000, 13% of women were superintendents in the United States. Now almost 20 years later only 24% of women (Robinson, Shackshaft, Grogan, Newcomb, 2017) now hold these positions. Teachers, usually female, comprise 76% of the teachers, 52% of principals, and 78% percent of central-office administrators, but for roles such as superintendents, their representation is diminutive (Brunner & Kim 2010; McGee, 2015; Superville, 2017). Although K-12 systems have more females than males, males still dominate the chief executive's offices (i.e., superintendents, chief deputy) in approximately 14,000 districts across the United States (US). It is noted that specific barriers deterred career advancement, precluding equal participation, equal access, and equal rewards for women. These barriers were usually categorized as internal and external. External barriers, such as discriminatory practices, systems and structures of society, were visible targets of remediation. However, internal barriers--women's lack of self-confidence and aspirations, their low self-esteem and role conflicts associated with expectations of family and career were much more difficult to alleviate due to the effects of years of socialization patterns that channeled women into specific roles in society (Brown & Garn, 2008; Brunner & Kim 2010; Grogan & Brunner, 2005; Superville, 2017).

Why was it that in the field of education where women were the majority, the minority group dominated the leadership ranks and continued to receive preference in appointment to top positions? It is noted that specific barriers deterred career advancement, precluding equal participation, equal access, and equal rewards for women. There are several articles that provide research related to these barriers.

Connell et al., (2015) performed a quantitative and qualitative study on active and retired female superintendents from one state in the south using a 29 item Likert scale survey and interview questions to determine barriers for 29 women participants. They examined, gender bias (i.e., the unfair difference in the way women are treated), mobility (i.e., ability to travel), family responsibilities (i.e., duties of a mother), selection processes for jobs, mentor's and networks. They found that the greatest obstacle was gender bias. Other internal factors such as family responsibility didn't appear to be a deterrent to progress in careers.

A study by Robinson et al., (2017), reported the findings of the American Association of School Administrators 2015 Mid Decade Survey to discuss trends in research over the superintendency in the past 15 years. A sample of 9,000 men and women and majority (i.e., White) and cultural and linguistically diverse (i.e., African-American, Latina/Latino, Asian-American) superintendents were sent a survey and 900 responded. Analysis included chi-

square tests, correlation, t-test and ANOVA to study race and gender. The article discussed several recent trends. Women had little difficulty with mobility and family circumstances regarding career advancement. Also, the study determined that men and women had a lot of the same problems. Both groups were former teachers, both had high stress indicators, yet women still are greatly underrepresented in the superintendency.

McGee (2010) used a survey and ANOVA statistics to examine barriers to administrative positions for women in public school systems within the Florida public school system. Only assistant, deputy, and area superintendents (n=212), along with principals (n=2,730) and assistant principals (n=3,733) in a public elementary, middle/junior high, and high school setting were included as participants. The researcher found that exclusion from professional networks to impede women from achieving career advancement. Garn and Brown (2008) performed a qualitative study using Inductive Reasoning methods, with 15 female superintendents from a southwestern state regarding their perception of gender bias. They found 2 major obstacles for female superintendents: (a) finding appropriate mentors, and (b) lack of support from the community because of gender stereotyping. Goffney and Edmonson (2012), in a qualitative study, examined the perceptions of three female superintendents, one African American, one Hispanic, and one White, as relating to race and gender and the impact on their career and possible strategies to cope with barriers. A narrative inquiry approach revealed that race did not correlate with performance and that collaborative leadership, spirituality, and positive relationships with other superintendents was the best strategies.

The implication of these studies suggest that women were more likely to experience external barriers than external barriers. Women are less likely to: (a) be hired as superintendents than men, (2) have more difficulties networking, and (c) have more challenges obtaining suitable mentors than men. These situations demonstrate inequitable practices within the administrative systems and impede the progress of women.

2. Methodology

The purpose of the present study is to present perceived barriers to career advancement for women administrators in one state in the Midwest for district superintendency, assistant/associate/ deputy superintendency positions. The theoretical framework for the study is based on Liberal feminism because this theory focuses on; (a) women's ability to maintain their equality through their own actions and choices, and (b) making the legal and political rights of women equal to men. The study provided a systematic, inquiry into the administrator's perceptions of barriers to career advancement and the effects of these barriers. Also, the study involves choices that women make to overcome particular perceived barriers. Previous studies have shown that only a small percentage of women administrators are provided higher level positions as superintendents (Connell et al,. 2015; Garn & Brown, 2015; McGee, 2010; Robinson et.al., 2017). Consequently, this study is significant because not only does it provide barriers, but the data could be used as a basis for recommending strategies for women administrators currently aspiring to career advancement.

The collection and analysis of the data were guided by the objectives and questions that follow, rather than by testing related hypotheses. 1. What did women administrators in a state in the Midwest perceive as the major barriers to their career advancement? 2. Which category of barriers, internal or external, was perceived as significantly deterring their career advancement? 3. What did women experience as advancement strategies? An Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was used to analyze the data on perceptions of barriers, effects of barriers, and strategies by marital status, ethnicity, age, position, and level of education. The Pearson product moment was used to show the magnitude or strength of the relation between variables. Barriers, effects and strategies were rank ordered according to perceived significance of barriers for respondents.

3. Participants

Using a stratified sample, women were drawn from specified sub-groups such as the positions of district superintendent, assistant superintendent, secondary school principal, assistant principal in middle and high schools. There were 100 female administrators in several districts identified in a state in the Midwest were chosen to participate in the study. The subjects were identified and verified from listings from the Directory of Schools and a computer printout of certified employees provided by the Division of Educational Information from State Department of Public Instruction.

4. Instrumentation

The data gathering tool for the study was a questionnaire developed by the researchers following the review of related research. The research instruments in similar studies (Connel et. al., 2015; Garn & Brown, 2008; Grogan & Brunner, 2005; McGee, 2010) were reviewed to determine technical construction, nature of items selected for use and potential applicability to the present study. To strengthen content validity, the preliminary questionnaire for the study was reviewed and critiqued by five professors in Educational Leadership. They examined the survey according to these questions. Also, a pilot study was conducted with female administrators in two school districts in the same state in the Midwest to determine needed changes in the instrument before full-scale administration. Suggestions from the reviewers and the respondents' evaluations were used in preparation of the final questionnaire. It consisted of demographical data and 53 items requiring categorical responses on a Likert- type response with a comment section. Questions 1 through 26 included factors that are barriers with a 1-7 scale from a Not a Factor to Serious Factor and questions 27 through 40 included the effects of the barriers with a scale of 1-5 Not at All to Absolutely, and questions 41-53 included strategies to career advancement with a scale of 1-4 from Highly Successful to Never Used. The data derived from these sections were also analyzed to determine the relationship between these variables and the respondents perceptions of internal and external barriers to career advancement (Table 1). Cronbach's alpha reliability (1951) was computed using the survey scores of participants and the reliability coefficient was .88.

Table 1: Questionnaire Items

Factors that are Barriers – Scale- Not a Factor (1) to Serious Factor (7)
1. Lack of professional network
2. Teachers, parents, community preferences for male rather than female administrators
3. Limited access to formal and informal training opportunities provided for male colleagues
4.Lack of experience and prior opportunities to qualify for higher level administrative positions
5. Reluctance to take risks involved in asking and competing for scarce higher level administrative positions
6. Guilt about pursuing non-traditional career roles
7. Limited professional preparation
8.Differential treatment on the basis of sex in the formal processes of application, screening, and selection
9. Existence of "cronyism" or the "Buddy System" where man refer male associates to jobs.
10.Differential evaluation of performance ratings on the basis of sex
11. Lack of career mobility (more place bound)
12. Conflicts created by the dual roles of wife/mother
13. Lack of role models
14. Problems in overcoming stereotypic attitudes about women's appropriate roles in society
15. Lowered aspirations because of limited opportunities for growth and advancement
16. Decline in job market due to declining enrollments, school closings, and economic considerations
17. Employer's negative attitudes about women's competency and effectiveness in administrative positions
18. Reorganization of school districts resulting in "reductions in force"
19. Lack of encouragement or support from family and peers
20. Exclusion from the informal socialization process ("Good Old Boy Network")
21. Lack of ability to perform managerial roles
22. Lack of influential sponsors
23. Small proportion of women in administration which affects how you are perceived and responded to by colleagues (e.g., as "tokens")
24. Personal characteristics and abilities incongruent with job demands
25. Lack of motivation in advance candidacy for particular administrative positions because of past obstacles encountered
26. Higher level of training required in order to be competitive with male colleagues
Effects of the Barriers-Scale- Not at All (1) to Absolutely (5)
27. Career was delayed due to family responsibility
28. Denied access to power groups who make important decisions
29. Applications to more routine tasks, rather than challenging
30. Assignments to more routine tasks, rather than challenging ones
31. Interruption of career
32. Having to accept less attractive and less challenging jobs
33. Having to move from district to district to advance
34. Applied more frequently for available administrative positions because of obstacles encountered
35. Exclusion from informal networks
36. Confusion regarding life's goals

Factors that are Barriers – Scale- Not a Factor (1) to Serious Factor (7)
37. Additional pressure to prove worth and competence as an administrator
38. Promotion into dead-end positions which are not commensurate with abilities and experiences
39. Problems with finding a workable balance between feminine identity and professionalism
40. Limited opportunities to advance professionally due to positional segregation
Strategies to Career Advancement - Scale- Highly Successful (1) to Never Used (4)
41. Setting career goals and formulating a plan of action
42. Developing a more positive self-concept
43. Developing/utilizing "New Girl Network"
44. Enlisting influential sponsors
45. Seeking advance training
46. Being more assertive in pursuing career goals
47. Becoming professional visible
48. Improving professional image
49. Attending seminars, administrative workshops to improve professional and interpersonal skills
50. Learning to cope multiple roles-wife/mother/professional
51. Obtaining support from family and/or peers
52. Preparing an effective resume and updating it
53.Gaining outside experience in various leadership positions to upgrade administrative skills

5. Data collection and analysis

The questionnaire was sent through Survey Monkey, an online survey software used to send surveys to respondents. The surveys were sent directly to the 100 female administrators identified in the selected positions. These selected positions were chosen because these females were most eligible to assume a superintendent position. A total of 88 female administrators or 88% comprised the final sample. An ANOVA was used to analyze the data on perceptions of barriers, effects of barriers, and strategies by marital status, ethnicity, age, position, and level of education. Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients were computed for barriers and effects to show the magnitude or strength of relations between these variables. Data collected on perceived barriers, effects, and strategies were rank-ordered according to perceived-significance for respondents. Data was computed using SPSS software.

The cultural and linguistically diverse (CLD) composition of this group of administrators included (n=72) 81.8% White, (n=15) 17.0% African-American, and (n=1) 1.1% Asian-American. The CLD category represented only 18.1% of the respondents. Of the 16 CLD administrators, 7 were senior high administrators and 9 were junior high/ middle school administrators. There were no culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) superintendents or assistant superintendents. Almost all of the administrators in the study held one or more advanced degrees. More than 19% reported the Ed.D./ Ph.D to be their highest degree, 22.7% indicated the Ed.S. as the highest earned, 56.8% held the master's degree, and only one respondent held a bachelor's degree. A large majority of the administrators were assistant principals at the senior high school level (36.4%). Over one-fourth of the respondents were, employed as assistant principals at the junior high/middle school level. Only 8% of the women were represented at the apex of the organization--the superintendency, while 11.3% were in the position of assistant superintendent. Principalships at both the senior high and junior high/middle school levels were held by 14.8% of the respondents.

6. Perception of barriers to career advancement

The respondents were asked about their perceptions of barriers indicated on a seven-point scale, which had or had not deterred them in their pursuit of professional career goals as administrators.

Table 2: Rank ordering of female administrators' perceptions of barriers by mean response scores

Barriers	Mean	S.D.	N
Existence of the "Buddy System"	4.5	2.0	88
Exclusion from the "Good Old Boy Network "	4.4	2.1	88
Problems in overcoming stereotypes	4.0	2.0	87
Decline in the job market	4.0	2.1	88
"Tokenism"	3.9	1.9	88
External preference for males	3.9	1.9	88
Employer's negative attitudes	3.8	2.1	88
Lack of career mobility	3.7	2.4	87

Barriers	Mean	S.D.	N
Differential treatment on the basis of sex	3.5	2.2	88
Lack of professional network	3.5	2.2	88
RIF's	3.5	2.2	88
Lack of role models	3.3	2.1	88
Lack of influential sponsors	3.1	2.0	87
Lack of opportunity for experience	3.0	1.9	88
Limited training opportunities	2.9	1.9	88
Differential evaluation	2.9	1.9	88
Role conflicts wife/mother career woman	2.8	2.1	88
Higher level of training required	2.7	1.9	88
Lack of opportunities lowers aspirations	2.7	1.9	88
Reluctance to take risks*	2.2	1.8	88
Lack of motivation	2.0	1.5	88
Personal Characteristics inconsistent with job demands	1.9	1.2	88
Lack of confidence*	1.9	1.2	88
Lack of family or peer supports	1.7	1.4	88
Limited preparations	1.6	1.2	88
Guilt about pursuing non-traditional roles*	1.6	1.2	88
**Indicates internal barriers. Based on scales of 1-7 for each item*			

The existence of the "Buddy System" (a cooperative arrangement whereby individuals assume the responsibility for one another's welfare) and exclusion from the "Good Old Boy Network" (i.e., a series of male contacts who can offer preferential treatment). Many Good Old Boy Networks, which operate on a favor system, were reported and ranked higher than any other barrier. The Existence of a "Buddy System" ranked the 2nd highest of these barriers and is were repeatedly mentioned in the literature on women in management and administration (Connell et al,. 2015; Garn & Brown, 2015; McGee, 2010; Robinson et.al., 2017). A frequently mentioned barrier was "Overcoming Stereotypic Attitudes" (a fixed, over generalized belief about women's appropriate roles in society) ranked third. Respondents, who perceived a decline in the job market as a significant factor. In the comment section, respondents instances of their "token status" (i.e., the practice of making only a perfunctory to recruiting to give the appearance of equality within a workforce) emphasized the lack of emotional support in handling professional and personal conflicts on the job and their feelings of isolation at the top. "Sex discrimination" (i.e., discrimination in employment and opportunity against a person, typically a woman, on grounds of sex) ranked moderately high along with the divided role of wife/ mother and career woman

7. Perceptions of the effects of barriers on career advancement

The respondents were asked to identify their perceptions of how the barriers listed had affected them in pursuing their professional career goals. A five-point Likert scale, varying from "Not at all" to "Absolutely," was used to indicate respondents' perceptions of the degree to which their career development had been affected. Overall, as with barriers, the respondents did not perceive the effects of barriers as significantly hindering their career advancement. On a five-point scale, only three effects had a mean response score near the mid-point level (3 for the five-point scale). All other effects were rated below the mid-point. Table 3 indicated that, when ranking effects by the mean response score, "pressures to prove worth and competence as an administrator" was perceived as having the greatest effect on respondents' career advancement. More than one- half of the administrators rated this effect as an obstacle in their career development "To a little extent" or "To a great extent." The item seen as having the next greatest effect was "exclusion from the informal network," followed by "denied access to power groups." Forty-five percent and 44% of the respondents respectively, considered these effects as either deterring them "To a little extent" or "To a great extent."

Table 3: Rank ordering of female administrators perceptions of effects by mean response scores

Effects	Mean	S.D.	N
Additional pressures to prove worth and competence	2.8	1.2	88
Exclusion from informal network	2.7	1.4	87
Denied access to power groups	2.5	1.2	88
Limited opportunities to advance	2.1	1.1	86
Career delayed	2.0	1.3	88
Assignments to routine tasks	2.0	1.3	88
Having to move from district to district to advance	2.0	1.4	86
Motivation and aspirations thwarted	1.8	.933	88

Effects	Mean	S.D.	N
Promotion into dead-end positions	1.8	1.3	87
Problems with finding a workable balance between femininity and professionalism	1.8	.964	88
Confusion regarding life's goals	1.7	.873	88
Having to accept less challenging jobs	1.7	1.0	86
Applied less frequently for jobs	1.7	1.1	87
Career interruption	1.3	.707	87
Based on scales of 1-5 for each item			

8. Relationship of demographic variables to perceptions of barriers

A one-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was calculated to determine significant differences between mean response scores to barriers by respondent variables of ethnicity, age, level of education, marital status and position. For all items with a significant overall F-ratio (p.< 05), the differences between means were tested by the Scheffe test for post hoc comparisons in order to assess homogeneity of variance and to identify subgroups with means significantly divergent from those of other subgroups. There were four sub-groups that were significant: (a) ethnicity, (b) age, (c) level of education, and (d) marital status.

When grouping respondents by ethnicity, culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) administrators perceived significantly more guilt about being non-traditional than did Caucasian administrators. Analysis revealed a statistically significant effect of ethnicity on the perceptions of barriers, F (1, 85) = 8.83, p = .004, with female administrators in minority groups (M = 2.40, SD = 1.99) having higher perceptions of barriers than Caucasian female administrators (M = 1.40, SD = 0.94). The resulting F-ratio was significant at the .05 level and post-hoc comparisons indicated that the two groups differed significantly.

When grouping respondents by age, their perceptions of the "Buddy System," "conflict between wife/mother and career woman, and "lack of confidence" were found to be statistically significant. The results of the Scheffe test indicated that regarding the "Buddy System," administrators between the ages of 35-39 and 45-49 perceived this barrier as a considerable factor in their career advancement--F (5, 82) = 3.15, p = .012; ages 30-34 (M=4.44, SD=2.01), 35-39 (M=5.11, SD=1.77), 40-44 (M=3.21, SD=1.96), 45-49 (M=5.26, SD=1.79), 50-54 (M=4.92, SD=2.06), 55 and over (M=3.41, SD=1.58). The mean response score for both groups was 5.11 and 5.26 respectively. Administrators between the ages of 40-44 felt the effects of this barrier the least (x - 3.2). The Scheffe test results also revealed that women in the age categories of 30-34, 50-54, and 55-59 formed a homogeneous subset, while women 40-44 differed in their perception, but not significantly.

The divided role of wife/mother and career woman was perceived as a considerable barrier for women under age 35 (x = 5.4). Results revealed that there were statistically significant differences among female administrators in different age groups in their perceptions of barriers (Role Conflict), F (5, 82) = 4.24, p = .002--ages 30-34 (M=5.44, SD=1.81), 35-39 (M=2.73, SD=1.97), 40-44 (M=2.00, SD=1.82), 45-49 (M=2.80. SD= 2.04), 50-54 (M=2.92, SD=2.19), 55 and over (M=2.00, SD=1.53). Post-hoc comparisons disclosed that the mean response score for women in this age group was significantly different from other age groups. Administrators in the 40-44 and 55 or older age categories experienced this barrier to a lesser degree than any of the other age groups. Other age groups formed a homogeneous subset whose mean response scores were quite similar.

Age also influenced the degree to which respondents perceived the barrier--"lack of confidence." The resulting F-ratio was significant at the .05 level (p = .0138). Results revealed that there were statistically significant differences among female administrators in different age groups in their perceptions of barriers (lack of confidence), F (5, 82) = 3.07, p = .014--ages 30-34 (M=3.22, SD=1.20), 35-39 (M=1.65, SD=.75), 40-44 (M=1.57, SD=1.01), 45-49 (M=1.67, SD=1.35), 55 and over (M=2.00, SD= 1.41. Post-hoc comparisons indicated that the mean response score for women under age 35 differed significantly from the other age categories. Although respondents in this age category perceived this barrier as only somewhat a factor in their career advancement, it was still rated higher than respondents' mean response scores in other age categories. The Scheffe test results also revealed that after age 50, the perception of this barrier increased slightly.

Level of education strongly influenced respondents' perceptions of lack of opportunities for experience (F =3.70, p< .05). Women with doctorates perceived this barrier as a much greater obstacle to their career advancement than women with either master's or specialist degrees. There were statistically significant differences between

female administrators with different educational background in their perceptions of barriers (lack of opportunities for experience level of education), F (2, 84) = 3.70, p = .029. Female administrators with Ed.D/Ph.D degree (M = 4.19, SD = 2.10) have higher perceptions of barriers than those with either M.S/M.A (M = 2.71, SD = 1.98) or Ed.S degree (M = 2.76, SD = 1.82).The Scheffe test results showed that the women with master's and specialist degrees formed a homogeneous subset, while women with doctorates differed significantly from these two groups.

Level of education also influenced respondents' perceptions of whether their personal characteristics and abilities were congruent with their job demands. There were statistically significant differences between female administrators with different educational background in their perceptions of barriers (personal congruency with job level of education), F (2, 84) = 4.02, p = .021. Female administrators with M.S./M. A. degree (M = 2.26, SD = 1.51) have higher perceptions of barriers than those with either Ed.S. (M = 1.48, SD = 0.68) or Wd.D./Ph.D. degree (M = 1.50, SD = 0.89). Women with a master's degree perceived significantly higher incongruency with job demands than those with a specialist or doctorate degree. However, the difference was not significant. Finally, the barrier most related to family life and stemming from an effort to combine career and family roles--role conflict between wife/mother and career woman was perceived more strongly by married women than single women. One-way Analysis of Variance, followed by the Scheffe test indicated that the two groups differed significantly (F = 14.0, p = .0003). A one-way between subject ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of marital status on the perceptions of barriers. There was a significant effect of marital status on the perceptions of barriers, F (1, 86) = 14.01, p < .001. Married female administrators had higher perceptions of barriers (M = 3.37, SD = 2.19) than single female administrators (M = 1.68, SD = 1.39).

9. Relationship of barriers to effects

Correlation matrices were calculated for responses to barriers and effects to ascertain if any relationship existed between these variables. If respondents encountered specific barriers in their career advancement, were there corresponding effects which could be linked to these barriers? The technique used to determine relationships was the Pearson product moment correlation coefficient (Pearson r). The probability level for each correlation coefficient was set at the .05 level. Testing for statistical significance indicated whether the probability of the obtained coefficient was really different from zero and reflected a true relationship, rather than just a chance relationship. The results suggest that 28 out of 77 correlations were statistically significant (Table 4). Significant correlations ranged from moderate (r = .50, n = 88, p <.05) to high (r = .82, n = 88, p < .05). This findings undoubtedly reflected that if respondents encounter the barriers of the "Buddy System," "Good Old Boy Network," and "problems in overcoming stereotypic attitudes," then they most likely would experience the most frequently cited effects on career advancement (see Table 3).

Table 4: Coefficients and variances indicating the magnitude of the relationship between barriers and effects

Barriers	**Pearson product moment effects *p<.05**													
	Additional pressures to prove self		**Exclusion from informal network**		**Denied access to power**		**Limited opportunity to advance**		**Having to move**		**Applied less frequently**		**Promotion into dead – end jobs**	
	r	r^2	r	r^2	r	r^2	r	r^2	r	r^2	r	r^2	r	r^2
Buddy System					.67	45%								
Exclusion from formal socialization process	.58	34%	.82	67%	.52	27%	.57	27%	.57	32%				
Problems in overcoming stereotypical attitudes			.56	31%										
Tokenism	.54	29%	.63	40%	.51	26%	.54	29%						
Employer's negative attitude			.55	30%	.55	30%	.54	29%					.57	32 %

Barriers	Pearson product moment effects *p<.05													
	Additional pressures to prove self		Exclusion from informal network		Denied access to power		Limited opportunity to advance		Having to move		Applied less frequently		Promotion into dead – end jobs	
Differential Treatment on the basis of sex			.59	35%			.54	29%	.52	27%				
Lack of network	.53	28%	.57	32%										
Lack of influential sponsors	.54	29%	.55	30%										
Limited access to training opportunities			.56	32%										
Differential evaluations	.51	26%	.57	32%	.55	30%	.50	25%						
Lacking motivation											.52	21%		

10. Successful strategies to career advancement

In the final section of the survey questionnaire, respondents reported their perceptions of the success rate of strategies in accomplishing their career goals. Respondents indicated on a four-point Likert scale whether the list of strategies had been "Highly unsuccessful," "Somewhat successful," "Highly successful," or "Never used" in advancing their specific career goals. Table 5 gave the percentage distribution of ratings. The vast majority of the administrators, over 70%, most often reported "seeking advanced training," "developing a positive self-concept," and "becoming professionally visible" as highly successful strategies (Table 5). More than 60% of all respondents found that "improving professional image," "obtaining support from family and peers," "setting career goals," and "being more assertive" had positive results in their career development. "Enlisting influential sponsors," a strategy which has been noted as an important tactic for women in administration, was reported as highly successful by only 36.2% of respondents. The most interesting finding was the use of the "New Girl Network" (An informal system of mutual social networking among women) (Dempsey & Williams, 2013) by respondents. Of the ones who had used it, only 27.3% found it to be somewhat or highly successful. Nearly 70% reported never using this strategy.

Table 5: Percentage distribution of female administrators' responses to strategies

Strategies	Highly Un-successful	Somewhat Successful	Highly Successful	Never Used
Seeking advanced training	4.5	20.5	73.9	1.1
Developing a positive self-concept	2.3	20.5	72.6	4.6
Becoming professionally visible	5.4	22.2	70.l	2.3
Improving professional image	2.3	22.0	69.4	7.9
Obtaining support from family/peers	2.3	22.6	68.3	6.8
Setting career goals	3.4	25.6	65.3	5.7
Being more assertive	5.6	22.8	61.4	10.2
Attending seminars/workshops/ participation in internship programs	5.7	34.1	56.8	3.4
Gaining external experience	1.1	30.7	46.6	21.6
Coping with multiple roles	2.3	28.4	45.5	23.9
Enlisting influential sponsors	2.3	37.5	36.2	26.1
Updating resume	4.5	40.9	31.8	22.8
Developing/utilizing “New Girl Network”	3.4	21.6	5.7	69.3

11. Discussion

The primary objectives of the study were to (a) identify perceived internal and external barriers to career advancement for female administrators in a state in the Midwest public schools; (b) identify the effects these barriers had on their career advancement; (c) determine which strategies have been successful for them in overcoming barriers and achieving professional career goals; and (d) identify differences in the perception of barriers according to age, ethnicity, level of education, position, and marital status. Internal barriers seemed less significant, thus, it was concluded that some of the obligations and conflicts attached to a woman's role as mother was alleviated. Sixty-nine point three percent did not view these multiple roles as significantly affecting them in their pursuit of professional goals (Brunner & Kim, 2010; Robinson et al., 2017). The external barriers most frequently cited by respondents as moderate to serious factors in their career advancement were: (a) the existence of the "Buddy System," (b) exclusion from the "Good Old Boy Network," (c) problems in overcoming stereotypic attitudes, and (d) a decline in the job market. This barrier has been linked to the sex-role stereotype perspective which perpetuates discriminatory practices against women in promotional policies and defines what is thought to be their appropriate role in the organizational setting (Grogan & Brunner, 2005; Hegewisch et al., 2014; Robinson et al., 2017).

As with barriers, respondents did not feel that the effects of barriers significantly hindered their career advancement. The three effects more frequently cited were: (a) pressures to prove worth and competence in administration, (b) exclusion from the informal network, and (c) denied access to power groups. The findings suggested that the major barriers to career advancement correlated significantly with the respondents' perceptions of how these barriers had affected pursuit of career goals. The results indicated that respondents who encountered the major barriers to career advancement were more likely to experience one or more of the major effects. An ANOVA indicated differences in age, ethnicity, level of education and marital status. Those that were married differed from those that were single and those with a higher education level significantly differed from those who had a lower level. It appears that younger administrators, ages 30-39, who likely had younger children and were married were more affected by internal barriers. Those who were older and had higher educational levels and therefore more expectations for higher career aspirations. There was strong evidence in the study that respondents used various strategies to overcome barriers. However, there was no single strategy viewed as being the most successful in achieving career goals. Instead, employing numerous strategies increased one's chances for success.

12. Limitations

The study was limited to include all women administrators in one state: superintendencies, assistant/ associate/ deputy superintendencies, and secondary principalships. The study did not include female administrators in non-public, private, vocational or special service schools because of their methods of recruitment and hiring of administrators, the differences in the administrative hierarchy and organizational structure: differences in certification requirements for administrators, and differences in their accreditation guidelines and financial support. Since the district superintendents were responsible for public school personnel, no county superintendents were included in the study. Reporting bias is defined as "selective revealing or suppression of information" by subjects. It is possible that under-reporting unexpected or undesirable experimental results for the participants may be a reporting bias. There may be self-report bias as surveys rely on honesty and introspective ability.

13. Conclusions and implications

The results of the study added to the accumulating data on female administrators and the factors which create barriers to their full participation in educational administration. Research activities of the network should include documenting all administrative vacancies and changes in schools. Information should be gathered on; (a) how many administrative changes or vacancies occur, (b) who applies for those positions, and (c) who gets the job. State departments of education or professional educational organizations (e.g., American Association for School Administrators-AASA) should provide periodic preservice and inservice awareness workshops for administrators, school boards, and teachers. Discussions of future change strategies for eliminating sexism in hiring and promotional practices should be a major part of these workshops. Policy changes most effectively come from within. Consequently, it ls recommended that individual school boards and districts investigate the extent to which women are represented in their administrative staff and closely examine their hiring/promotion practices and procedures.

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A Best Practice for Attracting Female Students to Enrol in ICT Studies

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Abstract: The extremely low rates of females compared to men, enrolled at Computer Sciences (CS) and Information Systems Universities result not only in a massive loss of talent for companies and economies but also perpetuate gaps in gender inequality in the ICT field. To face this, Universities and Research Organizations are gradually taking initiatives to address such gender imbalance, trying to intervene and raise the awareness on a complex set of rooted cultural/societal gender stereotypes, including gender bias and linking ICT with masculinity that are permeating early school education, STEM teaching practices and parents' attitudes. This approach is based on several studies on the current students that highlight how female bachelor students in CS have lower levels of self-confidence compared to their male counterparts which can negatively impact on their plans to continue their studies. Towards this direction, the Horizon 2020 EQUAL-IST (Gender Equality Plans for Information Sciences and Technology Research Institutions) project supports six Universities across Europe (Italy, Lithuania, Germany, Ukraine, Finland, Portugal) to design and implement actions towards gender equality, with a specific focus on the ICT/IST area. The Universities have settled up several concrete initiatives to attract female students towards ICT studies. Specifically, this paper presents the best practice implemented at the University of Modena and Reggio Emilia, (UniMORE) the Summer Camp namely *Ragazze Digitali* (Digital Girls). The summer camp offers to female students of third and fourth grade of the high schools a first-hand experience based on a learn-by-doing approach to coding applied to creative and innovative fields, as well as inspiring female role models from the academia and the industry. For its scope, nature (free for the girls to participate) and duration (four entire weeks), the Summer Camp Ragazze Digitali represents a unique experience not only in Italy but also in Europe and, at the best of our knowledge, in the world. The paper describes the Summer Camp experience, highlighting the impacts of this experience on the female students, with particular attention to changed attitudes and plans for their future studies and careers.

Keywords: gender segregation, ICT summer camp, gender stereotypes, learn-by-doing approach

1. Introduction

The gender gap in science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) engagement is large and persistent. However, there are large variations in women's under-representation among STEM fields, and the gender gap is significantly larger in technological fields such as computer science and engineering than in math and science (Cheryan et al. 2017). According to Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 2016) analysis on the *Programme for International Students Assessment* PISA 2015 data about 15 years old students' expectations about their future, boys are more likely than girls to see themselves as working in ICT: on average 0.4% of girls and 4.8% of boys have the expectation to become employed as ICT professionals. According to Eurostat 2018 data (Eurostat, 2018), about 1,3 million of people in Europe are enrolled in ICT courses (in different levels of education), but only 16.7% are women (13% in Italy). Moreover, a focus on tertiary education allows to see that in 2015 amongst graduates in Europe only 3.6% are graduated in ICT, and only 19% of them are women, therefore (European Commission, 2018) men graduate 5-7 times more than women in ICT on average in Europe.

The recent statistics on the proportion of women students at Bachelor, Master and PhD courses of the Department of Engineering 'Enzo Ferrari' (DIEF) confirm this gender gap, showing percentages of women much lower with respect to all the other university courses. While at the university level the percentage of women in UniMORE courses is around 55%, which is consistent with the national average (Bartoloni, 2018), the percentage at the department level drops down at around 20%. At the national level the percentage of women in courses of the scientific and technological area is about 35%, which is much higher of the percentage at DIEF. However, this can be easily explained because the national data include all STEM disciplines, while the DIEF department is strictly related to the technology and engineering part, where it is well-known that women are less represented with respect to the other STEM fields. If we further focus the analysis on the ICT courses, DIEF department presents an additional reduction in the presence of female students, as shown in Table 1 (note: the results for doctoral courses are very variable also due to the very limited numbers of students in the course).

Table 1: Students of ICT courses at DIEF Department

Proportion of women of students			
	Doctoral-ICT	**Master-ICT**	**Bachelor-ICT**
2010/11	18,18 %	6,25 %	10,64 %
2011/12	0,00 %	13,51 %	11,88 %
2012/13	8,33 %	18,92 %	15,45 %
2013/14	10,00 %	17,07 %	14,49 %
2014/15	10,00 %	8,11 %	12,50 %
2015/16	0,00 %	7,14 %	17,68 %

The observed gap should be addressed by a set of policies that include breaking gender stereotypes that appear to limit women's access to ICT by means of awareness-raising campaigns and concrete actions, as also suggested by the European Commission (European Commission, 2018). Research results actually show that on the observed gap in ICT is related to gender stereotypes about the perception of subjects of study and professions in terms of masculines or feminine: to prevent the observed segregation by gender in Tertiary education, these stereotypes must be addressed by means of earlier interventions in students life including awareness-raising campaigns and training (OECD, 2015a; Davaki, 2018). Even the later girls' exposure to computer can be associated to non-material barriers in the access to digital learning (OECD,2015b).

The University of Modena and Reggio Emilia (UniMORE) took the initiative to boost the women enrolment at the DIEF department and developed its Gender Equality Plan (GEP), through its participation at the European funded H2020 project EQUAL-IST.

This paper provides a first analysis of an original best practice aimed at addressing the problem of women's underepresentation in ICT in Italy: the summer camp Ragazze Digitali (Digital Girls), that is a key action of the UniMORE (GEP).

The 'Ragazze Digitali' (Digital Girls) Summer Camp is organised annually by the Department of Engineering 'Enzo Ferrari' of the University of Modena and Reggio Emilia in collaboration with the association European Women Management and Development (EWMD). The summer camp has the main goal of encouraging female students to enrol in Computer Science/Informatics programs and to attract girls towards computer science through a creative learning-by-doing approach based on team-based activities. It is dedicated to girls of third and fourth grade of the high schools and it is free for them to participate. No previous competences are required in terms of coding or ICT skills. During the summer camp, which lasts for 4 entire weeks between June and July, the girls learn how to program video-games in Python. Moreover, they are exposed to female role models represented by women expert in the ICT field who intervene as speakers on dedicated topics. The Summer Camp represents a highly innovative best practice to promote female participation in ICT studies: its long duration (4 weeks) and the fact that it dedicated to girls and free for the participants makes this initiative unique, not only in Italy but, at the best of our knowledge, in Europe and in the world. In this paper we describe the Summer Camp experience, highlighting the impacts of this experience on the participating female students, with a specific focus on their changed attitudes and plans for future studies and careers.

2. Addressing the problem of gender inequalities

The Summer Camp is a result of the advanced research methodology for participatory gender audit in ICT/IST research institutions (Canali *et al*, 2017), applied by UniMORE in the context of the EQUAL-IST project to identify the main challenges related to gender equality.

Following this methodology, UniMORE implemented the internal gender audit that took place between December 2016 and April 2017. The internal gender audit included different activities, such as a quantitative data collection of gender-disaggregated data, individual semi-structured interviews with key people and decision makers, and participatory workshops. As a result of the audit, several challenges were identified, and some solution proposed to address them. These challenges and solutions were uploaded as an initial input into the CrowdEquality online platform (Gorbacheva *et al*, 2017) to trigger a collaborative crowdsourcing process

leading to the proposal of additional solutions aimed at addressing the identified challenges, according to the bottom-up ideation approach envisaged by the EQUAL-IST project.

After having analysed and internally discussed the results of the gender audit and crowdsourcing exercise (Gorbacheva *et al*, 2017), the UniMORE working group organized online and face-to-face meetings with the main stakeholders involved in the GEP implementation, namely the Rector of the University, the Head of the Department, the President of the CUG (Unified Committee for Guarantees, the Responsible of the Research Office, the members of the Interdepartmental Center CRID (Research Center on discriminations and vulnerability). The meetings had a twofold objective: on one hand, to discuss with the stakeholders how to translate the solution, emerged on the crowdsourcing process and formulated in general terms, into concrete actions that are feasible and effective at the same time to address the specific challenges within the UniMORE institution; on the other hand, the involvement of the stakeholders in the design phase of GEPs was aimed at engaging them to have their support in the following implementation phase.

3. From challenges to actions

According to the methodology for participatory gender audit in ICT/IST research institutions [2], the challenges identified should be categorised into particular intervention areas. One of the areas that UniMORE focused has been the Teaching and Students Services that contrasts gender segregation in ICT studies choices. More specifically, UniMORE identified that while graduate enrolments generally evidence a substantial balance or even a female predominance, girls are definitively reluctant to pursue ICT academic studies: in these courses, girls typically account for 10% to 20% of students at every level (bachelor, master, doctoral degree). The following table shows the percentage of female and male students enrolled in the Bachelor, Master and PhD ICT courses at the Department of Engineering 'Enzo Ferrari' during the period 2013-2015. On the other hand, the percentage of women overall enrolled in the UniMORE courses (considering all courses, not only the ICT ones) is between 51, 30% and 56, 04% for the same period, showing a prevalence of female students.

Table 2: Percentage of female and male students enrolled in the Bachelor, Master and PhD ICT courses at the Department of Engineering 'Enzo Ferrari'

	2015		**2014**		**2013**	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Bachelor	93,62%	6,38%	86,67%	13,33%	90,00%	10,00%
Master	77,78%	22,22%	90,63%	9,38%	93,48%	6,52%
PhD	100,00%	0,00%	72,73%	27,27%	90,91%	9,09%

According to the results of the gender audit in UniMORE and to existing studies, the under-representation of women within the student population of ICT courses appears to be mainly caused by cultural issues, including gender stereotypes and lack of female role models in ICT fields (phenomenon known as "stereotype threat", meaning that gender stereotypes have negative consequences for girls' performance and interest in STEM and technological fields - Régner *et al.,* 2014). These disciplines are perceived as "male" courses by the students, differently from many other academic disciplines and even from some STEM discipline, like mathematics. Programming is mostly seen as a male activity, only attracting nerds and geeks. Another issue is represented by the lack of computer science disciplines in the Italian primary and secondary schools: the lack of knowledge of what computer science and ICT actually are tends to reinforce the stereotype about 'male' disciplines among the youngest generations. Indeed, the gap between girls and boys in terms of interest and attraction towards technology fields apparently starts to become evident during the middle schools, then tends to increase with the age. These observations are confirmed by recent results in literature about gender gaps in STEM and in particular in ICT studies. The study in (Barker and Aspray, 2006) underlines how a possible reason for girls showing lower attraction than boys towards computer science and engineering is because they have fewer experiences with technology to generate interest and build self-efficacy. As early as elementary and middle school, indeed, girls spend less time playing with computer games and technological toys (Cherney & London, 2006) with respect to boys.

On the other hand, the study in (Master *et al.*, 2016) claims that interventions aimed at increasing young girls' interest and self-efficacy in technology-related activities have the potential to reduce the gender gap in participation. (Master et al., 2017) describe the results of providing 6-year-old girls and boys with a brief

experience in programming robots, and report how this can affect girls' immediate interest and self-efficacy in computer science and engineering, drawing the following conclusions:

- Girls given programming experience showed higher technology interest and self-efficacy.
- Experience eliminated gender differences in technology interest and self-efficacy.
- Providing girls with positive STEM experiences is beneficial.

Another important aspect to counteract the gender gap is the lack of female role models in technological fields that contributes to reinforce stereotypes. An interesting study (Shin et al., 2016) showed that role model exposure had positive effects on both STEM and non-STEM students' interest in STEM as well as their perceived identity compatibility between the self and STEM. Moreover, role model exposure had a positive impact on academic sense of belonging, and a positive impact on academic self-efficacy among STEM students.

On the basis of the results of the gender audit in UniMORE and of existing studies, the UniMORE research unit identified the Summer Camp Ragazze Digitali as a key action of the UniMORE Gender Equality Plan (GEP) developed in consequence of its participation to the European H2020 EQUAL-IST project.

The summer camp will be described in details in the following section of this paper.

4. Detailed description of the ICT summer camp

The summer camp "Ragazze Digitali" is an innovative project: in Italy, it represents the first and only summer camp entirely dedicated to girls. Its long duration (4 weeks) and the fact that it is free for the participants, no previous competencies are required regarding coding or ICT skills, makes this initiative unique, not only in Italy but also in Europe and, at the best of our knowledge, in the world.

The total number of female students taking part to the five last Summer Camps editions (from 2014 to 2018) of the summer camp is 282, with a substantial growth trend, while more than 3.000 girls have been engaged in the raising awareness events before the Camp.

During the summer camp, the girls learn how to program video-games in Python. Laboratory activities focus on a learning-by-doing approach with a two-fold goal: 1) smoothly and nicely introduce girls to computer science and a "smart" technological world; 2) give girls a better understanding of what ICT is and how it can be applied to different and multidisciplinary fields. Moreover, the girls learn how to work in team through team building activities performed at the beginning of the camp and through the collaborative development of team projects.

Finally, during the summer camp dedicated seminars with speeches are done by external experts and women who have reached leadership positions because of scientific studies will help to promote existing female role models. The goal of such seminars is to expose girls to examples which are disruptive with respect to the well-known social gender stereotypes, and to present the concrete opportunities that ICT-related competences may offer in terms of studies and careers at the local and national level.

To summarize, the main activities carried out during the summer camp were:

- Introduction to the basic tools supporting programming and management of software projects, such as OS Linux, shell bash, IDE Python (Pycharm), Google Gmail, Google Drive.
- Principles of programming in Python
- Video-games development in Python (PyGame library)
- Principles of graphics, animations and audio in PyGame
- Seminars on ICT topics such as cybersecurity, digital communication on Web and social networks
- Speeches of experts and entrepreneurs of local ICT companies to inform girls about career opportunities of in this field

Before the camp, preliminary and promotional activities were carried out:

- Promotional events organized in the high schools to present the project to teachers and students: during the events we talked about gender stereotypes among young generations with many interventions from the students attending the events, showing interest and curiosity about the topic.

- Public events to give visibility to the summer camp - press review at the link https://www.ragazzedigitali.it/category/parlano-di-noi/

Finally, in order to better promote the summer camp, the dedicated Web site of Ragazze Digitali (www.ragazzedigitali.it) was recently completely renewed: the improved online version was published online at the beginning of February 2018. The online subscriptions were opened on February 27th, 2018, very early with respect to the beginning of the summer camp.

The above described summer camp "Ragazze Digitali" has been included as a concrete action to attract female students towards ICT studies in the Gender Equality Plans of our University developed with the support of the European Project Horizon 2020 EQUAL-IST. The impacts of the initiatives are described in the following section.

As a final note, we add that the summer camp has also been selected as a best practice in the context of the project Gender aware education and teaching (Gender4STEM), a research project co-funded by the Erasmus+ Programme of the European Union whose objective is to promote and support teachers in dealing with gender balance and diversity in their classroom.

5. Evidence of impacts

In this section we describe the main impacts of the summer camp Ragazze Digitali.

First of all, we consider as an important measure of the achieved impact the number of female students involved in the summer camp, both reached from the promotional events and directly involved in attending the camp. The number of schools from which the students came is another important factor to consider, because it reveals how many institutions our activity was able to reach on the territory. Finally, we take in consideration the geographic origin of participants and schools that we expect to change over time including a larger territory. In its first editions, indeed, the summer camp was mainly promoted within the cities of Modena and Reggio Emilia (locations of UniMORE), but then the promotional activities were extended to include close by cities within the same region Emilia Romagna (e.g., Parma and Bologna). Moreover, the initiative was disseminated through social networks channels (mainly Facebook and Twitter), the Web site, local and national press, and a promotional speech in Rome.

The second metric that we consider to measure impact is the feedback of the participants on the summer camp experience. During the last three editions, feedbacks were collected through an online survey both before and after the camp to investigate: the previous (before the camp) programming experience of the girls; the appreciation for the team work and the activities carried out during the camp; their attitude towards programming after the camp; the change in their knowledge about computer science; their increased technological and coding skills.

The third and final considered metric is the impacts of the summer camp experience on participants' future choice of studies. To this purpose, an online survey was conducted in 2018 over the participants to the first 4 editions to collect the information about the girls' choice of academic studies (for girls who already got their diploma) or about their future intentions (for girls who are still at the high school).

To summarize, we measure the main impacts of the summer camp in terms of:

- a) number and geographic origin of participants and of high schools involved
- b) feedbacks from the participants collected through a survey conducted for the last three editions
- c) impact of the summer camp on participants' future choice of studies

a) number and geographic origin of participants and of high schools involved

Every year at least 5 promotional events were organized to present the summer camp in different high school located in Modena and Reggio Emilia: from 2014 up to now, more than 3000 students of the high schools attended the promotional events.

The total number of female students that participated to the 4 previous editions (from 2014 to 2017) of the summer camp is 202, with an increasing trend from the first to the last edition.

The participants came from 43 different high schools not only of the city of Modena (15 schools) and of its province (11 schools), but also from other Italian cities, both belonging the same region Emilia Romagna (Reggio Emilia: 6 schools, Bologna: 5 schools, Parma: 1 school, Rimini: 1 school) and located in other regions (Mantova in Lombardia: 1 school, Rome in Lazio: 2 schools, Lecce in Puglia: 1 school). Many girls, indeed, come every year from outside of the city of Modena, where the camp is located. Specifically, the percentage of participant coming from outside the province of Modena was:

- 4% in 2014
- 27% in 2015
- 25% in 2016
- 45% in 2017

We see a major increase in participants coming from outside Modena for the 2014 and 2015 editions; the trend is maintained in the 2016 edition and followed by another major increase in the 2017 edition. Moreover, the average distance travelled by the participants is increasing from the 2015 edition to the 2016 edition. In fact, while the percentage of non-local participants was rather stable between the two editions, in 2016 the 58% of the non-local participants came from more distant locations with respect to the previous year. In the 2017 edition, not only the number of non-local participants but also the travelled distance increased. This increase is to be attributed to a gain in popularity of the summer camp outside of Modena. In conclusion, while in the early editions of the camp the participants came mostly from Modena and its province, the newest editions saw a significant increase of participants coming from outside the province, both in terms of number and travelled distance. Given the uneven and heterogeneous distribution of ICT skills, access to broadband (as stated also in the World Economic Forum *Global Information Technology Report;* and in Istituto Nazionale di Statistica, Istat, 2017) and gender stereotypes across Italian regions, we believe that the increase in the flow of students from other regions can produce a even more relevant improvement in gender equality in terms of access to ICT.

b) feedbacks from the participants collected through a survey conducted for the last three editions

Overall, feedbacks from the participants to the three past editions were highly positive, especially considering that their skills in programming before the Summer Camp were rather poor: 70% of the participants in 2016, 62% in 2017 and 82,6% in 2018 weren't able to program at all before this experience. After the camp, 80% of the girls in 2016, almost 70% in 2017 and in 2018 stated they had definitely understood more clearly what computer science actually means. However, what makes us really proud about this project is that 100% of the girls in 2016 and more than 95% in 2017 and in 2018 declared they had acquired new technical and coding skills thanks to the Camp's activities. Moreover, 95% of the participants in 2016 and 2017, and 97% in 2018 rated the team working and the collaborative projects carried out within the Summer Camp very positively; team activities have been rated from very positive to excellent by 47 % in 2016, 55,3 % in 2017 and 63% in 2018. Finally, after the camp the girls declared a high appreciation for programming (data shown in Table 3 for the last three years).

Table 3: Attitudes of participants towards programming

Do you like to program?			
	2016	2017	2018
I like it a lot	36,8%	34,2%	33,9%
I like it	42,1%	42,1%	43,2%
I am indifferent to it	21,1%	18,4%	17,8%
I dislike it	0%	5,3%	5,1%
Not at all	0%	0%	0%

c) impact of the summer camp on participants' future choice of studies

To evaluate the impact of the summer camp on the participants' future choice of studies, a survey was conducted in 2018 over the participants to the first 4 editions. The 34% of the girls answered to the survey with the following results.

Among the girls who got their High school diploma and who carried on their studies:

- 31,6 % chose a Faculty from the Information Technology area (that is, Information Technology Studies or Computer Engineering)
- 15,8 % went for a Faculty from the Engineering area other than Computer Engineering
- 15,8 % chose another different Scientific Faculty not belonging to the Information Technology Department
- 36,8 % opted for a Faculty from other different areas.

One of the most relevant comments on the questionnaire was about the influence of the Camp on the girls' decisions about their future careers: 50% of those who have chosen IT or Computer Engineering studies at University declared that the Summer Camp experience had a major influence on the choice of the Faculty.

The data concerning the Digital Girls who haven't still finished High school are encouraging as well:

- 30 % of the girls are going to apply for a Faculty from the Information Technology area (that is,
- Information Technology Studies or Computer Engineering)
- 5% are going to apply for a Faculty from the Engineering area other than Computer Engineering
- 37,5 % are going to apply for another different Scientific Faculty not belonging to the
- Information Technology Department
- 7,5 % are going to apply for a Faculty from other different areas

It is important to note that there are also additional positive impacts to be evaluated connected to the high number of girls who took part to the summer camp who, even if they did not choose to carry out a STEM tertiary education after the high school, did state to have acquired a better training in ICT: they will disseminate their increased digital competences amongst peers and within their families, therefore positively contributing to the contrast of gender stereotypes.

Finally, as regards the enrolment of female students in the ICT courses offered by the University of Modena and Reggio Emilia, we registered a positive trend: while in 2014 the percentage of enrolled women was 11,37%, in 2017 we reached the 15,37%, with an increase of 4 percentage points.

6. Conclusions and future work

The summer camp Ragazze Digitali has been proposed as a concrete action to counteract gender stereotypes about computer science and to attract female students towards ICT studies. At the summer camp can participate for free, girls of third and fourth grade of the high schools who do not have any previous competences of coding or ICT skills. The summer camp lasts four entire weeks and the girls learn how to program video-games in Python. Its main scope is to promote the participation of women in Information and Communications Technologies (ICT) studies. This initiative was included as a positive action in the Gender Equality Plans of our University developed with the support of the European Project Horizon 2020 EQUAL-IST (2016-2019). So far, the summer camp involved up to almost 300 female participants with very positive results in terms not only of appreciation of the experience but also of increased knowledge about computer science, technological and coding skills, and improved attitude towards programming of the girls as a consequence of their participation to the camp.

As a future work, we plan to extend the initiative in two main ways. First, we aim to continue to involve more girls in the UniMORE summer camp. To this purpose, in 2018 we started an additional camp in the city of Reggio Emilia, in collaboration with the local Municipality and foundations: during this camp, that lasted for two weeks in July 2018, the girls learned how to program robots with Arduino. Second, we aim to extend the summer camp to other cities and universities, promoting the camp's format through our networks of contacts and colleagues and providing them with support, guidance and teaching materials to replicate the summer camp in their institutions. The efforts spent towards this direction already gave a first result with a camp of three weeks organized during July 2018 in Cesena (as part of Bologna University) and based on programming video-games in Python. Finally, promising contacts have been taken with the Universities of Rome and L'Aquila to replicate the summer camp in their universities in 2019. A more structured survey will then allow us to get further information on the impact of the summer camp on the girls attending it and on their social environment.

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Women in Higher Education top Positions: The Relevance of Field Dynamics

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Abstract: In the last decades, women's participation in higher education has increased in most western countries (Bartelse and Huisman, 2008; Evans et al., 2014; Nerad, Trzyna, and Heggelund, 2008), but the well-known phenomena of horizontal and vertical segregation still persist (O'Connor et al, 2017). There are a significant number of empirical studies evidencing that the positions in top decision-making bodies are not representative of the gender composition of academic staff (She Figures, 2015; OECD, 2017). Different theoretical perspectives have been created to help explain this phenomenon, framed under the glass ceiling framework (Acker 1990; Kanter 1993; Ridgeway and Correll 2004; Ridgeway, 2011; Sommerlad and Ashley 2015; Pearce, Wald, and Ballakrishnen 2015; Rhode 2016). Nevertheless, and despite the political and institutional initiatives taken to improve the situation, there has been little sign of significant changes. This paper explores how social and cultural capital can help explain the inclusion of some women in top decision-making bodies taking the specific case of a Portuguese university. The empirical work is based on the content analysis of the curriculum of all the members of the rector's team since the emergence of this university in the 1970s and on life story interviews with three previous rectors. Employing a Bourdieusian perspective, it was possible to conclude that rectors tend to choose to their teams academics who have the same forms of cultural capital. Confirming previous studies in the context of elite professions (Ballakrishnen, 2017), this study concludes that while gendered meaning and hierarchies are still present in this institution, not all trajectories for women in this university are equally or similarly disadvantaged. The research reveals that there is a small segment of women in new universities whose socio-cultural background is more valuable than their gendered characteristics. It is argued that these women's successes can be better explained as a strategy to achieve legitimacy in the specific field of higher education.

Keywords: glass ceiling, university, Bourdieu, leadership, Portugal

1. Introduction

Women's participation in higher education has been increasing but there is a persistent tendency for the presence of horizontal and vertical segregation worldwide. Women continue to be concentrated in social sciences and humanities and men in science and engineering (She Figures, 2017), with women being also less present in the top positions (Carvalho & Machado-Taylor, 2010; van den Brink & Benschop, 2012; O'Connor et al., 2015). A wide body of empirical evidence demonstrates that women have more difficulties than men in reaching top positions in Higher Education Institutions (Carvalho & Machado-Taylor, 2010; van den Brink & Benschop, 2012; O'Connor et al., 2015). Studies analysing women's obstacles in reaching university top management tend to be concentrated in external institutional factors, including state laws and cultural norms on organizational gender equity (Acker & Dillabough, 2007; van den Brink & Benschop, 2012). However, studies reflecting on the effects of top management gender composition in promoting gender equality are relatively few (Carvalho, White & Machado-Taylor, 2013; Fitzgerald, 2013; Morley, 2013). Furthermore, the number of studies based on the analysis of the experience of women who succeed in breaking the glass ceiling to occupy top positions in Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) are even more scarce (Carvalho & Diogo, 2018; Stensaker, Frølich, Gornitzka and Maassen 2008; Geurts and Maassen 2005; Maassen 2009; Carvalho and Santiago 2010). This paper tries to fill this gap by presenting a case study of a Portuguese university where two women have become rectors. Resorting to a Bourdieusian perspective and based on content analysis of two interviews conducted with these women and on the analysis of their *curricula*, the study tries to reflect on the importance of factors other than gender that can influence the acceptance of women in universities' top positions.

2. Women in higher education: Horizontal expansion and vertical stagnation

Women's presence in higher education has been increasing. When compared with some decades ago, women have made leaps in terms of their position in Higher Education Institutions. However, there is still a huge gap between the presence of women as students and as academics. Furthermore, women are mainly concentrated in the so called 'soft' areas and their career advancement opportunities still lag considerably compared to men (O'Connor, 2015). Women are less represented in top academic rank positions (as full professors) and their presence in top management positions is even scarcer (She figures, 2017).

There is a wide body of literature focusing on the obstacles women face to reach the top in the same proportion as men (O'Connor et al., 2015; Acker & Dillabough, 2007; van den Brink & Benschop, 2012; Carvalho, White & Machado-Taylor, 2013; Fitzgerald, 2013; Morley, 2013). Among these obstacles it is worth mentioning: gender stereotyping, which associates power and masculinity; the exclusion from informal networks of communication; the absence of effective management training for female employees; the failure to hold upper level managers accountable for developing and advancing women; the inadequate appraisal and compensation systems, leading to inequities in salaries; and the absence of programs that enable employees to balance work/non-work responsibilities (Acker 1990; Kanter 1993; Ridgeway and Correll 2004; Ridgeway, 2011; Sommerlad and Ashley 2015; Pearce, Wald, and Ballakrishnen 2015; Rhode 2016; Ballakrishnen, 2017). These factors are mainly associated with institutions' internal organisation, since only recently has interest arisen in the experience of women who were able to occupy senior management position in HEIs (White & O'Connor, 2017; Carvalho & Diogo, 2018).

The analysis of women's presence and experience in senior management positions is especially relevant to understand which factors or characteristics facilitate their access to these positions.

It is assumed in this paper that the study of women's experiences in HEI's top position can be analysed within the elite studies framework. Taking a classical approach, based on Weberian assumptions and a juridical – that is, procedurally rational – view of power, one can define women in HEI's top positions as elite. Actually, according to Mills (1999:18) the power elite corresponds to "those political, economic, and military circles which as an intricate set of overlapping cliques share decisions having at least national consequences. In so far as national events are decided, the power elite are those who decide them" (Mills, 1999: 18). Since higher education represents a relevant and decisive instrument for the economic and social development in each country, the decisions taken by those who occupy these positions can be considered as national events, especially within public institutions.

Recent studies on elite professionals, especially in professional service firms (PSF) resort to a Bourdieusian perspective to evidence the relevance of social and cultural capital to the recruitment of elite professionals. Studies using this framework conclude that organisations make particular assumptions about the relation between the existence of specific cultural capital characteristics and individual performance in the professional field (Ashley and Empson, 2013; Anderson-Gough et al., 1998; Anderson-Gough et al., 2005).

Bourdieu's (1984) theory is sustained on the notion of social spaces in terms of overlapping fields with its own rules which are produced and naturalized not only through actors' interrelationships but also through its association with the field's cultural practices that result in an individual's habitus. This is one of the most relevant concepts in Bourdieu's theory given its explanatory capacity. Habitus are transformed in patterns of thought and behaviour that are enduring and transferrable from one context to another (Bourdieu, 1990; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). To the well-known economic capital, Bourdieu adds the relevance of symbolic capital. According to Bourdieu's words, the symbolic capital can be defined as the 'form that the various species of capital assume when they are perceived and recognised as legitimate' within the field (Bourdieu, 1989: 17). The cultural capital integrates three forms: i) embodied capital refers to both consciously and passively inherited properties of the self which are typically acquired through socialization and tradition; ii) institutional capital refers to institutional recognition of the cultural capital held by an individual, most commonly academic credentials and qualifications; and iii) objectified capital refers to physical objects that are owned. Finally, the social capital relates to contacts and connections which allow people to draw on their social networks.

Studies on elite professional service firms reveal that the presence of a specific social and cultural capital is determinant in the way these organisations attract, screen and select applicants and professionals (Ashley and Empson, 2017; Ashley and Empson, 2013; Anderson-Gough et al., 1998). The embodied capital (Cook et al, 2012) is essential to induce recruiters' trust and predictability in the professional context (Hanlon, 2004).

Taking this theoretical framework, this paper tries to analyse the relevance of the symbolic and cultural capital to consider women as eligible for leadership positions in Higher Education Institutions.

3. Methodology

In order to contribute to better understanding the potential influence of symbolic and cultural capital on the way women are represented as eligible for top positions in Higher Education Institutions, this paper is based on a case study approach. The case study can be defined, according to Thomas (2011: 515), as the "analyses of persons, events, decisions, periods, projects, policies, institutions, or other systems that are studied holistically by one or more methods. The case that is the subject of the inquiry will be an instance of a class of phenomena that provides an analytical frame — an object — within which the study is conducted and which the case illuminates and explicates."

The case study is based on a specific institution – a Portuguese HEI, created after 1974, which is considered a new university within a system that emerged in the 13th century.

The approach developed in this study is qualitative. The curriculum vitae of the eight rectors was analysed along with the discourses of interviews with the two women rectors. In these two interviews, the life story interview method was applied, since they were directed towards documenting the respondent's life, or an aspect of it that has developed over the course of their lives (Jupp, 2006). Each interview had an average duration of two hours and were audiotaped and transcribed. All the information was given, recorded and treated under the consent of the interviewees. However, the authors have naturally considered anonymity and ethics issues, considering that, at least for the attentive national reader, it should not be difficult to try to identify these women. The interviewees' anonymity is, for the purpose of this paper, maintained.

4. Data analysis and discussion

Since its beginning, the case study university has had eight rectors; six men and two women. The following table provides the length of tenure of each rector.

Table 1: Rectors of the Portuguese case study university

Rector	Time in Position	Gender	University where PhD was obtained
Rector 1	1973-1978	Man	UK University
Rector 2	1978-1986	Man	Portuguese University
Rector 3	1986-1994	Man	UK University
Rector 4	1994-2001	Man	UK University
Rector 5	2001-2002	Woman	UK University
Rector 6	2002-2010	Woman	UK University
Rector 7	2010-2018	Man	UK University
Rector 8	2018 - ...	Man	Portuguese University

Table 1 presents very relevant data. First it is pertinent to acknowledge that all rectors were in place for a long period, around eight years, while the first woman rector assumed the role for only one year. This difference has to do with the circumstances under which the first woman rector in Portugal assumed the position. As explored further in the paper, she was substituting for the previous rector, who had moved to be Minister of Education, until the end of his mandate and did not want to apply for the position after that.

Another relevant piece of data concerns the place where the rectors obtained their PhDs. With the exception of two rectors, all the others obtained their PhDs in the UK. It is appropriate to say that until the 1970s the Portuguese higher education system was an elite system and those who were able to have access to the career were in fact a minority (Carvalho, 2012). With the emergence of the democratic revolution in 1975, the massification process started and in order to respond to the system needs academics were compelled to study abroad. Nevertheless, one can assume that the contact these rectors had with the same HE system, more modern and mature, created in them common or similar thoughts and behaviors concerning the Portuguese system and the way it could evolve. Or, saying it in Bourdieu's language, they shared a similar habitus concerning higher education systems. The two first women rectors also shared the same common language and thoughts since they both went to the UK to obtain their PhDs.

Adding to this, the analysis of the rectors' *curriculum vitae* also reveals that all the rectors, with the exception of the current one, had a previous contact with one of the oldest universities in the country. Some were students there and others were teachers. Furthermore, the second rector (in charge from 1978 to 1986) obtained his PhD at this university.

Considering the Portuguese higher education system as a field, this institution has important symbolic capital since it was the first in the country. In this context, having a closer relation with this institution was symbolically relevant to legitimate the rectors' academic prestige but also to assure they were included in the right networks to be able to deal with the system.

Furthermore, the two universities - meaning the case study university and the oldest university in the country - are geographically located near each other. Actually this proximity resulted in a great challenge for the new university to be able to obtain legitimacy in the field.

Given the geographical location of the case study university, the economic constraints the country had when it was implemented and expectations of local elites to increase their social and symbolic privileges through education, the case study university defined a strategy based on innovation, and on the regional orientation through which it intended to foster both national and international recognition. The integration in a region with a strong tradition in the ceramic and glass industry, and where the national telecommunications enterprise had a research centre, determined that the first training programs were mainly directed to these areas: electronic and telecommunication engineering, ceramic and glass engineering; environmental science and teacher training (Amaral et al., 2000).

Although one can say that these courses represented training with more vocational orientation, the majority of rectors had their academic backgrounds in 'classical' sciences and chemistry or physics. So, it seems that there is a tendency for rectors to be elected from the pool of professors in science and engineering which are disciplinary areas where men have a higher presence. In this respect is relevant to reveal that the woman who was in the place for longer time also had a background in physics, having this characteristic in common with the majority of the other rectors.

The strong relation with the regional economic fabric and support for research activities were the main features sustaining the case study university's strategic option to be an innovative and entrepreneurial university. Nevertheless, the university development process was translated into offering more 'traditional' training programs. At the end of the 1990s the university integrated a polytechnic structure, being one of the few universities in the country integrating both higher education sub-systems. In the same decade, supported by EU funding, the university redefined its priorities. Internationalisation and cooperation with the economic and social fabric were reinforced, and the transfer of knowledge and technology to the entrepreneurial world was defined as a priority. Simultaneously the university was considered the main agent in the cultural and artistic development of the region.

The definition of this strategy of the case study university can actually be seen as a very challenging one. The university tried to break with 'tradition', creating alternatives to what was the established modus operandi of the oldest university. Nevertheless, this distancing could question the legitimacy of the new university in the field. To avoid this, the key actors in the institution (rectors and vice-rectors) had their relation with this university as a common characteristic. In this context, one can say that the existence of a previous link with this university was considered an essential feature for being recognized as eligible for a rector position since it allowed the university to assure legitimacy in the field.

The importance of a previous link with this old university is particularly evidenced in the case of the first woman rector. Actually, she comes from a family where other members had already assumed important roles in other universities in the country.

> *"I come from a very intellectual family (…). I always lived with many boys, my brothers and friends of my brothers, and so I felt comfortable at the university because I already felt comfortable being with them. That facilitated me (...) Even when I was in college I was never discriminated against. Because I have always lived with my brothers I learnt to know myself and it was very helpful, especially when I got to college (Int.2)"*

In this context, it is possible to argue that social capital is also a relevant characteristic to be eligible for a top position in a HEI. The social background of women that reach the top can also be identified as a relevant variable in the analysis of their options and particularly in their visibility in the academic career. In this specific case, the integration into an elite group within this Higher Education Institution may be a result not only of individual achievement but also of the women's social background.

Adding to the social background, as has already been addressed in the literature (Acker & Dillabough, 2007; van den Brink & Benschop, 2012), the inclusion in specific networks in the institution is evidenced in the analysis of rectors' curricula. Since 1994 all rectors were members of the previous rector's team, meaning that they previously assumed the role of vice-rectors and with the exception of the current and previous rector none were opposed when elected.

Concerning the professional trajectory of these women rectors in Portugal, both described their path in a very similar way, emphasising the importance of obtaining good marks, the right qualifications and the capacity to engage in management roles. They started their careers after finishing a first degree (an old bachelor of five years), since both were outstanding students in their field of expertise. Then, both went abroad to obtain a PhD (both in the United Kingdom). When they returned to Portugal, they were highly engaged with their academic careers (especially with teaching and research duties) being able to progress in their careers to the top. After obtaining full professor positions, both become vice-rectors and finally rectors.

Nevertheless, being integrated in the rector's team and having the support of key men were essential elements in their visibility as suitable for the role.

> *"I become rector as a consequence of a direct invitation of one of the [previous rector] and had also the support of [some other] previous rectors. So let's say they were the main responsible for this [university exceptionalism in this domain]. (Int.1)"*

This data reveal that there is a tendency to recruit within the status quo, which results in homologies in the social and cultural background of those who occupy top positions within academia. Actually, in this specific case, the concentration of social and cultural capital in these women was such that gender differences were put at a second level. In this case, it seems that social and cultural capital are more relevant than gender in the process of social exclusion in top positions at university.

As other studies have concluded for other professional groups (Ashley and Empson, 2017) Higher Education Institutions also use social exclusion as a strategy to obtain legitimacy and status in the specific field of higher education.

5. Conclusion

The low proportion of women in rector positions is a tendency in all European countries (She figures, 2017). Although several studies have been conducted and empirical evidence demonstrates obstacles women face in reaching the top, the analysis of the factors that bring legitimacy and status to women in order to allow their acceptance as eligible are less dominant.

This study tries to overcome this gap by concentrating on the qualitative analysis of a case study of a Portuguese university which has two women rectors in its history.

Data analysis confirms previous studies sustaining that to be visible and considered as eligible for leadership positions women have to not only have an exceptional research curriculum but also be included in the right networks within the institution. Adding to this, the analysis of this case study reveals that the social and cultural capital that women have is also a relevant dimension in their inclusion in specific networks and in their visibility to be considered as eligible for top positions. This study reveals that while gendered meaning and hierarchies are still present in this institution, not all trajectories for women in this university are equally or similarly disadvantaged. The research reveals that there is a small segment of women in new universities whose socio-cultural background is more valuable than their gendered characteristics. There is a direct assumption that the existence of a specific social and cultural capital can help not only to improve individual performance but also to help the institution obtain and maintain legitimacy in the field.

There is an intertwined relationship between the organisation and social inclusion/exclusion. When recruiting members to the rector team (as vice-rectors) the same forms of social and cultural capital are privileged. This tendency excludes many talented individuals and has a detrimental impact in social inclusion.

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How Women Entrepreneurs Manage Multiple Social Identities

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Abstract: This paper aims to analyse how women entrepreneurs manage their multiple identities, and how these identities interplay through their life and their business life cycle from the start-up to the disengagement phase. Based on a longitudinal case study in which a woman founded a small business and passed the leadership to her son, findings suggest that enrichment between multiple identities is possible if women entrepreneurs are able to modulate, adapt and continuously redefine the relationship between being a woman, being an entrepreneur and being satisfied. This result contradicts those of other research, which underlined that women very often experience conflicts between different identities and difficulties in find a balance between them compatible.

Keywords: women entrepreneurs, women-owned family businesses, multiple identities, business life cycle, entrepreneur life cycle, succession mother-son.

1. Introduction

Entrepreneurship is considered as "gender-biased" (Díaz-Garcia and Welter, 2011) and it has historically been a "man's" domain (Bird and Brush, 2002). Consequently, entrepreneurial identity traditionally has been based on masculine social norms and entrepreneurship has been associated with a masculine discourse (Ahl, 2006; Lewis, 2006). As a consequence, when women engage in entrepreneurial activity, they have to face a masculine construct and create a personal identity, moving between two "conflicting discourses" – womanhood and entrepreneurship (Díaz-García and Welter, 2011) – and dealing with tensions between an entrepreneurial male-oriented identity and other typical feminine identities, such as those of wife and mother (Swail and Marlow, 2018). Thus, women face "an additional difficulty in entrepreneurship" because they have to address potential contradictions between their being women and becoming "credible" entrepreneurs (Byrne et al., 2018).

In analysing these aspects, scholars have mainly considered how women entrepreneurs manage their multiple identities when they undertake an entrepreneurial activity. Since founding their businesses or taking over the leadership in a family firm are the two main ways to (or try to) become an entrepreneur, studies have mainly focused on women entrepreneurs who start their own business or daughters who attempt to take over the leadership within family businesses.

However, drawing on identity theory, several scholars maintain that identities are not predetermined and unchangeable. On the contrary, identities are socially constructed (Lewis, 2013) as they are built by social interactions between individuals, societies, and cultures. They are seen as a "process of becoming" (Díaz-Garcia and Welter, 2011; Hytti et al., 2017), as they can change over time. Thus, previous research on this topic offers a partial overview because they are focused on the first entrepreneurial phase and do not analyse how identities change over time across the life of a woman and during different phases of a business. Consequently, they ignore what happens during the phase of joint management and disengagement, which is when the entrepreneurial life cycle moves towards the final phase and a new entrepreneurial figure – usually a son or daughter – joins the business and takes over the leadership to guarantee the survival of the enterprise. How women entrepreneurs manage multiple identities during these phases remains an unanswered question.

This paper addresses this gap by investigating how women manage their multiple identities and how these identities interplay from the start-up to the disengagement phase. Using the "gender as a lens" approach and considering gender as "a social construct" (Brush et al., 2009), we present a longitudinal case study. The main character is a woman who founded a business and passed the leadership to her son. After presenting the main literature on identities of women entrepreneurs, the methodology and the case study are described. Finally, key results are discussed and main conclusions are drawn.

2. Literature review

Research on entrepreneurial identities originates from identity theory, "an umbrella term that captures a range of theories that seek to address the questions of "who one is" and "what one does" "(Mathias and Williams, 2017). Within this theoretical perspective, the construct of "identity work" is applied. The latter refers to the active process of identity construction in social contexts (Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003; Hytti et al., 2017). Identity work involves the adaptation of aspects of the personal identity to fit with the demand of various social roles, but sometimes also the modification of role definitions to preserve and enact valued aspects of an existing role identity (Nicholson, 1984).

Several research projects on the entrepreneurs' identity work in the context of multiple roles were focused on women entrepreneurship (Chasserio et al., 2014; Díaz-Garcia and Welter, 2011; Hytti et al., 2017; Fernandes and Mota-Ribeiro, 2017; Lewis, 2013). This theoretical approach is considered particularly useful to analyse women entrepreneurship, as cultural norms and expectations relating to womanhood are traditionally considered in conflict with those related to entrepreneurship (Ahl, 2006). In fact, "entrepreneurial social identity is constructed according to masculine social norms; women entrepreneurs, while simultaneously becoming entrepreneurs, are frequently daughters, spouses and mothers – roles entwined with traditional feminine social identities" (Chasserio et al., 2014). These roles are deeply entangled (Bruni et al., 2004) and they continue to have a profound influence on women's entrepreneurial experience (Cesaroni and Paoloni, 2016). Consequently, women entrepreneurs have to face the conflict arising between being an entrepreneur and being a woman, a mother and a wife, at the same time.

Chasserio et al. (2014) use the concept of multidimensionality of identity, affirming that women entrepreneurs can deal with various identities. They explored the interactions between women's multiple social identities and their entrepreneurial identity, revealing that forms of identity work are along a continuum from accepting conventional norms and social expectations and integrating them in self-identity, or challenging them by accommodation or transformation, or, in turn, by redefining and proposing new norms. In fact, in identity construction rules and resources are not employed in a deterministic manner, but are applied reflexively by "knowledgeable actors" influenced by the context. Thus, "actions are open-ended as outcomes are not (totally) predictable", and women entrepreneurs may use a wide range of "socially embedded gendering practices through which they can do and redo gender using social interaction to challenge gender differences" (Díaz and Welter, 2011). Gender is considered in constant flux and reproduced consciously or unconsciously, depending on context and agency (Shaw et al., 2009). Accordingly, identities are both the product of self-determination (agency) and determination imposed by others (structure): individuals act strategically through specific practices aiming to achieve particular outcomes (Shaw et al., 2009).

Several scholars have analysed practices used by women entrepreneurs to manage their identities by considering various socio-cultural contexts and different stages of their business. Women entrepreneurs in a transition context (Welter and Smallbone, 2010), start-uppers (Swail and Marlow, 2018), women business owners (Díaz and Welter, 2011), daughters involved as successors in a family firm (Bjursell and Melin, 2011; Hytti et al., 2017) and businesswomen with diverse initial business setting (founders and successors) (Chasserio et al., 2014; Fernandes and Mota-Ribeiro, 2017) have been investigated. These studies have identified different ways of integrating entrepreneurial identity with women's other identities, but a conflict perspective between entrepreneurial identities and other social identities often prevailed.

Previous research has gained a relevant understanding on how women entrepreneurs perceive and manage this conflict. However, they are mainly focused on the first business phases (e.g., start-up, growth), while no study has considered woman perspective in the following phases. Hence, a partial perspective emerges. We argue that a longitudinal investigation, centred on how different identities interplay and change over time during women's entrepreneurial experience can offer a more comprehensive knowledge of the phenomenon.

3. Methodology

In-depth qualitative methodologies such as life histories and case studies are particularly suitable to analyse women entrepreneurs' stories and to pay attention to the meaning women give to their experiences in the context where they live and act (Henry et al., 2016). Accordingly, we adopted a qualitative and inductive approach based on case study and narrative analysis. Narratives can be understood as "processes of 'practicing gender'" where gender is interactively produced with other actors (Gherardi and Poggio, 2007). They highlight

cultural understandings of appropriate ways of behaving in entrepreneurship, helping to understand the processes of identity construction (Polkinghorne, 1991).

In this paper, we present and discuss a single case study involving an Italian woman who founded a small business in the Sixties and passed the leadership to her son some years ago. This can be considered an exceptional case (Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007; Miles et al., 2014), as it is a rare example of women-owned businesses founded in that period and passed to the second generation. In fact, in Italy, female entrepreneurship was a sporadic and unusual phenomenon before the Seventies and only in the following years the number of companies founded by women started to increase. This explains why it is very interesting to analyse how a woman managed her entrepreneurial identity and faced a markedly masculine view of entrepreneur. To make the case even more interesting, the fact that this woman entrepreneur recently passed her company to her son. Therefore, the case allows analysing how this woman managed her business identity not only during the start-up phase, but also during the succession process and after her retirement. Finally this case is particularly suited for our study as we could follow its evolution from 2008 (joint management phase) to 2016 (disengagement phase).

Information has been collected from different sources: biographical interviews with predecessor and successor (primary source of data); business documentation and website, newspaper articles and online news to gather contextual information about the business; field notes to record the interviewees' attitude and behaviour, and the context and conditions of the interviews.

Interviews took place in 2008 and 2016 and they varied in length from two to four hours. In 2008, the founder and successor jointly managed the business and they were both interviewed, separately and together, in order to compare their perspectives and to avoid bias caused by retrospective sense-making and impression management (Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007). In 2016, only the son was interviewed because the mother was definitively retired in 2011 and due to ill health was not available for the interview.

Interviews were carried out based on a flexible and informal dialogue. In the first round, respondents were individually asked to freely introduce themselves and to describe their family, personal and professional experiences. The joint interview mainly focused on mother and son roles, behaviours and interactions during succession. In the second round, the successor was asked to provide updated information about the company, the mother and the mother-son relationship. All interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim.

Data analysis was an on-going process and collected life histories were iteratively and inductively analysed (Miles et al., 2014). First, we paid attention to the different identities mentioned (daughter, woman, entrepreneur, wife, mother). Then, we re-read the narratives to identify how Mary managed her identities and how they interplayed across her life as an entrepreneur and the course of the business, focusing on the simultaneous practice of gender and entrepreneurship (Hamilton, 2014).

4. Case study: The narrative of Mary and her business

Mary is a pioneer woman entrepreneur. She grew up with a clear idea of becoming an entrepreneur:

> *"I've never worked as an employee, I was a little girl who wanted to emerge, I've always been like that. I started doing entrepreneurial activities at the age of 16-17".*

She also faced and overcame some first inevitable failures. She founded her business in 1965, producing professional uniforms and work clothes. Mary worked very hard, with tremendous tenacity and great effort to realize her dreams. However, the start-up phase was not easy: Mary was very young, without capital or experience and a mother of a two-year-old son, George. Nevertheless, her father saw her passion and aptitude for business:

> *"One day daddy told me 'Why do you not to work in a company?' and I answered him 'Dad, I do not want to work as an employee. I want to do something on my own'."*

Thus, he decided to help her by lending her the necessary capital to start the business.

In 1968, John, the second child, was born and Mary began to feel the pressure of family commitments,

> *"I felt like a butterfly with wings cut, because with the family, with the children, I could not do that much." She became aware that she had to make a choice: "Working in the fashion industry was taking me a long way away from home and with two children I realized that I couldn't continue that way. I gave up the fashion industry and continued producing only work clothing."*

In this phase, Mary preferred limiting her business instead of delegating taking care of her children:

> *"I had two children, and I was like a mother hen. […] I saw that I couldn't take care of my children, I didn't like it. For me, the family is very important; it's too precious."*

The firm began to grow. By the early 1970s, the company employed 65 people (all of them were women and Mary called them "*my girls*"), producing about 1,200 work uniforms a day and for important customers such as Ferrari, Tod's, Fiat, Barilla and Poltrona Frau. To nurture a good working environment and a confidential relationship between entrepreneur and collaborators, Mary had lunch with all of her "*girls*" in the meeting room once a month: each one bringing something to eat as they spent some time together.

In contrast, the relationship with customers was not easy for a young woman entrepreneur in the Sixties and Seventies. Mary recounted that she received calls all the time, but when she said,

> *"Tell me, the owner is me", the answer was "But how? Is it a woman?"*

Then the conversation froze and customers no longer called. Mary came out of this impasse with a brilliant idea. When customers on the phone asked her:

> *"Please, can I speak with the boss?", she began to reply, "Look, the owner is out, but if I can be useful, please tell me. I'm the secretary."*

Mary recounted this anecdote without hiding her amusement and satisfaction:

> *"And they told me what they wanted. I did it for 13 years! I was a secretary to myself for 13 years! It was so good that I did it for 13 years."*

The mid-1970s recession forced Mary to drastically downsize the business, cut the staff and outsource the production process. Meanwhile, the family was changing: Mary got divorced, and her children were grown up. She had involved them in the business from an early age. When they were six years old, she started by familiarizing them with the business:

> *"Every month I spent half an hour telling them about the business. I don't know how much they understood, but I kept doing it. I talked to them about the business, and I kept them up-to-date about what was happening. We even did the accounts together so that they would get used to understanding our exact income and expenses."*

After finishing high school, George went straight to work in the business but immediately realized that this was not what he wanted to do and left. Mary stated,

> *"I told him clearly that he was not obliged to work with me." So, he followed his career outside the business.*

John also took a diploma and, after a year in England to learn English, he began working with her mother, because he was fascinated by the business and moved by a passion for it:

> *"The work fascinated me ... I remember, when I was young I played with the fabrics ... I remember the smell of the fabric, I remember those big giant rolls and saw how the fabric became professional clothing, a jacket, trousers, something for work. I was fascinated by this transformation, as well as by the smell of the fabric that I still love."*

In the first two years, he worked in each department: warehouse, sales, marketing, information systems and finance. Mary explained:

> *"My grandmother always said to me that to be a leader you have to know how to do everything! My son has unloaded the fabrics, printed labels and uniforms, cut and sewn the garments. These were all areas of the business that he had to know and understand. Otherwise, how could he assess the employees' work and understand if they were making mistakes?"*

At the end of his on-the-job training, John decided to enter the business and began a phase of joint management. Mary started to transfer her knowledge and experience to John and encouraged him to study management. John assumed his first responsibilities, looking to balance his mother's ideas with his own. The relationship

between Mary and John during this phase was characterized by a great harmony. This does not mean that conflicts were absent. They mainly arose from different views of the business or temperamental differences, as Mary recounted:

> *"If I disagree with my son I tell him my opinion, and sometimes we get angry as well." John confirmed: "It was not easy to work with her! She is a dynamic woman with a very strong character, so it was not easy at all. We have had several confrontations, convincing her was not easy, and disagreements were frequent."*

Nevertheless, Mary was able to defuse and resolve each conflict, limiting exasperation and negative interactions:

> *"It's useless to argue when it comes to the business. One has an opinion and the other has another opinion, but it's useless to argue. If there is something that seems wrong to me, I let him know, and at times we get annoyed with each other. But before going home, I hug him … a little kiss and a goodbye."*

She taught her son that a conflict is not a personal issue but an opportunity to learn and find solutions. John added:

> *"Any confrontation or discussion always brought something positive. My mother taught this to me, it was great! We clashed many times, but that's what made me grow."*

Furthermore, conflicts were never characterized by competition. John said:

> *"We have had contrasts and threads, but the rivalry, envy, jealousy ... no, never!" According to Mary, "A woman is also a mother and understands that she cannot impose herself on her child or let her child keep making mistakes beyond a certain point … well, we are a bit overprotective because there is always the umbilical cord! Maternal instinct always remains. I am always trying to help him learn and help him understand things. Men do not always have this patience. At times, they want to be better than their son and compete against him. I have never competed against my son."*

As the years passed, Mary saw in John the right person to succeed her:

> *"He is a thoughtful man, he isn't impulsive, and that makes him good for the business".*

She understood that the time had come to make her son's position official. She divided the company ownership equally between her children, but George preferred not to be involved in the business and refused his share. Mary explained:

> *"I would have preferred that both of my sons worked in the company, but I know that they have very different characters." She added: "I am completely in love with my company, and for me, the business is like another son. It hasn't been an easy process to detach myself from it."*

Nevertheless, she was able to pass the baton to her son. This process was very natural, without impositions, and respectful John's feelings and path of growth; in John's words,

> *"with lightness." "She was a wonderful teacher because she made me work, not as a job, but as a way to know, to see, to understand. She made me, with fun, love what I saw. One beautiful thing that she always said to me was, 'working yes, but with fun.' […] I often jokingly say to my mother: You made me fall in love with this work and when you fall in love with a job you do not leave! Absolutely. So I tell her that she has screwed me! She unleashed my passion and made me fall in love with what I do. I do not mind what I do. It was an extremely soft succession."*

In Mary's opinion, women's sensitivity makes mother-son succession less conflictual and more successful than the traditional father-son succession:

> *"A woman, besides being a woman, is a mother! You understand that you can neither impose your idea nor leave he gets too wrong."*

Thanks to John, the company started an internationalization process. Mary continued to be involved in the business, supporting her son and remaining a point of reference for the personnel. Mary and John's relationship remained strong:

> *"I think that our coexistence within the business is beautiful, because when we work, he is not my child. When it comes to work, if there is anything wrong or I don't agree with him, I tell him clearly."*

The last few years of co-existence between John and Mary were devoted to develop the business and to mutual role adjustment between predecessor and successor. In 2010, the company had 15 employees, 25 external workers and a turnover of 5 million euros. Mary was very satisfied with John's effort.

At the time of the last interview, Mary was 75 years old and had retired from the business in 2011 due to ill health. John is still carrying on several practices and traditions learned from his mother, such as the periodical lunch with "*the girls*". He continued to inform his mother about strategic decisions related to the business, and she remained John's most important advisor. In her last interview, referring to her whole entrepreneurial experience, Mary proudly claimed:

"*I took advantage of being a woman*" and affirmed feeling a deep sense of satisfaction because, through entrepreneurship, she realized her dreams: "*I would do again what I did. I feel fulfilled, and I am satisfied*."

5. Findings

Mary's entrepreneurial experience – from start up to retirement – can be divided into eight main steps. For each step, we highlight how Mary's different identities were enacted and how they interplayed.

1. In the start-up phase, the daughter and the creative woman prevailed. Mary was an enterprising and creative young woman. She was aware of the strong relationship with her father and his trust in her abilities. She was thankful for his financial support of her first entrepreneurial activities. Along with the first failures, the expected acknowledgments to confirm her entrepreneurial aspiration also came. It is with this determination that Mary founded her company and was able to interpret market needs and to respond to them in a very original way.

2. The first crossroad in the growth phase of the business: the wife, the mother and the entrepreneur looking for a work-family balance. In the first part of Mary's life, her personal and entrepreneurial identities had evolved in parallel. Mary got married and had children, and her identity as a woman was enriched with that of wife and mother. In the same period the business also grew and evolved and made it necessary to redefine the relationship between Mary's various identities, even if until then they had coexisted without problems. So Mary was forced to take her first difficult decision between being a "good" mother and being a "credible" entrepreneur. She was strongly attracted by the fashion world, which would allow her to express her creativity and fulfil her ambitions. However, the fashion world would keep her away from her young children and her family, separating the businesswoman from the mother. Therefore, Mary decided to renounce the fashion world, but not to be an entrepreneur, as she continued to produce work clothes. She found a way to reconcile being a mother with being an entrepreneur and to keep the family and the business close. Nevertheless, the price paid was giving up her ambitions. In this phase, it seemed the mother identity prevailed.

3. A company for an entrepreneur and a mother. Mary's flexibility and creativity transformed her company in order to reach a work-family balance and manage her multiple identities. The mother and the entrepreneur went "arm in arm" and transformed the company, reinventing it. Mary used her creativity to redefine the core business of her company, and this choice strengthened her mother identity. What seemed a renunciation became a good relaunch: the production of work clothes for top industries allowed Mary to combine style and fashion, finding a good market space. Making work clothes represented for Mary a wise compromise, not a sacrifice, and she managed to be both a successful entrepreneur and a fulfilled mother. This choice was fundamental for maintaining her mother role. Her children grew up without bad feelings towards their mother and John developed a special relationship with her.

4. The second crossroad: the woman entrepreneur breaks down the wall of gender stereotypes. During the phase of the business growth, Mary met a second crossroad: being a woman and an entrepreneur forced her to deal with rooted and fierce gender stereotypes. Nevertheless, she did not lose heart and conceived an innovative solution to manage these potentially conflicting identities: she became the "secretary of herself" for 13 years, leading the company successfully. Her ability to circumvent stereotypes worked to the advantage of both woman and entrepreneur. She had the acumen of turning such stereotype in her favour, giving up fighting it head-to-head. She understood that her customers preferred her to be a secretary, rather than the boss, and she pretended to be a secretary to satisfy them.

5. *First steps towards the succession phase: from woman-entrepreneur to mother-predecessor.* The mother and the predecessor identity started to interplay very early. Mary's sons were very young when she began to talk with them about the business. She taught them the value of money, discussing them about family budget and business finance. In this phase, the company was reaching the maturity stage and Mary was no longer just a woman-entrepreneur who led the business but also a mother-predecessor who started involving her children in the company and teaching them to love it, thus laying the foundations for the succession process.

6. The successor selection: being a mother becomes an advantage. During the succession process, Mary opened the doors to her children, to allow them to bring new energies and new ideas. She would have been very happy to have both children in the company but she accepted that George had other career intentions and helped him to achieve his goals. Simultaneously she admitted that she had a special relationship with John and was happy to leave him the reins of the company. Mary was able to manage the succession process without trauma. She took advantage of being a mother, as this helped her to find the right way to manage the relationship with her son and to handle conflicts with patience, understanding, and love.

7. The joint management phase: the entrepreneurial identity prevailed. Mary and John changed from being mother and son to being predecessor and successor. Therefore, their entrepreneurial identities prevailed. For Mary, this meant that the entrepreneurial identity took up the reins of her life, leaving the mother identity in the background. At the same time, John assumed the leadership role, becoming the new leader of the business. The good relationship between mother and son was transposed into a business relationship between predecessor and successor, with a positive effect for the succession process.

8. *The disengagement phase: Mary's previous entrepreneurial experience enriched mother identity*. The succession process ended with success. Mary left the business to her son, ending her entrepreneurial experience. In this phase, she definitively switched from the entrepreneurial to the mother identity. As a mother, Mary helped John by giving him advice and emotional support. At the same time, Mary's previous entrepreneurial experience was useful as it enriched her mother identity: she very well knew the business and was able to well understand his son's problems. So she could share her experience with him, using the same language, thus continuing to share the same passion.

6. Discussion and conclusions

This paper offers two important theoretical contributions. First, results reveal that enrichment among multiple identities can be reached. Findings show a woman entrepreneur whose life was devoted to her company, but without forgetting her woman and mother identities. Mary was very able to find a good balance between being a woman and being an entrepreneur. During the various steps of her entrepreneurial experience, she was able to modulate, adapt and continuously redefine the relationship between her multiple identities as a woman – daughter, wife, mother – and as an entrepreneur – first founder of the company and then predecessor in the succession process. Her identities interplayed in different but always favorable ways, for herself ad for her business.

Mary's different identities evolved during her entrepreneurial experience. She had to work hard to affirm her entrepreneurial identity. She was able to succeed thanks to her determination and flexibility. In fact, these skills enabled her not to be demoralized in the face of obstacles and to adapt her attitude in various situations. In the first part of Mary's experience, especially in relationships with men – customers, suppliers, etc. – her entrepreneurial identity was in conflict with her other identities, first of all with the maternal one. This result is in line with the literature on work-family balance, which shows that motherhood very often challenges women entrepreneurs (Bornstein et al., 2012), more than being a wife or a woman in general.

However, across Mary's experience, conflicts between different identities left room to a mutual enrichment between them, which positively interact in various ways during Mary's life, enhancing each other. Mary was able to combine her multiple identities by turning being daughter (in the start-up phase), woman (in the growing phase) and mother (in the succession process) to her advantage in the construction of her entrepreneurial identity, in the relationships with her father, stakeholders and son. Thus, while previous research underlined that women very often experience conflicts between different identities and difficulties in making them compatible, our study highlights that a positive interaction is possible. Enrichment between different identities is achievable if women entrepreneurs are able to modulate, adapt and continuously redefine the relationship

between their multiple identities. The case we have analysed shows that the possibility that an alteration of the balance between different identities – such as the predominance of the entrepreneurial identity over the mother identity or vice versa – would produce some positive or problematic results for the business growth and succession process as well as for the relationship between mother and son. It depends on the entrepreneur's ability to manage them creatively.

Second, this paper sheds lights on how a woman entrepreneur can successfully managed womanhood and entrepreneurial identity in order to overcome prejudices. In the period in which she founded her business, in fact, being a woman entrepreneur was an exception and for many women the entrepreneurial experience was precluded as considered a male prerogative. Nevertheless, Mary was able to circumvent these prejudices, without openly and directly fighting them, but circumventing shrewdly and ingeniously. Findings show that this attitude proved particularly successful for her and for her business.

Third, our findings also show that Mary was able to change her entrepreneurial role - first founder and then predecessor – by using her mother identity intelligently. This attitude was crucial to guarantee the positive outcome of succession.

This research presents several limitations. First, the wife identity was not thoroughly analysed because, although we know that the entrepreneur divorced, it was not possible to find out why this occurred, making it difficult to explore the relationship between being a wife and being an entrepreneur. A second limitation is its reliance on generalization as this research is based on only one case study.

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Gender and Emotional Work: The Case of Women Geriatric Social Workers

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Abstract: This study aims to explore the gender meanings associated to the relationship among female geriatric social workers and the interaction with the elderly. In this sense, it is important to understand how emotions in interaction are understood and displayed in a context predominantly feminized and characterized by highly social and physical demanding tasks. The social work has been culturally naturalized as feminine and women are considered as having the ideal profile to perform caring and nurturing roles associated to this kind of work. However, most of these women workers do not have any kind of specific professional and institutional training having to resort to the support of their teams to carry out their professional roles. So it is of most relevance to understand the dynamics among the women workers teams, how women interactions affect their work with elderly, and how gender norms and meanings are implied, promoting or constraining these interactions and the social work they perform. This exploratory and qualitative study is based on 13 interviews with women geriatric social workers from seven Portuguese Private Institutions of Social Solidarity. The results suggest that the experience of emotions influence and interfere with interpersonal relationships within the teams of women workers. The interactions among women seem to be affected by negative feminine stereotypes that jeopardizes the team trust and the team ability to share learning experiences and to provide emotional support. However, such effect does not happen between dyadic women work relations, which tend to develop personal friendship and conceal the negative effect of feminine stereotypes. Moreover, women tend to search for a constant (re)emotional balance in the relationship with the elderly resorting to a symbolic ideal of feminine caring. Paradoxically, gender feminine meanings seems to vary according to relations and situations, either helping or making it more difficult for these women to manage their emotional work. This study hopes to contribute to a better understanding of the relations between gender and emotional work in highly feminized and demanding work contexts.

Keywords: gender, emotional work, women social workers, team interactions, and geriatric context

1. Introduction

In ageing societies, geriatric work gains unprecedented relevance, particularly in some European countries, namely Portugal. According to data gathered and made public form the National Portuguese Institute of Statistics, the rate of population ageing raised from 27,5% in 1965 to 150,9% in 2016 (INE, 2017). Consequently, the ageing reality of caring and social work assumes increasing importance. These workers are facing many challenges due to the physical and emotional demands related to their profession. Nonetheless, it has been systematically neglected by societies and the attention given to those professionals is quite recent. Most of these workers do not possess specific qualifications, work in precarious conditions, earn low salaries and lack career opportunities (Barbosa et al, 2011). Moreover, this profession is traditionally associated with femininity and highly feminized. Despite increasing research on emotions and social work, there is a scarcity of studies regarding how gender affects emotions among the women working in social work (Hadley, 2014). This study aims to explore emotions of these professionals related to the gendered constructions about their work and their interactions with colleagues and elderly.

2. Emotions and gender in work context

Traditionally, organizations and work have been considered as exclusively rational and instrumental and constantly devaluing the role and relevance of emotions at work (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1995; Putnam and Mumby, 1993). This conception is academic and socially justified as a way of maintaining order and efficiency seen as essential for the organizations profit and success. In the history of organization studies, several theories have emphasized the bureaucratic and machine metaphors (Morgan, 2006). In that view, the ideal worker profile was described as regular, rationally competent, predictable, always available, conforming to organizational rules and without private life (Fineman, 1996; Domalgalski, 1999; Parkin, 1993). Emotions, on the other hand, were perceived as irrational, dysfunctional and as a menace to the organizational order. This organization and work/er visions are informed by gender discourses that associate emotions to women/femininity and rationality to men/masculinity (Mumby and Putnam, 1992; Parkin, 1993; Putnam and Mumby, 1993). In this sense, emotions, women, their bodies and behaviours like emotions are also understood as disruptive to the organizations and

work. Gender discrimination is an effect of this still pervasive academic and social discourse (Putnam and Mumby, 1993).

In last years, feminist research (Putnam and Mumby, 1993, Bolton, 2002) and a new line of research focusing on emotional work (Casc´on-Pereira and Hallier, 2012; Coupland et al, 2008) have worked against this masculine organizational rationality arguing that organizations are also emotional spaces. In this regard, emotions are constitutive and a critical dimension of the human interaction at work (Putnam and Mumby, 1993; Winkler, 2018) exerting a strong influence in the construction of collective work realities, experiences and knowledge. Since emotions regulate the public sphere it is then impossible to ignore, eliminate or even confine them to the private sphere (Parkin, 1993). Accepting this new version of the organization means recognizing the need to manifest emotions without the fear of being labelled as emotionally unstable and *improper* to work. Research has been exploring how emotions participate in the work and group interactions and how workers manage their emotions. Such conception also entails degendering emotions as feminine by associating them to both women and men (Hearn, 1993). Despite increased academic research aiming at deconstructing the relation between femininity-emotion and rationality-masculinity, in the work context, the jobs directly linked to emotional work are still considered as feminine and strongly feminized for cultural and social reasons (Bolton, 2002; Romero and Peréz, 2016). That is the case of social and service work that has been culturally naturalized as feminine and where women are considered as having the ideal profile to perform caring and nurturing roles associated to this kind of work. Additionally, these feminized professions are usually performed in precarious conditions, with low salaries and limited career opportunities, and socially not recognized (Bolton, 2000).

There is a growing research interest in understanding how emotions can be managed in such contexts (Hochschild, 1983; Rafaeli and Sutton, 1989). These studies aim to understand the processes by which individuals influence the nature and the way they experience and express their emotions, either automatically, (un)consciously or in a controlled way (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993; Gross, 1998; Hochschild, 1983). The work of Hochschild (1983) is considered a pioneer study in the context of the influence of emotions in the interactions at work. This study explored the negative emotional experiences of airhostesses. The participants in this study report the difficulties of managing their emotions that lead them to hide negative feelings such as anger and frustration while showing joy and courtesy when interacting with clients. Such emotional management was compulsory and imposed by the airline company as a professional requisite of their jobs. Some studies have explored the instrumental use of emotions by organizations, namely those actions that constrain workers to express only certain emotions (Lindebaum, 2012). Some studies focus on the effects of aging of these workers in the way they display and regulate their emotions (Scheibe, Wisse and Schulz, 2017). Nowadays, the aging of the workforce in social work is a critical issue, therefore the understanding of how some of these workers regulate their emotions and manage their age in a positive way is of particular relevance (Zacher and Rudolph, 2017). Other research focused on the effects of sharing experiences in work groups and family interactions as a strategy to manage emotions (Gross, 1998; Hadley, 2014; Reis, et al., 2010; Rimé et al, 1998). In this interactions, emotional contagion can be either positive or negative and with different levels of intensity and reciprocity (Barsade, 2002¸ Hadley, 2014). Hadley (2014) research explored the motives that lead female social workers to share positive or negative experiences and the effect in the emotions displayed at work. She concluded that some situations can enhance group cohesion or lead to interactional conflict.

Based on Hadley (2014), this study explores the relationship among female geriatric social workers and the interaction with the elderly patients in order to understand how gender participate in the way these women manage their emotions in a very feminized workplace and in a social and physically demanding job.

3. Methodology

In order to explore the meanings and interpretations of female geriatric social workers about emotions at work and the influence of emotions on their relationship with patients and within the work team, a qualitative research (Bordens and Abbott, 2011; Guerra, 2006) was done. Semi-directive interviews were conducted among 13 female geriatric workers from seven Portuguese Private Institutions of Social Solidarity located in the North of Portugal. The interview guide was adapted from Hadley (2014) study and was previously subjected to a pre-test with Portuguese professional of health care. The aim of the pre-test was to adjust the interview guide to Portuguese language and culture. The questions of the interview guide aimed to explore whether the interviewees recognized the presence and importance of the emotions in their workplaces, how they used emotions in their interactions with elderly and colleagues, and how teamwork contributed to display and

regulate emotions in their work. The interviewees were asked to recall a recent critical episode (Flanagan, 1954) with emotional content, either positive or negative, regarding the interactions with elderly or work experiences in general. Those episodes were explored with further detail throughout the interviews. We have used snowball as a sampling technique (Bryman and Bell, 2007; Noy, 2008) due to the difficulties in identying available participants with such characteristcs and the resistance of this social and professional group to accept participating in research. The interviews took place in the workplaces of the study participants and last on average 40 minutes.

The following table presents information about the study participants.

Table 1: Characterization of the female geriatric social workers

Interviewees number	Age	Education (in Years)	Experience (in years)	Previous professional experience	Marital status	Children
1	34	Graduation	2 months	Waitress, vocational trainer, training mediator	Married	1
2	34	High school (12 years)	5 years	Factory worker	Married	1
3	53	High school (6 years)	24 years	Receptionist	Married	2
4	34	High school (12 years)	5 years	Administrative	Married	2
5	43	High school (9 years)	6 years	Factory worker	Married	1
6	44	High school (6 years)	15 years	Hairdresser	Married	2
7	37	High school (12 years)	15 years	Factory worker	Married	4
8	37	High school (12 years)	13.5 years	First line manager	Married	2
9	45	High school (12 years)	25 years	Hairdresser	Married	2
10	43	High school (12 years)	15 years	Geriatric social worker	Married	2
11	37	High school (12 years)	4 years	Cleaning worker, florist	Married	3
12	41	High school (9 years)	5 years	Factory worker	Married	2
13	38	High school (9 years)	3 years	Bakery worker, factory worker	Married	2

The interviews were all recorded and transcribed *verbatim*. The qualitative data was submitted to a content analysis by categories. A first order of coding was applied to each transcribed interview. This first order was based on the questions of the interview guide. Then, the content of each category was analysed to produce a second codification based on the literature and qualitative material collected. It was in this second order that the gender meanings were related to the experiences and reflections of the participants. Nvivo software was used to help organizing qualitative data. The following table summarizes the content analysis.

Table 2: Content analysis

Categories	Content	Concepts
Subjective constructions of work and interactions with elderly	Gender meanings related with doing geriatric work Relationship with elderly	The gender of geriatric work
	The role of emotions at work Emotional display Positive and negative emotions Impact on the geriatric work	Emotional work
Interactions within teams	Nature of the relationships among women	The gender of work team

Categories	Content	Concepts
	Gender stereotypes about female colleagues Nature of the emotions shared Conflict handling	

4. Findings

4.1 Subjective constructions of work and interaction with elderly

In the work context of geriatric social work, the feminized nature of the work force is something that interviewees show a great level of awareness. In this study, the teams are exclusively composed by women. When participants describe their work and relationships with the elderly they frequently emphasize the expression of affect and a sense of family and friendship.

> *Working for a elderly care institution is not just about thinking about earning money. We have to show love and affection regarding those people that are there, that depend on us. (Interviewee 2)*

Interviewees to do not feel constrained to consider the expressive dimension of their work and assume that they have the *natural* requisites that are necessary to perform their work. The social feminine condition related to this work comes immediately attached to the meanings that these women use to describe this profession.

The feminine gender condition of their job an the gender of the participants also allow them to display their own feelings without any kind of self-censorship.

> *I am a very impulsive person and I just cannot pretend since my face does not let me to do it, that is way they (the elderly) perceive. (interviewee 3)*

The participants show their real emotions because they understand the relationship with the elderly as personal and close. The idea of sacrifice is also present in the participants' construction of their job.

> *Although it is very difficult to wake up in the morning, and as much tired as I might be and wiling to run away, going home, once I am here, I give everything to them but at the end I feel they give back to me. (Interviewee 4).*

The need to correspond to an ideal of feminine caring lead the participants to do everything for their patients and to make an effort to silence their difficulties in dealing with elderly suffering, sadness and loneliness.

> *I tend to disguise. They already have enough problems, they lack family around them and diseases. So, I try to cheer them up so they feel better and put things in a different perspective. (Interviewee 8)*

Their understanding of such sacrifice entails the acceptance of personal emotional costs, and simultaneously to carry the burden of the others' emotions.

> *Overtime, I think that we tend to get bitter, not so joyful. We feel depressed, with such a sadness that oblige us to make an enormous effort to show a good face to our elderly. (Interviewee 10)*

> *In Christmas time, we often happen to cry when we see elderly staying alone in the institution without their relatives. (Interviewee 2)*

In most of the participants discourses emerges a worker profile related to a femininity of abnegation that resemble feminine religious figures related to Christianity, the dominant religion in the Portuguese society, especially in the North. The frontiers between the public and private became blurred in the relations with the elderly, since they are seen as part of family.

> *Above all, I feel sorry for the elderly but I also feel happy for them. I feel happy because we became their family. (Interviewee 9).*

The dilution of frontiers between the public and private dimensions is very evident in the participants' discourses when they talk about death as making part of their daily work lives.

> *Although I have witnessed several times the death of our elderly, the most difficult thing for me is still the possibility of stepping into a room and find one of them lying dead. (Interviewee 13)*

4.2 Interaction within teams

The majority of women belonging to the work teams do not have specific qualifications for elder care, they lack teamwork competencies, and depend exclusively on their own. In their discourses about the other female colleagues, the production of negative meanings predominates. This negative evaluation is mostly justified by gender stereotypes and prejudices against women, like the prevalence of gossip, conflict, envy and jealousy in the interactions.

> *Colleagues do not get along easily, not because of work but mainly due to their (feminine) personality. They have negative views about each other, which ends up creating a bad work environment. (Interviewee 5)*

This negative gender stereotypes do not allow them to share individual experiences and knowledge and create a highly competitive work environment.

> *Some female do not share what they know and could prove helpful for the other to better perform their jobs. I feel that there is no respect and each is working for herself. Besides, there is gossip going on. (Interviewee 7)*

> *It is much more easier to deal with the elderly that with our female colleagues, there is too much jealousy among us, a certain amount of rivalry. (Interviewee 12)*

> *There are some colleagues that envy the love and affect that the elderly give to us. (Interviewee 7)*

The top managers in the studied institutions are perceived reinforcing this gender stereotypes among the female workers, and tend to inhibit the share of emotions, which they considered to be bad for the team efficacy.

> *She (manager) does not like us to share with each other. If we have a problem, she wants that us to talk to her directly. (Interviewee 5)*

> *The management believes that we usually share what we shouldn't. (Interviewee 13)*

The negative environment in the group in terms of emotional interactions seems to be overcome when the interviewees talk about specific colleagues with whom they develop close relations and friendship.

> *There are some colleagues that I feel emotional attached to and that help me to deal with my daily tasks. (Interviewee 15)*

When they talk about this type of friendship, the discourse changes and the gender stereotypes are not used to describe the female colleagues.

> *We need to show patience and understanding because we are all so different that we need to respect those differences. (Interviewee 3)*

> *We need to be honest and admit what we did not so well in our work or tell her (the colleague) when she is not right too. We need to show respect for each other. (Interviewee 7)*

Within these interactions, the interviewees narrate stories of sharing joy and sadness related to the well being of the elderly, and that makes the worst situations bearable. This was what happened with the interviewee 7 when she confronted herself with the death of an old lady.

> *Although the first week after the death was hard, I manage to overcome it. Without my colleague support it would have been much harder. I did not have to prepare the lady to the funeral because my colleague offered to do that for me. (Interviewee 7)*

They also tend to give accounts of happy moments.

> *I comment with a colleague of mine: "Have you seen Mr. D.? The way is right now?". And the colleague says: "True , I have never thought he could be so well as he is now!". It is such a good feeling to share things like these! (Interviewee 5)*

5. Discussion and conclusion

In the discourse of participants, social work and the interactions with the elderly are constructed upon a gendered ideal related to affect, care and protection of the other (Bolton, 2000). These gendered constructions help the study participants to support emotionally extreme situations in their workplaces, such as the death, suffering and loneliness of the elderly. In a certain way, these gendered constructions resort to an almost religious femininity, related to Christianity traditions strongly anchored on abnegation and sacrifice (Mills and

Ryan, 2001). This gender dimension of geriatric social work allows them to expose emotions that go beyond what it expected in the formal content of their jobs (Hadley, 2014).

The femininity is also present in the way these women perceive and display their emotions towards their colleagues. In these female group interactions, what becomes salient is a negative feminine construction associated with their colleagues, and that characterizes emotions such as envy, jealousy, disrespect, gossip and conflict. Such negative femininity acts against female teams, preventing them from being safe spaces for sharing and regulating emotions, and also inhibiting mutual learning (Fernandes and Leite, 2017).

However, when the participants focus on their dyadic relations with female colleagues, there is a tendency to abandon those feminine negative constructions of colleagues, especially when it comes to their preferred co-workers. The search for affect and emotional support tends to happen within these dyadic work relations.

These findings show that the regulation of emotions can be affected by the gendered constructions of work and interactions. In this sense, it is of utmost importance to consider the gender constructions when studying emotions and the way they can be regulated in the work context (Hadley, 2014). Management in this context seem to be unaware of the implications of gender relations in emotional work interactions and ultimately in the work environment.

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Most Significant Change: Closing the Gender Gap in Research

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Abstract: In this paper we elaborate on the most significant changes reported on at the end of a four-year long European gender equality change project. During these four years more than 20 change agents actively worked to implement gender equality action plans in seven different research institutions. During the final months of the project, monitoring data was collected from these change agents, and from stakeholders and beneficiaries from the project, regarding their experiences of the most significant changes in their institutions. The stories about most significant change was collected by means of a questionnaire/interview guide that asked the participants to reflect over, and share, the most significant change during the project from both a personal and an institutional perspective. The personal stories submitted were categorized into three different types of changes: changes in knowledge/awareness, changes in behaviour and changes in daily lives. In addition, stories about three different types of institutional changes were also collected: changes in culture, changes in practices/policies and changes in structures/management. Some of the changes described involved increased influence in the decision-making processes, the realisation of a new, gender equal, salary system, gender budgeting, improved gender balance in boards and committees, gender networks and improved communications. The paper explains in detail how the change stories were collected and argues for the importance of collecting such stories to understand how the implementation of action plans can contribute to the closing of the gender gap in academia.

Keywords: action plans, change agents, change projects, gender equality, implementation, monitoring

1. Introduction

The aim of GenderTime, funded by the European Commission between 2013 and 2016, was to identify and implement systemic approaches to increase the participation and career advancement of women researchers in seven research performing organisations (RPOs) in seven European countries.[1] By developing tailor-made Gender Equality Plans (GEPs), almost 200 change interventions were implemented in the participating organizations. The actions targeted organizational and managerial processes and procedures and aimed at creating gender sensitive recruitment, retention and promotion policies; supporting and improving work-life balance; establishing a more inclusive work culture, and; increasing gender awareness throughout the organizations. The overall purpose of the GEPs was thus to close the gender gap in academia.

The implementation of the GEPs in the participating institutions was carefully monitored throughout the project. Monitoring in GenderTime, was defined as "an ongoing process of information collection primarily for the purpose of program management" (Davies & Dart 2005, p. 58), and focused on activities and outputs, rather than outcomes and impacts, which were instead the focus of a separate independent evaluation team. A total of ten, tailor-made, monitoring tools were developed and implemented to collect data on the project performance (cf. Peterson & Dahmen 2018).

This paper describes one of the ten monitoring tools used the project – the so-called Most Significant Change Monitoring Tool. The paper elaborates the details regarding: 1) how the Most Significant Change Technique was adapted to be used as a monitoring tool, 2) how the tool was implemented, 3) the results the monitoring tool produced, and, 4) what those results can tell us about the performance of the project. The aim of the paper is twofold, first, to elaborate on how the Most Significant Change Technique can be used in a gender equality change project, and second, to highlight the possibilities of gender change through implementation of GEPs .

[1] GenderTime received funding in the 7thFramework Programme of the European Commission. Consortium members were: Egalité des Chances dans les Etudes et la Profession d'Ingénieur en Europe, France (coordination); Interdisziplinäres Forschungszentrum für Technik, Arbeit und Kultur, Austria, Università degli Studi di Padova, Italy; Gothenburg University, Sweden; Université Paris Est Créteil, France; Mihailo Pupin Institute, Serbia; Bergische Universität Wuppertal, Germany; Loughborough University, UK; Fundacion TECNALIA Research & Innovation, Spain; Donau-Universität Krems, Austria.

2. Previous research and theoretical framework

2.1 Organizational change and gender equality plans

Yvonne Benschop and Mieke Verloo (2012, p. 277) describe the "quest for change" as "more or less central" to the field of gender, work and organization. The goal of GenderTime was to create an impetus for structural change in the participating organizations in order to ensure equal opportunities for women and men, by encouraging a more gender-aware management in research and scientific decision-making bodies. This could be interpreted as an example of what Benschop and Verloo (2011) call revolutionary change, i.e. a radical gender change in organizations. Notwithstanding, although revolutionary change was the long-term goal of the project, incremental gender changes and small changes and small wins were at the heart of the project and the GEPs. The project thus framed organizational changes as "continuous, small improvements" (Benschop & Verloo 2012, p. 286). This framing of organizational change was also reflected in the GEPs where the actions and change interventions were drawn up. Action plans such as these are commonly supposed to contain goals of both long-term and short-term character (Petersson et al. 1990; Sandvik Wiklund et al. 2011), and this was true also of the GEPs within the project.

GEPs have been described as one of four different general success factors for attempting organizational change. Previous research has highlighted somewhat good and sustainable results from projects adopting, among other things, GEPs. The existence of a GEP generally, but not always and not necessarily so, indicates that the organization is committed to gender equality work (Sandvik Wiklund et al. 2011).

2.2 Change agents for gender equality

Change agents in each of the seven institutions involved in the project managed the implementation of the GEPs. Change Agents are persons that play an important role when it comes to changing organizations towards increased gender equality. Previous research has pointed out three factors as essential for change agents. First of all, they need to be willing to take on the role as Change Agents (Parsons & Priola 2013).

Second, Change Agents need awareness of gendering processes in organizations. A sensitivity to gender inequalities has therefore also been described as an important prerequisite for individuals that act as change agents for gender equality (Parsons & Priola 2013). Many women with the awareness and will to act as change agents, however, are in practice restricted by their marginalized position in organizations, which leaves them with a lack of power, influence and resources necessary to initiate change. Consequently, awareness is in itself insufficient to produce effective change agents for gender equality.

Therefore, a third factor has been identified as important for change agents. Change agency also requires the authority to disrupt and challenge those organizational routines and practices that reproduce gender imbalance and inequalities (Linstead et al. 2005). Senior managers possess the authority to set strategic goals and implement them, and their commitment has proven to be important in facilitating change and engaging employees also to commit to change (Whelan-Berry 2013).

Totally over 20 change agents were involved in GenderTime, who constituted the core of the project and the national teams responsible for implementing, monitoring and evaluating the seven tailor-made GEPs. Some of these change agents' experiences were collected at the end of the project, using an adapted and tailor-made version of the monitoring method: The Most Significant Change Technique. They were also responsible for collecting stories from beneficiaries and stakeholders using this monitoring tool.

3. Method and material

3.1 The Most Significant Change technique

While evaluation and monitoring tools usually adopt a deductive, theory-led, approach and use pre-defined indicators of change, the Most Significant Change (MSC) technique explores definitions of change among stakeholders, beneficiaries and field-level workers (Benning et al. 2012). It is based on stories told by participants and therefore gathers rich and "thick" descriptions that make intangible changes visible that would remain hidden if only more traditional, or conventional, quantitative evaluation and monitoring methods were used (Davies & Dart 2005). The MSC technique is therefore a monitoring method that is dynamic and adaptive and

particularly appropriate in complex programmes where the impact is difficult to quantify and involve social and culture change (Willetts & Crawford 2007).

The MSC technique defines the term "story" as: "an account of change told in response to a specific question" (Dart & Davies 2003, p. 141). The methodology captures change stories as personal experiences and observations "from the field" (Willetts & Crawford 2007, p. 367). It asks participants in a project, or the beneficiaries of a program, an open-ended question such as: "From your point of view, what was the most significant change that took place concerning the quality of people's lives in this?" (Davies & Dart 2005, p. 60). The technique further requires the persons that tell the stories to explain why the change was significant for them and provide both descriptive and interpretive information.

The MSC stories can be captured in several different ways: by interviewing and note taking, during group discussions or by fieldworkers writing down unsolicited stories that they have heard (Davies & Dart 2005, p. 24). It is important that the story is told or written in a simple narrative describing the sequence of events that took place and includes sufficient details and factual information and an explanation of the significance of the story from the point of view of the storyteller (Davies & Dart 2005, p. 25-26).

Previous research has noted some limitations with the MSC technique. The method can prove to be restricted when it comes to capturing negative changes (Benning et al. 2012) and can have a bias towards popular views (Lennie 2011). Using the MSC method, however, does not mean chasing success stories, but to capture qualitative stories about changes that can lead to valuable insights about the project. The MSC technique is characterized by an "apparent simplicity" (Willetts & Crawford 2007, p. 368) but can provide important evidence base for project improvement and impact evaluations. When used at the end of a change project, like in our case, it can gather evidence that can be used to introduce changes to future program indicators and contribute to the sustainability of the project (Davies & Dart 2005). One of the reasons the MSC technique was adopted in GenderTime was the bottom-up perspective on indicators and the possibilities to collect personal and individual stories from beneficiaries and stakeholders. This approach is also in line with the theoretical feminist framework at the centre of the project (cf. Benschop & Verloo 2012).

3.2 Data collection: Questionnaire/interview guide for stakeholders and beneficiaries

The MSC technique was adapted from previous literature to be used as a monitoring tool. The aim of the adapted tool was to collect MSC stories from two groups of participants: 1) stakeholders and beneficiaries of GenderTime, and, 2) the change agents working within the project. Previous literature on the MSC technique was consulted (e.g. Davies & Dart 2005, p. 23) about how to formulate appropriate questions for a questionnaire/interview guide aiming to collect MSC stories. As a result, a questionnaire/interview guide, which included two complex questions was developed (see Figure 1 below).

1) *Describe the project related activity/measure that you took part in. Reflect over the most significant change that you* ***personally*** *experienced in relation to participating in the activity.* *It can be a* ***direct change*** *(you learnt something) or an* ***indirect change*** *(you made a change due to the information that you learnt).* *Please explain why this change is important to you.* *Examples: change in career possibilities and opportunities; change in awareness about gender and gender equality; changes in networks and contacts*
2) *In your opinion, what has been the most significant change that has occurred* ***in your institution*** *as a result of the project?* *Please describe why this change is/was important to you.* *Examples: change in attitudes, climate and culture; change in administrative routines; change in leadership and management; change in the physical environment etc.*

(Source: Adaptation of the MSC Technique, cf. Benning et al. 2012; Dart & Davies 2003; Davies & Dart 2005; Lennie 2011; UNDP 2009; Willetts & Crawford 2007)

Figure 1: The two questions included in the questionnaire/interview guide in the Most Significant Change Monitoring Tool in GenderTime

The questions in Figure 1 were formulated following the guidelines of several different references (e.g. Benning et al. 2012; Davies and Dart 2005). The questions were framed as open questions while at the same time encouraging the participants to be selective in their reporting. The MSC monitoring tool thus only used two predefined so called domains of change in the questionnaire: 1) individual and personal changes ("that you personally experienced"), and 2) organizational and collective changes ("in your institution") (as displayed in Figure 1, above). These two domains of change were also developed in keeping with previous research on organizational gender change that has emphasized these two domains of change (Benschop & Verloo 2012). Davies and Dart (2005, p. 19) advice on using three to five domains of change when gathering data on MSCs. Using only two such domains of change meant that the questionnaire/interview guide was easy to use, which could influence participation rate positively. The individual domain of change was, however, divided up into *direct* and *indirect* changes, which increased the complexity of the questionnaire/interview guide (Davies & Dart 2005, p. 19-21) (see Figure 1, above).

Target groups of the MSC monitoring tool, used a questionnaire/interview guide were persons who had participated in gender equality activities arranged within, and by, the gender equality intervention project. The national teams were given two options to use the questionnaire/interview guide (Figure 1) and to collect the most significant change stories from stakeholders and beneficiaries. The first option meant that the monitoring tool was used as an interview guide during a face-to-face interview with stakeholders or beneficiaries of GenderTime. The second option meant that they sent the template with the questions, as a questionnaire, to the beneficiaries/stakeholders so they could fill them out themselves in writing and return to the national teams.

The project teams were encouraged to select the participants carefully in order to create a diverse group of participants, regarding gender, position/title and age. The change agents also noted these three variables/characteristics of the participants before they submitted back the collected most significant change stories back to the monitoring team.

3.3 Data collection: Workshop with change agents

The MSC monitoring tool was also used as an interactive workshop concept, implemented during the last project meeting. This was a monitoring tool that allowed the change agents in GenderTime to share their views on the most significant changes during the project. As a workshop concept the MSC technique involved the same questionnaire/interview guide that had been used for the stakeholders and beneficiaries (see Figure 1 above). The same two questions constituted the starting point for an internal workshop with project members, but was also complemented with a template to be filled out with examples of MSC stories.

The template included two main domains of change: individual and organizational, with the former divided into two sub-domains: direct or indirect change. The template further distinguished between different aspects of change along the lines of: individual/collective, informal/formal and intangible/tangible. The result was a template consisting of a diagram with four boxes (see Figure 2 below). The upper two boxes included individual changes and the two lower boxes included collective changes. The individual changes were divided into informal or formal changes while the collective changes were divided up into intangible or tangible changes.

Individual **Informal**	**Individual** **Formal**
Collective Intangible	Collective Tangible

Source: Benning et al. 2012

Figure 2: Template for MSC as a workshop concept: Domains of change

This template was adopted from previous research (Benning et al. 2012) where it had proved to be useful when collecting and categorizing change experiences regarding gender at work.

4. Results and analysis

4.1 Beneficaries/stakeholders' perspective on MSC

The first part of the MSC Technique monitoring tool was implemented towards the end of the action. Each national team identified potential informants, collected the data (i.e. either performed interviews using the interview guide or sent out the questionnaries, see Figure 1), and sent the answers received, back to the monitoring team. The submitted MSC stories were then analysed by the monitoring team in two phases. The first phase involved a simple quantification of the stories, based on different variables such as change domains, and age and gender of the participants. This was in line with a so-called meta-monitoring of the collected stories, i.e. an analysis which "focuses more on the attributes of the stories" (Davies & Dart 2005, p. 39). In the second phase of the analysis the monitoring team engaged in a systematic content analysis based on the subject and theme of the stories (cf. Lennie 2011), which involved: "the examination, classification and analysis of the content (or themes) across a set of SC stories" (Davies & Dart 2005, p. 39).

The meta-monitoring analysis revealed that the majority of the participants who submitted MSC stories were women (10 women and 1 man) and between 40 and 49 years old. Six of them were researchers or teachers, four were administrators or technical staff and one had a management position. One of the participants was external, and not a member of the seven participating RPOs, and 10 of them were internal to these RPOs.

The MSC stories submitted were relatively short, between 1-2 (computer)written pages of text, and did not always include details about the specific activities in the GEPs that the participants had experience of or had taken part in. However, the stories were still highly multifaceted and informative, and thus provided "thick descriptions" according to the definitions of MSC (Davies & Dart 2005, p. 60). The length of the stories also coincided with previous case studies where the methodology has been utilized (Dart & Davies 2003, p. 141).

4.1.1 Personal changes

The secondary analysis showed more details about the MSC stories. These stories contained descriptions of how the participants had taken part in specific activities arranged within the project frame. The activity most often referred to, appearing in four MSC stories, was participation in network activities. Six different activities appeared in two stories each: participation in institutional surveys; being a part of consulting teams; participation in focus groups; involvement in evaluation workshops; partaking in coaching sessions; and attending staff meetings. Finally, three activities appeared in one MSC story each where the participants had attended seminars, organized events or been part of a gender monitoring team.

The MSC stories contained a total of 23 individual stories about significant, personal, changes due to the project. These 23 stories were classified into different groups as they described nine different types of personal changes. These nine different types of personal changes were further categorized into three different dimensions of personal change: changes in knowledge/awareness, changes in behaviour and changes in daily lives (see Figure 3). The most common MSC story about personal changes, appearing in five stories, dealt with increased awareness and knowledge regarding local and national gender policies and the existence of gender stereotypes and gender inequalities.

Changes in knowledge/ awareness	- Gender policies (local and national) (5) - Gender/gender stereotypes/gender inequalities/gender change (5)
Changes in behaviour	- Motivation to pursue career (2) - Motivation to work for gender equality (1)
Changes in daily lives	- New work tasks/increased autonomy (1) - Empowerment in professional role/less isolated (4) - Networking (2) - Receiving support and having role models (2) - Visibility of research (1)

Figure 3: Personal changes (number of MSC stories)

Below is an example of a MSC story about personal change that where the participant, after participating in network activities organized within the project, changed her behaviour and became more active and involved in

gender equality activities in her own university. This MSC story was classified within the dimension of change as "changes in behaviour":

> *"I participated for 2 years in the local gender network within our dissemination and good practices activity as part of the project. This action provided too a great opportunity to discuss all gender experiences and measures implemented in the project institutions. The result of the work had been recorded in two booklets published by our association. (…) My membership of this network helped me to convince the decision-makers of my university that our institution needs to develop gender measures in the same way as the member organizations and legitimized my claims." (female, associate professor, France).*

4.1.2 Institutional changes

In addition to the 23 MSC stories about personal changes, 31 stories about institutional and collective changes were submitted. The secondary analysis of these stories resulted in a classification of 14 different types of institutional changes. Just like with the personal changes, these 14 different types of changes were categorized into three different domains of institutional changes: changes in culture, changes in practices/policies and changes in structures/management. The most common MSC story about institutional change, appearing in four submitted questionnaires, dealt with changes in culture and a general increased visibility of gender research and gender issues.

Changes in culture	- Organisation more open for changes (3) - Increased transparency in climate and culture (1) - Visibility of gender research and gender issues (generally) (4) - Visibility of gender research (new book collection on gender/booklets) (3) - Increased legitimacy around gender equality issues (3) - Increased awareness of gender in organisation (2)
Changes in practices/policies	- First initiatives/policies on gender issues (2) - Transparent recruitment practices (focusing on gender equality) (1) - New (gender equal and fair) salary scheme/gender budgeting (3) - Implementation of new indicators to review and assess situation (1
Changes in practices/policies	- Change in leadership and management (support to take on leading roles) (2) - Network of stakeholders around gender issues (2) - Arena for organisational reflection (2) - Increased collaboration around gender between institutions (2)

Figure 4: Institutional changes (number of MSC stories)

The following is an example of a MSC story about institutional change and the dimension of changes in structure/management:

> *"Within the university, GenderTime has been fundamental to the new governance, proposing, through the knowledge of gender-specific data, new management objectives and stimulating innovative policy choices. For example, in the university a cross-process has started at the various administrative services, shared by the governing bodies, for the preparation of Gender Budgeting. Personally, I have experienced a good elasticity, within the administration, with respect to the opportunity of working in the field of gender issues, although part of the administrative staff, serving in an office (where I'm working) that does not deal with these issues. In fact, I think it is important that the opening demonstrated in these recent years by the university towards studies and gender perspectives is reflected in the management of its human resources." (female, administrator, Italy)*

The MSC stories about institutional changes also included remaining challenges: *"Increased awareness and discussions did not lead to change in practices*" and "*No clear change in my institution*". Negative stories were not shared regarding personal changes, which could indicate that it was more difficult for the participants to pinpoint significant changes on an institutional level or that the impact of the project was greater on a personal level.

4.2 Change agents' perspective

The second part of the MSC monitoring tool, the workshop concept, was implemented during the final project meeting. The tool, used in this manner, allowed the project team members (i.e. directly involved change agents) to share their views on the most significant change originating in the project. The workshop, commenced with an introduction by the monitoring team. During this introduction the results from the first part of the MSC monitoring tool were presented and the initial analysis of the results was shared, discussed and reflected over.

After the reflection session the typology over change dimensions (see Figure 2 above) was introduced and explained. The workshop participants were asked to give examples of changes that could fit into these different categories. A total of 24 additional MSC stories within the typology were collected this way.

The data collected during the workshop also constituted thick descriptions of significant changes. However, the "thickness" here was primarily provided during the oral presentations. The written documentation was briefer and sporadic due to the limited time set aside for the activity (30 min). The workshop leaders anticipated this and the collection of the written documentation from the workshop was not given priority. Instead, the aim of the workshop was to create an arena for reflection and sharing between the national teams. The reflections also became confirmations and verifications of the previously collected MSC stories.

Many of the MSC stories collected were, however, examples of fundamental changes. Examples of individual and formal changes were described as involving individual empowerment and reaching a more powerful position that meant greater personal influence in decision-making processes. A woman from Austria shared one example of such a story: "*Management board includes me in many more issues because I could help improve certain topics with my gender knowledge, which is valued"*.

The examples of tangible and collective results involved for instance the realisation of a new, gender equal, salary system, gender budgeting, improved gender balance in boards and committees, gender networks and improved communications. A change towards increased transparency was made in the Spanish institution: "*The organizational review, which updated every year, contains now information about salaries (before this information was confidential). And the new equality plan got already approved by the management board*."

Intangible, collective results were described as involving for example openness and atmosphere: "*Female staff are more open to talk about gender issues to the female director so the feedback is much better and the answers are more sincere and better substantiated"* (female, Serbia).

5. Concluding discussion

Previous research has identified a series of institutionalized and systematic barriers for women's progress in the higher education that can explain the gender gap in academia (Bird 2011; Britton 2017; HEA 2016; Morley 2011; Morley 2014; European Commission 2016). The negative consequences of this gender gap include women's individual experiences of discrimination and segregation (Husu 2000; Knights & Richards 2003), stress (Acker 2014), and overwork (Acker & Armenti 2004). The gender gap also results in skills and talent wastage and a missed opportunity for women to contribute to the future development of science and research (HEA 2016). There are thus strong incentives for RGOs to support women's careers and strive to close the gender gap.

This paper has discussed the MSC stories from a gender change project that aimed to close the gender gap in seven European RPOs. Using the MSC technique as a monitoring tool made it possible to systematize the changes that contributed to closing the gender gap. The results from the MSC monitoring tool illustrate how GenderTime positively influenced the participating institutions regarding changes in knowledge and awareness, in behaviour and in daily lives of people, in culture, policies, and in structures and management. It can be concluded that the MSC technique became a valuable monitoring tool in the GenderTime monitoring toolbox, and complemented the more conventional monitoring and evaluation methods ((cf. Peterson & Dahmen 2018). It generated knowledge regarding the progress and impact of the project and gathered evidence that can be used to secure the sustainability of the project. The methodology contributed with unique information about the impact of the project on people's lives and on their working environment as the personal stories captured:

- evidence of both tangible and intangible changes
- evidence of behavioural and attitudinal changes

- evidence of both expected and unexpected changes.
- information on both positive changes and resistance and lack of change
- information about changes of individual character.
- information about changes of collective and organizational character (but from the perspective of the individual).

These are all important dimensions of change involved in closing the gender gap in research.

We hope that others will be inspired to use the MSC technique as a monitoring tool in their change projects. Our adaptation of the MSC technique highlights the flexibility in the methodology and how it can be tailor-made to fit into different types of change projects. It constitutes a useful resource for practitioners, gender equality experts and researchers, who want to take up the challenge to close the gender gap in their institutions.

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Gender and Games, Space and Time: Doing Feminist Research

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Abstract: An empirically grounded feminist perspective on research into gender and spatial abilities, and on the related and more recent question of why women are so greatly under-represented in STEM (Science, Technology and Engineering) fields are this paper's aspirations. To that end, we first share the results, as well as details the processes of their production, of three studies conducted over 5 years into gender and spatial condition. All used a "Virtual Morris Water Maze", (a virtual experimental laboratory of sorts), in concert with participant interviews and a standard test of "mental rotation" (the ability to "mentally" rotate a 3-D figure), to understand the basis of this well-established sex difference, and then illustrates specific areas in which critical questions of structural bias arise in paradigmatic research on gender and spatial ability. We then consider and illustrate how the same data on sex-linked differences in spatial ability might be reassembled, not to validate the existing gender-inequitable order represented in studies of STEM programs and occupations, but instead to show how an inability to recognize that sex, not spatial or any other 'ability', might be the primary confounding variable---and not because of immutable sex-linked cognitive abilities but principally because of mutable systems and structures of gender discrimination that continue to drive the research protocols through which these empirical findings have been arrived at.

Keywords: gender, spatial abilities, experimental methodologies

1. Introduction

You've got to learn to play it before you can break it…

My band teacher, "Uncle Wally" Atwood

Spatial Learning and Cognition research is among few areas from which the scientific community has the clearest, least ambiguous, reliable, (and *cross-species)* findings of male superiority. Not only is the finding that males exceed females in spatial abilities ubiquitous in controlled studies, but as well, longitudinal research has demonstrated a well-established and highly significant correlation between spatial abilities and education for entry into, and success in STEM fields (Lubinski et al, 2014), which are today the most highly prized (and remunerated) occupational routes students (and their parents) can aim for. Public education is today in process of reshaping its media, technology and disciplinary paradigms to better accommodate a perceived shift from education as human betterment to education as employment preparation. It is undeniably important, therefore, to understand what could enable women to participate equitably in all, and particularly the most highly esteemed and best remunerated, subjects and fields.

2. "Master's tools…?" (Audre Lorde, 1984)

Raised up in converging intellectual traditions of patriarchy, one learns that you have to do things "by the book". It comes at you from all sides. It's what Uncle Wally was telling us when he insisted we first learn to play "properly" before trying any non-normative musical styles, genres or techniques. It's what most public-school teachers participating in our research project tell their students about why they have to master traditional reading and writing skills before getting into new multimodal digital literacies. And, it's what we've been learning over the past 4 years of trying to understand persistently significant findings of male superiority in spatial abilities.

To question these findings, however, means deploying the same (or comparable) theories, methods and experimental protocols. To contest generations of intensive scientific results (More than 5000 studies have been conducted on mental rotation, for example (Ganis and Kievit, 2015), places very specific requirements of and constraints on intelligibility between and across disciplines---and feminist work is inevitably interdisciplinary. Without doubt, these protocols were designed by men for male subjects, then later women were included on both sides, both as researchers and as participants. But scientific psychology builds new knowledge directly on the foundations of established knowledge---how could it be otherwise? Nevertheless, even as we pursue these questions of gender and spatial ability through 'paradigmatic' research design and methods, it's possible to create a counter-weight of alternative kinds of questions by following a systematic series of "what if's?": what if women do worse than men on tests of spatial cognition because the tests themselves instantiate biases? (could

the design of the experimental task be a familiar one for males (like map reading) and not for females, so what we are looking at is experience not ability? What if the fact that we are testing spatial skills elicits "stereotype threat" resulting in impaired performance by women? What if the fact that these tests use time as a criterion of success, rather than accuracy, and women just take longer because they are more careful? What if the medium used (in our case, "virtual" environments and online rather than paper and pencil tests) is far less familiar---and far more hostile-- for females than for males? What if the ubiquitous restriction on female mobility results in a gendered orientation to space such that females hesitate before moving whereas males initiate movement right away? What if the statistical procedures used to "normalize" and "clean" the data are actually concealing significant deviations from this apparently reliable finding? At the highest level the question in feminist terms is recognizably similar to Audre Lorde's question of whether we can use the master's tools to dismantle the master's house. Learning to use those tools is a condition of addressing research on gender and spatial cognition, on gender differences in educational and vocational access and outcomes, and on STEM pathways, specifically. A feminist perspective seeks both to ensure equality of attention to reporting data and conducting analyses regarding female subjects, and to find a *different story* to tell (Jenson& de Castell, 2008), one that, at the highest level, asks not "why are males superior to females in spatial ability?" but "how might the ways we study this question be so reliably and consistently producing these results?" This paper, then, is about whether and how it is possible to do feminist research into gender differences in spatial learning and cognition.

In the 'paradigmatic' studies (de Castell, Larios & Jenson, 2015; 2016A; 2016B; 2017;2019) we have carried out over this time with collaborator Hector Larios, that disruptive question has had to be sidelined. There is simply nowhere feminist inquiry fits within the conventional discursive structure of hypothesis formulation based on prior studies, hypothesis testing using established protocols, data analysis using validated statistical methods, and highly standardized forms of representing and reporting. Any "feminist question" is ideologically driven, to be sure, being completely bound up with very specific values that place women at the center of concern and that promote the well-being of women, and that aspire to achieve equitable value for women: their lives, experiences, and opportunities. Can ideology be built into theories, methods, protocols, statistical procedures, and rules governing the ways we can write up our research? It already is. (Habermas,1972) And so it is certainly plausible that following these protocols, norms, conventions and traditions, rules entire trajectories of inquiry out of bounds. Out of sight soon becomes out of mind, making it difficult to imagine ways to contest findings of male superiority.

Doggedly, therefore, we have carried out a series of studies over the last several years into the same small set of questions about gender and spatial ability (and its remediation), aspiring to both 'follow the rules" and still keep—if far off to the side-- a keenly critical eye on how we might think otherwise, find a different story in the same data. Each successive study has tried to learn from the shortcomings of its predecessor, but everyone, even the earliest, for all its flaws, has resulted in the same finding: males demonstrate superior spatial abilities to females.

3. Research to date

Our initial foray into the study of gender and space was designed to see whether movement in virtual environments evidenced gender differences (Murray et al, 2015). For that study we developed and used a "virtual Morris water maze" (VWMW) , based on the classic water maze experiment used in animal experiments (Morris, 1984), and each of our subsequent studies has modified and used that virtual environment, supplemented by tests of mental rotation, a questionnaire, and concluding interviews.

The Morris Water Maze (MWM) was developed to study spatial learning and memory in rats (Morris, 1984; see also de Castell & Larios, 2016a). More than 2000 neuroscience experiments have been conducted in which the MWMW methodology has been implemented, demonstrating the scientific utility of this tool (D'Hooge & Deyn, 2001). The physical MWM consists of a circular pool within a rectangular room having different types of visual cues. A typical test consists of placing a platform in the water and allowing the subject (usually a rodent) to swim freely in search of the platform. Researchers measure variables such as how long it takes the subject to find the platform (search latency) and the amount of time searching the correct area (dwell time). These and other measures are taken as an indication of the strength and accuracy of spatial learning and working memory (D'Hooge & Deyn, 2001).

Consistent sex differences in rodents have been found in MWM performance, showing a male advantage (e.g., Brandeis, Brandys, Yehuda, 1989; Williams & Meck, 1991; Roof, 1993). Much of this research has focused on the neuro-biological factors that influence spatial learning and memory in rodents. Research on humans using the MWM is limited because of ethical concerns to health and safety, cost, and procedural complexities. It was to overcome the limitations posed by the physical MWM that virtual versions of the MWM were developed to investigate human spatial cognition. Although research in this area is growing, it is still relatively limited. Nevertheless, the study of humans in the VMWM has shown similar results as those found in rodents.

Tracking movement in the virtual maze, we observed very clear gender differences in pattern and in performance. From then on, we used that paradigmatic experimental protocol. We initiated a pilot project to develop our tools and methods and refine our research questions. There has been relatively little research using the VMWM with children, and we wanted to see if their performance conformed to the findings so well established with adult participants. We recruited 3 classes of elementary school students, and each completed the full set of 10 trials of the water maze, as well as a mental rotation test. The results of that second, pilot, study are unpublished, but we did indeed see a gender difference in the mental, rotation test results and performance in the water maze experiment.

The third (2019) study involved 82 undergraduates, and used two different versions of the water maze, one with landmarks, the other without. This time we employed inferential statistical procedures and added a demographics questionnaire that included information about videogame experience. Our interest here was in empirical evidence that female spatial abilities were demonstrably improved by playing action videogames, and specifically first-person shooters. (Feng & Spence, 2007; Green & Bavalier, 2012) This study's findings were clear and consistent: males significantly outperformed females in tests of spatial ability, (in mental rotation, for example, males (14.4 ± 0.95) outperformed females (9.4 ± 1.01) $t(43) = 3.31$, $p = .001$, $r = .45$). Males learned how to navigate an unfamiliar environment significantly better than females, and videogame experts significantly out-performed videogame novices. (de Castell, Larios& Jenson, 2015, 2019)

Most recently, we have completed a fourth, training, study, with 32 undergraduate students at two universities, one arts-based and the other STEM-focused, again using the virtual morris water maze and a test of mental rotation, along with a demographic questionnaire and post-experiment interviews. Rather than relying on self-reporting of videogame expertise, in this study we had participants play, for 10 hours, either a puzzle game or a FPS action game. Although we are just beginning data analysis and have as yet only looked at the mental rotation test results for males and females, the old familiar pattern is already emerging, with males completing the task significantly faster than females.

In every study, then, our results have been comparable, confirming the well-established findings of male superiority in spatial abilities. On the one hand, this result very persuasively attests to the validity and usefulness of the VMWM as a "virtual lab" for carrying out experimental studies of spatial cognition. On the other hand, it's hard not to wonder what it is we are doing in our designs and protocols that produces this result, one so consistent across such differences of space, time, subjects, species and circumstances. How, then, do we begin to tell a different story? The data DO invite some critical questions, however. For reasons of space, just one example, excerpted from the write up of the third study, will serve as illustration. First a bit of background: an integral 'preparatory' element of the Virtual Morris Water Maze protocol is that, prior to commencing the series of 10 attempts to find a platform hidden under the water using environmental cues to plot and remember its location, every participant completes a series of *visible* platform trials: they enter the pool, the platform is clearly visible, and participants are instructed to move their rat avatar to the platform. What follows draws directly from our research report:

Visible platform trials in the VMWM are implemented to ensure the participant understands the task and is able to complete it in spite of the virtual nature of the environment (Sandstrom et al., 1998; Livingston & Skelton, 2007; Newhouse et al., 2007). In human research, normal performance in the VPTs is considered an indication that motivational, emotional, or sensorimotor defects are not a factor in completing the task (Livingston & Skelton, 2007; Newhouse et al., 2007), and performance in the visible platform trials has been considered non-spatial. However, evidence in animal research has shown that subjects can still use a spatial strategy (D'Hooge and Deyn, 2001), suggesting that there might be more to performance in the visible trials than non-spatial considerations like lack of motivation or sensorimotor impairment.

In this study, participants completed the VPTs in approximately 10 seconds, clearly demonstrating that motivation, sensorimotor impairments, or difficulty navigating virtual environments were not major factors in task performance. On the other hand, the results did yield a significant sex difference, with males completing the task 1.7 seconds faster than females. Several studies have found similar results (see Sandstrom et al., 1998; Woolley, Vermaercke, de Beeck, Wagemans, Gantois, D'Hooge et al., 2010). It is unknown why this small but significant difference exists in these studies though Woolley et al. (2010) suggest that sex differences in motivation, sensitivity to reward, interaction with virtual environments, and responsiveness to virtual stimuli may still be contributing factors to sex differences in the VPTs. Sandstrom et al. (1998) found that females showed a slight hesitation upon first entering the maze, and some also mentioned feeling confused when they found themselves facing the room and not the pool. Given the ubiquity of movement restrictions imposed upon women across both time and space (Ardener, 1981) it is possible that these restrictions also influence women's navigational behaviour in virtual space (Murray, Chow & Connolly, 2015). This significant correlation, further strengthened by the significant sex differences in MRT scores, suggests that a spatial component to the VPTs had a differential impact on males and females. Future research should measure and control the possible impact of extraneous variables to ensure that the VPTs truly represent a non-spatial component of the VMWM paradigm and identify any spatial processes, such as those activated by variation in starting position, that might contribute to search performance of the visible target.

So runs our research report of study three. We have observed a significant difference before the experiment even begins. We appear to be quite sure that we have identified, measured, and evaluated a performance difference from the outset. But don't comparisons presuppose a common starting point? Would we compare the results of a foot race among competitors who started off already significantly ahead? We have discovered the starting points, the baselines, for males and females are different. Why would it not be logical to at least consider subtracting that difference from our measures of learning? What would doing so produce in terms of our findings? Well, the advantage in terms of time is by no means sufficiently large to explain males' superior performance, however the several other experimental conditions mentioned at the outset might surely add up to a large, indeed a significant, disadvantage for females in successfully completing these spatial tasks. In this short paper, we can only briefly gesture at these potentially disadvantageous experimental conditions, which include the following:

- The design of the experimental task, learning the position of a hidden object and finding it again using spatially relevant cues, is based on a kind of activity familiar for males (wayfinding and map reading) but not for females, so we may be looking at experience, rather than ability.
- Testing spatial skills may elicit a disabling response to "stereotype threat" (Moè & Pazagglia, 2006: Wraga et al, 2006), resulting in impaired performance by women, who after all are more than familiar with the stereotyping of negative and 'humorous' appraisals of their spatial abilities.
- These tests use time as a criterion of success, rather than accuracy, yet women may just take longer because they are more careful. There is no clear agreement on this question, with some researchers (Masters, 1998), concluding that time-based testing does NOT disadvantage females, while others (Goldstein et al, 1990) find that it does (see Voyer, 2011 for a meta-analysis that finds a time disadvantage).
- The medium we are using in our research, an online "virtual" environment, may well be far less familiar---and, here is more than enough evidence, far more hostile-- for females than for males, and facility with movement in these spaces is typically greater for males than for their female counterparts.
- A ubiquitous restriction on female mobility---one found at every era and across cultures ---may possibly result in a gendered orientation to space such that females hesitate before moving whereas males initiate movement right away.
- Finally, the statistical procedures used to "normalize" and "clean" the data, insofar as this involves, for example, the removal of anomalous and "outlier' cases, may actually conceal significant deviations from this apparently reliable finding of superior spatial abilities.

4. The STEM (Dis?)Connection

Spatial abilities strongly predict success in Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) fields (Lubinski & Benbow 2006). Girls and women demonstrate significantly lower mental rotation and spatial navigation ability than males (Astur et al, 1998) and are significantly under-represented in STEM subjects and fields (Beede et al, 2011; Hango, 2013). STEM subjects are central to 21st century educational and vocational

demands. STEM jobs pay more than non-stem jobs. STEM degrees are key to a country's competitiveness and economic prosperity (Hango, 2013), and the underrepresentation of women in STEM poses a challenge to countries worldwide. Results from the Canadian National Household Survey showed that "women accounted for 39% of university graduates aged 25 to 34 with a STEM degree" (Hango, 2013). According to that report, women tend to choose non-STEM fields, accounting for 66% of all university graduates aged 25 to 34, and approximately 80% of graduates in health and education-related programs. Moreover, women who pursued STEM degrees gravitated towards science and technology disciplines (59% of all graduates 25-34 years of age) but were underrepresented in Engineering (23%) as well as mathematics and computer science (30%)—the most prestigious and best remunerated STEM occupations. *Even women with higher than average academic performance in school did not choose STEM programs, accounting for only 23% of graduates with a STEM degree. This is contrast to men who chose a STEM degree in relatively higher numbers than women regardless of whether they had higher or lower than average academic performance. In fact, at 39%, the percentage of boys with lower academic performance who chose a STEM program was still greater than the 23% of women with higher academic performance who graduated with a STEM degree* (Hango, 2013). Notice that framing these data in terms of "choice" functions to 'naturalize' women's under-representation in fields with the greatest status and income potential---even for those women who demonstrate specific abilities to excel in STEM subjects and fields. Note also that despite research consistently showing a relationship between spatial abilities and careers in STEM (Lubinksi & Benbow, 2006; Wai, Lubinski, & Benbow, 2009), we do not know the exact nature of this relationship. Uttal & Cohen, 2012. Moreover, we do not know to what extent, if any, it is these differences in spatial abilities between males and females that lead to differences in career outcomes.

It's been all too easy to presume that because females demonstrate inferior spatial abilities to males, they either choose their way out of STEM careers, or are streamed into careers that better suit their abilities, careers in education, for instance, or in social work, or, if in the health sciences, then in nursing. In fact, however, in addition to the several ways in which the experimental designs and protocols of spatial ability testing could very conceivably involve conditions and situations which are biased in favour of males from the start, in spite of very strong evidence (that we've briefly described above) from the visible platforms trials that females begin from a position of disadvantage, one which has never yet been taken into account in reporting results of spatial learning and memory, there is considerable evidence that spatial abilities can be developed with the right kinds of experience and practice. (Wright, Thompson, Ganis, Newcombe, & Kosslyn, 2008). As Reilly et al point out "… instruction and practice can yield dramatic improvements in performance on spatial tasks, reducing the magnitude of gender differences. (Reilly et al, 2017; Curry, 2017), none of these considerations have much interfered with the confidence with which sex-based superiority in spatial abilities has been, and continues to be, reported.

What DO we know with at least equal assuredness? Well, we know that women are widely regarded as less able than males, and particularly so in relation to spatial ability. We know that women who show an interest in mathematical and scientific subjects have been and continue to be discriminated against both at school and at work. We know that women who succeed in these fields report having to make their gender 'disappear' in order to get by, that they are nevertheless subjected to harassment, including overt sexual harassment, "jokes" and being "passed over" for recognition and promotion. And while we DO know that spatial ability significantly predicts success in STEM subjects and fields, we do not actually know why this is. We have seen surprisingly little comprehensive empirical analysis premised on the possibility that spatial ability is more a function of experience (experience of the sort males mostly have, and females mostly do not), than of an immutable set of sex-based ability. And yet we know these abilities CAN be changed. Bavelier, Green, Pouget, & Schrater, 2012. Similarly, we nowhere see discussion *outside* feminist literature of the fact that girls who show an interest in "male" subjects like physics or computer science are very often made to feel like 'outsiders', are seen as less than properly 'female', and marginalized. It's worth asking when women in science get the "#me too" moment that is, at long last, beginning to transform conditions for women in the film and media industries. Since we also know that even young women who demonstrate clear aptitude for STEM learning and work end up either not 'choosing' these fields, or within a short period of time, 'choose; to leave those fields, it seems remarkably UNscientific that we do not concentrate greater attention on objective assessment of spatial abilities, on experimental redesigns of spatial ability tests to take into account the many ways in which they may be structurally biased against female performance, and far greater attention on how to remediate the disadvantage so consistently demonstrated by females in tests of spatial ability.

5. Conclusion

The purpose of this short paper has been to suggest, and, in a limited way, to show, how the data on sex-linked differences in spatial ability can be reassembled, not to validate the existing gender-inequitable order reported in spatial abilities research and represented in STEM programs and occupations, but instead to challenge the persistent inability to recognize that it just might be gender, not spatial or any other 'ability' that is the 'confounding variable'---and not because of immutable sex-linked cognitive abilities but principally because of mutable systems and structures of gender discrimination that continue to drive the research protocols through which these empirical findings have been arrived at.

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Social Technologies for Empowerment and Success: Beliefs and Perceptions of Spanish Women

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Abstract: Social technologies can empower women by enabling informed decision-making, establishing networks, facilitating communication, and accruing social capital, all of these being key competencies for social and economic development. However, not all women are cognizant of this potential, especially where there is a large gender digital divide. This study, part of a global-wide research project, shows the results of a study aimed to explore how social technologies may assist women in enhancing their empowerment and success, as well as to identify any misgivings or areas of unfamiliarity in the use of these technologies. A total of 102 working women were interviewed to determine the beliefs and perceptions of Spanish women in regards to the role of social technologies in achieving their personal and professional goals. The results may add to the theoretical corpus of critical success factors for women empowerment through technology by addressing these perceptions.

Keywords: social technology, women, empowerment, qualitative research, Spain

1. Introduction

For more than a decade, social technologies have been routinely utilised for communication from the mundane to the extraordinary, to offer support and solidarity, and to blame and victimise (Locke et al., 2018). Social technology platforms have proliferated in recent years and now provide global online connections for those in the workplace, yet not specific to one type of industry. These trends will likely continue. Certainly, social technologies can be counter-productive in the workplace if not used strategically, but research points to a positive correlation between social technologies and empowerment for women.

Are technological advances, specifically mobile and social technologies, the answer to women's empowerment providing opportunities for education, business support, and economic growth? Although the benefits of technology are numerous, this study will focus on the use of social technologies and education as a means of empowerment and the creation of social capital for women, in the context of Spain. Spain occupies the 24th position out of 144 countries in the Global Gender Gap Index 2017 (WEF, 2017), scoring over the average for political empowerment (0.354, 22nd position) and education (0.998, 45th position). Regarding the information society, the gender gap in Spain has been steadily reduced over the last six years, increasing with age but diminishing with education; while the proportion of female users of social networks is larger than male's (ONTSI, 2018). These data make Spain a propitious country to study the role of social technologies in creating social capital and achieving women's empowerment and success. To do so, after this introduction, the paper will present a comprehensive literature review on the relationship between social technologies, gender equality and empowerment. The next section will explain the research methodology, followed by the presentation and discussion of the results of the survey. The paper finishes with the main conclusions, limitations, and future lines of research.

2. Literature review

Gender equality as related to access to the internet has become increasingly recognised as a development goal (Fatehkia et al., 2018). Mehra et al. (2004) agree indicating that the internet has tremendous potential to achieve greater social equity and empowerment and improve everyday life. Social technologies are being used by women world-wide to bridge the gender divide. Chetty et al. (2018) point out that those in impoverished communities; however, have fewer opportunities to gain the skills necessary to advance within the rapidly transforming digital world. Identified as a pressing global challenge, the digital divide has been recognised by the G20 under the stewardship of Germany to ensure new digital training programmes are effectively instituted.

Hilbert (2011, p.20) sums it up with this statement: "Digital tools represent an opportunity for women to fight longstanding inequalities."

Wu (2013) found that social technologies can transform individuals' network positions over time and potentially disrupt the inertia inside an organizational network. Based on her observations, she identified evidence of a causal relationship between having an information-rich network and worker productivity and between having an information-rich network and job security. Online communities such as those acquired through social technologies that are designed and facilitated to be inclusive of women's experiences can be important social spaces where women feel supported (Burgess 2009). Further validating these findings, Alves and Steiner (2017) found evidence that access to Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) may represent a crucial variable to enhance women's empowerment, and further note that in general, globalization has strengthened women's empowerment.

Bobade and Shelar (2018) note that digitalization can help create greater gender equality while providing more workplace opportunities for women as well as providing support for women entrepreneurs. Findings of a study by Vivakaran and Maraimalai (2017) support this idea indicating that their research study yielded a positive response for utilising social technology platforms as an educational device. A study by Padmaja and Bantilan (2007) confirms that social networks play a crucial mediating role in the process of technology uptake. "ICT are believed to hold much potential to empower women, both socially and economically" (Oreglia and Srinivasan, 2016, p.501), with women's participation in market economy fostered by the tide of globalization (Alves and Steiner, 2017).

Furthermore, Padmaja and Bantilan (2007) indicate that the build-up of social capital plays an important role in influencing impacts from technology due to the ways in which social networks and social relationships facilitate technology dissemination. As Gill et al. (2010) suggest, the reality is that effective policies are needed to reduce barriers to women's ability to access and use technologies, and to more effectively ensure that women are able to harness technologies for their economic advancement.

The world has witnessed improvement in this realm with much of the credit going to ICT. This is evident in a number of country-specific studies (Bardall, 2013; Buskens, 2017; Chang et al., 2018; Chetty et al., 2018; Dahal, 2013; Hilbert, 2011; Jue, 2016; Khalafzai and Nirupama, 2011; Knappe et al., 2014; Melissa et al. 2015; Odine, 2013; Oly and Kahraman, 2005; Puente and Jiménez, 2009; Sengupta et al., 2007; Shirazi, 2011; Siddiquee and Kagan, 2006; Sreberny, 2015; Suwana and Lily, 2017; Tye et al., 2018; and Venkatesh and Sykes, 2013). For example, a study by Hilbert (2011) of women in 25 developing countries, revealed positive correlations between women's empowerment and ICT usage leading to the question of how to provide more women with access to digital opportunities. In the Middle East, millions of messages are now exchanged electronically on a daily basis (Odine, 2013; Shirazi 2012; and Sreberny, 2015). Sharazi (2012) agrees indicating the fact that women's voices in Iran seemed to be neglected by the hardliners and conservative clergy, the Iranian women's digital movement has been successful and can provide valuable information and insights to other Middle Eastern women who live under similar oppressive socio-economic, political and cultural conditions as women in Iran. Chang et al. (2016) confirm that the internet and social media have played a large role in facilitating social change and the evolution of mainstream values in China. An indication that there is still much work to be done, especially in oppressed societies, they state that "The future of this uniquely Chinese phenomenon demands continued scholarly attention." In the next section, the case of Spain will be discussed.

3. Research questions and methodology

3.1 Research questions

As it was discussed, the literature reveals a positive correlation between social technologies and women's empowerment. Our study investigated further details including qualitative results. The following research questions were examined and included in the results of this paper:

- What positive and negative experiences have respondents had when using social technologies?
- What impact has social technologies had on their success?
- What role has education and technology played on the respondents' empowerment?

3.2 Instruments and participants

For this work we have used a survey design specifically for the research. In order to gather as much information as possible regarding the opinions and perspectives of gender, accruement of social capital and empowerment in Spain, the survey consisted on a qualitative section covering three topics: a) positive and negative experiences when using social technologies, b) what impact had social technologies in their success, and c) what role has education and technology in their empowerment process, and which other factors may help empowering women.

The survey was answered by women aged between 21 and 61 years-old (average: 40.5, SD: 8.73), all of them work- active. 46% have a PhD/MSc/MA, 29% have finalized grad school and 17% have a High school degree. 76.5% are employed by a third party, whereas 18.6% own their businesses and the rest work as independent contractors. 54% of these women hold a job at a service company (including retail), 13.7% work for the government, 12.7% are in education/research facilities, 7% are in health-related companies and only 2% work on IT. Most of them are in SMEs (69.6%), which is congruent with the Spanish industrial configuration (less than 250 employees). 61.8% of the respondents must find a balance between work and children, although only 43% have a partner to share this responsibility with.

3.3 Analysis procedure

The data had been obtained between the months of January-June 2016. The 102 responses were obtained in two ways: by e-mail (53%) and personally (47%). This means that the researcher was present for the fulfilment of half of the surveys. The sample is one of convenience. Although the original questionnaire was in English, for the Spanish study the interviews/written responses were carried out in Spanish and then translated to English for its analysis. All the participants were informed of the research objective and gave their consent to participate in it.

Following the data collection process a categorical content analysis was carried out. The categorical content analysis (Andreu, 2002; Vázquez, 1994) consists in breaking down textual data into thematic units to afterwards group said units into categories by connections or similarities which are considered on the basis of pre-established criteria. The criteria used for the categories are derived from the literature review and conceptual research; in this case, social technologies for empowerment and success. Recounting the number of times each category has been shown gives an overview of which topics are considered more or less relevant by the surveyed sample.

The analysis was carried out in 5 phases: 1) Initial interviewing and literal transcription of the interviews. 2) Open coding of the transcribed texts, according to previously defined questions. 3) Coding by categories by two judges. 4) Analysis of categorical thematic content following Vázquez (1994). 5) Validation of the analysis by comparing the coding of the two judges. The quantitative data are complemented in this paper by fragments of the interviews to illustrate the different topics.

4. Results and discussion

4.1 Experience using social technologies

For this part of the study the respondents were asked to acknowledge if they had any positive and/ or negative experiences when using social technologies. Below are some examples of each (the number in brackets labels the subject).

4.1.1 Positive experiences

86 answers (84.3%) were provided for the question: "Your experience with social technologies has been: Positive". These answers could be grouped into three topics plus 12 undefined responses (no forthcoming example). Some of them are listed under two categories, because the respondents described more than one example in their answers and therefore the total is larger than 100%:

- Accruing business social capital/ business development: (47.7%, 41 responses): The construction of business capital has been related in most instances to advertising and promotion to current/prospective customers,

and sometimes to share information within company staff. Also, it has been used to gather information about customers needs' and to contact other professionals or colleagues with whom collaborate.

"Staying in touch more personally with stakeholders and clients, to identify business and activities." (#11)

"We have published tax news in twitter and facebook, in several occasions. We have found out that our customers are better informed this way than using a memo or an email, which is less likely to be read." (#50)

"Being able to contact with professionals related to my field."(#53)

"At our organization we have an app for employees (INET) that has allowed me to take an online English course; it also gives info on internal promotion offers and many other services that are quite useful from a professional point of view." (#81)

- Accruing personal social capital /interpersonal relationships: (24.4%, 21 responses): Regarding the construction of social capital, a recurrent topic is that of regaining lost relationships (friends, family, schoolmates), more often than meeting new people. Therefore, the role of social networks in this case is more conservative, and the sense of empowerment seems to lie in the security of a geographically wide known network of contacts.

  "They allow me to be visible in areas of my interest, and to interact with people that share my hobbies and leisure activities." (#3)

  "Excellent communication with friends." (#26)

  "Re-establishing lost relationships." (#42)

  "To talk to my son who lives abroad." (#73)

- Access to general information /Learning and personal development: (17.44%, 15 responses): In this case, the surveyed women talk about uses they have for social technologies that are more personal and related to autonomy, self-empowerment and self-growth. Their experiences show that social technologies are an open window for these women to pursue personal goals and to fulfil their informational and educational needs.

  "I like Google+ because it is very diverse; I follow several topics and publications." (#68)

  "Anything I am not sure of, I can find information online on it." (#92)

  "Very positive experiences when training and job searching." (#57)

  "Sometimes I find information that enlightens me in a personal/educational way." (#28)

Several women also show that there is a distinct relationship been their personal social capital and their personal development, by showing how their private use of social technologies has benefited their professional lives:

"I knew that my (current) company was recruiting through a friend's post" (#61)

"Following an update of my facebook profile two people asked for information and ended up as customers." (#24)

It is, therefore, difficult to establish the limits between personal and professional development in the case of many social technologies female users. Actions and recommendations for the accruement of personal and professional social capital should then be intertwined for a maximum effectiveness of the empowerment process.

4.1.2 Negative experiences using social technologies

Similarly, they were asked about any negative experiences when using social technologies. Only 17.6% of the respondents admitted such a negative experience. Their answers were related to three main topics and one undefined reply (no forthcoming example):

- Loss of privacy/harassment: (44.4% , 8 responses):

  "Facebook is just gossip, I had to close my profile because I had added too many people from work and I did not like it." (#68)

> *"It was necessary to place controls in our Twitter and Facebook accounts because of the polemics and uncomfortable situations provoked by open commentaries." (#43)*

- Lack of usefulness and effectiveness: (38.9%, 7 responses)

> *"Even though we get a lot of "Likes", there has not been an increase in sales, visits to the store or visits to exhibitions (in general terms)." (#17)*

> *"It is difficult to ensure the trustworthiness of the information you get." (#80)*

- Technical/other difficulties: 11.1% (2 responses)

> *"Wi-fi signal doesn't work where I live." (#102)*

It would seem that social networks are more related to positive experiences than negative situations, and the latter have both personal and professional foundations. These affirmations also are more personal and explicit than the positive references, which show a more generalist character.

4.2 Success, empowerment and social technologies

4.2.1 Impact of social technologies in success

The next step was to analyse the impact of social technologies in its achievement. 24 women (23.5%) answered that it had none or inconsequential impact, while 21 more left the question blank (20.6%). Therefore, only 55 respondents (53.9%) acknowledged a significant effect. Looking at the list of impacts, a parallelism can be seen with question number 1, since most of the responses are related either to success by the creation of social capital and/or business capital (39 examples; 38.2%), and others to success by increments in personal/ efficiency and self-development (30 statements; 29.4%), which is tied to their empowerment processes. Once more, some women provided examples for both categories, thus the total percentage is over 100.

In regards to those women who are more focused on the effects on the first type of impacts, some of the statements are:

> *"The use of social networks is focused on the diffusion of contents of interest for our "customers". Being an NGO, it is not possible to measure the economic impact of our activities, but the social impact of our cultural activities and training for unemployed people has been remarkable". (#3)*

> *"Positive effects on branding and business image, internal and external communication and professional networks." (#22)*

> *"Social-type technologies have made possible for me to apply to more companies, thus increasing my chances to find a job." (#61)*

> *"Social networks are a very effective manner to be known, especially for small businesses like mine. If you know how to work out advertising and promotion, you can win more followers, which in turn may become customers. For instance, we made a promotion (a draw), and so many people participated that we went from 400 to 100 followers, and that helped us increase our sales."(#72)*

As for those women who affirmed that the use of social networks has had an impact in their success by supporting their self-development and efficiency, these are some of the examples provided:

> *"It helps with managing stocks and suppliers and the information related to my accounts and to make decisions about next season's purchases."(#14)*

> *"They contribute to my professional development because they bring me a lot of useful information and knowledge, among many other advantages." (#58)*

> *"Being able to solve questions in real time allows for a better and more efficient organization, reducing costs. The consequence is an increase in profits." (#92)*

> *"Doing online training courses. It is very convenient when you have very little free time." (#101)*

The most notable result, however, is that 46.1% of negative or blank answers, meaning that the impact of social technologies on success is not easily seen or identified by half of the interviewed women.

4.2.2 Female empowerment critical factors

The final research question aims to discuss the role of education and technology in the empowerment process factors. Incidentally, a number of women seemed to have a problem with understanding the concept of "empowerment", even after it was explained to them. Some even asked "Why do I want to be empowered?" or "I do not want more power". Ninety-two women (88.23%) indicated the following aspects as empowering:

- For life-long-learning (33.7%, 31 answers):

  "There are plenty of interactive training courses that we can do from home." (#55)

  "The better the training, the more knowledge I have to become a more successful professional." (#28)

  "The more you know and the more training you have, the more empowered you feel." (#29)

- For promoting their business awareness and expansion (29.3%, 27 answers):

  "Opening your mind to new ways of relating with people, colleagues and customers, multiplying your chances to grow." (#49)

  "Technology has partly helped me to sell more products and get feedback from customers." (#47)

  "ICT helps you to be closer and in frequent contact with your public; you are able to offer more information about your products and services. Mostly it is a matter of projecting an image of success." (#17

- As providers of greater autonomy and independence (25%, 23 answers):

  "They improve my autonomy, my independence and my communication with clients and colleagues." (#43)

  "Being self-sufficient when using ICT helps you to become more versatile and to not need anyone to stablish and achieve your goals". (#67)

  "Efficiency, work independence and the ability to evaluate the performance of our behavior through ICT." (#43)

- For balancing work and family time (12%, 11 answers)

  "Using internet we can balance work time and family time." (#55)

  "They allow (…) to occasionally telework and to better equip your teams." (#54)

These answers show that, in addition to self-empowerment measures, Spanish women value those aspects of ICT and education that relate to equal opportunity policies, such as a better salary, or the possibility of reconciling family and work life.

5. Conclusions, limitations and future lines of research

This paper focused on the qualitative answers of a survey addressed to 102 Spanish working women regarding a) their positive and negative experiences of respondents when using social technologies; b) what impact that social technologies have had on their success, and c) what role education and technology have played on the respondents' empowerment process.

Positive comments were made by 84.3% of the respondents regarding experiences when using technologies. These comments were grouped into the following three topics listed with percentage of respondents for each: 1) accruing business social capital/business development (47.7%); 2) accruing personal social capital/interpersonal relationships (24.4%); and 3) access to general information/learning and personal development (17.44%) suggesting that those using social technologies have realized both business and social success. The fact that a significantly lower number of respondents (17.6%) listed a negative experience when using social technologies speaks to the respondents' satisfaction level with the outcome of using social technologies in business. Negative comments regarding the respondents' experience when using social technologies were categorized into three main topics: 1) loss of privacy/harassment (44.4%); 2) lack of usefulness and effectiveness (38.9%) and 3) technical/other difficulties (11.1%). It's no surprise that the loss of privacy was the topic listed by almost half of those commenting about their negative experiences when using social technologies. Privacy concerns have recently received much media scrutiny and a cause for alarm as

multiple breaches have been exposed. Building on the findings that the positive experiences outweigh the negative experiences when using social technologies, respondents indicated that success means money, satisfaction, acknowledgement, and self-fulfilment along with a work-life balance.

Although mixed responses were received when considering the impact that social technologies had on the respondents achievements, over half (58.8%) indicated that social technologies have had a significant effect. It shouldn't go unnoticed, however, that over 40 percent of the respondents were either negative in response to this question or left it blank. This may be correlated with those voicing concerns associated with social technologies such as loss of privacy, lack of effectiveness, or technical difficulties.

Finally, the role that education and technology have played on the respondents' empowerment was overwhelmingly positive including: 1) for lifelong learning; 2) as providers of greater autonomy and independence; 3) for promoting their business awareness and expansion; and 4) for balancing work and family time. Clearly, the respondents confirmed the power of education and technology.

It is apparent from the results that social technologies are viewed positively overall providing business and personal social capital, personal development, and empowerment for women in Spain. A comment by one of the respondents sums it up best: "The impact of social networks and ICT in general for business is indisputable. They are almost imperative to make a business known, position its brand and widen its market."

The primary limitation of this study is that the geographic region of the study is limited to one country—Spain. Although this study has been conducted in multiple countries, it would be interesting to expand it to additional countries and all continents.

A study which identifies the type of job these women have (administration, sales clerk, teacher, etc.) would be interesting because it may act as a mediating variable in the relationship between the use of social technologies and empowerment. Their hierarchical level, as well as knowing if they had subordinates, would also be interesting to know. This is usually a moderating factor, if not a significantly related factor, in empowerment analysis. An additional recommendation for future research is to conduct a study to compare responses between women and men in order to identify differences based on gender.

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The Governance of Chartered Accounting Associations: Does Gender Matter? The Case of Italy

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Abstract: Both international literature findings and recent surveys suggest that the under-representation of women in senior roles in the accounting profession continues to be a challenge because it has traditionally been dominated by established male power structures. Starting from this premise the purpose of this work is to analyse the degree of representativeness of women in the accounting profession in Italy, paying particular attention to both their presence within the National Order of Public Chartered Accountants and the governance bodies at a local and national level. Drawing from a critical analysis of the surveys issued by the Italian Order and the Italian Foundation of Chartered Accountants we addressed the attention on the gender equality issues, as well as the professional equality initiatives developed in the latest years. Findings show a significant gender gap in the governance of the national accountancy profession, allowing us to suggest a research agenda aimed at further enhancing this research stream both in practice and theory and pointing out the possible actions to enhance women's representativeness and gender balance.

Keywords: accounting profession, public chartered accountants, gender, Italy, women

1. Introduction

Liberal professions—such as accountants, lawyers, notaries, engineers and doctors — are characterised by a marked intellectual character and a high-level qualification that require a specialised training (Adler et al 2008; Kirkpatrick, 2011). Due to the public interest of the services they provide, their activities are closely regulated by national governments or professional bodies (EC, 2015). Namely, the accounting profession is made up of many self-regulatory professional bodies around the globe that have in common the trait of conservatism, among others (Nissim et al., 1986; Cooper and Robson, 2006; Rodrigues et al., 2003; Marlow and Carter, 2003). Conservatism is intended as the commitment to the traditional structure of organisations, namely to values, principles and ideas, the unwillingness to adopt changes and the resistance to innovation (Muller, 1997). Among the several challenges that liberal professions are called to face, gender issues represent a sore point because most of them are still male-dominated (Milburn Report, 2009). Historically, some branches of the global accounting profession have been slow to fully recognise and implement systems aimed at monitoring issues pertaining to the equality of membership (Kronberger et al., 2010; Adapa et al., 2015).

The accountancy profession displays a gender hierarchy, dominated by white men (Kirkham and Loft, 1993) who have been responsible for developing gendered discourses and have also exercised strategies of exclusion to secure their privileged positions (Lehman, 1992; Broadbent and Kirkham, 2008; Kyriakidou et al., 2016). Currently women are more than equally represented when considering all professional staff members in accounting (Venessa, 2016). "Accounting as a historically masculine profession has opened its doors to women in large numbers. However, many challenges remain, involving gendered career hierarchies, interaction with motherhood, work-life issues and feminisation and segmentation in the profession" (Haynes, 2016, p. 7). Early studies attested to the gendered nature of accounting organisations (Loft, 1992; Lehman, 1992; Grey, 1998) and argued that the accounting profession has traditionally been affected by established male power structures that make it difficult for women to progress in their careers (Adapa et al., 2015). "Some twenty years after the seminal work of Kirkham and Loft (1993) the profession is still largely dominated by men although the percentage of female members has begun to increase" (Kyriakidou et al., 2016, p. 2).

Several studies - both empirically and theoretically-based - pointed out gender issues affecting the accounting profession and academia (Anderson-Cough et al., 2005; Ciancanelli et al., 1990; Dambrin and Lambert, 2008 and 2012; Mueller et al., 2010; Broadbent, 1998; Komori, 2007 and 2012; Virtanen, 2009; Samkin and Schneider, 2014; Baldarelli et al., 2016). Scholars have addressed, among other things, the gendered functioning of the profession in the labor market; the historical progress of women in the profession and their career trajectories and the gendered nature of accounting itself (Haynes, 2016). However, the presence (or absence) of women in the governance positions of the National branches of the profession, namely the Public Chartered Associations, represents an under-investigated topic. In this regard a recent survey (AFECA-FEE, 2016) suggests that the under-

representation of women in senior roles in the accounting profession continues to be a challenge (Kronberger et al. 2010; Tudor and Mutiu, 2007; Bruce-Twum, 2013; Kyriakidou et al. 2016).

As we are not aware of previous studies addressed to the Italian situation, the purpose of this work is to analyse the degree of representativeness of women in the accounting profession in Italy, paying particular attention to both their presence and role within the Public Chartered Accountants and their inclusion among the governing bodies at a local/territorial and national level.

With the aim to provide insights useful to fill in the aforementioned gap and further develop this research stream, we first introduce the Italian normative context in a historical perspective. Second, starting from the institutional background useful to understand empirical data (relative to the period 2009-2018), we critically analyse the findings of previous surveys issued by the Italian National Order of Chartered Accountants and the Italian Foundation of Chartered Accountants pointing out the issues affecting women's representativeness and their presence among the higher governance levels of the professional bodies. The analysis reveals that there are gender inequalities, despite the initiatives developed to face the gender imbalance in the last few years.

The remainder of this paper is organised as follows. The next section briefly introduces the theoretical background (section 2). After presenting the methodological approach (section 3), section 4 introduces the analysis. Following this, we present the discussion and concluding reflections.

2. Theoretical background

While prior to the 1960s little attention was paid to the study of gender in accounting, over the last three decades the interaction of accounting and gender has been subject to an increasing debate (Hopwood, 1987; Kyriakidou et al., 2016). Several research streams have been developed that rely on multiple theoretical perspectives aimed at understanding diversity in accounting. Scholars have addressed the gendered nature of accounting (Haynes, 2016), the segmentation and gender stratification of the accounting profession (Lupu, 2010; Treas and Tai, 2016), the historical progress of women in the profession and their career trajectories, putting a particular emphasis on the career in large accounting firms (Napier, 2001; Anderson-Gough et al. 2005; Bolton and Muzio, 2008; Lupu, 2012; Almer, Lightbody and Single, 2012; Tiron-Tudor and Faragalla, 2018). By contrast, diversity and inclusion issues do not figure prominently in the analyses of the organisational micro-practices of accounting firms (Lehman, 1992). In this context the empirical exploration of women's absence in senior roles points out that gender is manifested in structures, hierarchies and identity and can be flexible and context specific. Moreover, the importance of understanding normative processes and practices affecting gender at the intersection of the societal, professional, organizational and regional contexts emerges (Adapa, Rindfleish and Sheridan, 2016).

Among the issues of women in public accounting prior contributions have addressed the glass ceiling, discrimination (Aranya et al., 2016), biological differences, motherhood (Haynes, 2008a, 2008b; Windsor and Auyeung, 2006), stereotypical roles (Maupin, 1993) and mentors (Chandler, 1996; Single et al., 2007). Moreover, the studies of career, motherhood, work-life choices and segmentation reflect the fact that research on gender inequalities in accounting needs to take account of the context in which they take place (Hynes, 2017). Research on gendering processes in the accounting profession combines the consideration of both the formal mechanisms of the organisational structure, such as recruitment, appraisal and training and the informal processes in terms of cultural norms, values and beliefs (Anderson-Gough et al., 2002; Grey, 1998). However, despite an increased interest in the study of diversity in accounting organisations (Scandura, 1993; El-Ramly, 2013; Bruce-Twum, 2013; McCabe, 2015) a number of dilemmas and contradictions remain.

Dambrin and Lambert (2012) point out that until stereotypes are challenged gender inequality will remain, advocating the need to perform critical and reflective research on gender in order to contribute toward sustaining the position of women's representation. Given the masculine history of the profession and its male organisational homo-sociality, stereotypes may be difficult to eradicate (Anderson et al., 2002; Kumra and Vinnicombe, 2008; Kirkham et al. 2008). Insights from critical theories provide a platform for problematising the main discourses that are assumed to enhance women's role and legitimacy within corporate boards (Tremblay, Malsch and Gendron, 2016). In fact, despite the influx of women, the professional hierarchies of accounting - both in academia and the profession (Husu, 2001; Gallhofer et al., 2011) remain gendered, with a preponderance of men at senior levels (Broadbent & Kirkham, 2008).

Assuming that the profession reflects some wider societal norms about the role and position of women and men in society and it also shapes and influences that society (Haynes, 2016), we argue that the issue of diversity and inclusion in leading positions among the Public Chartered Accounting Association is timely, due to the role of accountancy in economic growth and being that it is a global profession that has expanded internationally.

3. Approach/method

First, the review of previous studies in the Italian accounting history field was useful to understand the normative and socio-cultural context and point out gender equality issues in the accounting professional field in Italy. Second, we addressed our attention to the surveys issued by the National Order of Public Chartered Accountants and the Italian Foundation of Chartered Accountants. Drawing from the periodic reports released by the National Foundation of Public Chartered Accountants, we considered information relative to the number of enrolled women accountants in the last decade (2009-2018), their presence among the governing bodies (the board of the National and Local Orders) and the professional equality initiatives developed by the professional body (FNC, 2015, 2016, 2017 and 2018).

A further document analysis was performed on the gender report (Pulejo, 2011) issued by the Italian Chartered Accountant Association (CNDCEC, 2016). We collected data drawing from the unique gender national report because only a few number of local orders (such as in Florence) issued a similar one. Finally, to supplement our data analysis, we considered information drawn from the websites of both the Chartered Accountants Association and the National Chartered Foundation.

4. Data analysis - past and current "visibility" of women chartered accountants in Italy

4.1 The historical development of the accounting profession in Italy

The law that regulates the accounting profession in Italy dates back to the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1906, a royal decree gave formal recognition to the accountancy profession (*ragioniere*), while the profession of chartered accountants (*dottore commercialista*) was formally recognised later. The national professional order was established on the occasion of the first national congress of Italian Commercial Science graduates (*dottori in Scienze Commerciali*), held in 1911, while the Public Chartered Accountants professional qualification was coined in 1913. In 1929 the profession was further regulated through the adoption of two sets of professional rules: one for accountants and the other for chartered accountants. The liberal profession of Chartered Accountancy was officially recognised in 1953 through the establishment of a special professional order and a governing body with the enactment of the Presidential Decree 1067/1953. That same year, a further Decree (1068/1953) regulated the professions of Accountancy and Commercial Experts. In 2008, the two professional bodies were merged in the public body - the Order of Public Chartered Accountants and Accounting Experts - CNDCEC - thus giving life to a unified profession organised into 144 local branches (*Ordini territoriali*) based on a territorial jurisdiction principle, according to the Legislative Decree 139/2005.

The history of the female accounting profession started in 1908 (Coronella, 2014) when, for the first time, a woman applied for admission to the College of Accountants of Milan, which rejected her. The admission of women "equally with men to exercise every profession and to be able to hold every public position" was declared in 1919 (Law No 1176) with the abolition of the institute of marital authorisation. However, the turning point in the long and difficult journey for women's access to both university studies (De Vivo and Genovesi, 1986; Ulivieri, 1986; De Rossi, 2007) and the accountancy professions occurred during the first World War, as a consequence of the male mortality reported in the post-war period. In 1941 women rose to 17 out of 1,790 professionals, less than 1% (Liparini, 2005; Cantagalli, 2006). In the following decades (1967) the percentage of women enrolled rose to 2% out of a total of about 10,000 professionals (Biographical Dictionary of Chartered Accountants, 1967). Since then, the number of those registered has continued to increase, although more contained than their male counterparts.

4.2 The current situation

This section provides a synthetic representation, referring to the last decade (2009-2017) of the presence of professionals enrolled in the Italian Order of Public Chartered Accountants and included among the governing bodies of the National Association of Chartered Accountants.

In 2000 the percentage of chartered accountants was 22%; in 2004 25%, increasing to 31.6% at the end of 2014 (FNC, 2015; FNC 2016). Among those newly enrolled in 2017, 47.5% were women.

As of January 1, 2018, there were 118,333 accountants enrolled, women representing 33.8%. Ten years before (January 1, 2008), only 28% were women. Therefore, data confirm that women's growth continues unabated. In ten years, the percentage of women enrolled in the register rose by 6 per cent, from 28% to 34%. (Table 1).

Table 1: Italian Chartered Accountant Professionals enrolled in the National Order by gender

Year	Total Number	Men	Women	% M	% W
2009	109,474	76,632	32,842	70%	30%
2010	110,787	77,551	33,236	70%	30%
2011	112,164	79,636	32,528	71%	29%
2012	113,235	78,585	34,650	69.40%	30.60%
2013	114,041	78,688	35,353	69%	31%
2014	115,067	78,936	36,131	68.60%	31.40%
2015	116,245	79,512	36,733	68.40%	31.60%
2017	118,333	78,336	30,997	66.20%	33.80%

Source: our elaboration from FNC, 2015, 2016, 2017 and 2018.

Analysis by territorial macro-areas shows that in Southern Italy the most contained/lowest percentage of women continues to be registered.

Table 2: Registry structure of enrolled public chartered accountants (2017)

Regional Areas	Men %	Women %	<- 40 years old	years old	>60
North	63.9%	36.1%	18.9%	61.3%	19.8%
Centre	66.4%	33.6%	15.8%	66.6%	17.6%
South	68.8%	31.2%	16.3%	69.6%	14.1%
Italy	66.2%	31.6%	21.2%	63.9%	14.9%

Source: our elaboration from FNC (2018), p. 14.

The region with the highest percentage of registered women is absolutely Emilia Romagna (41.7%). The regions with the lowest percentages of women are Campania (27.5%) and Val d'Aosta (27.9%9.

Among enrolled accountants who do not take up a profession there is an accentuated gap between gender and age (Table 3), thus mirroring that women face barriers to enter the profession.

Table 3: Enrolled to the National Chartered Accountants Order who do not take up a profession by gender and age

Area	Sex		Age			Total
	Women	Men	<_40	41-60	>60	
Italy	7.1%	3.2%	6.4%	3.9%	2.6%	4.4%

A second feature tied to gender imbalance drawn from the analysis of the surveys concerns the different classes of professional activity: subsidiary activities, public interest activities and specialist consultancy activities. Data concerning the professional specialisation show a gender gap in the public interest activities involving 29.9% of women against 78.6% of men. The most frequent activity is represented by the participation in the Auditors board (Auditors Committee) of Italian listed companies. In this context, concerned to the “social power”- that is

the prestige and social success market by the participation in the Auditors Committees - the visibility of women does not emerge, while there are no differences for either age or gender concerning specialist consultancy activities.

In addition, the male prevalence in the management of the "economic power" is pointed out by the turnover/income. The figures (as per December 31, 2014) taken from the study of the National Foundation of Accountants on the basis of the income data recorded by the Pension Funds relating to the 2014 (turnover 2013) show that the income is different depending on the gender (Table 4).

Table 4: Enrolment in the national pension fund and income statement distinguished by gender

	Men	**Women**	**Total**
Registered Income Statement	n = 64,549 (69.5%)	n = 27,796 (30.5%)	n = 92,345 (100%)
Average Income (subject to Irpef)	€ 67,375	€ 38,169	€ 58,437
Average Turnover (subject to to IVA)	€ 124,815	€ 66,057	€ 106,833

Source: CNDCEC Gender Report (2016), p. 34.

The pay gender gap is a problem rooted in time and is common for all the liberal professions (Dubose, 2017; EC, 2016). The gender differences are particularly significant and worsened due to the economic crisis, which penalised women, for the professions of lawyers, architects and accountants, as evidenced by an analysis of the average incomes declared from 2009 to 2013 by the members of the pension funds (CNDCEC, 2016). Therefore, in the face of growth in women accountants in quantitative terms, there are serious gaps in qualitative terms.

As aforementioned the analysis was directed to assess the presence of women within the governance positions of the National Chartered Association and the territorial/local branches. In Italy the issue of gender imbalance in the accountancy profession has only been dealt with in the last few years (Gender Report, 2016), urged by the global problem of the representation of genders (EC, 2016; EU, 2017). Data drawn from the surveys show a relevant representativeness of the male component, both where the position is elective and where it is by appointment of the board. Namely, the Board of the National Council of Chartered Accountants (CNDCEC) is male dominated. Currently there are 21 board members (including the president) of whom 19 are men (90.48%) and 2 are women (9.52 %) (Table 5). The same situation occurs in the governance of the National Foundation and the local orders (Tab. 6).

Table 5: Current composition and roles of Italian Chartered Accountants Council (CNDCEC) and the Board of the National Foundation of Public Chartered Accountants

National Council of Italian Chartered Accountants (CNDCEC)	**National Foundation of Italian Public Chartered Accountants**
President (man)	President (man)
Vice-President: 1 (man)	=
Secretary: 1 (man)	=
Treasurer: 1 (man)	=
Members of the Board: 17 in total 15 men; 2 women	Members of the Board: 11 in total (all men)
General Director 1 (women)	Coordinator of the scientific research departments: 1 (man)

Source: CNDCEC Gender Report (2016).

Table 6: Governing bodies in the local/territorial orders (councils)

Governance Bodies	**Period 2008-2012**	**Period 2013-2016**
Total Number of territorial Orders	*143*	*144*
Total Number of Board Members	1,423	1,443
Women in Board	161	302
Women Presidents	6	6
Women Vice Presidents	14	19
Women Secretaries	30	33
Women Treasurers	22	39

In total, the composition of the boards of territorial orders in the period 2008-2012 was 88.69% of men and 11.31% of women. The situation ameliorated in the following years: in the period 2013-2016, there were 79.07% of men and 20.93% of women (Fig. 1).

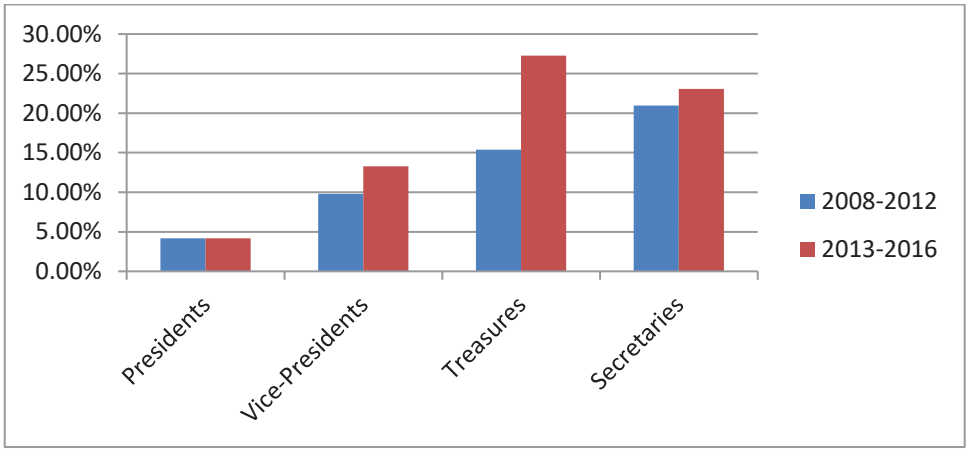


Figure 1: Women chartered accountants in the governance of the territorial orders of chartered accountants

The gender imbalance also affects the governance of the National Pension Fund of Italian Chartered Accountants whose board is made up of 9 members, 5 men and 4 women (including the representative of the Ministry of Labor and Social Policies). The Executive Committee is made up of 3 members, 2 of whom are women. The Board of Statutory Auditors counts 5 members, 2 of whom are women, including the Chairman, while the assembly of delegates counts 150 people, 28 of whom are women (Men: 81.33% *vs* Women: 18.67%).

Finally, with regard to the inclusion of women in the commission and study groups (e.g. the Commission for external relations with International Institutions, the Commission for the Professional Order reform) created within the CNDCEC Council, 737 over 925 people involved are men (79.68%) and 188 women (20.32%). Commissions and study groups (58 in total) reflect a predominantly male composition, with the exception of the Gender Equality Commission, exclusively formed by women and despite the creation of equal opportunities committees in over 50% of local branches.

5. Discussion and concluding remarks

In Italy, when the national and territorial associations of Public Chartered Accountants and Commercial Experts were established, men's domination of the accounting profession was common, as in other liberal professions (Liparini, 2005; Cantagalli, 2006; Coronella, 2014; De Rossi, 2007). A few decades later, more and more women entered the accounting profession, despite a prevailing male-dominated construct (Nissim et al., 1986; Cooper and Robson, 2006; Rodrigues et al., 2003; Marlow and Carter, 2003; Adler et al., 2008; Kirkpatrick, 2011). Currently, they represent a fundamental resource for the evolution of the profession itself (Milbourn Report, 2009; EC, 2016).

Drawing from data relative to the Italian context one can note that, although several initiatives have been implemented in order to promote a gender sensitive culture (such as releasing an ethical code aimed at preventing gender discrimination and value of diversity and the implementation of a gender report), gender inequalities still persist. Findings reveal a gender gap in the governance of the Italian Order of Chartered Accountants, which has been taking root throughout time.

Female professionalism excels in relation to training, interpersonal skills and expertise, that are key elements for professional practice (El-Ramly, 2013). The presence of women, however, has not yet been adequately valued and there is a lack of deep and shared reflection on the role that they now assume in the profession (Muller, 1997) and the attitude towards gender aspects (Kyriakidou et al. 2016; Dambrin and Lambert, 2012). International literature (Anderson-Cough et al., 2005; Ciancanelli et al., 1990; Dambrin and Lambert, 2008 and 2012; Mueller et al., 2010; Broadbent, 1998; Komori, 2007 and 2012; Virtanen, 2009; Samkin and Schneider, 2014), as well as recent findings (AFECA-FEE, 2016) suggest that the under-representation of women in senior roles in the accounting profession continues to be a challenge (Loft, 1992; Lehman, 1992; Grey, 1998; Kronberger et al., 2010; Dambrin and Lambert, 2012; Adapa et al., 2015; Kyriakidou et al., 2016).

The paper addresses the issue of gender equality in the accounting profession in Italy with a particular focus on the gender balance in the governance of Public Chartered Accounting associations. In doing so, it brings a degree of novelty to the literature since the subject, at least in Italy, is not one of particular focus. While research on

the role of women in the business world and gender imbalance in the governance have been broadly developed, the issue of women inclusion and representativeness within the governing bodies of the Public Accounting association has not fully been explored and represents an area that should be deepened through further research. Therefore, despite the limitations of this work, which is in its initial phase – being focused on one National order, while attention should also be addressed to the Italian local orders and further deepened through in-depth case-studies, as well as to other international ones to allow a comparative analysis) it has both scientific and practical implication.

On the one hand, since gender equality is currently a fundamental and global issue, national accounting associations should actively promote gender balance. Currently, the accounting profession struggles to secure women at senior levels, despite the recruitment of more women than men in entry-level positions. The study suggests that the Italian Chartered Accounting Association should intensify opportunities for discussion and a challenging reflection on these aspects, involving professionals who belongs to the top governance positions. At the same time, the study points to the need to involve scientific institutions, especially considering that the profession of accounting has been linked to the university since its birth and the development of accounting is related to both practice and the research nurtured in the academic field. Therefore, the gap identified in literature and practice leads us to propose to amplify the debate both in practice and theory on the possible actions (i.e. training events dedicated to gender aspects, psychological training, techniques for reconciling work and family time, self-knowledge, etc.) aimed at facing enduring barriers and stereotypes that favour gender imbalance within the accountancy associations and profession

On the other hand, we point out the need to achieve a balanced representation of men and women in the governance of accountancy bodies, both at a national and local level, since this can contribute at overcoming gender stereotypes and cultural models. Moreover, the agenda should include the analysis of the evolution of the presence of women in the accounting profession over the years, the assessment of the added value that women provide to the accounting profession, as well as the diffusion of role models that can inspire and positively influence new generations of male and female chartered public accountants.

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Each one of us is all: Gender Rights Mobilizations in Northwestern Mexico

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Abstract: In 2015 there was an increase in violent crimes against women in Baja California and organizations and social activists marched to make visible gender violence in several cities of the state. Since then, a movement has been articulated, seeking to influence citizen awareness and public policies. Through the theory of social movements we analyze the process of construction of identity and collective action agenda around gender rights in Ensenada, with a qualitative methodology based on interviews with key social actors, participant observation and the review from secondary sources. Our findings regard the novelties in the composition and the transformation of the self-perception of these new social movements, with more flexible ways and benefiting from social networks to communicate their agendas.

Keywords: social movements, activism, gender rights, gender violence

1. Introduction

Several decades after the reinstatement of democratic governments in Latin America, the debate on the processes of political participation of the different social actors acquires relevance. The consolidation of the neoliberal model in these countries, as well as the shift towards the right in some societies, lead us to turn our attention to the new (or rejuvenated) actors and social movements that fight for equity. Movements for the rights of indigenous peoples, in defense of the environment, of justice and respect for human rights, as well as sectoral movements of women and youth, are some contemporary manifestations of these social actors, in contexts of authoritarianism, centralization of decisions and crisis of representation in the Latin American democracy.

The existing theory about social movements at the beginning of the last century was not enough to explain the new conditions, so it gave way to emerging approaches among which is the theory of the new social movements (NMS). This approach transcends the phenomena of social movements as manifestations of the labor movement and pays attention to the motivations of social actors to organize themselves in a system where the diversification of conflict is evident.

In Baja California, México, since March 2015, there has been an increase in violent crimes against women, and various organizations and social activists have been working, demanding that emergency measures must be taken. In the summer of the same year, in the absence of government solutions, a march was held in several cities of the state demanding attention to the problem of women's rights, from which a movement that has continued to work has been articulated, trying to influence citizen awareness and public policies.

In this social context and from the social phenomenon that represented the march, other groups with complementary agendas grew finding in this movement the space to make visible their actions related to recognition and rights of sexual diversity. This led to the emergence of forms of collective action that strengthened the presence and public discourse of activists, transforming public discussion on the issue of gender, equity and human rights in the region.

From this, the research questions guiding this work are: what is the process of construction of the individual and collective identity behind the strategies of the agenda for the defense of gender rights in Ensenada? How motivations and individual experience can lead to collective action on the conservative context of a small city in northern Mexico?

This paper will address in the following section the theoretical discussion on new social movements and gender rights as an introduction of the context of this movement in Baja California. Subsequently, the study´s methodology is presented followed by the results, which were organized by these topics regarding the gender movement: origin and organization, motivations and gender in the public sphere and scope of the movement. In the final section, we state our conclusions.

2. New social movements and gender rights

Since the last decade, several studies point to the importance of the actions of organized social groups and formal and informal social actors in the formulation of public policies and the claim of citizenship rights in the state of Baja California (Delhumeau, 2012; Moreno, 2008; Reyes, 2006). Dalton (2008) mentions that the traditional dimensions of political participation are identified as: 1) the citizen's duty (norms of social order, of which voting is strongly related), and 2) the citizen's commitment that includes measures of active participation by groups of civil society or politics with a degree of solidarity, currently face new pressures at local, national and international levels, as well as parameters of action that enable and make necessary new scenarios for the exercise of citizenship.

It's been said that, in practice, traditional citizenship has led to the exclusion or marginalization of minorities and vulnerable groups, such as women, youth and indigenous people. In the particular case of Mexican women, Hernández (2006) points out that idiosyncrasy and culture are two of the sociological factors that impede the true inclusion of women in citizenship processes, referring to the factors rooted in the linked heteropatriarchal system (and service) of the same economic system.

Aguirre (2003) mentions that globalization also facilitates and increases the political visibility of cultural affirmation and rights to difference that coexist with the claim of new social rights. Women, like young people and indigenous people, may be able to exercise a better active citizenship, although their claims of well-being and autonomy face difficulties even in this context. Aguirre also considers access to symbolic capital as a new field for the exercise of citizenship and, therefore, concludes that the current great challenge is to unite the redistribution of material resources and the distribution of symbolic goods - especially the participation.

The theory of new social movements, detached from the modern approach of the social movements of the Nineteenth Century and the first half of the Twentieth Century, emphasizes "the ideological and project aspects of social movements, seen as actors and differentiated from the 'old' movements social groups based on the type of activists they encompass and the lines of social conflict in which they operate" (Delhumeau, 2012). The new social movements are forms of collective action that emerged in the sixties of the last century, incorporating demands that transcend the needs of material goods and labor, moving toward areas of vindication of rights and ideologies.

Charles Tilly (1995) comments that the new social movements arise in conjunctures of social tension and crisis. Among the theorists of the new social movements can be found a diversity of positions: the European theories of identity, with authors such as Touraine (1981), Melucci (1985) and Offe (1985); or the theory of American resource mobilization, represented by McCarthy and Zald (1977) and Tarrow (1998), among others and with their differences within them.

For Touraine (1981), the collective social actor is defined by his participation in a conflict of historical relevance, tending to transform the physical and social space of the environment. In the study of new social movements, the understanding of their ideals and projects is accentuated within the structural framework that provides opportunities and restrictions for action, as well as from which they build their networks of apologists and antagonists.

In addition, Melucci (1985) proposes the construction of an action system of social movements to understand the nature of collective action; for it he develops the concept of action in terms of aspirations, resources and obstacles that actors face while located in a system of opportunities and constraints, in such a way that the organization becomes the critical point of observation to find the fundamental relationships between the individual actions that give life to social action.

The movements for gender rights emerged in the second half of the Twentieth Century in European countries and in the United States, as a response to the patriarchal ideology intrinsic to everyday life. They seek to vindicate and assert fundamental human rights, which stipulate equality between women and men, for which they emphasize the need to promote policies that guarantee equity in access to work, the market and the eradication of violence. These movements face social resistance when seeking a radical ideological transformation in the way in which the social role of the genders is conceived. Another of the limitations they face is the polysemic meaning of the term in everyday life.

Gender is internalized through socialization and goes beyond the biological attributes of a person: in a complex and detailed cultural process of incorporating ways of representing, valuing and acting in the world; it responds to a process that occurs throughout the life cycle, and because of that, gender relations could change over time.

Silvia López (2002) has made, at various moments, an analysis of the feminist movement in Baja California, which dates back to the mid-1970s, and gained strength and consolidation in the 1980s through the popular urban movement. Starting in the 1990s, there was a process of "onegeization" (López, 2002, 210) where they specialized and professionalized, seeking to influence public policies. López points out factors such as migration, the maquiladora industry and the consequent demand for female labor, and the proliferation of irregular settlements as elements that drove the feminist movement, which included all those women's organizations that shared the idea that gender it was a matter of political and social interest.

The novelty of the feminist movement in the year 2000 in Baja California is the way they are incorporating new groups, actors and specific demands related to social conditions.

According to Bolos (2003), collective actions are the product of complex interactions both inside and outside organizations. In order to study organized collective actions, "the way the actors guide them is central". This is why it is fundamental to understand the structural elements and the symbolic resources in which they build their action, since these enable or limit the ways in which the collectives are activated and face the same structures.

As other students of social movements point out, the process of forming collective actions begins with the personal identification of a social problem that is transformed into demand, in the face of a situation of scarcity of material or symbolic resources. "Among those who form the initial group, recognition occurs on the basis of identification with themselves and a way of understanding and realizing the world: there is, therefore, a similar - although not identical - way of analyzing reality and the experiences lived in the past" (Bolos, 2003). This recognition and the subsequent construction of a collective identity, however, is not only built on similarities such as class, living conditions or the activities they develop, but is generated by sharing a definition of themselves and the external system as adversary: the antagonistic dimension of the movement that Melucci located "at the level of the symbolic" (Bolos, 2003).

Even though the goals may or may not be achieved by social movements, according to Alberoni "the concretion of a movement in an organization allows to realize its own project; to this we must look for it in the center of the movement "(cited in Bolos, 2003). For this, distinguishes three pure types of projects from the members of the movements and the structural conditions they face: religious, ethical and political projects. In the political project "the group is the subject of transformation, of the reconstruction of society. It determines within it, a "region of contingent sociality" on which it will act to free it, the group being the means for that liberation ... [Fumbling] the power that opposes this mission" (Bolos, 2003).

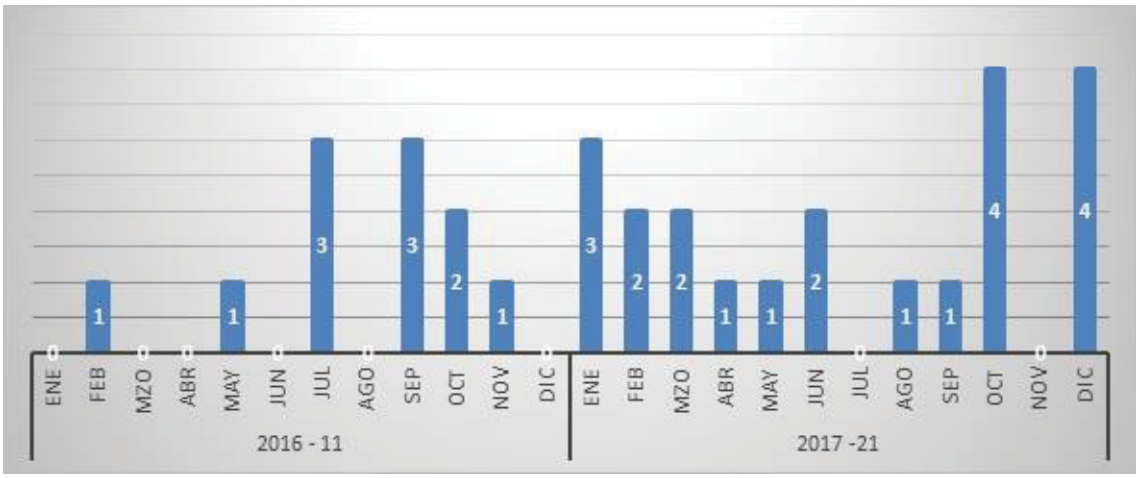
2.1 The context of the movement for gender rights in Baja California

The decision to work with the movement for the defense of gender rights in Baja California is related to the increase of violence against women that, without being exclusive of the region, it developed in such a way that took the population by surprise as the number of incidents rapidly increased and become visible from media coverage and social networks.

In this context, the movement for gender rights in the state arises trying to take to the streets (and to public life) the visibility of different forms of violence against women and sexual diversity in the region. Emphasizing that it is a type of violence with different characteristics, since inequality, lack of equity and violence persist because they are women or because they are "different".

In the same way that the movement has become public, the regulations that recognize and sanction violence against women have also done so, both at the federal level and at the state level. One of the clearest manifestations is the enactment in 2007 of the "General Law on Women's Access to a Life Free of Violence", published in the Official Gazette of the Federation of February 1, 2007, which has been amended in eleven occasions, the most recent of April 13, 2018.

Despite this, according to the activists, these advances in the Law are still not reflected in the daily life of women. In Ensenada, the increase in feminicide has been escalating continuously since 2015. According to the Collective Collective Organization for the Defense of Women's Rights, in an alternative register they carry out on gender violence and femicides in the locality, they found that in 2016 there were 11 in Ensenada, which almost doubled in 2017 to 21 femicides (see Figure 1).



Source: Colectiva de Colectivos Pro Defense of Women's Rights

Figure 1: Femicide in Ensenada 2016-2017

3. Methodology

The methodological strategy used for this research was qualitative; through in-depth interviews and participant observation, we had access to the main actors of this movement. The selection of informants was made based on their visibility, experience and knowledge of experts on the movement. Interviews were conducted with 6 leaders. The analysis process was conducted with Atlas ti software.

The six leaders of the mobilizations interviewed are 4 women, 1 transsexual woman and 1 man; the youngest is 33 years old and the oldest is over 60. All informants have professional training or have a university degree. Also, in addition to participating in the gender rights movement, they are activists in other social causes in the community. To maintain the confidentiality of the information and anonymity of the activists, each one was assigned a code which is attached to their testimonies in the results.

4. Results

The visibility of the phenomena of collective action that promote a social change with equity and the end of gender violence, begins to be seen in Ensenada in 2015, even when similar actions were already present in the municipalities of Tijuana and Mexicali.

In its beginnings, we were able to observe the presence of activists and groups with different degrees of formalization and a wide spectrum of agendas, united around the problematic of the increase of gender violence and femicides in the locality. Faced with this situation, the manifestations of the movement consisted on multiple and flexible strategies to present the demands and build solutions.

In the summer of 2015, a march was organized and held for the first time in Ensenada attempting to bring together the demands and interests of the different social actors under the same banner, taking up the concept of the Slut Walk, replicated in various locations in several countries of the world after it was carried out for the first time in Toronto, in 2011. In Ensenada, on June 27, 2015, more than 100 women, men, boys and girls marched, with the purpose of “raising awareness about the levels of violence that live women in our day to day, from street harassment to femicide, and make visible the patriarchal structure that both men and women have inculcated and that today is not compatible with all universal human rights."

In the beginning of the movement, we were able to identify the diversity of its membership; organizations, groups and collectives such as: LGBT+ Community of Ensenada, the Council for the protection of the rights of sexual diversity (Ensenada PCDDS), Sexual Diversity of Ensenada, AC, DIVERSA Collective, group of Women

embroiderers against oblivion, Collective # 26N, Movement # 24A, Collective Collective Pro Defense of Women's Rights, among others.

4.1 The movement's origin and organization

Ensenada is a port city in northwestern Mexico that is currently considered to have a good quality of life. However, it has also been qualified by social activists as a locality with little participation, something elitist and conservative; with little organizational response to public demands that have massive responses elsewhere in the country.

Being a social movement in Ensenada, according to the activists of the movement for gender rights, has limitations:

> *"Ensenada is always slow to react; Ensenada reacts very slowly unlike the center of the country. I have always said that the lack of it, that in Ensenada we are all really from outside and have no roots with the land, we have no roots with the families, we have no historical roots and then this makes them, that things work with less love for the homeland, with less love for the homeland and that is why we are so indifferent to big problems" (J2).*

For this movement, particularities of Ensenada as the existence of conservative and religious groups with influence in the community, have contributed to their demands are not understood or well received in all social sectors:

> *"There were people who questioned, who attacked, people who wanted the march not to be done and it was a process of self-exploration because we knew that we were very committed to the cause, we knew that something had to be done in Ensenada, which was something historic, the dimensions that it has and we knew that it was going to scrape many sensitive moral fibers in a city like Ensenada and it was a process, yes, debilitating "(M5).*

The movement for gender rights in Ensenada is characterized by being collective, associative. However, it cannot be considered homogeneous, since even when they have managed to articulate their actions and manifest themselves as a united front in some moments, the diversity of the actors that compose it has contributed to moments of tension within it. One of the characteristics that it presents is the diversity in the forms that the activism of the participants takes.

The organization discourses and strategies acquired by the movement are negotiated from within, creating a field of reflection and conflict to find different positions. These questions are opposed to those of activists more convinced that, once you become aware of the problem, it is a duty to go out and share it.

According to the activist M5, there is a risk in the movement to be only representing themselves. The speeches, the ideological positions on the subject are constructed with references that do not have the majority of the population; therefore the success of the movement will be diminished by not finding an echo in the social sectors.

A problem faced by activists within the movement is the ego:

> *"If I have worked with gender but if I was not called from the beginning because I do not join, then instead of that, ... that's something that all activists have to work on: that most of them want to start a project or be in front of a project and when it is not like that sometimes they do not add up, I know several feminists and several men for feminism who were not there and who had a lot to do with this problem of egos" (M5).*
>
> *On the other hand, there are more conciliatory views: "they also handle very heteropatriarchal rolls and things have to be like that, I faced that, and I said nooo ... I think that many of us lack something of self-observation and respect, also, to ideas and different ways of seeing the same themes" (M1).*

Activists comment that it is necessary to reflect on the opening of the movement and their membership, since the zeal on the subject and the demands that it carries with it makes, sometimes, that the doors are closed to valuable people because they do not have "the necessary curriculum" or because they are men.

> *"When I started to get involved with this, if there was such suspicion ... like when you enter a job, it's 3 months of testing to see if you're not there. When I was invited if I attended, but if I saw the*

> *questions or lack of immediate inclusion, paradoxically, right? Until I was making myself known and what was my profile or my interest in all this and right now I tell you that I have very good relationship with all the feminists here, but if it generated a lot that, see a man who genuinely be included in the feminist cause. ...I believe that my inclusion represents breaking the stigma that feminism is the fight against man "(T3).*

4.2 Motivations and gender in the public sphere

The participation of each member of the movement is very similar to other phenomena of collective action, arising from concerns and personal or close experiences that stimulated them to become involved in the transformation of the observed conditions, in this case, inequity and gender violence.

In the trajectory of some of the activists involved it was observed that this is not their first experience in this type of actions; M1 said that, from a very young age, heard his father talk about the importance of participating in collectivity, even more if there were conditions of extreme inequality, such as rural areas of the country: "I feel with social responsibility if not to intervene, for the least to monitor."

In the search to contribute to the solution of the observed problems, the activists have coincided in different spaces, have established links and sought to build a joint agenda to make visible and denaturalize gender violence, lack of equity and the importance of recognizing and respecting sexual diversity; along the way they have facilitated the conversation on these issues in different spheres and joined the participation of more actors.

Although some of the members of the movement have developed an important part of their work in rural contexts, they are aware that gender-based violence affects women from all social strata, "it is often thought that gender violence occurs in the border colonies or in cases of people with a low socioeconomic level, but it is not true, it occurs at all levels, professional people, people prepared, the patriarchal system does not respect ..." (T3).

As part of their involvement in the public sphere, the members of the movement have noted the diversity of ways in which gender violence is expressed and how it permeates the exercise of the political, in such a way that they have faced the difficulty of being listened to and that their proposals are taken into account, "the political violence towards women is so naturalized that they do not realize when they close a circle and leave you out of it, they do not realize when they interrupt you, they do not realize when they do not listen to you" (M1).

As part of their trajectory, activists have witnessed the naturalization and justification of violence, including in women civil servants:

> *"You are in the ruling women a deep machismo and a deep macho violence in their exercises and their functions as officials or as rulers ... being female leaders because many other women are going to follow their movements, and they will reproduce in society exactly the ways you are seeing in your leaders ... and then that is going to make the most difficult part of fighting in our society, machismo in women, right?" (J2).*

The activists stress the need to transform and make transparent the governmental exercise, since "the issue that has damaged our quality of life is corruption, impunity and the inefficiency of public servants"; on the other hand, "politics will no longer be able to be late at night or in a table dance ... they will be dignified" (M1).

The experience of having experienced different types of violence and discrimination has created a greater commitment of its members to the demands of the movement, as it is related by one of its members:

> *"All the time we are victims the whole range of violence ... we are victims of transfeminism ... of discrimination ... of laws ... of institutions and then this makes ... the trans collective has a large number of activist participants in feminism ... and that participate in the background, that is, they do not participate only carrying the banner, they participate with an opinion in the movements, in the heart of the movements, in the logistics and in the intelligence of the movements "(J2).*

4.3 Scope of the movement

The scope of the movement is related to the collective vision towards the interior and of themselves of the social actors, the questioning of their strategies and the handling of internal and external criticism:

> *"Now the truth is that I question a lot that we achieve through activism, not in terms of the information that permeates people, but in public policies ... I question myself a little, do not I? So, I think people say: after all, we're not going to achieve anything, what are we going for, what do we march for, what we risk because there may be infiltrators, there may be lawsuits, there may be scuffles, and people stop going" (M!).*

However, the addition (or subtraction) of the actions due to the visibility and awareness of the problem and the decline in participation, in some cases, is positive so far. This can be seen in the growing presence of the topic in different spaces, mainly in local and regional social networks, where short-term issues are debated with the participation of different points of view.

In this regard, another aspect to highlight is the number of "spin-off associations" that emerged from the initial movement of 2015. These are more specialized in the topics they deal with, with more specific demands and for specific population groups, such as women and girls, the LGBT community, trans women, among others. These organizations have followed the strategies of staying alive in social networks and carrying out direct activities in the community, which has kept them in force and has increased their support networks.

This ability to diversify the agenda, supporting similar collective action exercises of new collectives and with the creation of networks present a hopeful panorama for the gender rights movement in Ensenada. The need now arises to build strategies that allow the groups to strengthen themselves to have greater penetration in the different social strata, so that this favors bringing their demands to the public agenda.

5. Conclusions

The study of new social movements in small localities provides, both the academy and the activists themselves, with tools to understand the phenomena of collective action at different levels. From this perspective, and mainly taking up the position of the identity theorists, it was possible to analyze the internal and external characteristics of the phenomenon in Ensenada, understanding the process of building a collective identity based on the individualities of its members, the resources with which they count (material and ideological), their supports and antagonists.

These activisms (feminine and masculine) are related to the perception of the entrenchment of the heteropatriarchal system in society and we observe that the flexibility of the action strategies that the social movements fostered are strengthened and they feed back into the virtual world. Likewise, we see how this movement has been capitalized by creating "media events" and incorporating coverage through social networks into its actions as the main strategy to generate social response.

The novelties of these new social movements are presented in their composition and in the transformation of their self-perception, more free, flexible and organized now in "collectives" and not in associations or NGOs, as in the past. With an arsenal of tools for the visibility of demands and denounce what the polarization of rights is dictated by the heteropatriarchy, they take to the streets and, through the march, the performance and the networks, appropriate it.

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Does Nomination Influence Women's Access to Institutional Decision-Making Bodies?

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Abstract: Based in the CHANGE[1] (H2020 funded) project, this paper puts in perspective the reality of a Portuguese university in terms of gender representation in its governance and management bodies. Portuguese higher education institutions (HEI) are excellent case-studies of women representation in academia, considering their significant presence and rapid growth in HEI. As the system expanded, and democratised it also became more feminised. Nevertheless, and despite efforts to minimise gender gaps, women are still underrepresented in top management and leading positions, contributing to increment the phenomenon of vertical segregation. Recently, within the NPM and managerialism context, HEI have been subjected to external pressures to create a new institutional and organisational environment aimed at substituting the collegial model with a managerial one. In this context, there is also a trend to replace the election by the nomination as the dominant process to occupy decision-making positions. In this paper, the authors discuss if and how the way decision-making bodies are constituted, influence the gender balance of their members. Both quantitative and qualitative data are analysed. Quantitative data result from the analysis of the gender constitution of the decision-making bodies of the university. Qualitative data focus on the content analysis of legal documents describing the mission of the decision-making bodies and in 12 interviews with institutional key-actors. The authors conclude that the gender balance decreases with the increasing importance of the decision-making body. Nevertheless, it is not possible to say that there is a direct relation between the way actors are chosen to these bodies and its gender balance. By other words, the way actors are chosen can not be seen as the only factor influencing the gender constitution of decision-making bodies. Furthermore, interviewees do not perceive the way actors are chosen as a relevant mechanism to improve gender equality and neither actions in this domain were identified to be included in Gender Equality Plans. This study provides a relevant contribution to the literature on mechanisms and strategies to improve gender equality in institutional decision-making processes and bodies.

Keywords: glass ceiling, universities, gender balance, decision-making bodies

1. Introduction

The lack of women in leadership across higher education as a result of the well-known phenomenon of vertical segregation have been problematized in the literature (Bagilhole and White, 2011, White et al., 2011, Burkinshaw and White, 2017, Carvalho and Diogo, 2018b). In fact, despite the feminization of universities in terms of the number of female students, formal positions in top management and/or leading positions, academic leadership in higher education remains concentrated in male hands (O'Connor, 2018, Carvalho and Diogo, 2018b, Ryan and Haslam, 2005). And, although the representation of women in leadership roles has increased, it is mostly in administrative areas (Burkinshaw and White, 2017) – at the technostructure. Leadership is still mostly associated with a men's activity and, according to Dunn et al. (2014), male-centric leadership models and norms have served to limit women's aspirations as well as their access to leadership roles. Patriarchal sex/gender arrangements have been underlying many political conflicts by establishing identities, maintaining group cohesion and transmitting identities and values across generations (Vickers, 1994). This led the author to conceptualise sex/gender arrangements (as well as patriarchies) as technologies of social organisation and control (Vickers, 1994), following the analytical construct of "sex/gender" developed by Rubin (1984).

[1] Challenging Gender (in)equality in Science and Research. The project involves six countries: Israel, Germany, Austria, Slovenia, Slovakia and Portugal.

Gender gaps persist in education, employment, entrepreneurship and public life opportunities and outcomes (OECD, 2017, Costa et al., 2011). In this sense, the underrepresentation of women in academic administration suggests that masculine practices and leadership norms function to exclude women, which is particularly problematic, considering that the underrepresentation of women in decision-making positions in academia (as well as in public life) also represents a waste of talent.

In turn, since the mid 1970s, NPM and managerialism call for new ways of viewing the core mission of HEI, i.e. how institutions are and will be funded, how training will be delivered, how findings from research will be disseminated and applied and what matters for successful performance assessment exercises. It is in this context of change that HEI have been subjected to external pressures to create a new institutional and organisational environment aimed at substituting the collegial model with a managerial one. Along these shifts, there has also been a trend to replace the election by the nomination as the dominant process to occupy decision-making positions. Portugal is no exception of this trend and in 2007 implemented legislation to define a new legal status to HEI, RJIES (Law 62/2007). This new legal framework has deeply encapsulated managerialist principles (Diogo and Brückmann, 2015, Bruckmann and Carvalho, 2018). Being leadership historically and normally assumed by men, discourses aiming at *helping* women breaking through the "glass ceiling" generally focused or passed the idea that there is a need of "fixing the women", contributing to perpetuate the inexistence of a gender neutral career development, and even to maintain (or deepen) the precariousness of (leadership) careers of female academics (Burkinshaw & White, 2017; O'Connor, 2018).

In this paper, the authors discuss if and how the way decision-making bodies are constituted in Portuguese HEI influence the gender balance of their members and how managerialism has been a facilitator mechanism towards precariousness, insecurity, affecting gender power relations within academia, reinforcing gender inequalities.

2. Theoretical framework: Mechanisms and strategies to improve gender equality in institutional decision-making processes and bodies

At the beginning of the millennium, and similarly to other institutions and organisations, HEI have been facing increasingly pressures to institutionalise strong managerial modes of operation and leadership. NPM and managerialism provide fertile soil for HEI become subjected to external pressures in order to create a new institutional and organisational environment aimed at substituting the collegial model with a managerial one (Carvalho and Santiago, 2015, Shepherd, 2017, White et al., 2011, Amaral and Meek, 2003). Within the NPM framework, while leadership and management assume greater importance, the opposite phenomenon regarding academics' situation develops, i.e., their power and status in university governance has declined (Carvalho and Diogo, 2018b). Managerialism implements decision-making almost coercively, top down, with academics having reduced influence, focusing on accountability, evaluation and economic efficiency (Santiago and Carvalho, 2004).

Amidst this context, the literature refers that managerial universities value research above all other academic activities and, consequently, increasingly more HEI value and reward academics who bring external funding, projects, profitable collaborations, etc. to the organisation (Dunn et al., 2014, Acker and Dillabough, 2007, Acker, 1990, Diogo, 2016, Diogo, 2015). Thus, research-intensive universities, quite often managerially governed, work as important contextual variables that likely impact leadership styles and experiences. In turn, by assuming that top management positions in these institutions are care-free, individuals – managers – *should* be available to participate almost without interruption in a long-hours work environment (Lynch et al., 2012, Akpinar-Sposito, 2013, Morley and Walsh, 1996). Not surprisingly, thus, academic females often build their careers later than their male colleagues as personal lives (e.g. motherhood; family) present challenges to administrative success (Dunn et al., 2014), which, in turn, make women less likely to have a *traditional* trajectory starting as a lecturer and then progressing through the ranks' top positions, such as senior lecturer, associate professor and full professor (Bagilhole and White, 2011). According to Akpinar-Sposito (2013) working mothers are stereotyped as not being serious or reliable enough to take positions as managers because their priorities lean more towards (raising a) family, reinforcing the idea that successful executives are unable to manage multiple priorities. Additionally, or consequently, even those women that achieve leadership positions in the academia technostructure are more prone to their male colleagues to have interrupted careers and/or to work part-time. In fact, women in universities (as well as other minority groups who work part-time and on a temporary basis) face increasingly precarious career paths due to job insecurity, managerialist practices, heavy workloads and

they even are paid less (Bagilhole and White, 2011, White et al., 2011, El-Alayli et al., 2018, Fogg, 2003, Gentry and Stokes, 2015, Carvalho and Diogo, 2018a, Barrett and Barrett, 2011). Previous research confirmed that hose with a non-permanent position tend to assume teaching duties almost exclusively, with a heavy workload (Gale, 2011, O'Connor, 2015); teaching duties tend to be mainly performed by women (Carvalho and Diogo, 2018a, Acker and Dillabough, 2007, Angervall et al., 2015), transforming these individuals into what Angervall and Beach (2018) labelled of "profitable workers". As Burkinshaw and White (2017) refer, being a minority creates precariousness in itself.

Towards this reality, and in order to understand gender and its (com)implications for those who do science and work in knowledge producing organisations, namely in decision-making bodies, we also frame this study on the contribution of Jeff Hearn and Liisa Husu (2011) in seeing gender relations and gendered power relations as important characteristics of higher education and science and technology systems (Hearn and Husu, 2011). As such, and similar to Vickers (1994) conceptualisation of gendered technologies of social organisation and control, science and technology are not just structured by gender but pervaded and constituted by and through gender, gender relations and gendered power relations (Hearn and Husu, 2011), i.e. gender and gender issues related with power and hierarchical relations in HEI can be understood as operating and as relevant to science and technology at several levels: who does science and technology, how science and technology are organised, and the construction of knowledge in science and technology (Hearn and Husu, 2011).

In this sense, the literature is also consistent with the fact that although managerialism in higher education can provide opportunities for women to develop their careers – especially for those that can be successful gaining funding – it also perpetuates and intensifies the gendered organisational culture (Acker, 1990, Acker and Dillabough, 2007, Acker et al., 2012, Vickers, 2011) as socioeconomic and ideological forces shape gender/power relation (Vickers, 2011; (Hearn and Husu, 2011). The combination of heavy workloads with precariousness and insecurity of contracts, as well as feelings and anxiety to perform a flawless job, tends to strengthen and reproduce the idea of the need of women to be 'hyperprofessional' (Gornall and Salisbury, 2012), i.e. meaning that academics need to make strong efforts to maximise the levels of productivity, working harder and longer even when they are not explicitly asked to. The neoliberal academic work environment – based on competition, performativity, auditing and monitoring – is incorporated by academics who "become more demanding and rigorous with themselves than any other employer could be" (Gornall and Salisbury, 2012, Ball, 2016). Such hyperprofessionalism does not allow delimiting space and time outside of the academic environment, constraining academics to become non-stop workers (Ball, 2016). Thus, quite often, women tend to suffer more than man with this hyper professionalism syndrome, placing them (or labelling, almost blaming them) as outsiders – marginalizing them – if they wish, or strive, to compete in careers' progression ladder. These processes and contexts contribute to legitimize discourses (and actions) promoting the need to 'fixing the women' rather than, or therefore, to fix organisations' culture, processes and practices. It is also true that not every women in academia seek leadership roles, but it is also true that the 'fixing the women' perspective (instead of the institutional culture) helps women to rationalise their withdraw of such advancement in their careers, blaming them for not being able to reach leadership (Burkinshaw and White, 2017, Morley, 2014, Carvalho and Diogo, 2018b, Fitzgerald and Wilkinson, 2010).

These trends do not explicitly demonstrate that people, academics in this context, are not prepared to see (or to live with) the presence of women in executive positions, but rather that there is a lack of gender awareness in organisations. For example, the Portuguese case exemplifies that despite the changes in national laws promoting gender equality in society, and the high participation of women in higher education, it was only in 2001 that the first woman rector was elected, and since then, only six more in the whole country have achieved this position (Carvalho and Diogo, 2018b). This resonates with that of Espírito-Santo (2016) on the Portuguese citizens' attitudes towards women in parliament. According to her study, the Portuguese population is willing to see an increase in the number of women in political power but only up to a certain point because although most people support an increase in the number of female Prime Ministers, only a minority wish a substantial increase. Although with interesting specificities (Amâncio and Ávila, 1995), the Portuguese scenario does not differ much from the general trends presented above, being therefore relevant to understand whether NPM and managerialism eased up or hindered careers' progression of academic women.

By cross comparing decision-making processes of the Portuguese university governance bodies that has redefined its institutional organisation and legal status as well as their constitution, this paper gives a valuable

contribution to the operationalisation of a managerial university in terms of gender representation in its governance and management bodies.

3. Methodology

The literature on higher education governance is consistent with the fact that NPM and managerialism produced pressures to create a new institutional and organisational environment, aiming at substituting the collegial model with a managerial one. In this context, there is also a trend to replace the election by the nomination as the dominant process to occupy decision-making positions. For example, before Law 62/2007 (RJES), rectors used to be elected by the university assembly. Now they are elected by secret ballot by the General Council. This modification does not change the rector's basic functions as the law stipulates that s/he be the General Council's senior official. In this paper, the authors triangulate quantitative and qualitative approaches to understand if and how the way decision-making bodies are constituted, influence the gender balance of their members. As Campbell (1974) puts it, triangulation strengthens a study by combining methods. In this paper, we use the four basic types of triangulation identified by (Denzin, 1978) *in* Patton 2002: 247): i) *data triangulation* (the use of a variety of data sources) in the study; ii) *investigator triangulation* (having several researchers elaborating the study. In this case, we are three researchers with different backgrounds and different professional paths); iii) *theory triangulation* (the use of multiple perspectives to interpret our data) and iv) *methodological triangulation* (the use of multiple methods to study a problem). Quantitative data result from the analysis of the gender constitution of the decision-making bodies of the university. This is combined with qualitative data focusing on the content analysis of legal documents describing the mission of the decision-making bodies and in 12 interviews with institutional key-actors. The interview guideline follows the previously established protocol to every country of the project in order to enhance comparison and assure anonymity of interviewees. Interviewees' identification according to their sex and role/position they hold in the university is presented in table 1. In the following section, we present tables with a description of the gender composition of the governance bodies of the Portuguese university analyzed, including a brief explanation on the way that access to the position happens (tables 2 and 3).

Table 1: Summary of interviewees' profile

Interviewees' Sex	Interviewees' Institutional Role			
	Top Management	Middle Management	Academics	Technostructure
1. Female		HRM Professional		
2. Female				Administrator's Assistant
3. Male	Vice-Rector			
4. Female		Dean		
5. Female			Associate Professor and *coordinator of a pole of the research unit.*	
6. Male		Dean		
7. Male	*Member of the Ethics and Deontology Council*			
8. Female			Assistant Professor (prior Pro-Rector)	
9. Female				*Senior technician*
10. Male		Dean		
11. Female			Assistant Professor	
12. Male				Representative of PhD students in the institution and of the national scientific research fellows association

The framework used to analyse data from this case study lays on the combination of the above literature review, which introduced the theoretical framework, with the analysis of the legal documents on the decision-making bodies and the interviews' analysis process. Interviews themes were coded through the help of the data analysis software Nvivo, thus thematic analysis was undertaken in the light of the themes emerging from the combination of all these sources. The discourses analysed strongly resonate the 'fixing the women' perspective, as evidenced in the following section.

It is expected that this research design will enable the generalisation of findings to different groups and geographical settings.

4. Discussion

RJIES, which came officially into force in 2008, reduced the representation of students and staff in management and governance bodies, fostering inequalities between institutions which choose to become public foundations and those which remain under the traditional public institute regime. As the legislation stipulated fewer governance bodies with fewer people – instead of having four organs (the rector, the rector's team, the university assembly and the administrative council), sometimes universities were left with only three, in which case the university assembly was replaced by a smaller general council – there is an excessive concentration of power in universities' General Councils and in sole proprietorship positions, i.e. university rectors and directors of polytechnics, meaning that researchers, students and staff feel a significant reduction in academic endeavour as well as lower participation in democratic governance (Diogo, 2016, Diogo and Brückmann, 2015). Towards these changes in governance modes and decision-making process, we analyse how gender composition of governance bodies is affected by the managerial university ethos. Tables 2 and 3 present the gender compositions of the institution governance bodies as well as a summary description on the access to the position.

Table 2: Gender composition of the UAVR bodies (by percentage and number).

Governance bodies		Scientific & pedagogic bodies		Management bodies		Advisory bodies	
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
69%	31%	55%	45%	70%	30%	75%	25%

Governance bodies	Men	Women	Total
Rector	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1
Rectoral Team	8 (66.7%)	4 (33.3%)	12
Board of Trustees	4 (80%)	1 (20%)	5
General Council	12 (63.2)	7 (36.8%)	19
Management Council/Board	4 (80%)	1 (20%)	5
Scientific & pedagogic bodies	**Men**	**Women**	**Total**
Scientific Council	12 (50%)	12 (50%)	24
Pedagogical Council	15 (60%)	10 (40%)	25
Management bodies	**Men**	**Women**	**Total**
Deans	19 (95%)	1 (5%)	20
Executive Commission	50 (64.1%)	28 (35.9%)	78
Coordinators of Research Units	13 (68.4%)	6 (31.6%)	19
Advisory bodies	**Men**	**Women**	**Total**
Council of Ethics	9 (75%)	3 (25%)	12
Disciplinary Commission	5 (71.4%)	2 (28.6%)	7
Student Ombudsman	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1

A first look immediately confirms what the literature and statistical data refer on the reduced number of women achieving the top. Even if the document analysis and quantitative data refer an increase in the representation of women in leadership roles, this happens mostly in administrative areas. The analysis of the scientific and pedagogic bodies, meaning the bodies responsible for the scientific and pedagogical decisions at the strategic and/or operational level reveals a gender imbalance regarding its composition. The members of the scientific council take decisions concerning the University's plan of scientific activities and its scientific policy, and only within this body we find parity of gender. With respect to the pedagogical council, responsible for the university educational affairs, more men than women constitute it.

Table 3: Gender composition of the governance bodies and process of accessing the position

Governance structures	Access to the Position	Gender Composition		
		Total Nr.	Male	Female
1. Rector	The Rector is elected by the General Council (a much smaller and less represented structure when compared to the university assembly, which was in place before the RJIES) instead of being elected by all members. He may not be a member of the institution and may not be Portuguese as the legislation (Law 62/2007) opens the position to people coming from both outside the institution and the country. The UA elected a Rector who belongs to the institution, reinforcing the image of the Rector as primus inter pares and not so much as a chief executive office as the Legislation suggests. This is important for rectors' legitimacy to have internal support from other academics, being in line with the more traditional collegial model of governance.	1	1	_
2. Rector Team	Freely appointed by the Rector and may come from outside the institution. May be dismissed at any time by the Rector and the end of their mandates coincide with the mandates of the latter. Other offices may be created to assist the Rector (Law 62/2007).	12 5 Vice-Rectors + 7 Pro-Rectors	8 4 Vice-Rector + 4 Pro-Rectors	4 1 Vice-Rector + 3 Pro-Rectors
3. Board of Trustees	5 personalities (external members) appointed by the government based on the previous suggestion of the UAVR. These curators are personalities recognised for their particular merit and highly relevant professional experience. Their 5-year mandate, incompatible with any contractual activity with the UA, can be renewed once. The president of this Board is elected by its members by absolute majority and is also granted a 5-year mandate.	5	4	1
4. General Council (GC)	The representatives of teachers and researchers are elected by all the teachers and researchers in the university, using a system of proportional representation; they must constitute more than half of the total number of members of the GC. The students' representatives are elected by all the students in the university using a system of proportional representation under the terms of the statutes. They must constitute at least 15% of the total number of members of the GC. The individuals of recognised merit who have relevant knowledge and experience but who do not belong to the institution are co-opted by the representatives of teachers and researchers and representatives of students, point by absolute majority, based on justified proposals subscribed to by at least one third of the members; these must constitute at least 30% of the total number of members of the GC.	19	12	7
5.Management Council	The Management Board is elected and discharged by the Board of Trustees, on the proposal of the Rector, and	5	4	1

	composed of the Rector, who presides, one Vice-Rector and the Administrator of the University. The Management Board is appointed and presided over by the Rector.				
	Scientific and Pedagogic bodies				
1. Scientific Council	- The Rector, who presides + - 9 representatives elected from among the UA's career professors and researchers (7 from the university and 2 from the polytechnic schools); - representatives elected from among the UA's remaining professors and researchers, following the rules established for this effect.		24	12	12
2. Pedagogical Council	The Pedagogical Council is constituted by 25 members and chaired by one Vice-Rector of the UA (man), for delegation of powers conferred by the Rector; + 12 professors (9 belonging to university teaching and 3 to polytechnic teaching) and 12 students (10 belonging to university teaching and 2 to polytechnic).		25	15	10
	Management bodies				
1. Deans	Designated by a selection committee composed by the Rector and 4 other elements. Nomination is confirmed by the Rector by formal appointment		20 16 Deans + 4 Polytechnic Schools	16 3	0 1
2. Executive Commission	Members are appointed by the Director.		60 18 polytechnic schools	40 10 polytechnic	20 8 polytechnic schools
3. Coordinators of Research Units and laboratories	Usually elected by the members of the research unit but it depends on the internal regulations of each centre.		19	3	6
	Advisory bodies				
1. Council of Ethics Board	The Council of Ethics and Deontology is composed of a maximum of 12 members, including internal and external personalities, freely appointed and exempted by the General Council, which defines the term and regime of mandates and other framing rules.		12	9	3
2. Disciplinary Commission	The Disciplinary Committee is composed of 7 members, appointed and dismissed by the Rector and for the term of the respective mandate.		7	5	2
3. Student Ombudsman	The President of the General Council nominates one of the people he knows and trusts to be the Student Ombudsman.		1	1	_

As the previous tables show, only the scientific council (one of the scientific and pedagogic bodies) is constituted by equal number of men and women. Following these trends, only one of the polytechnic schools is chaired by a woman, who herself explained, did not apply for the specific position of Dean, therefore not being representative of a *normal* career path.

> *Actually, it was quite unexpected. I was chosen (appointed) rather than elected because the former Director quit the job. The Rector appointed me until the term of office of the previous Director, also because I was already a member of the Executive Commission/Committee (Executive Board). I never thought of applying for this job (P4).*

Although she refers that it was completely unexpected and that she never thought about it before, she did not refused the job and feels that she was, in fact, the best decision the Rector could make. She sees herself as a good leader, regardless her sex, assuming this leadership experience as gender-neutral.

> *Now I am enjoying it and I think I am a good leader, regardless being a women. At least I like to believe that. Among the choices the Rector had, I think I was the best one (P4).*

The fact that only few women reach top-positions – and usually at a much latter stage than men – seems to be a non-issue for most of our interviewees. Indeed, from the reduced sample we have, it is possible to say that

interviewees' discourses go against with what Morley (2014) found on the fact of women themselves asserting that they have been marginalised in the gendered research economy. As the following citation evidence, most of our females' discourses show an alignment with the perspective 'the problem are the women':

> *I acknowledge that mentalities need to change, but women should also empower themselves, asserting themselves, emerging as leaders. If women stand for what they want, they will (eventually) obtain it (P2).*

Consequently, these messages contribute to perpetuate the situation of women under-representation at the highest executive governance bodies, as the feeling portrayed is that women who really want to become institutional leaders or managers, will do it. Being a relatively small institution, it is thus natural that these visions become known and incorporated by those who appoint the institution representatives and the members of the governance bodies. As men do not need to worry about *such* issues, it is thus *natural* that they are mostly positioned or seen as *natural candidates* for such job. Additionally, this type of behaviour is perpetuated by higher education gender power relations that involve structures, practices and processes that are exacerbated by precarious careers, usually affecting more women than men, as they "fit" (and need to accomplish) more roles in society than men.

The problem of work overload, of feeling more pressure to be always available and accomplish as more as possible was mostly referred by women. Although this is a phenomenon common to both genders, especially in a managerial university and research intensive organisations, is more penalising for women than men who do not want to abdicate from motherhood.

As both female and male interviewees reported:

> *It is something that is important when we talk about positions that are by nomination, and then we enter in the "world of men". Women have a different dedication to family life (although younger generation couples tend to share responsibilities at home) and people in leadership roles believe that women have less availability to be appointed for certain positions. It is more frequent women to refuse certain positions than men because they do not want to abdicate from their family life. Competency and availability should be articulated and should not exclude each other (P3; P5).*

Following the theoretical framework of Hearn and Husu (2011), it is possible to observe that gender operates in science and technology in terms of *who* does science and technology, *defining* the leaders, inventors, researchers, workers. Even if Portugal stands out among the OECD countries in terms of female researchers, they are still a minority in a global perspective. There is gendered division of labour and authority, both formal and informal, with both sexes specializing in particular types of labour, creating vertical and horizontal divisions within organizations (Hearn and Husu 2011). This data also shoes that women and men may be valued differentially in terms of formal authority, position, and informal status and standing in organizations as referred by Hearn and Husu (2011).

In the case of the Portuguese university of this study, the performance of the leader (Rector) is supervised by a Board of Trustees, of which the great majority are constituted by men. As a matter of fact, at this university, different bodies have a highly relevant role in adopting and change general acts as the Statute, namely the General Council. In these bodies, there are representants of different groups of stakeholders (both internal and external).

5. Conclusions

The cross analysis of our data shows that the gender balance decreases with the increasing importance of the decision-making body. Nevertheless, it is not possible to say that there is a direct relation between the way actors are chosen to these bodies and its gender balance. By other words, the way actors are chosen can not be seen as the only factor influencing the gender constitution of decision-making bodies. Furthermore, interviewees do not perceive the way actors are chosen as a relevant mechanism to improve gender equality and neither actions in this domain were identified to be included in Gender Equality Plans.

This study provides a relevant contribution to the literature on mechanisms and strategies to improve gender equality in institutional decision-making processes and bodies, as well as to raise gender awareness within HEI. The results of this research go in line with previous studies of the authors Carvalho and Diogo (2018), concluding that women holding leadership positions in universities (e.g. rectors) tend to develop narratives about their

professional route to the top as based on merit and hard work, and tend to classify their leadership experience as gender-neutral as well as grounded on the establishment of good relationships with their peers along their professional path. This corroborates the typical patterns of gendering processes in organizations related to *interactions, and individuals' internal mental work*, that maintain, or disrupt, other gendered patterns, and concern how people make sense of gendering (Hearn and Husu 2011).

When comparing the different institutions of the countries belonging to the project consortium, the Portuguese and Israeli institutions are those with a greater gender balance (55% of men).

Nevertheless, more research needs to be developed to assess how managerialist practices and NPM ideology has increased job insecurity and precarious working conditions, while fostering continuous organisational restructuring and consequently affects gender power relations at work. In fact, this research also shows that there is still a long way to demystify the belief or the idea that gender equality, in the 21st century, is taken for granted. In Europe, and towards the end of 2018, one still finds discourses promoting the idea that the only thing that needs to be fixed is society, removing the responsibility of institutions to promote equal opportunities, and therefore impacting on the way and which people are chosen to leadership positions.

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Do Indian Women Have Decision Making Power in the Family? A Study in Kerala Context

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Abstract: Women's empowerment is important both as "an end" and "means" for economic development. Having a voice in intra household decision making can be considered as one of the meaningful dimension of empowerment, since it may be desirable in its own right and also determine directly how resources are allocated within the household. Decision-making takes place in public and private spheres and can be at the individual level, in relationships or collectively in the state, markets or community. According to the latest National Family Health Survey 2015-16 released by Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, India two-thirds (63%) of women participate in household decisions alone or jointly with their husband and 16 percent do not participate. Participating, influencing and making final decisions are interrelated but distinct parts of decision-making. Yet simply participating in decision-making processes is different from controlling them. Decision-making is thus concerned with bargaining power and entails a women's ability to make decisions and act, particularly in shaping her life and world, and possibly affecting that of others and making choices and taking action with self-confidence and on her own behalf. In this context, the objective of this paper is to test whether women gained more decision-making paper at the household level by working outside the home. The study is conducted in a city in the state of Kerala, India by circulating questionnaire among the married women aged between 18 to 50 years. A sample of 100 working women is included in the study using stratified random sampling. The study uses a pre-tested structured questionnaire. The study reveals that all most all the decisions related to children are collectively undertaken and almost all educated working women participate in all decision making at home. The most interesting finding of this study is that less than 10 percent of the women reported that husbands dominate in decision making except in four major decisions like large purchases, buying property, house construction and transfer of ownership. But the most disturbing findings of this study is that 15 percent reported that in-laws have still a major say in decisions regarding daily diet, religious beliefs, festival celebrations, selection of gifts to relatives and most importantly on children's marriage. Moreover, only a few women have control over economic resources and freedom on mobility even after gaining income and employment and high social status in the society.

Keywords: bargaining power, decision making, intra-household, working women, freedom of mobility, empowerment

1. Introduction

Empowerment is a process, by which women gain greater control over material and intellectual resources which will assist them to increase their self-reliance, and enhance them to assert their independent rights, and challenge the ideology of patriarchy and the gender-based discrimination against women. Empowerment of women is a necessity for the very development of society since it enhances both the quality and the number of human resources available for development. There are mainly three direct indicators of empowerment (i) Decision making power; (ii) Control over economic resources; and (iii) Freedom of movement. According to Kofi Annan in the United Nation's 2005 report on the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) "the full participation of women to all levels of decision-making is a basic human right". Whether or not women are able to make the decisions about whether or not to sell key assets, or whether they are able to make decisions about food preparation and consumption may be good indicators of women's bargaining power too [Reggio, 2011). The question of who makes the decision within the household is occasionally used as an outcome variable because it seems to capture an aspect of women's bargaining power. Here we assume that all household members have different preferences, and different ideas about many things, from how many children to have to how best to spend household income, and each idea is given a different weight in the ultimate decision depending on each member's information set and bargaining power. Instead, if households were harmonious entities where everyone had the same preferences and desires, then the nominal ownership of money would not matter within the household. It would all go to a common pool and channeled towards the best uses for the families (Duflo, 2012).

As all household members have different preferences the bargaining power of the individual matters. There are several studies on bargaining power. A general result from empirical analyses of women's bargaining power in the household is that women derive bargaining power from having resources such as income and assets. The studies emphasize that women's ability to make household decisions is enhanced while they are working and their earned income is a measure that we would expect to be clearly related to women's bargaining power. Earning money may give women direct bargaining power; if women control the money that they earn, then they

may have the ability to directly influence outcomes that require expenditures. In a cooperative bargaining framework, even the *potential* to earn money increases women's outside options and thus gives them more bargaining power. England & Kilbourne (1990), drawing from studies of American households, argue that women who earn cash have more bargaining power than those who are solely housewives because of, among other things, the cultural devaluation of housework. Women's entry into wage labour could thus be one way of increasing their intra-family bargaining power not just directly, but indirectly by increasing the perceived legitimacy of their claims (Also see Sen 1990).

Moreover, women who work outside of their home may learn social and other skills needed to navigate the work environment and would have gained more self-confidence. These may translate back into increased bargaining power within the home and expected to be more involved in decision making. For example, Allendorf (2007) demonstrates that women's land ownership increases the probability that women have the final say on their own health care and that they make the decisions on large and small household expenditures. Connelly et al (2010) use questions about who usually makes decisions in the family with respect to issues such as children's education, family planning, large purchases, investments, and the woman's own migration. In this latter study, women who were returned migrants to Chinese households had different decision-making power than those who had not migrated, but the direction of the impact varied across decisions. These studies indicate that women's bargaining power affects the process of household decision-making and give women more voice and power.

But according to MacPhail & Dong (2007), women's absolute level of earnings have no impact on bargaining power at all while a lower gender wage gap in the local labour market does appear to significantly lower women's unpaid workload. A study based on a household survey in Bangladesh has found a negative impact of having a job on women's decision-making power, as compared to housewives (Hossain, 1998). In India, prior to two decades, the majority of the Indian women restricts themselves to the four walls of the house they live in. But in recent decades, the situation is slowly changing knowingly or unknowingly and even without much bargaining. There are several factors like education and employment opportunity, changes in the government and legal policies, the rise in cost of living that put pressure on women to work outside, the role of NGO's and self help-groups that contributed to this change, the vital factor is the penetration of technology especially in the upper middle class family. A few technologies that enhance the power of women are the mobile phone, computer, and internet which opened the world to women in their confined space. Without deliberate attempt, women become familiar to the world outside their house, gained the confidence to go out and work and started realizing that they too can participate in works which pay them dignity and income. Moreover, these gadgets help to stay in touch with all the household members and to handle work in the household and office in an efficient way. For instance, mobile connects those who have infants or elderly at home with the caretaker irrespective of time and space and can even monitor the house with the help of a web camera or a CCTV. This technological enhancement has helped the women to work in a paid job by fulfilling all the household responsibility set by the patriarchal society on them.

2. Objective and data

2.1 Objective

The broader objective of this study is to assess whether women have gained empowerment by working on a paid job outside their house. In specific, we have assessed their empowerment through their role in decision making at intrahousehold decisions, their freedom of mobility and their control over resources and income they earned. We would expect that as women started earning, higher will be their decision making power, freedom of mobility and control over resources. For the study, we have selected a city in Kerala, India. Among the 29 Indian states, Kerala has drawn considerable attention in its paradoxical pattern of growth with high social development indicators on a weak economic base, often referred to as the 'Kerala model of development'. Kerala has 100 percent literacy. Much was written about the 'high status' of women in Kerala and their central role, historically, in social development (for more details see Jeffery 1992).

2.2 Data

This study is based on a household survey undertaken in September to October 2018. The study population comprised of married women in the age group 20-50 who lives with their husband. A sample of 100 working women is included in the study using stratified random sampling. The women we considered for the study have

graduation as minimum educational qualification and all are currently working in a paid job and 30 percent are doctors as their profession. Doctors are one among the highest earned and they have high social status. The study uses a pre-tested structured questionnaire. The questionnaire is structured using the indicators used in studies such as Agarwal (1997), Kabeer (1999), Mabsout and Irene (2010), Malhotra et.al. (2002), Peterman et.al. (2015), and Alsop and Heinsohn (2005). All the information was obtained from the woman respondent by a female investigator. All the respondents were asked to fill the questionnaire without discussing with anyone or in isolation. Regarding questionnaire, after collecting personal information like age, qualification, profession, marital status, nuclear family or joint family with in-laws, etc. the major information was collected on the women's participation in household decision making, freedom of movement other than to workplace, and women's control over resources. The survey was asked 'Who decides on the decision making: yourself; your husband; you and your husband jointly; you, your husband and women's in-laws jointly; someone else. The option of not applicable was also given. Also the survey asked if there is a conflict of opinion who has the final say. The questionnaire is given to 150 working women, of which we have received 140 responses. But for this study, we have used only 100 samples due to the incomplete questionnaire, or lack of clarity in the response received. The questionnaire consists of three major set of questions. The first set of questions is to assess the role of women in decisions related to large household purchases, decisions related to children, and some other major day to day activities at home. Data were collected for twenty major decisions. The variables are decisions related to the large household purchases, purchase of land, transfer of property, politics, selection of children's school, naming children, taking children to doctor, marriage of children, buying clothes for children, number of children, daily household purchases, selecting gifts, festival celebrations, own health, buying own clothes, religious beliefs, daily diet, education, medical treatment, birth control. Secondly, the proxies used to assess one's own freedom of mobility. They are who decides on the decision to visit own friends, to visit own parents, to watch a movie in the theatre, to go out for dinner. Thirdly, as control over assets is also considered as an indicator of bargaining power, we have used indicators like decisions regarding house construction, usage of property, savings portfolio (different form of savings like investment in share market, mutual fund etc.), utilisation of savings and utilisation of income to assess the control over resources.

3. Results of the study

This section examines the decision making, the power of women, in the intra-household decisions which gained through acquiring education and by participating in a paid job; the amount of freedom they have to go out wherever they want to go; and the economic freedom gained through the control over economic resources.

3.1 Major four decision making at home

Out of twenty decision making we have identified large household purchases, purchase of land, transfer of property, and marriage of children as the four major decisions in terms of expenditure involved and have a longer impact on the family members. With respect to these decisions, on an average around 50 percent reported that it is joint decision making between husband and wife and only 1 to 4 percent feel they are the sole decision maker in major decisions. But it is surprising to see that women's parent-in-law have a major role in decision making followed by husband than the women in the house as around 18 percent reported that in-laws have a say in major decision making (See Figure 1). Moreover, 30 percent of women reported that children's marriage-related decisions, in-laws have a greater role in decision making. Women are least likely to make decisions mainly by themselves about major household purchases and transfer of property.

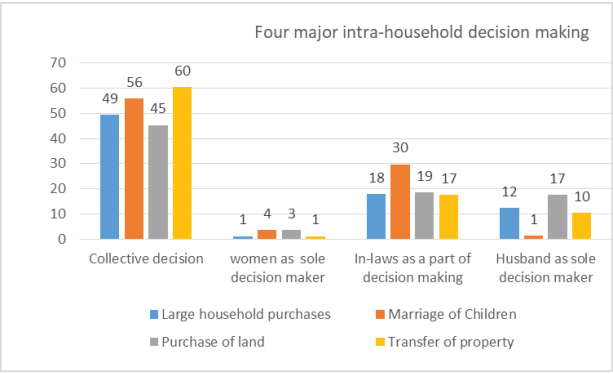


Figure 1: Four major decisions

3.2 Decision which women has no say

Out of the twenty decision making we considered, only 1 to 7 percent reported that they have no role in 7 decision making at home. Even though these numbers are less, still it is disturbing that even after women started working and contributing to the household income and earned social status around 5 percent still doesn't even participate in major decision-makings like the purchase of land and transfer of property (See Figure 2). Interestingly, politics is still considered a man's field, as 7 percent doesn't participate in the decision making. Moreover, although cooking is women's business, still 1 percent doesn't even participate in deciding their daily diet.

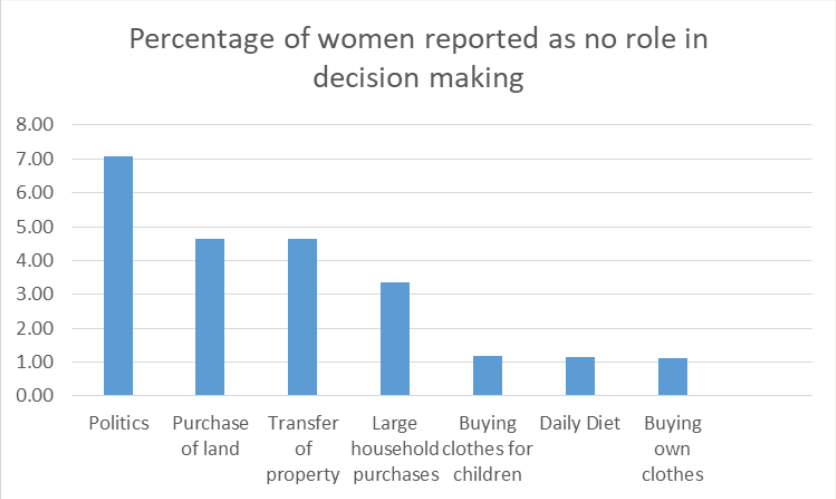


Figure 2: No role in decision making

3.3 Decisions regarding children

Around 64 to 88 percent of the employed women mainly reported that most of the decisions related to children other than marriage are decided by both husband and wife jointly especially regarding the number of children, naming, buying clothes, selection of school etc (See Table 1). This implies both husband and wife becomes equally responsible for taking care of children's requirement and enjoys equal power in bringing them up.

Table 1: Joint decision making

Items	Percentage of women reported as Joint decision making
Number of Children	88.37
Birth control	84.34
Buying clothes for children	82.35
Naming Children	79.55
Selection of Children's school	76.74
Education of children	69.32
Taking Children to doctor	67.44
Health of children	64.04

3.4 Women as a sole decision maker

Women reported that they have the freedom to make their own choice only in few items. Highest freedom is in buying clothes for themselves as 65 percent reported that they have sole decision-making power. The data reveals that majority of women felt that they cannot make independent decisions even in personal decisions like religious beliefs, politics and birth control and as the percentages are 56.82, 43.53 and 6.02 respectively (See Figure 3).

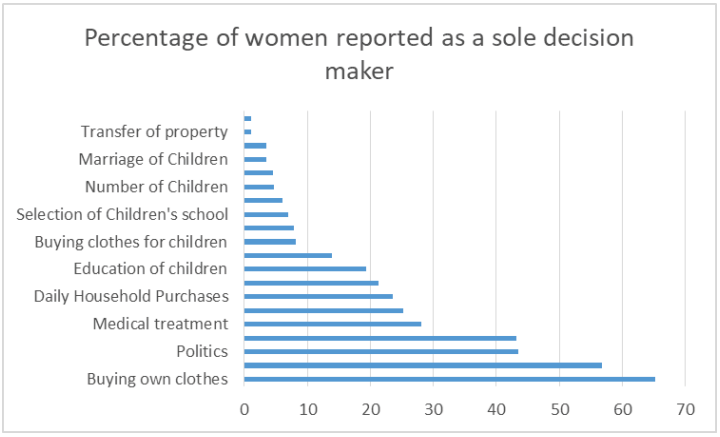
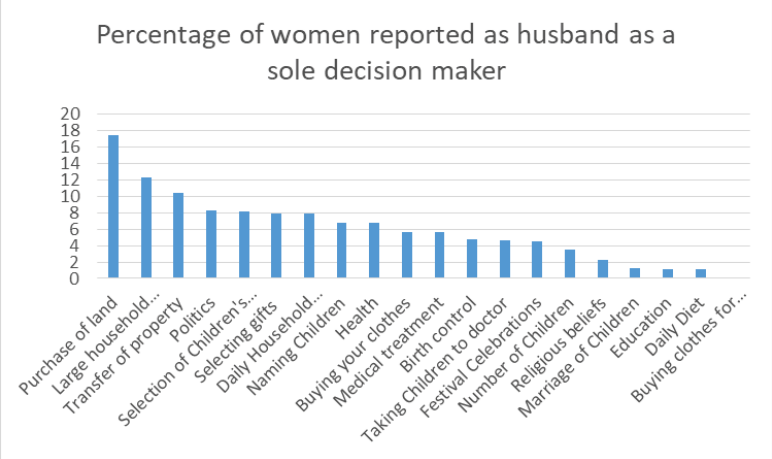


Figure 3: Decision making by women

3.5 Decision making by husbands

When husbands are the main decision-makers, they most often make decisions about major household purchases and politics. Less than 18 percent reported that husband as the sole decision maker in major decisions and less than 8 percent reported in other decisions (See Figure 4). The data reveals that husbands have a passive role in decisions other than large household purchases and decisions regarding children and politics.

Figure 4: Husband as a sole decision maker



3.6 Decision making by In-laws

We have already discussed that In-laws has a greater say in decisions regarding children's marriage. Other than this, around twenty percent women reported that In-laws involved in decisions regarding daily purchases and the way in which festival should be celebrated etc (See Figure 5).

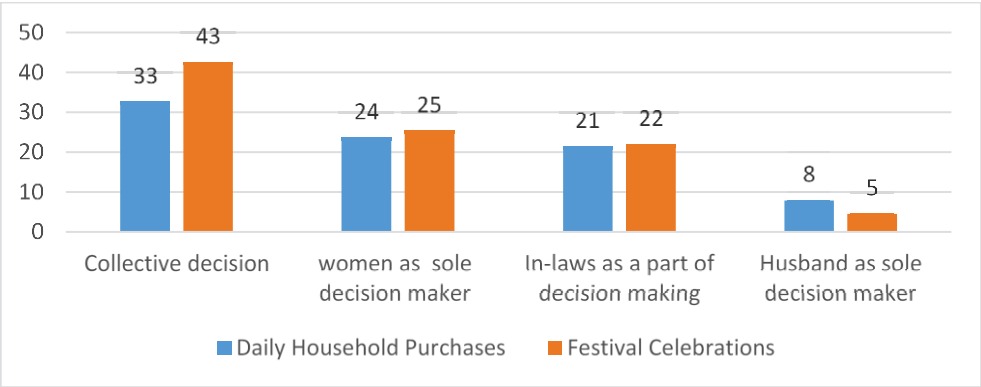


Figure 5: Women's in-laws have an equal voice as women at home

In these two decisions, they have an almost equal voice as women in the family. The data reveals that in-laws influence the decision making at home than the husbands especially on deciding daily diet, religious beliefs and deciding on selecting gifts for their relatives on special occasions. Even though cooking is wife's job as per Figure 6, 17 percent of women reported that they have to cook according to the interest of their in-laws.

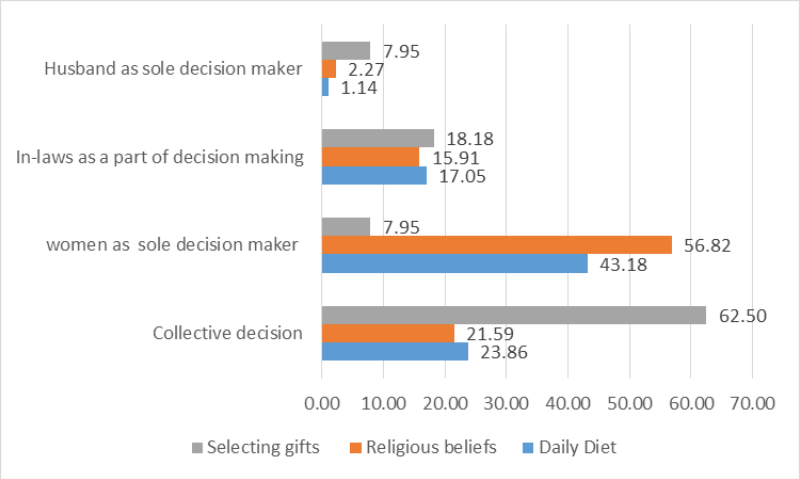


Figure 6: Women's in-laws have more voice than men at home

4. Other indicators

4.1 Freedom to go out other than workplace

Freedom of mobility outside the home other than to workplace is an important aspect of women's autonomy and empowerment. Accordingly, the survey asked whether they can go out to visit their own parents and friends, to watch a newly released movie in a theatre, to have dinner in a restaurant without getting permission or reporting to the husband. 62 percent reported that they can visit their parents without anyone's permission but only 33 percent reported that they can visit their friends without permission (See Figure 7). This behavioural pattern of women can be explained using the concept of "doing gender" (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Doing gender refers to the often subtle social activities by men and women in their everyday lives that express their masculinity or femininity, and thereby re-assert their membership of their respective sex-categories: male or female. Doing gender thereby is "a means of legitimating one of the most fundamental divisions of society" (idem, p. 126). So, gendered institutions and individual behavior seem to mutually reinforce each other. This helps to explain why women who have high earnings, or who are well educated may nevertheless accept male authority over there freedom to go out. With respect to movie and dinner majority reported that it is a joint decision making as they usually go to these places only with husband. Only around 6 to 8 percent reported that they have the power to decide whether to have dinner in a restaurant and to watch a movie in a theatre respectively.

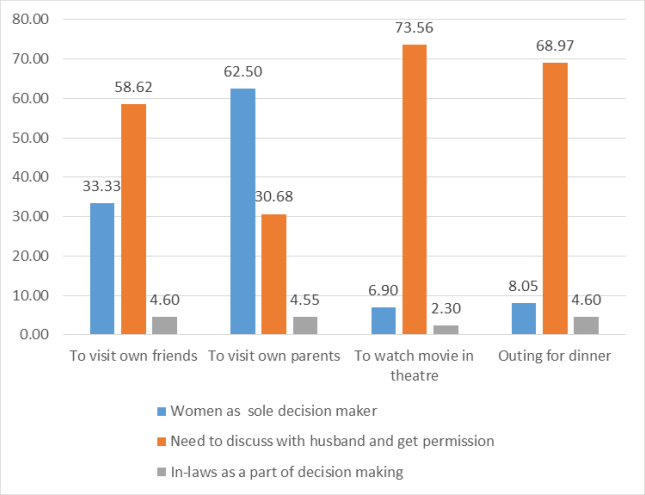


Figure 7: Freedom of mobility

4.2 Control over resources

Here we expect that women who earn income through employment gain the power to utilize the income according to her interest and the bargaining power to make large decisions like house construction or utilization of property the family already owns or decisions regarding how to utilise their savings etc. Interestingly, with regard to decisions about what to do with the money the women earn, as shown in Figure 8, only around 23 percent married women who are employed and earned cash say that they can decide on how much to save and only 20 percent feel they have the sole right to decide on how to utilize/spend their savings. It is offensive to observe that even though 30% of the women in the sample belong to the highest earning category only 1 percent enjoys sole control on their income they earned. Instead, 78 percent reported that they discuss with husband before or in some cases after spending the money they earned and some even ask their in-laws. With respect to decisions on whether to construct a house or how to utilise the property, women gained no decision making power. In short, even though women have the income they still have less voice in decision making regarding house construction or usage of property or spending and saving pattern of income they earned. This implies women gained decision making power only in a confined sphere of life which society accepted as women's place and not in all spheres of life.

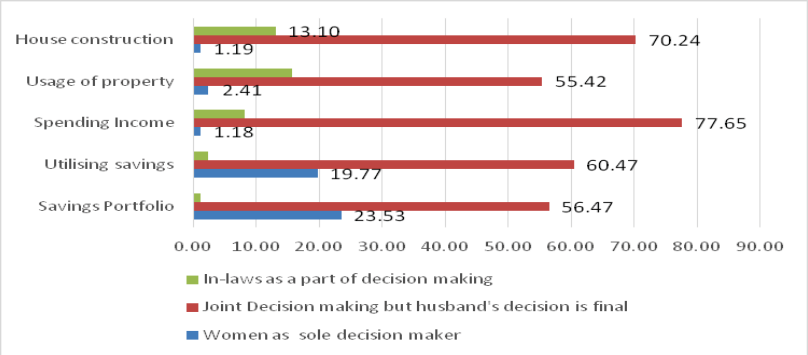


Figure 8: Utilisation of resources

5. Conclusion

Based on the sample survey of 100 working women around 5 percent of working women have no say in the major household decision-making process and around 1 percent in other than the major decision making. This implies a higher education level and working outside the home helped the women to participate in almost all the decision making at home. The most interesting finding of this study is that less than 10 percent of the women reported that husbands dominate in decision making except in four major decisions like large purchases, buying property, house construction and transfer of ownership. But with respect to mobility still women gained less independence as the majority of them reported that they have to inform and get permission from the husband before going to any place other than the workplace. 40 percent reported that they seek permission even to visit their own parents. In the case of decisions regarding what to do with the earnings, women have very less independence as all the decisions are jointly decided and whenever there is a difference of opinion the husband has final say. This implies a few women have control over economic resources and freedom on mobility even after gaining income and employment and high social status in the society.

On the one hand, education and earning income leads to improvement in women empowerment through participation in all household decision making. On the other hand, these factors do not ensure the significant progress in other important dimensions of empowerment. This implies for women, earning cash and high level of education is not likely to be a sufficient condition for empowerment, especially with respect to major decisions; financial freedom and freedom of mobility. Cultural norms and stigmas attached to women working outside and participating in economic activities are still rampant. Social norms can weaken women's intra-household bargaining position (over mobility and other resources) by restricting their earning possibilities in various ways, such as by discouraging (or even preventing) them from working far away from home, limiting the range of tasks they may perform, institutionalizing lower wages for them than for men, restricting their presence in public spaces and so their access to markets and the marketplace, defining child care as their responsibility and so limiting their mobility and job options, ideologically constructing them as dependents and men as head of the house, and so on.

According to Rustagi (2013), “To a certain extent, men control women’s lives. And women have internalized this as the norm. Thus women’s decision-making power enhance only if there are collective capabilities and change in social norms. Social Norms could impinge on bargaining in at least four ways: (i) they set limits on what can be bargained about (ii) they are a determinant of or constraint to bargaining power (iii) they affect how the process of bargaining is conducted: e.g. covertly or overtly; aggressively or quietly. (iv) they constitute a factor to be bargained over, that is, social norms can be endogenous in that they can themselves be subject to negotiation and change (Agarwal, 1997). Women organizing with other women is critical to their questioning of men’s and his family members dominance and to the solidarity needed to challenge it. Strong, independent women’s organizations are needed to achieve changes in gender laws and practices, especially in areas that are likely to generate strong resistance, such as freedom of mobility (Htun and Weldon, 2011). Thus to bring more equity between men and women, it is very desirable to continue to take policy actions that favour women at the expense of men, and it may be necessary to continue doing so for a very long time.

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Bodies (Dis)Possessed and the Poethics of Improper Speech: A Theoretical Preamble

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Abstract: Margaret Atwood's *Alias Grace* (1996) and Yvette Christiansë's *Unconfessed: A Novel* (2006) are revisionist narrative experiments that attempt to find a form and language adequate to the portrayal and expression of an interiority fractured by recurrent trauma. Based on archival traces and contradictory second-hand accounts from the margins of British settler colonial history, Atwood's and Christiansë's fictional restoration of their protagonists' "wounded histories" – a term Nancy K. Petersen uses to describe contemporary women's writing "against amnesia" which "exceed[s] normative narrative expectations" – refuses the coherent linearity associated with the realist conventions of historical fiction (Petersen 2001: 7). Instead, they incorporate stream-of-consciousness or interior monologue to convey the improper speech of the body and the voices of the dead that inhabit or haunt these lives. While there is no simple equivalence to be drawn between the lives of the Irish servant Grace and the Mozambican slave Sila, both novels portray their female bodies as sites where the institutional dynamics of nineteenth-century patriarchy and settler colonialism intersect in acts of physical and psychic violence. In this convergence of the politics of the body and the poetics of the body, *Alias Grace* and *Unconfessed* are, in their different revisionary modes, examples of "narrative as embodied theory," a notion central to Margaret E. Toye's "poethics of love" (2010: 50) which I explore in this paper by tracing approximations and convergences in aspects of Luce Irigaray's ethics of love, Judith Butler's psychic life of power, Julia Kristeva's poetic language and Adrienna Cavarero's narratable selves as a theoretical preamble to my reading of the novels.

Keywords: Alias Grace, poethics, improper speech of the body, re-storying settler colonial histories, trauma, unconfessed

1. Introduction

This paper serves as a theoretical preamble to my discussion of the portrayal of violence, female embodiment and language in Margaret Atwood's *Alias Grace* (1996) and Yvette Christiansë's *Unconfessed: A Novel* (2006) in which the protagonists are figures recovered from the margins of British settler colonial histories. Although they represent different types of diaspora – the emigration of impoverished Irish to other colonies in *Alias Grace* and the slave trade from Mozambique to the Cape in *Unconfessed* – Grace Marks and Sila van den Kaap inhabit similar revisionist narrative experiments that attempt to find a form and language adequate to the portrayal and expression of an interiority fractured by recurrent trauma. These novels rearticulate the fragmented histories and genealogies they uncover in their fictional restoration of historical event and imaginative elaboration of character. Based on archival traces and contradictory second-hand accounts, Atwood's and Christiansë's re-storying of these "wounded histories" –Nancy K. Peterson's term for contemporary women's writing "against amnesia" which "exceed[s] normative narrative expectations" (2001: 7) – refuse the coherent linearity associated with the realist conventions of historical fiction. Instead, they incorporate stream-of-consciousness or interior monologue for the improper speech of the body and the voices of the dead that inhabit or haunt these lives. While there is no simple equivalence to be drawn between the Irish servant Grace and the Mozambican slave Sila, both novels portray their female bodies as sites where the institutional dynamics of nineteenth-century patriarchy and settler colonialism intersect in acts of physical and psychic violence. In this convergence of the politics of the body and the poetics of the body, *Alias Grace* and *Unconfessed* are, in their different revisionary modes, examples of "narrative as embodied theory," a notion central to Margaret E. Toye's "poethics of love" (2001: 50), which I explore in this paper by tracing approximations and convergences in aspects of Luce Irigaray's ethics of love, Judith Butler's psychic life of power, Julia Kristeva's poetic language and Adrienna Cavarero's narratable selves.

2. Narrative as embodied theory

In her article "Towards a Poethics of Love: Poststructuralist Feminist Ethics and Literary Creation," Toye proposes that feminist theory revisit the "deep-seated resistance to academic engagement with the concept of love" (2001: 41). She points out that "the bases of thinking about love could be found to be going on, undercover, in theories of pain, mourning and trauma" currently occupying not only feminist theory but also "postcolonial and transnational studies of torture, war, terror, the diaspora, refugee studies and trauma studies in general" (2001: 43). Central to these theories is "the question of the body's, and particularly female bodies', relationship to pain," whether psychic, physical or both, and "the relationship of these bodies in pain to economies of

representation" (2001: 43). In reading Elaine Scarry's meditation on the "unshareability [of pain] through its resistance to language" (in Toye 2001: 44) with Julia Kristeva's analogous meditation on "[t]he language of love [a]s impossible, inadequate, immediately allusive" (in Toye 2001: 44), Toye notes that both theorists nevertheless also "stress the transformative objectifying powers of language" (2001: 45), particularly in literary expression where the experience of pain and of love can be both shared and translated into a vocabulary and register available for use by others. For Scarry, pain's "resistance to language" derives from the lack of object that for her typifies this interior state of consciousness and differentiates it from others like love for which the experience of the loss of its object will "begin to approach the neighbourhood of physical pain" (in Toye 2001: 45). For Kristeva, it is not only in this loss that love's inarticulacy resides, but in what she sees as its revelatory, cataclysmic and vertiginous immediacy, when, "[u]nder its sway, one does not speak *of*" as one does "*after the fact*" (in Toye 2001: 45, emphasis in original). As Toye points out, both theorists conceive of those moments when language, however inadequate, is found for the expression of either love or pain in terms of birth, renewal, newness: In love, according to Kristeva, "[o]ne simply has the impression of speaking at last, for the first time, for real" (in Toye 2001: 45), whereas for Scarry, "to be present when a person moves up out of that pre-language and projects the facts of sentience into speech is almost to have been permitted to be present at the birth of language itself" (in Toye 2001: 45).

Although marked by tentativeness (one has an "impression"; it is "almost to have been permitted"), these descriptions of language breaching silence, particularly the silence imposed by pain, inform Toye's proposal of a "poethics of love" in which she resituates the neologism 'poethics' and "the mutually implicating discourses of ethics, politics, and aesthetics" (2001: 48) it foregrounds within a poststructuralist feminist frame. Her reconfiguration of poethics centres on the insertion of 'the body' as necessary mediating presence binding the different terms of the constellation. This forms the basis of her thinking towards an "embodied ethics" of love, underpinned by an engagement with Irigaray's "sensible transcendental" and "proximate distance" (in Toye 2001: 48), collocations echoed in Toye's "embodied thought" (2001: 51). Privileging the literary, she defines her "poethics of love" as a "theory/methodology" that focuses on the idea of "narrative as embodied theory" which she finds in "the poetic theoretical writings" of theorists like Irigaray and Kristeva and "the theoretical narratives" of novelists like Angela Carter and Jeanette Winterson (2001: 49). Extrapolating from Toye's work, I treat the novels discussed here as examples of "narrative as embodied theory" because they are fictions in which narrative and embodiment converge while they also implicitly theorise their own historical revisionism and literariness.

3. At the middle ground, in the middle voice

The settler colonial economies where women's bodies circulate as objects between men portrayed in *Alias Grace* and *Unconfessed* – and in the latter culminate in the dystopic excesses of slavocracy – are inherently destructive of the "proximate distance" required for the "touch" which "binds and unbinds two others in flesh that is still and always untouched by mastery," theorised by Irigaray in "The Fecundity of the Caress" (in Toye 2001: 47, 48). Such an in-between space, as necessary precondition for an ethical relationship between two subjects, rather than between subject and object, is patently inconceivable to those for whom to touch is always to grasp and to be near is to violate the integrity of another's body in an assertion of mastery, foreclosing – as a matter of life and death – the possibility of transformation and becoming that is latent in an exchange between two subjects. For Irigaray, it is 'wonder', Descartes's first passion upon which she elaborates in *The Ethics of Sexual Difference*, that allows and inaugurates an exchange "[w]here I am no longer in the past and not yet in the future" (in Ziarek, 1998: 69) because "[t]his passion is not opposed to, or in conflict with, anything else, and exists always as if for the first time" (Irigaray 1991: 171). In its "radical temporality" as affect, it is for Irigaray "similar to Freud's theory of drives," according to Ewa Plonowska Ziarek, because she "seems to suggest that the drive might be an unconscious source of wonder since both originate on the threshold between the materiality of the body and language" (1998: 69). Because wonder is prior to judgement, rejection and appropriation, it is "an ethical passion" since it "circulates between two subjects in an exchange that is for both a transformative and ongoing becoming," and operates in a way comparable to the "middle voice" in grammar in which the verb form designates "an action that is both active and passive" (Ziarek 1998: 71).

If this ethical exchange between two takes place through language, then language itself when thought of in terms of Irigaray's fecund caress or "amorous exchange" (1991: 43-44) could be seen as, at least potentially, that which traverses the proximate distance without laying claim, without, one might argue, the interpellative foreclosures of subjectivation and subjection foundational to what Judith Butler in *The Psychic Life of Power*

describes as Louis Althusser's "doctrine of interpellation" (1997: 106). According to this account of the subject's "coming into being as a consequence of language, yet always within its terms," the subject in responding to the call of the law by turning around to acknowledge and hence accept its interpellation enters "into the language of self-description – 'Here I am' – through the appropriation of guilt" (Butler 1997: 107). This "self-attribution of guilt" appears to be triggered by an already inculcated and compelling conscience within the one who turns around to submit to the law in what Butler describes as "an anticipatory move towards identity" (1997: 107). The trope of 'the turn' pivots on the doubled gesture in which the turn towards the law is also, simultaneously and unavoidably, "a turn against oneself, a turn back on oneself" (Butler 1997: 107). Poised at the crux of this paradox, the subject whose continued existence can be assured only in terms of the law which "requires subjection for subjectivation, then, perversely, […] may (always already) yield to the law in order to continue to assure [his/her] existence" (Butler 1997: 112-13). This position of dependency is one of extreme vulnerability because inevitably open to exploitation, as Butler makes apparent in her example of the child's "passionate attachment" to those upon whom his/her continued existence relies, even in cases of abuse and neglect (1997: 6-10).

However, this is not to succumb to a fatalistic foreclosure of agency or to forego critique of the law whose call is passionately anticipated and turned to because, "[i]f conscience is one form that the passionate attachment to existence takes, then the failure of interpellation is to be found precisely in the passionate attachment that also allows it to work" (Butler 1997: 129). In her refutation of Mladen Dolar's suggestion that "love might be 'beyond' interpellation" (1997: 128), which she nevertheless sees as "important," Butler's thinking through interpellation's necessary failure to constitute the subject fully, paradoxically, begins to approximate the futurity of Irigaray's ethics in its longing for "a possibility of being elsewhere or otherwise" (1997: 130). Turning to Giorgio Agamben's argument that "[t]here is in effect something that humans are and have to be, but this is not an essence nor properly a thing: *It is the simple fact of one's own existence as possibility or potentiality*" (in Butler 1997: 131, emphasis in original), Butler retrieves "being" as the inexhaustible potentiality that remains in the face of every interpellation by arguing that "[s]uch a failure of interpellation may well undermine the capacity of the subject to 'be' in a self-identical sense, but it may also mark the path toward a more open, even more ethical, kind of being, one of or for the future" (1997: 131).

Earlier, in a formulation that recalls but differs in its points of departure from Irigaray's notion of the interval as a space of ethical potentiality and mutually transformative exchange in a 'middle voice' into which two subjects enter volitionally, Butler suggests that "[t]he 'turning around' is a strange sort of middle ground (taking place, perhaps, in a strange sort of 'middle voice'), which is determined both by the law and the addressee, but by neither unilaterally or exhaustively" (1997: 107). This is evidently not to be thought of as a self-created "free zone" from where the subject assumes an independent agency, but rather as that paradoxical place of "a reiterated ambivalence at the heart of agency" for which Butler uses the figure of "a crossroads" (1997: 17, 18). Moreover, because this is where law manifests as an object of passionate attachment, it is also "a strange scene of love" (Butler 1997: 128). Butler's reiteration of the word "strange" – "a strange sort of middle ground," "a strange sort of 'middle voice'," "a strange scene of love" – in relation to this space signals its uncanniness, which is also suggested by its being a middle-place, a crossroads, a site marked for outlaw burials, hauntings, possessions, illicit transactions and magical transformations. Ostensibly outside the law, such places are in fact of the law, metonymically situating the intimacies and estrangements of being a subject under/in/outside the law and language – of subjectivation and subjection, which does not, however, diminish or erase their significance as places of risk and potential.

Although this is not a series of associations Butler pursues, she identifies and welcomes the risky potentialities inherent in those tricky moments when interpellation fails – when "the subject cannot quell the ambivalence by which it is constituted," having colluded with an act of "misrecognition" by responding to a misnomer that simultaneously validates and condemns (1997: 17, 112). At this middle-place that borders on the feral, "the anticipation of culling an identity through identifying with the one who has broken the law" sets in play Althusser's perpetual cycle of "acquitting oneself of the accusation of guilt" (Butler 1997: 108, 118) by conscientiously acquitting oneself well as a good, law-abiding and productive citizen in the proper mastery of taught skills, especially the skill of "speaking properly" (Butler 1997: 115). Yet it also, simultaneously, harbours, as a discursive, "quasi-fictive" site (Butler 1997: 5), the radically (counter)productive potential of improper speech. It is possible, as Butler points out with reference to Foucault's suggestion of the possibilities of resignification, "that even the most noxious terms could be owned, that the most injurious interpellations could also be the site of radical reoccupation and resignification" (1997: 104), as is the case when Atwood's Grace

appropriates the designation "a celebrated murderess" (1998: 25) and Christiansë's Sila performatively embodies her exploitation as a "naaimeidjie" or fuck-maid (2006: 8).

Butler's parenthetical and tentative insinuation of "a strange sort of 'middle voice'" at the "middle ground" of the turn towards the law echoes Irigaray's invocation of the in-between voice that, neither active nor passive, is always self-reflexive. For example, the verb in 'I berate myself' is situated in the middle voice because the subject both acts and is acted upon, neither entirely active nor entirely passive, but, in the verb's reflexive inflection, both. This example is also pertinent to the discussion of interpellation as it captures Freud's notion of a "special agency" – later termed the superego – "which is able to stand over against the rest of the ego, which has the function of observing and criticising the self and exercising a censorship within the mind, and which we become aware of as our 'conscience'" (Freud, 1986: 630). As Butler makes clear, even though "[s]ocial discourse wields the power to form and regulate a subject through the imposition of its own terms," there is no simple acceptance or internalisation of these terms because "they become psychic only through the movement by which they are dissimulated and 'turned'" (1997: 197). The metaphoricity of both 'voice' and 'place' had already been implied by her early elaboration on 'the turn' as trope, itself a rhetorical turning, in *The Psychic Life of Power*, where, in a note, she refers to Hayden White's description of tropes as both "deviations" from set meanings and generative of new meanings (in Butler, 1997: 201). In relying on the metaphor of a geologically layered psyche, for example, psychoanalysis generates a proliferation of tropes with which to speak about this subterranean terrain made of words. The 'talking cure' thus sets out to sound those layers of the unconscious and consciousness as registers of voice in the subject's recounting of life-stories, dreams and fantasies that are themselves a chorus of metaphors, a speaking in tongues, ventriloquisms, and the channelling of the voices of the dead.

At the threshold between the two layers designated as the unconscious and consciousness, or, to use Kristeva's terms, at the thetic that marks the break between the semiotic, which is "the element of signification associated with drives and affects," and the symbolic, which is "the element of signification associated with position and judgment" (Oliver in Kristeva 1997: 25), we are also at "the threshold of language" (Kristeva 1997: 41). This is the place of interpellation and its necessary failures where poetic language, registering as "breach" (Kristeva 1997: 55), "transgression" and the crossing of boundaries (1997: 47), "puts the subject in process/on trial" (1997: 47). For Kristeva, the thetic phase demarcates the subject's entry into the symbolic through language which is however never free of the infractions of the semiotic, and it is from this indispensable coexistence of the two realms and the tensions generated by it that all signification derives, but which poetic language, "through its sounds and rhythms," makes overt "[b]y reactivating the drives in language" (Oliver in Kristeva 1997: 25). In *Revolution in Poetic Language*, she explains the thetic as "absolutely necessary" but "not exclusive" (1997: 50).

Conceived of as a place, a threshold for recurrent crossings between the unconscious and consciousness which the subject, who is both in process and on trial, inhabits, the thetic approximates Irigaray's in-between space and Butler's crossroads in its potential for transformation. Whereas for Butler the potential inherent here is one of ethics, of being elsewhere and speaking otherwise in relation to the law and its compelling interpellations, a subject position essentially political and social in its risky quest for agency, for Irigaray, who is similarly concerned with the political and social in the ethics of sexual difference, there is also the added dimension of mimicry and the revolutionary play of poetic language, the poet being the one who "risks life itself" (1991: 213). Her notion of *mimétisme* – "usually translated mimeticism, com[ing] from the domain of animal ethology and mean[ing] 'camouflage' or 'protective colouring'" (Whitford 1991: 72) – is moreover suggestive of the kind of oppositional agency Butler, via Foucault, sees as a possibility in the appropriation of injurious interpellations, because, for Irigaray, "to convert a form of subordination into an affirmation" is to "begin to thwart it" (1991: 124). For a woman, "[t]o play with mimesis is […] to try to locate the place of exploitation by discourse, without allowing herself to be simply reduced to it" (Irigaray 1991: 124). Irigaray argues that by resubmitting herself to those "ideas […] elaborated in/by a masculine logic" that relegate her to the merely bodily is "to make 'visible' by an effect of playful repetition, what was supposed to remain invisible: recovering a possible operation of the feminine in language" (1991: 124).

Although her introduction of the element of "playful repetition" – which she later in the same essay describes as "[a] playful crossing, and an unsettling one" (1991: 125) – may appear to be an ameliorative gesture, Irigaray's own performance of *mimétisme* in engaging the writing of male philosophers and their deployment of metaphor demonstrates that this is, on the contrary, a form of serious play driven by revolutionary purpose, because, like the deliberate appropriation of hurtful appellations, it is a tactical manoeuvre to outwit the law – to beat it at

its own game. The deliberate assumption of the feminine role thus exposes the interpellative compulsions of the "*masquerade of femininity*," which Irigaray describes as the psychoanalytical "belief […] that it is necessary to *become* a woman, a 'normal' one at that" (1991: 136, emphasis in original). Conceived of in these terms, it can be argued that masquerade's turn is towards the call of the law of male desire and systems of representation, in which the woman turns on herself and "loses herself" (Irigaray 1991: 130) as she learns to acquit herself well in the proper speech of femininity.

4. A poethics of improper speech of the body

My argument in this paper is that Atwood's *Alias Grace* and Christiansë's *Unconfessed* employ a poethics of improper speech of the body at/as the threshold between different but impinging domains. We recall that for Kristeva, the revolutionary potential of the poetic derives from the incursions of the semiotic, which she describes – in language reminiscent of Butler's elaboration on the trope of the turn – "as a 'second' return of instinctual functioning within the symbolic, as a negativity introduced into the symbolic order, and as the transgression of that order" (1997: 55). At this middle place where the insurrectionary drives constantly threaten to breach the ground of the thetic and to blossom like Grace Marks's red peonies in the cracks of the prison yard of the symbolic, where "[p]oetic language operates between sense and nonsense, meaning and nonmeaning" (Oliver in Kristeva 1997: 26), we are in the realm of the body and its improper language of sensations, odours, sounds. We are also, as Butler reminds us, in the haunted place of irrecoverable and unspeakable loss, of the lost ground of incomplete mourning and melancholia where "what remains unspeakably absent inhabits the psychic voice of the one who remains" (1997: 196). In both *Alias Grace* and *Unconfessed*, the protagonists' speech is transfigured by the dead that (pre)occupy them. Mary Whitney, Grace's fellow servant and only friend, who dies consequent to a backstreet abortion and 'possesses' Grace, speaks a language of fleshy irreverence and class mutiny that shadows Grace's own proper speaking. Baro, the young son Sila killed to procure for him a respite from the farmer Van der Wat's violence and ownership, is in his silence her most persistent spectral interlocutor on Robben Island to whom she recounts the lost genealogies of slavery in a tongue incantatory, prophetic and pungent with curses.

In her elaboration of a "feminine syntax" to be "deciphered […] in the gestural code of women's bodies," the 'reading' of which is however made difficult because women's "gestures are often paralysed, or part of the masquerade [of femininity]," Irigaray identifies women's suffering and laughter as sources "for what resists or subsists 'beyond'" the interpellative injunctions of the masculine language that also sticks in the hysteric's throat (1997: 136). In the two novels, laughter erupts in various registers from suffering and both authors employ it, and allow their protagonists to wield it, in ways that self-consciously radicalise it as an expression of defiance where speech must falter and fail, for laughter, as Kristeva points out, "lifts inhibitions by breaking through prohibition […] to introduce the aggressive, violent, liberating drive" (1997: 224). Manifesting as a seismic upsurge of the drives in wordless bodily sounds that distort the facial features, laughter is at the extreme of those expressions of traumatically fractured interiority for which both Atwood and Christiansë attempt to find a language in their experiments with the poetic in interior monologue and stream-of-consciousness narration. What makes these narratives 'embodied' is their consistent referencing or deployment of the body in its material fleshiness as threshold to self-narrations that appropriate injurious interpellations or perform through deliberate *mimétisme* and the involuntary gestural vocabulary of the hysteric or through laughter a parodic perversion of the institutional discourses that imprison the women who tell these stories. Although both novels rely on stylistic fragmentation – Atwood's use of the patchwork quilt as structuring device and textual metonym best captures this refusal of linearity and the certainties of a singular, coherent account of a life – their protagonists consistently demonstrate a compulsion to narrate a coherent, singular life story to a particular interlocutor.

There are therefore two contrapuntal narrative impulses, one at the level of authorial narrative construction which is self-consciously theoretical and suspicious in its engagement with historiography and the writing of fiction, and the other at the level of narrative voice and characterisation which, in contrast, shows the protagonists to be apparently unselfconsciously driven to narrate their own stories in a manner comparable to Adriana Cavarero's notion of a "narratable self" in *Relating Narratives: Storytelling and Selfhood* (2000: 340). The two novels thus contain in these two coinciding narrative impulses two contrasting notions of the self as "narrated," which is Butler's position, and the self as "narratable," which is Cavarero's position. Although both theorists have been influenced by Irigaray's work and have responded to each other's work, there are marked differences in their thinking. As Paul A. Kottman, Cavarero's translator, points out, to assume "that unique beings

can become 'intelligible' only through the 'critical category' of the subject is, for Cavarero, part of a philosophical legacy which seeks to efface the unique, the particular" (Kotman 2000: xiii). Following Hannah Arendt, Cavarero argues that "the intelligibility of the unique existent is not 'first established in language,' but rather he/she is a flesh and blood existent whose unique identity is revealed *ex post facto* through the words of his or her life-story" (Kotman 2000: xiii).

5. Conclusion

Rather than the one undoing the validity of the other, however, these two approaches by coinciding in one text enable the author to negotiate the complexities and pitfalls of voice inherent in the recovery of historically dispossessed figures in fiction. On the one hand, the character is shown to be immersed in self-narration which takes the form of an unmediated poetic flow of free-associative recollection and projection, as is the dominant mode of narration in *Unconfessed*. On the other hand, as is predominantly the case in *Alias Grace*, the character's interior monologue consists of various 'voices' or registers that shift from dream-like flights of free-association, usually associated with remembering, interrupted by a self-consciously mediating voice that comments on or recounts daily events, which has embedded within it frequent references to the improper speech of Mary Whitney, and which is also marked by the rhetorical skill of a consummate storyteller. In both novels, the characters are shown to be consistently aware of their incarceration not only in the institutional structures of the law but in its various discourses, which is what underpins their tactical use of appropriation and *mimétisme*. Moreover, both authors structure their novels as fragments of narrative that self-interrupt and contradict, repeat and circle back to the same event but remembered differently, disrupting the achievement of a story completely told and instead mimicking the tendency to repetition and return that mark the psychoanalytical encounter, explicitly introduced in *Alias Grace* in the exchanges between Grace and Dr Simon Jordan, but in *Unconfessed* implicit in Sila's giving an account of her life to Baro, the one to whom she had given life and whose life she had taken.

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Labour Market of the 28 EU Countries by Gender

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Abstract: The paper describes gender inequality in employment across 28 EU countries. Gender inequality in employment persists despite European commission is focused on decreasing it. Gender equality is guaranteed by the Charter of Fundamental Rights and supported by the Strategy for equality between women and men and also by the Europe 2020 Employment Strategy. However, women are still in a worse position on the labour market compared with men. Therefore, European Commission (EC) focused mostly on achieving lower disparities between genders by encouraging women to participate on the labour market. EC guarantees the same working rights for both genders with the aim of preventing discrimination. Gender inequality differs depending on the analysed sector. Therefore, the paper focuses on the analysis of the employment gender inequality across sectors since 2000 until 2017. Gender inequality indicator was calculated as a ratio between the lower and upper gender rates minus one to assess the severity of the inequality. Further, we have compared gender inequality indicators in employment and the labour force participation. Positive linear correlation was determined too. Gender inequality indicator for employment was always higher than gender inequality indicator of labour force participation, and it was more susceptible to structural changes. Gender inequality in employment did not depend on time, but it has depended on country and employment sectors. The highest gender inequality value was reported in southern countries such as Malta, Italy and Greece, while the lowest one was reported in northern countries, such as Sweden and Finland. When it comes to sectors, men were employed more than women in agriculture and industry sector, while women were employed more than men in services sector. However, when gender inequality indicators across sectors were compared, higher gender inequality was reported when women were worse off on the labour market. The crisis in the year 2008 had substantial impact on the employment gender inequality and it led to its decrease on panel level. The consequences of this impact were permanent, and it set the new, lower equilibrium of the employment gender inequality.

Keywords: gender inequality, labour market, employment, labour force, sector

1. Introduction

Through the history, women had always been worse off on the labour market comparing to men. Stereotypes about women being needed more at home than at work are still present in minds of modern men (Krainska, 2016). However, situation has been changing lately. Even though men have still better position on the labour market than women, in terms of the labour market participation and employment, presence of women in the labour market has increased. Structure of the labour market was changed, not only due to increased participation of women but also due to men's increased tendency of abandoning the labour market. However, men's tendency to leave labour market is slower than women tendency to enter the labour market (OECD, 2018). This suggests that policies focused on encouragement of women to enter the labour market were successful and not only women entered into the labour market, but their participation only partially decreased participation of men on the labour market.

Since the year 2000, employment gender inequality was always higher than gender inequality in the labour force, with exception the period of economic crisis that began in the year 2008. We observe that crisis in the year 2008 affected gender inequality in employment by decreasing it only temporary (Figure 1). After the crisis, employment gender inequality was restored to its original path. Nevertheless, gender inequality has been decreasing since 2000, in both employment and labour force participation. However, it still persists, and policies should be focused on mitigating it.



Source: Own processing

Figure 1: Development of the gender inequality in employment and the labour force participation

This paper focuses on describing the gender inequality across employment by investigating the gender inequality across distinct employment sectors, such as agriculture, services and industry. We also investigate the connection between the gender inequality in employment and labour force gender inequality.

The paper is structured as follows. We start with providing the review of the recent studies which investigate the gender inequality. We follow by describing the data and methods used. Subsequently we describe the results, starting with descriptive statistics and visual representation of the data used, followed by the analysis of the correlation between gender inequality in labour force participation and employment and concluding with the results from the cross-dependence analysis. Finally, we gave our conclusions.

2. Literature review

The European Union focuses on decreasing gender inequality in many aspects of the economy. One of those aspects is labour market. Decreasing gender inequality on the labour market would lead to increases in productivity (Valadkhani & Mehdee Araee, 2013) and country development (Galbraith & Garcilazo, 2010), which would result in increased employment rates. However, increased participation of women on the labour market could lead to increase of the gender inequality (Elveren, 2014). Therefore, we focused on investigation of the relationship between the gender inequality in the labour force participation and employment. Our aim is to discover and to describe this connection for the 28 EU countries. Despite the gender inequality in employment or in the labour force participation rates, the gender inequality has been present in many aspects of the economy and women were mostly worse off compared with men (Van der Vleuten, 2007). Gender inequality of wages was the most investigated (He & Wu, 2017). Gender inequality in empoyment was investigated across private and public sectors (Seshan, 2013), education (Popli & Yilmaz, 2017), previous occupation of the unemployed (Hagglund & Bachmann, 2017), skills of the workforce (Khalifa, 2012) and many other fields. Factors that were identified as the main triggers of the gender inequality were education (Ritzen & Zimmermann, 2018), high pay expectations (Boheim, et al., 2011), religion, tradition and culture (Ucal & Günay, 2018), missperceptions of women (Krainska, 2016), missmatch on the labour market (Buchmann & McDaniel, 2016) and many other factors.

Although, men are employed in manufacturing sector more than women, the cost of exiting this sectors are higher for men, which makes women more profitable for companies, since welfare gains from trade are higher for them (Brussevich, 2018). However, the gender wage inequality is mostly due to private sector sorting women to low paid employment. Even though gender inequality was decreasing as the consequence of the globalisation that increased presence of women on the labour market, shares of women in capital-intensive companies is still lower than share of men (Abegaz & Nene, 2018). Decreasing gender inequality was usually related with economic growth, however this is related to regions or sectors. Gender inequality in the public sector is almost inexistent, that sugests that the gender inequality in the private sector is usually the appropriate indicator of the gender inequality in country (Fodor & Glass, 2018). This is not only true for the European Union, but the proof could also be found in the USA (Laird, 2017).

Gender inequality was lately investigated by many authors, and many approaches were developed that could measure it. Gender inequality has been decreasing throughout the entire world, across distinct cultures, different qualities of education and different religions (Dorius & Firebaugh, 2010). It was also proven that gender inequality in industrialized countries, could be decreased only if tackled on macroeconomic level, which could also lead to equal division of work in households (Makiko, 2004). High levels of inequality, lead to high decreases in happiness, mainly in cases of women with higher shares of housework or those employed part-time or less than 30 hours a week (Mencarini, 2012). While on the other hand, decreased gender inequality would lead to economic growth (Jinyoung, et al., 2016).

The paper contributes to the literature by describing the gender inequality in employment of the 28 EU countries and by comparing them. Relationship between the gender inequality in employment and the labour force participation was described, as well as the relationship between the gender inequality in employment and gender inequality in employment by agriculture, services and industry sectors. Dependence of the gender inequality in employment on country and time was also described.

3. Data and methodology

We employed annual labour force participation rates disaggregated by gender and employment rates disaggregated by gender of sectors of employment, obtained from the World Bank database (THE WORLD BANK, 2018). We employed data over the sample period of 2000-2017, for the 28 European Union countries.

The gender inequality indicators were consequently calculated for the employment areas showed in (Table 1)

Table 1: Gender inequality series specifications

	Category (*c*)
Employment by Sector	Agriculture
	Industry
	Services
Total	Employment
	Labour Force Participation
Note. All series listed in this table were disaggregated by gender which were then used for gender inequality indicator calculation.	

Source: Own processing

We rank Gender inequality indicator (GII) from -100 to 100. GII equal to zero means gender equality. GII equals to -100/100 means that women/men are in the advantage. GII was calculated based on the following rules

$$r_m^c = r_f^c \Rightarrow GII = 0\,, \tag{1}$$

$$r_m^c > 0 \wedge r_f^c = 0 \Rightarrow GII = 100\,, \tag{2}$$

$$r_f^c > 0 \wedge r_m^c = 0 \Rightarrow GII = -100\,, \tag{3}$$

$$r_m^c > r_f^c \Rightarrow GII = \left(\left(r_f^c / r_m^c\right) - 1\right) \times \left(-100\right), \tag{4}$$

$$r_m^c < r_f^c \Rightarrow GII = \left(\left(r_m^c / r_f^c\right) - 1\right) \times 100\,, \tag{5}$$

where, r_m^c is percentage of men from total employed men in each category *c*, r_f^c is percentage of women from women employed in each category *c*. For clarification purposes of this method, we would demonstrate how it should be implemented. If we want to measure the gender inequality among those employed in Industry sector, we would do the following. First, we look at the employment rates of women and men in industry sector. Let assume that employment rate of men was higher than employment rate of women, which would imply that GII would give positive value. Based on this method, gender equality would be assumed if the returned value equals zero, if the returned value is higher than zero, this suggests women are being worse off than men and vice versa.

Let assume that employment rate of men employed in services sector is 80, $r_m^{industry} = 80$ (note that "c" from this formula has been replaced with appropriate category (c) from the Table 1), and that the employment rate of women employed in services is 60, $r_f^{industry} = 60$. Since the employment rate of men employed in services is higher than employment rate of women employed in services, we would employ the Equation 4 to obtain GII. First, we calculate the ratio $r_f^{industry} \Big/ r_m^{industry} = 60/80 = 0.75$. We observe that employment rate of women employed in industry sector is only 75% of men employment rate in industry sector, which suggest that women are employed less than men by 25%, which is proven by finishing the calculation of the Equation 4, as follows $GII = \left(\left(r_f^{industry} \Big/ r_m^{industry}\right) - 1\right) \times (-100) = 0.75 - 1 * (-100) = 25$. If the situation is reversed and employment rate of women in industry sector is higher than the employment rate of men in industry sector, the Equation 5 would be employed, and the result would be the same value but with opposite sign mark (-25). Sign marks are the way how we distinguish between gender in disadvantage or gender, that is worse off. Gender inequality is usually calculated two was using the ratio between the two genders, but with no gender distinction, therefore we could get for both value 25, which would not distinguish which gender is worse off, and using panel data for comparison we would not be able to distinguish to what should policies focus. Therefore, the most used indicator of gender inequality is ratio of women to men employment rates, however this method has also weak spots. We would demonstrate it on the example above. Let first suppose women are worse off, then the indicator of the gender inequality would be the ratio we calculated and would be 60/80=0.75, which suggest that women employment rate is by 25% lower than it is men employment rate (note that with this method, gender equality is set to 1). But when the men employment rate is lower, the result would be 80/60=1.33 (still calculation as ratio of female to male), that suggest that men are being worse of by 33%. With the same employment rates only switching the genders, yield different gender inequality ratios (25 not equal as 33), to solve this issue we proposed method described with Equations 1-5.

Relationship between gender inequality in employment and gender inequality in the labour force was described using linear regression (Greene, 2012)

$$GII_{employment}^{country} = \alpha + \beta \times GII_{labour\ force\ participation}^{country}. \quad (6)$$

We employed Pesaran cross sectional dependence test to validate if changes of gender inequality from one category influenced gender inequality in other category in some way. The null hypothesis, for this test, states that series are independent (Pesaran, 2007).

4. Results

4.1 Data representation

Gender inequality differs, among others, across distinct sectors of employment. Indicators above zero indicate men being better off than women, zero indicates gender equality. We observe for all countries that on average men were employed and participated on the labour market more than women. We observe that the highest gender inequality in employment and in labour force participation was reported in Malta, while the lowest ones were reported in Sweden followed by Finland. The highest standard deviations from the mean were reported across gender inequality by sectors (Table 2). We also observe that average gender inequality is comparable when employment and the labour force are compared. While in the most of the European countries gender inequality was higher in employment, there were also countries where gender inequality was higher in the labour force (Table 2).

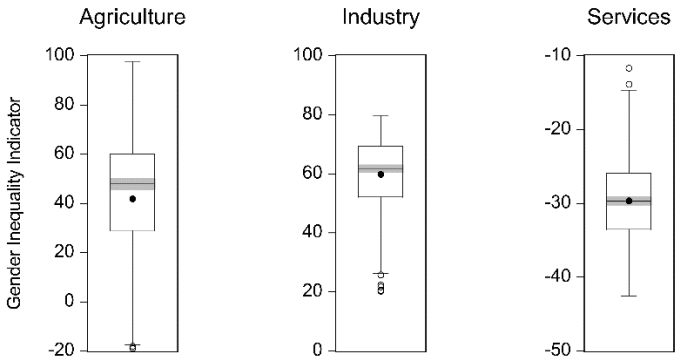
Table 2: Descriptive statistics

Country	Gender Inequality	Employment	Labour Force	Agriculture	Industry	Services
Austria	Mean	21.4502	21.5852	3.6605	67.2325	-31.8975
	Std. Dev.	4.1176	3.9417	9.9716	1.2190	1.5938
Belgium	Mean	24.1704	23.6708	48.9537	70.7231	-28.4120
	Std. Dev.	4.7662	3.9920	4.7854	3.2009	.8633
Bulgaria	Mean	18.5462	19.4916	42.0262	31.4306	-23.7564
	Std. Dev.	1.7841	1.0443	7.1586	6.9184	2.6771

Country	Gender Inequality	Employment	Labour Force	Agriculture	Industry	Services
Croatia	Mean	25.9132	24.1988	2.4014	54.4354	-29.3851
	Std. Dev.	2.9906	2.3144	19.7154	5.9607	2.9777
Cyprus	Mean	22.0188	21.4894	48.1167	69.2577	-26.5135
	Std. Dev.	6.2153	5.1921	15.1641	5.0228	2.1951
Czech Republic	Mean	27.8239	25.9225	46.4918	48.7272	-36.2421
	Std. Dev.	1.2917	1.0907	6.4793	3.3958	.7370
Denmark	Mean	14.3405	14.0511	69.2989	64.8243	-26.2618
	Std. Dev.	2.0430	1.7452	5.9891	2.5437	2.1755
Estonia	Mean	17.8622	19.6467	57.4678	52.3768	-34.7174
	Std. Dev.	2.2079	1.1361	6.1395	7.9913	3.7792
Finland	Mean	12.2071	12.5436	57.0845	71.0143	-34.7703
	Std. Dev.	1.9921	1.2739	4.6357	3.7599	1.3839
France	Mean	19.5481	18.8153	52.2664	66.4062	-27.7902
	Std. Dev.	3.3843	2.3126	4.7793	2.9808	1.1901
Germany	Mean	21.1750	21.5610	40.6885	62.7722	-32.2852
	Std. Dev.	3.5587	3.3669	4.9038	2.1571	1.3082
Greece	Mean	37.8477	31.8065	-5.6546	64.7469	-21.0281
	Std. Dev.	4.2963	4.5780	9.8222	4.2504	3.2607
Hungary	Mean	26.3335	26.4751	60.8859	48.6101	-31.5833
	Std. Dev.	1.3141	1.4353	2.6717	4.5766	.7886
Ireland	Mean	23.3923	25.8675	84.5364	68.0043	-34.7097
	Std. Dev.	5.9575	4.0411	1.3979	3.3659	5.7154
Italy	Mean	38.5307	36.3783	37.2309	57.8487	-29.1667
	Std. Dev.	4.0158	3.1290	8.1469	6.3326	1.7367
Latvia	Mean	18.7087	20.8015	46.4870	56.5104	-33.9151
	Std. Dev.	3.9986	2.3191	9.8782	5.7299	2.6545
Lithuania	Mean	15.0888	17.5186	39.0029	48.8065	-31.7709
	Std. Dev.	3.6724	1.5463	6.3530	6.4429	2.7364
Luxembourg	Mean	27.6149	26.5234	49.1773	77.0711	-20.0375
	Std. Dev.	6.6308	6.4229	6.4422	2.2438	4.6904
Malta	Mean	49.5465	48.9927	82.6753	55.2529	-22.4444
	Std. Dev.	8.4711	8.1485	8.0221	11.0897	2.3727
Netherlands	Mean	20.6544	20.1290	50.3141	73.6512	-24.5061
	Std. Dev.	3.5173	3.4758	6.1298	2.1345	1.6316
Poland	Mean	25.5592	24.3137	9.0868	58.4013	-36.6551
	Std. Dev.	.9567	1.2692	6.0729	2.9646	1.5419
Portugal	Mean	20.4018	19.1873	8.3179	54.1515	-29.6379
	Std. Dev.	3.1864	2.8173	25.6624	3.0017	1.3460
Romania	Mean	24.1427	25.3772	-6.2294	36.5326	-22.5127
	Std. Dev.	3.4869	3.4881	4.9304	6.6259	5.1675
Slovak Republic	Mean	25.2471	24.3678	60.5924	53.2370	-39.8872
	Std. Dev.	1.9462	1.3138	5.6381	5.1564	1.5396
Slovenia	Mean	19.3381	18.4811	5.9321	49.9516	-32.5131
	Std. Dev.	1.5542	1.6541	9.3792	7.1577	2.1386
Spain	Mean	30.1845	27.0904	52.4350	69.8360	-32.8839
	Std. Dev.	9.0770	7.4289	8.7878	2.5501	4.7992
Sweden	Mean	11.1913	11.5439	68.3845	73.4507	-28.2785
	Std. Dev.	1.0929	.9096	3.0701	2.2743	1.9782
United Kingdom	Mean	18.9624	19.7745	61.8233	71.7968	-26.0933
	Std. Dev.	2.0176	2.1507	4.8791	2.1264	2.2401

Source: Own processing

As reported in Table 2 gender inequality varies across countries and across distinct categories. Therefore, we start by describing gender inequality data of all 28 EU countries across the employment sector.



Source: Own processing

Figure 2: Gender inequality across distinct employment sectors in all 28 EU countries

When it comes to employment sectors, more men were employed than women in agriculture and industry sector, while more women were employed than men in services sector. However, even men were mostly employed more than women in agriculture sector, this was not true for all observed period. We observe that in some years, employment of women in agriculture sector was higher than employment of men in this sector. When it comes to levels of gender inequality, it was the lowest in services sector. Even when women were employed more than men in services sector, this difference is not as high as it is in industry and agriculture sector. Therefore, when it comes to employment in industries men were better off than women (Figure 2).

4.2 The dependence between gender inequality in employment and the labour force

The results revealed strong positive linear correlation between gender inequality in employment and on the labour market. The increase of the gender inequality on the labour market led to increase of the gender inequality in the employment. The weakest correlation between these two indicators was reported in Poland (Table 3). We observe that gender inequality has been increasing faster in countries such as Bulgaria, Latvia and Lithuania. While the slowest decrease of the gender inequality occurred in Poland, Hungary and Slovenia (Table 3).

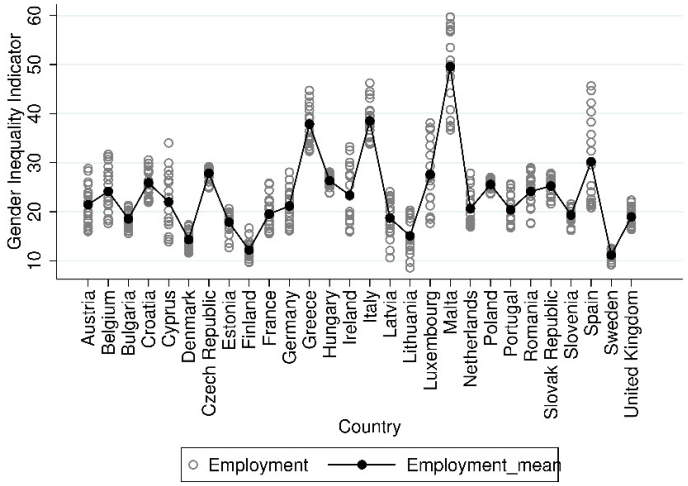
Table 3: Gender inequality in employment and labour force dependence linear regression model results

Country	R	R Square	ANOVA p-value	α	β
Austria	.995[a]	.990	.000	-.981	1.039***
Belgium	.992[a]	.985	.000	-.871***	1.185***
Bulgaria	.920[a]	.846	.000	-12.086***	1.572***
Croatia	.940[a]	.883	.000	-3.476	1.214***
Cyprus	.991[a]	.982	.000	-3.474***	1.186***
Czech Republic	.908[a]	.824	.000	-.051	1.075***
Denmark	.936[a]	.877	.000	-1.063	1.096***
Estonia	.676[a]	.457	.002	-7.946	1.314***
Finland	.925[a]	.856	.000	-5.942***	1.447***
France	.995[a]	.990	.000	-7.842***	1.456***
Germany	.995[a]	.990	.000	-1.498***	1.052***
Greece	.981[a]	.963	.000	8.554***	.921***
Hungary	.920[a]	.846	.000	4.043	.842***
Ireland	.956[a]	.914	.000	-13.060***	1.409***
Italy	.996[a]	.993	.000	-7.989***	1.279***
Latvia	.907[a]	.822	.000	-13.808***	1.563***
Lithuania	.833[a]	.694	.000	-19.574***	1.979***
Luxembourg	.995[a]	.991	.000	.364	1.027***
Malta	.999[a]	.997	.000	-1.321*	1.038***
Netherlands	.997[a]	.995	.000	.337	1.009***
Poland	.716[a]	.513	.001	12.438***	.540***
Portugal	.980[a]	.960	.000	-.856	1.108***
Romania	.994[a]	.987	.000	-1.065	.993***
Slovak Republic	.855[a]	.732	.000	-5.633	1.267***

Country	R	R Square	ANOVA p-value	α	β
Slovenia	.916[a]	.840	.000	3.427*	.861***
Spain	.990[a]	.980	.000	-2.591**	1.210***
Sweden	.913[a]	.834	.000	-1.474	1.097***
United Kingdom	.981[a]	.962	.000	.766	.920***
***Significant at level 0.01; **Significant at level 0.05; *Significant at level 0.1					

Source: Own processing

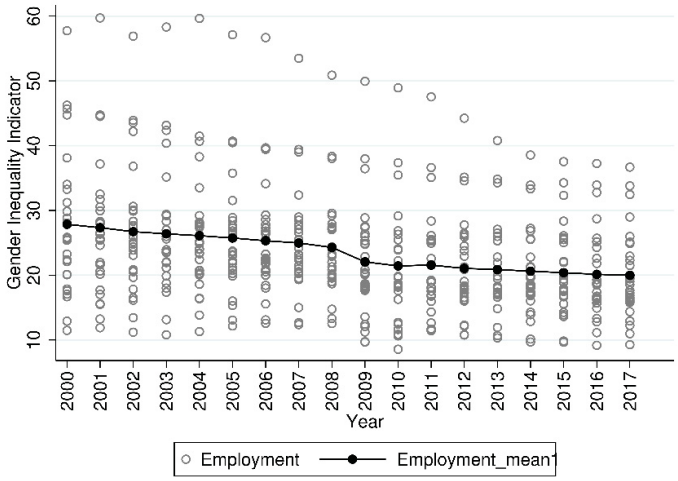
Gender inequality in employment depends on the analysed country. Employment gender inequality was higher in countries such as Malta, Italy and Greece during the observed period, and it was lower in countries such as Finland, Sweden and Denmark. Women were employed less than men in all of them (Figure 3). We also observe that the gender inequality varied the most in countries such as Luxembourg, Malta and Spain, and the least in Bulgaria, Denmark, Finland, Poland, Slovenia and Sweden (Figure 3).



Source: Own processing

Figure 3: Heterogeneity across countries

Even though employment gender inequality differed across countries, it behaved similarly across time. We observe decreasing tendency of the gender inequality during the observed period. Economic crisis in 2008 caused structural break in employment gender inequality series. The consequences from this break were permanent and set the equilibrium of the employment gender inequality to lower values than it was before the crisis (Figure 4).

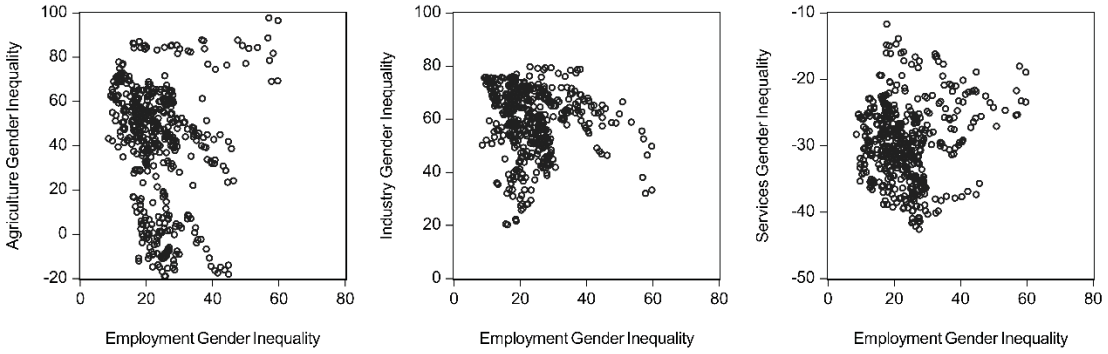


Source: Own processing

Figure 4: Heterogeneity of the employment across time

4.3 The dependence between gender inequality in employment and the sectors of employment

Since the dependence between the gender inequality in employment and the labour force participation was confirmed, we have also analysed the impact of the employment sectors on the employment gender inequality.



Source: Own processing

Figure 5: Dependence between employment gender inequality and employment sectors

No obvious pattern could be found by analysing the Figure 5. Therefore, we focused on the analysis of cross-dependence across countries. Cross sectional dependence test of Pesaran was performed across 28 EU countries of gender inequality across sectors of employment. Our results indicate that gender inequality across sectors depends across countries. The null hypothesis of no-cross sectional dependence was rejected (Pesaran's *t*-statistic=7.991, *p*-value=0.00). We also validated the cross-dependence by time. Based on the reported results, gender inequality across sectors did not depended on time (Pesaran's *t*-statistic=-0.660, *p*-value=0.509).

5. Conclusion

The Labour Market of the European Union has changed since the year 2000 and became more equal when it comes to gender. Gender inequality has been higher across the employment than it has been across labour force participation. The crisis in the year 2008 had stronger impact on gender inequality in employment, which resulted in its substantial decrease during the crisis period (2008-2012). However, the impact was only temporary, and after the crisis period, gender inequality in employment reversed to its equilibrium. It appears that the crisis in the year 2008 had no impact on the gender inequality in the labour force participation. The levels of gender inequality in employment did not depend on time, but they were dependent on country. We observed that the highest gender inequality rates were reported in south countries, such as Malta, Italy and Greece, while the lowest gender inequality rates were reported in northern countries, such as Finland and Sweden. The levels of the gender inequality in employment were also highly dependent on the levels of the gender inequality in the labour force participation rates for all observed countries. For all 28 EU countries, the decrease of the gender inequality in the labour force participation rates led to decrease of the gender inequality in employment. When we analysed all panel datasets together across the sectors, no obvious path was detected. When we analysed our data for cross sectional dependence by sectors of employment, the null hypothesis of no-cross sectional dependence was rejected. The dependence between the gender inequality indicators by the sectors of employment and gender inequality in employment using data panels of 28 EU countries was not analysed in this paper, however it could be examined in future research.

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Experience of Women Faced With Toxic Labour Relations: A Narrative Study

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Abstract: The empirical study focuses on the issue of gender inequality in the workplace and aims to examine the specifics of toxic human resources management practices applied to women. The authors argue that managers in a number of companies make managerial decisions related to women based on the gender factor and toxic leadership in relation to women has certain features. The theoretical basis for the research is the concept of social pollution of labour relations and the psychological theory of gender differences within the framework of the socio-cultural approach. The authors use narrative interviews as a qualitative research method to examine the peculiarities of women's perception of toxic labour relations with managers and their experience of unfavourable working situations. The results of monitoring changes in the labour sphere, conducted annually in certain countries, confirm the high degree of women's involvement in toxic labour relations in various branches of economic activity. The analysis of the obtained narratives allowed us to study the individual experiences of women faced with toxic labour relations and to identify common parameters and patterns directly related to gender. The results of the narrative study allow us to assess the factors and the degree of impact of toxic relations in the workplace on women's career advancement, on the effective implementation of professional duties, as well as on their physical and psycho-social well-being. Overcoming the negative consequences of toxic human resources management practices affecting women in a number of companies should be carried out at the state, organizational and individual levels. The authors suggest practical solutions aimed at increasing the communicative competence of female employees and managers with female subordinates as an effective way to reduce the toxicity of destructive labour relations.

Keywords: toxic labour relations, gender factor, narrative analysis, communicative competence

1. Introduction

The theoretical basis for the study is the concept of social pollution of labour relations (Pfeffer, 2010) and the psychological theory of gender differences in the framework of the socio-cultural approach. The problem of social pollution of labour relations is one of the key subjects of our long-term monitoring study. Over the past five years, we have conducted annual sociological surveys of employees in a number of countries with different models of economic development in order to monitor changes in the labour sphere. In our previous publications, we covered certain aspects of the social pollution phenomenon, the essence of which is harming physical and psycho-social well-being and damaging employees' welfare as a result of companies' economic activities (Fedorova, 2014, 2016). The main factors of social pollution of labour relations are toxic practices of personnel management, toxic management and toxic workplace (Lipman-Blumen, 2005, 2010, Kusy, Holloway, 2009, Lubit, 2008, Macklem, 2005). The intra-organizational environment toxins have a destructive impact on the efficiency of employees' professional activities and, as a result, on the company's economic outcomes; therefore, they should not be left unattended by managers and require special management decisions and tools. Adverse organizational factors, such as stress, occupational morbidity, toxic management, workplace conflicts, and others, are being studied by many researchers. Our research focus is the influence of the processes of employment precarisation and staff flexibilization on employee well-being. These processes are the main trends in the development of the modern labour market, leading to the emergence of new forms of labour relations between employees and employers, which often have negative consequences for employees, depriving them of guaranteed employment and social protection (Kalleberg, 2012, Standing, 2014). Women of employable age are the most vulnerable category: therefore, gender studies are particularly relevant today.

When examining gender differences in the labour market, researchers study the changes in the role of women as a labour force (Gonas, Tyrkko, 2018), analyse the extent of gender inequality in the labour market in countries with different levels of economic development (Ridgeway, 2011), look for answers to the following questions: if

there are any established expectations in the society about the different responsibilities women and men have for taking care of home and children; what the role of family policy and social insurance is in gender differences in the labour market; to what extent gender differences in the labour market can be regarded as discrimination.

The socio-cultural theory of gender differences is aimed at studying the differences between people related to their gender, identifying psychological characteristics of social roles and behavioral characteristics of men and women, and the situations causing them (Maccoby, Jacklin, 1974, Bargad, Hyde, 1991, Spence, 1993). The current studies are aimed, in particular, at proving the role of socialization in shaping gender differences: it has been confirmed that most of them change in the process of learning or changing social circumstances that determine their appearance. Thus, modern psychologists argue that gender differences in the emotional sphere are primarily influenced by the system of beliefs about how women and men should react in certain situations. Studies by Tavris (1992) proved that women's sensitivity and greater empathy is associated with their traditional gender role.

2. Methods

Nowadays, women increasingly face toxic practices of personnel management. Many of them associate such practices with gender discrimination and their own gender, which allows us to formulate the research hypothesis about the existence of common parameters and patterns in the structure of women's experience of toxic labour relations, directly related to gender. This hypothesis determines the research objective: to study the experience of women suffering from toxic labour relations based on the method of narrative interview.

Narrative research uses text materials such as stories, accounts, autobiographies, logs, diaries, notes, letters, conversations, interviews, family stories, photographs (and other artifacts) of a person's life experience. Narrative analysis is used as a qualitative method for cognitive and organizational research in the field of knowledge theory, sociology, education, and psychology. The traditional scheme for conducting a narrative interview was adapted to suit the research objectives (Table 1).

Table 1: The technique for conducting a narrative interview to study the experience of women facing toxic labour relations

Interview stages	Content	Statements and questions content	Interviewer's behaviour strategy
Preparation stage	Establishing contact with the woman being interviewed, informing the interviewee about the purpose of the interview	"The interview is conducted to study the experience of women experiencing toxic labour relations, that is, the relations between an employee and the manager or employer, which have a negative impact on the employee, reducing their well-being in the workplace and/or the results and prospects for their professional activity in the organization."	Creation of certain conditions for communication, contributing to the achievement of the interviewer's objectives through the most complete information given by the interviewee, through the use of etiquette phrases and a brief conversation on a neutral topic (small talk)
Interview start and the main account	The main question or request concisely worded by the communicator stimulating the interviewee to narrate	"Please describe a situation in which you were confronted with toxic practices of personnel management in the workplace, and all the resulting changes that occurred - related to you, your personal and professional life."	Creating a setting to encourage the interviewee to narrate by means of various active listening techniques
Narrative questions stage	Working with the main research objectives, clarifying the specifics of experiences (feelings, emotions, reflection) of the woman being interviewed	Questions clarifying what the woman felt at the moment, what she feels now, what she thinks about this situation, what conclusions she has made, etc.	Offering the interviewee a number of open and closed questions. Preference is given to open questions

Interview stages	Content	Statements and questions content	Interviewer's behaviour strategy
Final stage	Summarizing the narrative, evaluative statements	Closing questions regarding whether the woman being interviewed has anything to add, what else she would like to tell, etc.	The interviewer uses open-ended questions, paraphrases and summarizing

To successfully conduct a narrative interview, three basic rules need to be observed: 1) minimum intervention of the interviewer in the respondent's account; 2) first-person account of life events; 3) the account should be as spontaneous as possible.

In order to test the possibilities offered by the narrative interview technique for studying the experience of toxic labour relations, we conducted interviews with 11 women, aged from 28 to 54, who sought psychological counseling on issues related to their career and professional development. Since narrative interviews belong to qualitative research methods, this sample size is valid.

At this stage of the study, the following questions determined the logic of the narrative analysis:

- Does the developed technique of narrative interview allow us to obtain reliable information about the women's experience of toxic labour relations?
- Do the narratives allow identifying the factors in the workplace that have a destructive impact on their socio-psychological well-being, efficiency and career prospects?
- Do the interviewed women's narratives allow assessing how these factors relate to gender?

In any narrative there are several textual modalities (practical, affective and cognitive) that are characterized by language and speech markers. These include a descriptive text that contains clearly stated facts and events, as well as a narrative in the form of a list of emotionally coloured fragments. At the first stage of the narrative interview analysis, an initial transcription of the text (a method of reducing data depending on the objectives of the study) is performed to identify the main categories and the associated emotional markers. An example of a woman's narrative analysis is presented in Table 2.

Table2: A fragment of an interviewee's narrative analysis (Marina*, 48, expert in securities)**

Element of the narrative	Initial transcription	Category (factor of labour relations toxicity)	Emotional markers
"I just want to say that working in other places and with other people, I never felt any difference because I am a woman, everything was always OK!"	Never faced gender discrimination	The spread of gender discrimination (single case)	Smile, clear speech, raised voice, open gestures
"Therefore, I would consider this issue only in relation to managers who enjoy their power and love to make fun of or torment their employees (but they are cowardly and are afraid to confront men)."	Domineering, but cowardly leaders assert themselves at the expense of women	Toxic manager	Pause, focused look
"… my salary is lower (like everywhere, I think)…, than a man's salary"	Women's salaries are lower than men's everywhere	Pay discrimination	Frowning, emotional gestures
"... if I make a mistake, which happens very rarely, then he will happily voice all sorts of possible complaints, but what is most offensive is that when he himself or a man is to blame for this, he tries to convince me in every way that I am responsible for this!"	Even if a male employee or the manager himself is mistaken, the woman is still to blame	Unfair accusation	Sigh, pause

*Name changed.

**Compiled by the authors based on the narrative interview. The interviewee's style is preserved.

Thus, the narrative interview technique we developed and the logic of narrative analysis help obtain reliable information about women's experience of toxic labour relations, identify workplace factors that have a destructive impact on their socio-psychological well-being, evaluate the effectiveness and prospects for their professional activities and how these factors are related to gender.

3. Results

The results of the initial transcription of the narratives of the entire sample allowed us to distinguish the following main categories for analyzing toxic labour relations: the spread of gender discrimination, toxic manager, pay discrimination, unfair accusation, unlawful dismissal, violation of working hours and labour conditions, refusal to provide sick leave, tacit prohibition of personal life (marriage, children), obstacles in career advancement, discrediting rumors, bossing by gender. The frequency of manifestations related to individual categories may exceed the size of the sample, since the same category can be referred to and recorded in one interview several times.

It should be noted that all women interviewed associated the above toxic labour relations with gender discrimination. It can be argued that there are specific aspects of women's vulnerability in toxic labour relations. For example, a woman's attractiveness can be used to dissolve rumors that defame her reputation.

Elena (49, a university lecturer) talks about lost career opportunities: "A few years ago I was deprived of the opportunity for career advancement, thanks to the efforts of my former superior, who ruined my reputation as a woman. I worked as an ordinary associate professor of the department when the rector of the university suggested that I take the vacant position of the department head. Upon learning of this, the former department head began to actively disseminate false rumors that I once worked in one of the brothels in Turkey, trading my body. Many colleagues knew about my former work experience in the UAE in the field of clothing trade, but, at that time, I had never been to Turkey, and, moreover, I never had the reputation of a woman of easy virtue. Nevertheless, he managed to raise a wave of negative gossip, including among the colleagues who were to become my subordinates. Some colleagues began to express discontent, and this false information was deliberately communicated to the rector by some of them. As a result, the rector, letting me understand that he does not believe these rumors are true, said that he considered it inappropriate to appoint me to the position in such a situation. I think that this story is one of the manifestations of female discrimination, because it is very easy to call any employee a slut, and this will always be the subject of lively discussion among colleagues, both male and female. And it is very difficult then to dissuade them."

Women suffer most acutely when their rights are violated regarding the desire to have children and to have a private life. The feelings of insult and injustice give each of the narratives below a bright emotional colouring.

Tatiana (28, a manager of an educational institution) explains the reasons for losing her job: "... At first, everything was fine; I immediately got on with my colleagues and top management. Despite the fact that the goals that had been set for me from the very beginning were very ambitious, I liked to take risks, express myself and achieve goals. Of course, I had to put in a lot of effort, to sacrifice my personal time because of constant overtime or the need to prepare for work at home. But it seemed that my efforts were appreciated by the management (praising and trusting me with assignments of strategic importance), they started talking about the possibilities to build a career not only in research sphere, but also in management. All this, of course, gave me the strength and desire to go further and achieve more. But then I got pregnant and for health reasons had to take a maternity leave. This was not perceived positively by the university management, they called one of the happiest moments in my life "an obstacle", "a barrier", "a problem". During my maternity leave my employment contract expired, and was not renewed, as a result I became an unemployed mother on maternity leave. And none of my achievements influenced the managers' decision."

The narrative below is indicative of specific labour relations between a manager and an employee – "woman-woman": the woman interviewed emphasises that the problem stems from the female manager's unsuccessful love life and the so-called 'women's envy'.

Svetlana (38, a store manager) directly refers to the factor of negative personal attitude of her female manager to her marriage: "I had always had good relationships with my boss until I dared to fall in love with and marry my male colleague. I should note that there were no official restrictions on relationships with colleagues, but it

was me who was asked to quit, even though my position was higher and I had worked longer in the company. My husband supported me and quit the job himself, but this did not help and I lost my job as a result of a falsified accusation! I still cannot understand the reasons for such an attitude to me – maybe it is just envy since the manager's love life is not successful?"

The specifics of 'man-woman' type of labour relationships between managers and employees are manifested in various aspects and are well-studied in psychology. Nevertheless, it is worth emphasizing that a special attitude of men to women – 'weaker creatures' - is also common in labour relations.

Marina (48, a securities expert) is the object of constant attacks from the male superior as a member of the "weaker sex": "I just want to say that working in other places and with other people, I never felt any difference because I am a woman, everything was always OK! Therefore, I would consider this issue only in relation to managers who enjoy their power and love to make fun of and torment their employees (but they are cowardly and are afraid to mess with men). In my case, this discrimination manifests itself in the fact that my salary is lower (like everywhere, I think) than that of my male colleagues. If I make a mistake, which happens very rarely, my boss will happily voice all sorts of possible complaints. But what is most offensive is that when he himself or a man is to blame for this, he tries to convince me in every way that I am still responsible for this… he doesn't make any complaints to men, he is just afraid of them, but since he wants to torment someone, I am there for it… as well as other women that happen to be nearby…. also, to justify a lower salary, he downplays my role in the organization, I have to prove I'm doing this and that ... When it gets on my nerves, and I leave, he gets offended, says that I am a traitor, then he starts calling me and saying what a good employee I am ... "

Of course, both women and men face certain toxic practices of personnel management that cannot be explained solely by gender. However, women are particularly sensitive to them since they influence other areas of her life.

Lyudmila (55, a university lecturer) talks about the abuse of authority and violation of labour laws in order to dismiss an inconvenient employee: "I should say that the rector has disliked me since long ago – when I was actively promoting a petition against one of his decisions that the staff didn't approve of. I think that he wanted to get rid of me, but did not have the right to simply fire me. I successfully passed another regular selection procedure, but when my work contract was transferred to him for signing, he, right in the contract, with his own hand, corrected the date of the contract termination, reducing the term of the contract from five years to six months! It was unfair; he had no right to do this to me, especially since I am a single mother with three minor children. So I had to go to court. The trial lasted about a year. And all this time, the rector collected compromising information about me that was used against me in court sessions. But in the end, a year later, the court took my side; they were forced to reinstate me and reimburse my pay for the entire period of the trial. Of course, I immediately quit, because I understood that I would no longer have a quiet life, and I already had another job. "

The problem of harassment is worth highlighting, which is vividly illustrated by Anna's narrative, (40, teacher, married): "I've been working at school for many years; once at a New Year corporate party, when everyone was going home, the principal asked me to come to his office, allegedly for something urgent. When I came there, he offered me a glass of champagne, and when I refused, he brazenly tried to kiss and hug me. I pushed him away and rushed out of the office. It was very unpleasant for me, he is my boss, I am married, and I consider this behaviour unacceptable and have never given any reasons. Besides, everyone at school knew that he had a long-term relationship with a colleague. After this incident, he began to find fault with me, give me the most difficult assignments, and I immediately became a bad employee and, although there were no more cases of indecent behaviour or obscene offers, it became morally difficult." The woman feels very vulnerable and unprotected when faced with harassment; she subconsciously feels guilt about her attractiveness and gender imposed by the society, and vindicates herself by saying she did not give any reason for such behaviour.

It is encouraging that all our respondents referred to only a single experience of toxic labour relations related to gender discrimination. In most cases, this kind of discrimination, in our opinion, is associated with the managers' personality, with their low communicative and managerial culture, poor cultural and emotional intelligence, as well as with destructive personal characteristics. It is important that narrative interviews allow identifying the manifestations of toxic management practices that are most significant for women and are reflected in their subjective picture of the world, and therefore cause the greatest emotional response.

4. Conclusion

The results of the narrative study of women's experience of toxic labour relations presented in the article allow us to draw several conclusions.

The use of narrative interviews to obtain information about women's involvement in toxic labour relations is justified as it allows tracing the subjective experiences of women and identifying factors that are perceived as discriminatory on the basis of gender and have high emotional and personal significance. Thus, it is safe to say that a narrative interview provides an opportunity to get information about women's experience of toxic labour relations and can act as an additional qualitative method when studying toxic practices of personnel management.

The identified gender factors of toxic labor relations, associated with discrimination of women in the workplace, have a destructive impact on the women's socio-psychological well-being, their efficiency and prospects for career development in their professional activities.

It can be argued that the emergence of gender factors of toxic labour relations depends on the personal characteristics of the manager, on their communicative and managerial culture, and on the women's knowledge and ability to assert their rights and adequately respond to their infringement. As a result, in order to counteract toxic practices of personnel management with respect to women, certain measures need to be taken at the state, organizational and individual levels. One of the tools is to enhance both the managers' and women's communicative competence.

The practical realisation of the above recommendations requires developing and implementing communicative competence training for managers. This should take into account the fact that managers can react negatively to feedback regarding their communicative culture. Therefore, the development of communicative competence in managers should be carried out in stages; we suggest a three-stage structure:

- 1 – the stage of surface changes (informational). This stage is preparatory, but important for subsequent changes. At this stage, through mini-lectures and business games, managers are introduced to existing technologies for increasing the effectiveness of interpersonal, role and business communication. Particular attention is paid to the development of the skills of empathy, identification, feedback and methods of conflict resolution, as well as techniques to control emotional state. The information about the importance of building effective communication with subordinates is conveyed in a non-directive form, focusing on gender psychology and the peculiarities of women's perceptions;
- 2 – the stage of gradual changes. At this stage, applying the method of facilitation is beneficial. The trainer acts as a facilitator: their task is to take a neutral position in the group and help participants identify problems that arise with women employees. In the process of facilitation, a constructive dialogue between the participants is held and the best solution is adopted. New technologies are developed for effective interpersonal interaction with women. The trainer uses such techniques as: 1) "open space" – an effective technique for finding solutions to a problem as a group, 2) "polarization of opinion" – used to reduce negative attitudes to the problem of interaction with female colleagues, as well as to release managers' negative emotions and identify polar opinions, 3) "brainstorming" – used to summarize the available information regarding the problems of communication with female employees and finding new effective ways to interact with them.
- 3 – the stage of deep changes. This stage is possible some time after the first two stages (the optimal pause between stages can be from one to three months). At this stage, it is important that the manager themselves wants to improve their communication with the employees and reflect on the new experience. The previous two stages, aimed at motivation and creating the basis for constructive changes, at the stage of change become part of the manager's personality structure. The technology of individual coaching is used, within the framework of the classic GROW coaching model. It consists in setting goals related to solving an actual problem, surveying available resources (the manager's strengths and weaknesses in terms of the effectiveness of their communication with employees), identifying the main objectives and outlining the main steps to achieve them.

To implement the recommendations on improving female employees' communicative competence, it is reasonable to introduce a unit aimed at developing effective communication skills into employee induction

training programmes. Particular attention should be paid to active listening techniques, feedback techniques, methods of constructive conflict resolution, as well as self-control, reflection and self-regulation skills. Besides, psychological assistance should be provided to employees who feel their social and psychological well-being in the workplace is threatened, who have suffered from toxic management and other forms of destructive labour relations.

Further study of women's experience of toxic labour relationships may be of interest to researchers focusing on issues of gender psychology and the problem of discrimination against women in the workplace.

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The Gender Work Identities of Timorese Professional Women in a Public Portuguese Bank Institution

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Abstract: Drawing on a feminist and postcolonial background we aim to study the work identity of Timorese women professionals working in a bank institution in order to explore how they construct their gender work identity in a masculine and inherited colonial work context. In the last years, East Timor has undergone several contradictory transformations with implications for gender and old colonial arrangements. Before the independency, the patriarchal Timorese society was challenged to allow women's involvement in the resistance fight against colonial countries: first, Portugal (1596-1975); then, Indonesia (1975-1999). Despite the East Timor sovereignty in 2002, women professionals are still a minority in the formal economy and work, and persist as exceptions, "escaping" to the usual and traditional feminine family roles in Timorese society. This study explores the gender identity of professional women departing from their daily experiences in a predominantly male work context with a Portuguese culture. 21 in-depth interviews were conducted with professional women working in a public Portuguese bank institution, operating in Timor, a former colony of Portugal. Following these interviews, three narratives were selected in order to explore those women experiences in their private and professional micro-contexts. The findings show a growing awareness of the gender inequality in the Timorese society and the participants' need to make changes in their daily lives, especially in their relationships with family members, and through the economic and social power that they have achieved as professionals. However, when questioned about their workplace relationships, interviewees tend to depreciate gender issues and focus on the relevance of their national identity when working with a non-Timorese Direction. Women tend, as well, to soften or even deny the gender inequality in the professional context when they describe the relationships with their male Timorese co-workers or managers. In this paper, we explore the paradoxical relation between these subversive, although not conscious, identity meanings and their implications for the emancipation of Timorese professional women in their particular contexts.

Keywords: gender work identity, colonialism, professional Timorese women, public bank institution

1. Introduction

East Timor has a long story of colonialism and struggle against colonial countries: first, Portugal from 1596-1975); then Indonesia from 1975 to 1999. Although East Timor as gain is sovereignty in 2000, the influence of colonizer countries is still present in society. One way of reinforcing the national and ethnic identity against colonizers was to highlight some conservative gender regimes considered as anchors of the authentic Timorese identity. Colonialism tends to interfere with gender and ethnicity dynamics putting in interaction conflicting gender regimes (Kane and Gorbenko, 2015). The study of Kane and Gobenko showed how the soviet colonizer intervention aiming to 'liberate' Uzbek women by unveiling them as resulted in present-day gender inequality, where the unveiled act was understood as a national treason to gender conservative and religious customs. Many Uzbeks "framed their resistance in religious terms, which led to principled stands in defence of custom and religion and transformed the veil (and gender conservatism) into a highly salient component of national identity" (2015, 2). However, other gender egalitarian social and political forces against this gender Timorese conservative trend emerged. National and international movements and institutions have played a significant role in creating mechanisms for the women emancipation in family and public spheres.

This study aims to explore the work identity of Timorese women professionals working in a bank institution in order to analyse how they construct their gender work identity in a masculine and inherited colonial work context.

By adopting a social constructionist gender conception (Connell, 2002) and some insights from the postcolonial research, we analyse three narratives from the qualitative data collected from 21 interviews with the Timorese women workers.

With this study we hope to contribute to better understand the intersectionalities of gender and ethnic identity in the work identity of women professional working for an ex-colonial company operating in a former colonized country.

2. Background of the study: A short overview of the colonization history in East Timor

East Timor is the smallest and more eastern island of the Malay Archipelago. Timor is a diverse country in terms of ethnicity. The majority of population is from Malay-Polynesian and Papua origin. The official language is Portuguese and Tetum (the national language). About 90% of the Timorese population is Catholic.

East Timor has a long story of colonialism. The country was firstly colonized by the Portuguese (1596-1975) and later by Indonesia (1975-1999). Portuguese arrived in Timor in 1514/15; In 1974, Portugal had a political and social revolution that restored the democracy, and the new democratic government approved the self-determination of East Timor. During the Portuguese occupation, the Timorese society has witnessed several changes. The Portuguese religious influence supported the process of colonialism transforming this island in a catholic setting in a geographic context predominantly Islamic. In 1974, the Portuguese revolution towards democracy and the fall of the dictatorship regime allowed the unilateral independence of Timor one year later. In the last years, East Timor has undergone several contradictory transformations with implications in gender and old colonial arrangements. Before the independency, the patriarchal Timorese society was challenged to allow women's involvement in the resistance fight (Cunha, 2012, Fernandes, Abrantes and Reis, 2002). During the Indonesian occupation, Timorese women played a major role in the fight for independency as warriors, educators and infiltrated agents in the Indonesian services administration and local governments. They were inclusively main protagonists in the production and promotion of a national Timorese identity that afterwards and paradoxically reinforced the traditional roles of women in the Timorese family (Matoso, 1999).

The republican society of East Timor has restored its independence in May 20, 2002 from Indonesia. With the East Timor sovereignty, the patriarchal arrangements were reinforced as part of the national identity and enhanced by a conservative catholic church. Inclusively, some traditional marriage rituals and family arrangements were maintained after independence. Women were considered as an economic merchandize to be negotiated between families (*Barlake-pre* nuptial agreement). Moreover, in some Timorese districts only men can own property, which makes women financially dependent on men (Silva and Kendall, 2002). The conservative Catholic Church that played an essential role during the war and the resistance against Indonesia has promoted and legitimized the subordination of women and her obedience to men in family and society (Silva and Kendall, 2002).

At the same time, East Timor society has been influenced by other social and political movement towards women emancipation and gender equality. New pressures from national and international groups challenged the traditional gender arrangements, as was the case of the United Nations, with its gender equality policies, and the donor countries that financially supported East Timor's recovery (Retboll, 2002). Other national and several non-governmental groups have also contributed to promote women's health, education, employment, entrepreneurship, and their active participation in the political public sphere. Some of these movements are comprised by national feminist and women groups. In fact, Timorese women have a long tradition of involvement in political issues and in resistance as previously stated, occupying nowadays some important political positions in several institutions.

Additionally, the strong international intervention in the country has stimulated the contact with different nationalities and their gender arrangements, mostly western, having repercussions on the way Timorese men and women relate to each other in their professional and personal contexts.

2.1 Female employment in East Timor

Nowadays, women are still a minority in the formal economy and work. Employed women are often seen as exceptions and as "escaping" to the usual feminine and traditional family roles that women are expected to occupy in Timorese society. In East Timor, the unemployment rate is very high, especially among women. The majority of employed women work in low qualified and low salary jobs and the rate of female participation in the labour market has decreased from 42% in 1990 to 25% in 2013 (ONU, 2015). In the context of employed women, 35,4% have administrative or sales roles, 36,4% have technical, professional and management roles, and 9,2% are industry workers (CGD, 2014). In 2013, only 22% of women make part of the workforce (against 39,7% of man). In the formal economy, only 27% of women participate against 56% of men (Democratic Republic of Timor Leste, 2017).

3. Literature review

Gender social transformations are not at all linear in the sense of a constant and evolutive path towards equality. Several authors (e.g. Connell, 2002; Butler, 1990) have argued that the conservative regimes of gender tend to survive alongside the progressive transformations of gender relations towards equality and women emancipation. In this paradoxical process where different gender regimes occur, Connell (2002) call our attention to the dialectics between the social gender structure and discourse and the individual action. Although the latter are strongly influenced by the social gender arrangements, people play an active role in their micro contexts. Gender work identity is a social and subjective process that creates the necessary conditions to produce such change. Here, identity is understood as an unstable effect of the social norms and discourses as well as language (Bulter, 1990; Haynes, 2006). Therefore, the identity presupposes a construction of the self that is a dynamic result of a constant reinterpretation of the gender social norms and the meanings of woman/feminine and men/masculine. Work identity is then a constant negotiation by subjects in their daily lives, which implies dealing with paradoxical discourses about their social conditions. These identity negotiations become even more complex when gender intersects with other social categories such as ethnicity, religion, age (Essers, Doorewaard and Benchop, 2013). Intersectionality is an important theoretical tool that studies the identities as creative and multiple products resulting from different social and cultural constructions on the constitution of the self (Styhre and Eriksson-Zetterquist, 2008).

The intersectionality between gender and ethnicity is especially visible in multicultural societies (Valentine, 2015) and those with a colonial past (Kane and Gorbenko, 2015). Although the experiences of national occupation and social and political domination can vary across countries, colonialism tends to interfere with gender and ethnicity dynamics putting in interaction conflicting gender regimes (Kane and Gorbenko, 2015).

Postcolonial feminist (Chambers and Watkins, 2012 McEwan, 2001; Reynolds, 2010) has been studying the interactions between gender, national, political and cultural boundaries in order to criticize the legacies of colonial discourses and structures.

Given that gender alterity occurs in concomitance with the reproduction of conservative gender regimes (Connell, 2002), the present investigation aims to analyse the professional and personal experiences of 21 Timorese women employed in a foreign ex-colonial bank institution. Specifically, The study intends to identify the role that these women may have in the alterity of gender relations in a country with a colonial past and where different gender regimes tend to occur.

4. Methodology

Drawing on a feminist and postcolonial background we aim to study the work identity of Timorese women professionals working in a bank institution in order to explore how they construct their gender work identity in a inherited colonial work context. To do so, this study addresses the following research questions: (1) how identity work is constructed in a work context (and a country) marked by different and contradictory gender discourses and a long history of colonialism?; (2) how these identities interlocked with each other?

The exploratory study implied conducting 21 interviews with women working in a Portuguese bank institution that belongs to an ex-colonial country. This bank has been operating in East Timor since 1915. After 1975, the bank leaves the country and only returns in 2000, with East Timor independence. The first workers to be hired after the bank return to the country were those Timorese that have worked previously in an Indonesian bank. Most women were hired to front-office jobs, culturally occupied by women and perceived as feminine. The board of directors in East Timor is composed of Portuguese managers. The majority of employees are Timorese (Caixa Geral de Depósitos, 2017).

The 21 participants are between 21 and 52 years old, and 15 had relatives that participated in the Timor resistance or lost family and friends in the war. Most of them had completed high school; only four were graduated. Most of them work in front-office positions (13); others in information, credit, and human resources departments (8); two hold management positions (credit and accounting sections). All live in large families (e.g. husband family or/and their family: parents, brothers, sisters, cousins, children from more then one family) between five to 14 persons. Regarding marital status, 17 were married, with three or more children (six children are the maximum); five were not married and/or not have children. All spoke Portuguese and Tetum.

The interview guide consists of questions related to family and school background, political involvement in the fight for Timor independence, work experiences, relations with colleagues and supervisors, and work and family balance issues.

The interviews were conducted in Portuguese and took place in the participants' workplaces. The average duration of the interviews was about 60 minutes. The interviews were all recorded and transcribed in *verbatim*. After the transcriptions and the reading of the qualitative material, three interviews were selected based on the following criteria: a) the representativeness of the several stories collected from the 21 participants in what concerns the identity work; b) and the richness of the stories and the detailed accounts about the professional and personal experiences.

The narrative analysis aims to use the stories of the interviewees as sociological accounts (Adib and Guerrier, 2003) in relation to identity gender and ethnicity construction. The following chosen narratives enabled us to observe a wide variety of experiences through which the gendered and ethnicity self is constituted and how these two social belongings interlocked in the identity work. All the names used in the findings are fictional.

5. Findings

5.1 Marcelina and her story

Marcelina is 42 years old; and graduated in management and economics in Indonesia. Some relatives participated in the resistance movement and in the fight for Timor independence. Her parents died during the civil war of 1975. She and her three siblings were raised by her uncles who had five children of their own. She started working in the Portuguese bank in 2000. She manages a team of 10 workers in the credit division, six of them women and four men.

In her narrative and when she talks about her work, Marcelina describes her professional experience through a sense of Timorese community, as being part of a collective, which she believes to be a representative. So, in her daily work life and in her manager role, the national and ethnic identity emerges as a central issue.

> *This job is very important to me because I can help my people to get credit to invest in the economy. Is my responsibility to represent my country and do my best for its future.*

The inherent political dimension of her narrative is present in her entire narrative about what she does as a professional in the bank. In her perspective about the future of the Timorese nation, she sees herself as occupying a protagonist role. Her role as manager is also affected by the political and ethnic dimensions.

> *Usually we speak in Tetum with each other because it is easier for us (laugh). We can discuss our own things and solve them within the team. It is better for everyone.*

In the work relations with her Timorese team what is turned visible is her ethnic identity as Timorese. Using Tetum as common language within the team is a way of reinforcing the ethnic identity. It is also a way of creating difference (Mills, 2003) between this ethnic identity and Portuguese "other". Tetum functions as a social and symbolic frontier to distinguish the Timorese and herself from Portuguese colleagues and managers.

Gender is, however, concealed in Marcelina narrative, since she rejects the ascribed identity as woman. Nonetheless, the opposite happens when she talks about the need to promote the ambition of female subordinates and the solidarity among women.

> *Usually bank hire women to the front office positions because we are more presentable and beautiful and clients like to be attended by women (…) However, as I tell my female workers this is an opportunity for us to earn money, invest in our studies and work better (…) I know family is very important to Timorese women, but if we study we can provide better lives to our children. We need to invest on us, in our profession. We, women, have to help each other*

Her gender condition is only turned visible when she refers to women as collective. The defence of a Timorese sisterhood is however nourished by strategically emphasizing the benefits that women can bring to family when they invest on their education and show ambition in their professional career. So, she overcomes the conservative gender regimes by showing the advantages of emancipation of women regarding their traditional roles in family: if they are competent in their work, they can became better mothers.

This understanding of the roles of Timorese women in society is linked to her personal history and to her pride resulting from investing on the education of her sister and female cousins.

> *Using my money I helped them to study, to have better lives, better jobs and to help Timor as well. We need to have women with more instruction to have a better country. All of us. My "sisters" studied and now they have a better life. My parents would have wanted that.*

Therefore, in Marcelina narrative the gender identity and the emancipation of Timorese women seem to be subordinated to the ethnicity Timorese identity as a collective project.

5.2 Rosena and her story

Rosena is 36 years old, completed high school, she is married, and her husband works in a coffee company as manager. She has three little children and she is not thinking of having more. She lives with her family and two younger brothers of her husband. Rosena wants to continue to study and she admires Marcelina for supporting her family, and being promoted to manager. The gender issue seems to be very important for her. She has a sister that works in OMT (Organization of Timorese Women) that played a critical role during the occupation by Indonesia. She works in the front office since she entered the bank in 2000, without having any previous experience in formal enterprises.

Rosena is very critical in relation to the Timorese traditions that subordinate women and she urges the need for change. In this sense, she assumes in a clear way the need to emancipate Timorese women, which implies separating women from the traditional family roles and emphasizing their participation in the public sphere.

> *Timorese women do not want to stay at home anymore, taking care of their children, cooking, washing, they also want to work outside home. They do not want to lose opportunities, like men. They are investing in their studies, we have women in our government, and political parties too.*

So, contrary to Marcelina, she exposes the gender inequalities in her work context and relates it with Timorese ethnicity traditions. Her narrative is strongly marked by a feminist discourse where sisterhood is considered a strategy to promote women´s access to power and equality.

> *Here, in the bank, we have only two women as managers. The lack of experience maybe is one of the reasons why that happens but the other is some of our traditions. However, we have female colleagues that already worked in a bank in the Indonesia time and they also deserve to be managers, and they are not. I support these women and I think they could be good leaders. We need to promote equality as happens in other modern countries. Portuguese management should invest on that. They are also responsible. We need to support these competent women. I think our male Timorese colleagues are already prepared to be lead by a woman. We have Marcelina.*

The equality regime of gender is considered a responsibility of the powerful Portuguese ethnicity in the bank context as well as of the Timorese women as a collective. Apparently, gender is used in the work identity of Rosena to construct herself as feminist that recognized the limitation of her ethnic identity. The tokenism and the conservative Timorese gender regime are identified as the main constrains to gender equality. Marcelina emerges in the narrative of Rosena as a role model to empower Timorese women.

> *Marcelina is always saying that we have to be better. We have to improve our skills, give the example. She is one of few graduate women and we are very proud of her. Women in (...) We have to be ambitious and support each other. Some times some of our female colleagues speak badly of others female colleagues and Marcelina does not like that.*

She also talks how Marcelina contributes to this feminine solidarity, especially with the younger colleagues. However, she does not label the asymmetrical interactions between Timorese male colleagues and managers and female colleagues as gender discrimination. This is evident when she describes the relation of her male Timorese manager with the young female Timorese colleagues. At the same time and paradoxically, she stimulates the emancipation of her female colleagues.

> *Mr. Antoninho (her Timorese direct manager) is a good person but often does not pay attention to what we say to him. We have to insist, not to give up. Younger colleagues (she is referring to the female colleagues) are afraid to talk with him. They are shy and are not used to make their own position. I tell them that they must talk. They cannot be afraid. Changing this culture is not easy thing.*

Dealing with foreigner clients seems to be a way of confirming that Timor has many things to win by becoming a modern country, here meaning a country with gender equality.

> *Here we attend Portuguese women and women from other countries who are judge, managers, doctors, teachers, that travel around the world, that are independent.*

5.3 Anália and her story

Anália is 45 years old, completed high school, and she is married, without children. She works in the credit section and also visits the other 14 district subsidiaries to meet clients. She lives with her husband, uncle and sister who is a widow and has three grown up children, two of them married. She has several brothers and sisters (11) that seem to depend on her financially to educate their children.

Anália has a more personal discourse, and present a narrative often centred in her daily work life. The political discourse although present, is not so evident. She seems to derive pleasure and identify herself with what she does at work and the freedom that she gets from it. As an illustration, she talks about how she enjoys traveling around the country when visiting the others subsidiaries, something that is considered unusual to Timorese women.

> *I love to travel. Here there is the idea that this is a male job because travelling around the country can be dangerous, as a woman. Travelling with a male colleague can be even worse because it is not seen as appropriate to a respectable woman. I do not care. My husband always trust on me. We have to be brave and change this Timorese mentality.*

Gender emancipation emerges in the Anália narrative through the way she understands her job and the way she defies conservative gender customs. The sisterhood is not so present in her narrative. However, the idea that she can change the traditions of this conservative gender regime through her individual action is also present in her narrative.

This need to question and resist to gender norms is also present in her ethnic identity when she defies her Portuguese management. Humour and language are used as strategies to change and reestablish the ethnic and professional power relations. In this sense, when she talks about the Portuguese manager her ethnic identity gains relevance.

> *When I have to talk with Mr. Tavares (the Portuguese manager), I always ask him to speak slowly. Not so fast. Because if he does not speak Tetum, I am already doing a major effort to understand his way of speaking (laugh). He always smile a lot and tell me "Anália, Portuguese is also your language" and I tell him that before being mine it is his. "So, he has to speak slowly (laugh).*

The same strategies are used when dealing with the Portuguese clients.

> We have many foreigner clients and they are used to other customs, they speak another language, and sometimes do not have patience to wait for their turn. We have to remember them that there is a queue and that they have to wait. One way to stop the discussion is to say that we do not understand the language and when start complaining with another colleague they will be told the same.

6. Discussion and conclusion

Although in different ways, the three narratives show a growing awareness of the gender inequality in the Timorese society and the need for women emancipation both in family and work settings. The strategy toward gender identity emancipation appeared in the narratives through two important and interrelated processes: the individual trajectory as a way of resisting and defying the conservative gender regimes and the sisterhood as a collective action to promote a gender equality regime. This interrelation between individual and collective actions produce changes in women daily lives, especially in their relationships with family members, and allow them to reclaim more economic and social power as professionals. In this sense, the notion of "identity has enormous potential as a bridging concept between individual agency, choice and creation of self, on the one hand, and history, culture and social shaping of identities on the other" (Watson, 2009, 426). Moreover, It is in their daily interactions and by reflecting about themselves that gender is often questioned and new possibilities of doing gender in a different way arise (Butler, 2004).

However, the narratives also show the dilemmas of these women in dealing simultaneously with their gender and ethnic identities either giving them visibility or concealing them. These identities interlocked in the narrative

mainly by resorting to different strategies. One of the strategies entails the concealing of the equalitarian gender identity when the ethnic identity is enacted, especially in relation with the Portuguese male managers and clients. In the narrative of Marcelina and Anália we can observe that they tend to depreciate gender issues and privilege their national and ethnic identity when working with a non-Timorese Direction. In all the narratives, women tend, as well, to soften or even deny the gender inequality in the professional context when they describe the relationships with their male Timorese co-workers or managers. In this strategy, language and humour are used as way of resisting to a powerful ethnic and ex-colonialist group.

A second strategy entails to enact equalitarian gender identity to reinforce ethnic identity understood as rooted on family and feminine traditional roles. Emancipation in Marcelina narrative is a way of reinforcing the wellbeing of family and children, which might send women back to feminine and traditional roles in family.

The last strategy is to enact equalitarian gender identity in order to change the ethnic identity understood as rooted in inequality gender regimes and create a new one (Rosena). Implicitly, there is in this last strategy an attempt to relate gender equal opportunities with a new and modern ethnic identity.

This study contributes to a better understanding of the complex relations between different social belongings in the work identity and how identity can function as a way to enact individual and collective emancipation or reifying social inequalities.

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The History of a Profession: Practicing the law in Romania

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Abstract: To be a lawyer means to express power and influence in the social, economic and political circles. The law is also known to be a male-dominated action, such as academics, accounting, architecture and management consulting. Despite the increase representation of women in law faculties and their access to entry-level legal positions during the last decades, structural segregation within this male-dominated profession perpetuates lots of differences for the career paths of women and men. Women's position in the legal field has seen many changes in recent years, from a better situation to a more inexplicable and complicated one. We propose this paper in order to analyse the evolution of an old liberal profession in Romania, and its changes over the time. Our focus will be on the interaction between the lawyers and the pre-existing external constraints, for instance: norms and procedures for the practice of law, level of education, level of experience, challenges of this profession, work-life balance etc. In addition, this research is focused on the gender as a factor that has determined the opportunities and professional choices of the female lawyers.

Keywords: post-communism, gender, feminizing, profession, lawyer

1. Introduction

The idea that women have the same rights as men is recent. Previously, as with any discrimination, it relied on their differences, nature, function, to justify the fact that they were deprived of a number of rights. In addition, it has most often considered them inferior, incapable of logical thinking, of maturity, often systematically excluded from power, in the political parties, the Parliament, the Government, and legal profession. Initially rejected, mocked, they were able to slowly prevail in this environment. Women are even majority in numbers in certain professions: magistrate, lawyer. Let's see how women were granted the same rights as men and how they have evolved in their battles to get their seats as a lawyer, furthermore how they tried to change the inequalities in this field. Clearly, in the search for access to this profession, recognized as the gentlemen's profession, women were challenging the gender exclusivity in the practice of legal professions.

This study examines how the historical and the political context influenced the legal professions organization, furthermore what is the status of this liberal profession in Romania. To explain the research problematic, namely how a profession has changed over time, we will guide using the following questions: What impact did have the political system and law framework on the organization of the legal field? What are the trends concerning the situation of lawyers in Romania after 1989? What reforms of the judiciary system, whether or not under the intervention of the European Union, have made improvements in the benefit of professional sphere?

Furthermore, can we speak of a "feminization" of the profession of lawyer in Romania? In extension, is the gender an obstacle in the exercise of the profession? The subject of our study will therefore be the administrative professions in the judiciary; we will focus on the profession of lawyer, the most representative profession in the world of justice and an ideal type in the sense developed by Max Weber.

2. Professionalization and feminization of legal system

In the realm of professions, practicing the law is a unique position. On the one hand, it is a profession that is exercised in a liberal, traditionally self-employed fashion (although it becomes more and more accepted that lawyers can also work for a salary in a more traditional contract setting), and on the other hand, it has extremely strong links with the jurisdiction in which the lawyer is trained and exercises his activity.

Professionalization and feminization of the legal system represent one of the principal theoretical axes of this research. We believe that the professionalization concept is essential to understand the woman's status as a lawyer. The story of women in the legal profession is one disparate in various national legal cultures. Until recently, women were not so high represented among graduates of law schools, legal professions or any other activity involving legal expertise.

For a long time, legal professions were exclusively male. In the UK, the first woman was admitted to a law faculty was in 1873, in Italy in 1876, in France in 1887, in Germany differing from state to state between 1900 and 1908.

However, being admitted to university did not necessarily mean that they were granted the right to take a degree in law. In the UK women only got the possibility to graduate in 1917, in Germany in 1912, in Norway and Sweden a little earlier in 1890 and 1897. The next step women had to fight for was admission to practical training and to practice. In Germany, for instance, a special act on the admission of women to legal practice was finally passed in 1922. In several countries women got access to the legal profession at the beginning of the 20th century, but were only admitted decades later as judges. In France and Italy, the first woman was admitted to the advocacy in 1900 and 1919 respectively, the corresponding dates for the judiciary were 1946 and 1963. In Portugal, the first female judge was admitted after the end of the Salazar regime in 1974 (Mossman, 2006).

For most nations, this has changed radically in the 1970s with the expansion of university education, by guaranteeing women's access to university studies, and by the increased role that universities have played in the training of legal experts in many countries.

In some countries, women's access to legal professions has been banned by law, even though they have obtained the right to study in this field. In these countries, it was necessary to make a change of law by developing legislation or common law in order to make changes to the rules of admission to the practice law. In other countries (New Zealand, for example), women have never been banned from practicing the legal profession, but have encountered other formal barriers in their professional career within the legal field (Schweitzer, 2010). The social barriers encountered in accessing a career in the legal field seem to be far more rigorous than the limits imposed by law. Similarly, social conditions such as international circulation, the democratization of university education, new methods of birth control, and attitudes towards family have greatly affected the variations in women's access at the lawyer profession.

Obviously, the position of woman as a lawyer has implications beyond the profession itself and far wider implications for society. Lawyers, both women and men, are a privileged group, for whom the knowledge of rights and obligations should be a second nature: “Women who are lawyers are a privileged group among women. If they are not perceived and treated with equality by the justice system, then it is every woman’s credibility that is questioned by the system. If female lawyers are not believed, then there is little hope a female rape victim is going to be either. How an institution treats its female members and employees is a reliable indicator of general instructional attitudes toward equality” (Murphey, 1993).

Cut-outs created between skill levels, cadres and non-cadres, or within the public service hierarchy came as a supplement, without eliminating de facto the old taxonomies. However, in almost all stages of this professionalization process, the political climate, in one way or another, has helped to ensure the robustness of these classifications: through the existence of schools, universities, offering diplomas; through the right to paid work; through trade union laws and official recognition of job classifications; by the status of the civil service; through the right to challenge the environment and the ways in which an activity is carried out and through the laws on collective work agreements.

Many sociologists have found that the growing number of women moving in professions shook the concept of dominating professions, generally dominated by men. To support this argument, it is noted that “formal knowledge” serves to maintain the autonomy, status and domination of such established professions, while “day-to-day skills” and sensitivity to emerging social demands tend to be stronger in predominantly feminine occupations, the so-called semi-professions.

Sylvie Schweitzer (2013) believes that this increased presence of women in the legal field is not a consequence of the low men's presence in this area, but rather a proof of the women’s skills. It analyses the increasing presence of women after 1918 in law, medicine and administrative responsibility jobs, and in the various countries where women have the right to vote, access to judicial functions, ministerial offices (generally health and education). For example, in France, Italy or Belgium, women's access to legal professions and voting does not take place before the end of the Second World War. However, the Third Republic of France has not set up an explicit “barrier to marriage”, similar to restricting women's access to administrative or educational position in Great Britain, Ireland or the Netherlands. The efforts of the Vichy regime to limit the work of married women follow the example of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy.

Schweitzer (2013) also notes that during the interwar decades and after 1945 there is a lack of detailed studies on women's work in various professions. The existing works often indicate that during these years, women

generally adopt male attitudes and models, and they appeal less to the argument of the specific gender roles that need to be returned to women in the professional arena. Although they enjoy a greater acceptance among male dominated circles, women remain a minority among university graduates and prestigious professions.

This paradoxical situation is addressed through several academic studies of Anglo-Saxon sociologists or even representatives of the legal environment, where gender equality in the legal field has been shown to be a contemporary challenge. A significant number of studies suggest that women who practice law remain "marginal inhabitants of the jurisprudential community" (Thornton, 1996).

In the European space, Le Feuvre et al (2007) argue in order to explain the "feminization process" in these liberal professions, that the emergence of a breach that could facilitate women's access to legal professions does not entail an increase of the number of women exercising that profession. Le Feuvre underlines the idea that, in order to understand the feminization of professions, we need to understand the elements that have helped building these professions as a male finder, we need to analyse in detail the factors that led to the exclusion of women in these professions over time, and the speeches that justify these male professions. Moreover, England (2010) demonstrates that "sex segregation has diminished among intellectual cadres and professions", and Le Feuvre states that the exclusion of women in male professions is based on two principles: differentiation and hierarchy across gender.

3. The historical and political context of the profession of lawyer in Romania

In order to achieve a better understanding of the evolution of law, as an organized form of practicing lawyer's activity, we will make a brief incursion in the history of this profession. The profession of lawyer in Romania is a profession with tradition, which has always been a regulated legal profession in the Romanian modern state (see the Law 200/2004 on the recognition of professional diplomas and qualifications for regulated professions in Romania).

Traditionally, Romania had close ties with the French government and administration system. The Constitution of Romania is based on the 5th Constitution of the French Republic; the judiciary system is influenced by the French model. The Romanian legislator's choice to regulate the profession of lawyer according to the French model is rational and respects the tradition of regulating the profession in Romania.

Returning to the sources of the profession, we find out that the work of the lawyer and, later, the organization of the profession had an evolution that may be associated with the idea of progress and renewal, but also with syncope in certain historical stages, the normative view is susceptible to a chronological approach, as we are trying to explain further below.

The lawyer's activity knows the first regulations in the old Romanian law, with the mention that he is called "vechil", and his activity does not appear as an organized profession. The vechil, named in 1780 by Prince Alexandru Ypsilanti's Pravilniceasca Condică, he is portrayed as a trustee and not as a professional. In order to prove his quality, the trustee had to submit a written certificate and witnesses; the obligation to present the certificate and witnesses was required to ensure the authority of the trustee and not as evidence that he was a member of a profession. The notion of vechil and vechilat is also preserved in the legislation of Prince Ioan Caragea, from 1818.

With the Organic Regulations, in 1831, the first rules underlying the regulation of the profession of lawyer appeared. According to 224 article of the Organic Regulation it is shown that: "the mastery should set a determined number of lawyers"; "There will be lawyers those who have a certain science of truth and who are known by the people", imposing on the part of the authorities a license called "inscribed by liberty". The first rules of professional and procedural conduct arise, providing that the lawyer "will be indebted to always speak before the judge with due respect" (Diculescu, 1970).

Since 1847, in Romanian Principalities, the practice of this profession was conditioned by the approval of the Ministry of Justice "after the verification by a committee appointed by the divan". Gheorghe Bibescu establishes the law that "no one in the future will receive and practice law if he has not acquired through a statement drafted by the Ministry of Justice". In order to acquire the profession of lawyer, the applicant had to prove that

he “learned the law at the National School or at a foreign school and served at least 5 years in a position of justice”.

Between 1864 and 1948 the Law 1700 regulate the Bar Association, a law that organizes for the first time in the United Romanian Principalities, lawyers in county bars, led by a discipline council, chosen from lawyers who were over 30 years and practiced law for at least 3 years. This law orders for the first time the way in which the profession of lawyer is exercised, as well as the organization and management of the profession.

The leadership of the Bar Association in each county could adopt special regulations that became mandatory after the approval of the Ministry of Justice (Article 12), and the lawyer who compromised the honour and dignity of the profession would be subjected to disciplinary punishment. According to the 13th article of the Law no. 1700 from 1864 the following sanctions were included: “prevention, due observation, prohibition of the profession and erase from the national register of lawyers”.

The law required respecting a set of minimum rules to help shaping the lawyers’ personality. Taking the French model, the law imposed a two-year internship for those who first enrolled in the profession. The law also provided for the conduct of internship conferences, disciplinary punishment, and the need for rigorous records of members of the Bar Association, in order to be permanently updated. All these requests were aimed at increasing the dignity of the lawyer, now under the protection of the law, but also raising the level of professional training.

This law is of a great importance in terms of organizing the profession of lawyer, laying the foundations of modernism in law and affirming the dignity of the profession. At the same time, the law had the task of removing the non-peasants from the profession: the law intervened at a historical stage when the law was practiced by people without specialized training and without a doubtful moral conduct.

On March 12, 1907, a new law was adopted, starting from the recognition of the importance of the lawyer's mission both as a “factor in the establishment of justice and as a counsellor to the public”.

After the Law no. 610/1923 which increases the length of the internship to 3 years and establishes passing the qualification examination, a true code of the lawyer profession is implemented, in 1931. The act regulates in detail all the situations, related to the exercise of the profession; also it is established the Lawyer's Union in Romania, and the Central House of Attorneys of the Romanian Lawyers.

3.1 After 1948, during the Romanian communist regime

With the establishment of the communist regime in Romania, there was an empowerment of women through work, the profession becoming an important component in defining the female identity, in relation to the motherhood, which held a second place. Romania has traversed a wide range of transformations from the point of view of public policies, and women's empowerment and gender equality of the communist type has produced distortions and perverse effects.

Concerning the organization of legal professions, the bars established under the 1864 Law promulgated by Prince Al. I. Cuza, were replaced by lawyers' colleges, who became legal entities by law. The normative acts adopted after 1948 and up to 1990, concerning the profession of lawyer, in chronological order were:

- Law no. 3/1948, which stipulated that, from the date of publication, the bar associations and the Bar Association of Romanian Lawyers, organized under the previous normative acts, were abolished, with the creation of lawyers 'colleges and the Union of Lawyers' Colleges, together with the full transfer of the right of their patrimony to newly created entities being considered by law legal persons of public law (their establishment under the new form was realized in compliance with the provisions of principle no. 21 / 06.02.1924 on legal persons - associations and foundations, according to which legal entities governed by public law are created only by law). Law no. 3 of 1948 provided for a time-limit, under the penalty of forfeiture, in which attorneys could personally apply for enrolment in new colleges.
- Decree no. 39 / 13.02.1950 regarding the profession of lawyer, which repealed Law no. 3/1948 and passed Lawyers' Associations under the guidance of the Ministry of Justice.

- Decree no. 281/1954 which repealed Decree no. 39/1950, recognized the existence of the already established lawyers 'colleges and established the Lawyers' College of the Bucharest Region and the Capital of the People's Republic of Romania.
- Decree no. 135 / 17.02.1968, which returned to the organization of the profession at the county level.

Being such a regulated profession, the system was faster in granting women access to legal professions. But this did not necessarily mean that they got prestigious positions.

3.2 After 1989, normative aspects and feminization of profession in Romania

After 1989 the profession of lawyer itself underwent significant transformation due to economic and political changes. Were women able to hold their own in the new environment? Did they benefit or lose as a result of the transformations?

After the removal of the Communist Regime in Romania, the Decree-Law no. 90/1990 on certain measures for the organization and exercise of the law in Romania was the first normative act by which the principles of the lawyer's profession were restored.

Nowadays, the profession of lawyer is uniformly regulated by Law no. 51 of 7 June 1995, republished and updated, for the organization and pursuit of the profession of lawyer, by an amendment made on 07.02.2011, which introduced the autonomous and liberal character of the profession (the law suffers some successive changes).

According to the 22th article of Law no. 51/1995 for the organization and exercise of the profession, the lawyers, in Romania, carry out mainly the express defence activities mentioned by art. 2, 3rd part of the law on professional vowing with predetermined legal content and carries out its activity in a unitary manner without legally established specializations, in the ways stipulated by the law.

The regulatory model is a traditional one in Romania and it follows, historically, the French model of regulation of the profession. Unlike the regulatory model of the Anglo-Saxon profession, the French and Romanian regulatory model does not distinguish between business lawyers and barrister. Law no. 51/1995 does not provide the separate organization of business lawyers and barrister in separate professional bodies.

The development of the premises of practicing the law from a European perspective was marked by the appearance of Law no. 231 / 07.12.2000, which brought some amendments to the Law no. 51/1995. The opening of the European services market for lawyers was possible through the adoption of two European directives for the activity of lawyers: Directive no. 77/249 / EC to facilitate the effective exercise by lawyers of freedom to provide services; Directive no. 98/5 / EC to facilitate practice of the profession of lawyer on a permanent basis in a Member State other than that in which the qualification was obtained.

These two directives are complemented by Directive no. 89/48 / EC which covers the mutual recognition of qualifications in recognised professions that require a University degree or equivalent (replaced by Directive 2005/36 / EC) and Directive No. 2006/123 / EC on services in the internal market.

The chronological highlight of the normative evolution of the profession proves that after 1990 were resumed old Romanian traditions, but which corresponded to modern times. For example, the organization of the bar, set up by Prince Al. I. Cuza, was not an outdated one but a modern one, in line with the organization of the profession at European level.

According to a study of European Committee, there has been a gradual increase overall in the proportion of women lawyers over the past decade, rising from 35% in 2004 to 43% in 2015. However, the numbers of women progressing to partnership or to elite levels in the advocacy profession is still very small. There still seems to be largely insufficient commitment to diversity at all level in firms. Only very few law firms address the issue as one concerning women and men and therefore see the need to address the general attitude of all members of the firm and their culture (Galligan et al, 2017).

When it comes to education, law, which has traditionally been a "male" subject, has turned into a highly feminised subject, with about 60% female law students on average (from a total of 40,051 law students in 2015, according to the statistics of Eurostat). The numbers for graduates in law are very similar; we can see a high level of women among graduates in law. According to Eurostat, in 2016, at Bachelor's level we had a total of 6,993, of which 4,220 were women. At Doctoral level, however, there seems to be a general tendency that there is a loss of about 10-20% women in this stage. There are more men than women undertaking doctoral studies in law.

Nowadays, we have 24,667 permanent lawyers, 1,555 solicitors and 150 foreign lawyers. They have institutional relations exclusively with the Bars of which they are part of them, 42 in number, one for every Romanian County.

The number of lawyers practicing the profession increased from 18,843 in 2007 to 23,020 on 31 December 2017. However, the number of trainees is decreasing, from 3,188 in 2007 to 1,240 in 2017. Additionally there are 8,465 lawyers in the state of incompatibility or suspension of the right to practice.

There are 720 professional law firms, 82 professional law firms with limited liability and 8,695 individual lawyers' cabinets. On 31 December 2017, 5,727 lawyers with the right to exercise the profession were enrolled in the national register of lawyers, and 3,151 attorneys in the national registry of court curators, of whom 3,004 were entitled to exercise the profession. In some bars (Dolj, Galati and Suceava) there is a record of lawyers who also have the capacity of fiscal curators in a total of 13, out of which 12 have the right to exercise the profession.

At the same time in 2017, the percentage of those admitted to the profession of lawyer has increased: 627 lawyers were admitted, which means 21.7% of those enrolled the highest percentage in the last 5 years. However, the interest of young graduates for practicing the law seems to have increased in recent years, as in 2007 there were 935 registered candidates, while in 2017 were 2 889. It would be interesting to know how many lawyers leave the profession and to what professions are heading.

Currently, we have a percentage of 10.3 lawyers per 10,000 inhabitants, which is one of the lowest values comparatively with other European countries. This indicator, viewed alone, is not relevant to reflect the state of the law, but rather the state of society, and is generally used in European studies to show how *lax* a country is. Indicators such as the number of lawyers compared to the number of judges are also used.

We are also witnessing at a "feminisation" of the profession, with a strong presence of women, currently being 59.93%, respectively 13.611 women compared to 9.100 men, an evolution of the women lawyers in national bars, from 13,150 in 2016, according to the statistics from The Council of Bars and Law Societies of Europe (CCBE). We have to bear in mind that women generally make bigger efforts to stay in their careers, since they have to interrupt it at one point for maternity leave. Of course, the profession must also provide the necessary support during this period through the allowances.

If we look at the age structure of Romanian lawyers, the majority, over 50%, are lawyers between 23 and 37 years old. There are 11,439 lawyers in this age group. After that, from Generation X, those between 38 and 53, there are 5,197 lawyers.

The Romanian legal system, after a long period in which it was known as a "male" space, today presents a reconfiguration of gender roles by the fact that the principle of gender equality. This is a fundamental principle of the European Union, that has been transposed into the national legislative context with the procedures for Romania's accession to the European space, women are present in a very large number in this profession, for which there is a tendency to feminize the lawyer's profession.

The most common specializations that women opt for are family law, tax law, labour law, where this segregation of work has consequences on the distribution of working time and income. This optimism is increasingly tempered by a paradox: while individual women have achieved significant success in law, there is continuing evidence of systemic gender barriers.

Although this extremely "time-consuming" occupation is characterized by many hours of work for both men and women, it remains the fact that lawyers account for fewer hours of work than other professionals in other areas. All indicators that show a difference in gender practices refer more or less directly to time constraints and

unequal distribution of working time at the heart of all gender inequalities and having repercussions in all areas of social life (segregation and concentration of female employment on a narrow range of professions, issues of access to lifelong learning, wage inequalities, unequal distribution of domestic work, etc.).

4. Conclusions

Regarding female participation in the legal professions, the above allows us to draw two other questions related to women lawyers in Romania: Are female lawyers tending to work in areas of law that are different from those mainly occupied by their male colleagues? Are women under-represented at the higher echelons of the legal professions as well as tending to take longer to climb the career ladder? We propose that our future research to be based on these two questions.

Furthermore, we argue that the process of feminisation of liberal professions is the result not only of the general increase in the level of qualification of women but is also accompanied by a movement of structural transformation of the professions which is reflected in the adoption of new forms of work organization, but also new forms of organization of working time and private sphere. All these challenges are translated into the fact that, although women find themselves in an increasing number among lawyers, their presence in National Bars has not led to their recognition as equal to men in this profession.

In addition, as Carrie Menkel-Meadow said, the success of women in legal professions can be directly proportional to their commitment to gender issues. It is difficult to generalise about the status of 'women lawyers', as the term comprises an extremely diverse community of lawyers in many different working environments.

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The Quality of Diversity Policy Disclosure in the European Public Utility Sector: A Comparative Cross-Country Analysis

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Abstract: In recent years, there has been an increased awareness that a greater role for women in management and governance is an essential precursor for creating gender equality in the workplace and more generally for promoting economic and social development. Indeed, there has been a growing consensus that gender diversity could improve the corporate performance. The disclosure of diversity information by organisations is crucial for reducing information asymmetry, discharging accountability, signalling legitimacy and achieving corporate excellence. Nevertheless the disclosure of diversity information seems to be a relevant and current issue due to the fact that it has become mandatory for leading companies in 2017, according to the Directive 2014/95/EU, to the best knowledge of the authors, it seems to be an under investigated topic by scholars. Therefore, the purpose of the research is to investigate the current extent of Diversity Policy Disclosure (DPD) of the leading public utilities operating in the energy sector in the European Union. The research method is a comparative cross-country analysis, based on a multiple case study. Thus, the research analyses the management report's corporate governance statement of the main companies operating in Germany, France, Italy and Spain through a content analysis. The study analyses the European energy sector because it is one of the most active in the disclosure of non-financial information due to the considerable impacts of this industry on the environment and social communities. The research findings assess whether the role of regulation improve the quality of DPD or not. Thus, the study represents a preliminary critical analysis of the impact of the Directive 2014/95/EU as far as DPD is concerned. It seems that DPD has a positive effect on corporate performance by enhancing transparency, reducing information asymmetry, discharging accountability, signalling legitimacy and achieving excellence.

Keywords: diversity policy disclosure, disclosure quality, EU directive on non-financial and diversity information, public utilities, content analysis

1. Introduction

In recent years, the composition of corporate boards and board diversity has been a growing area of research (Huse, Nielsen and Hagen, 2009; Nielsen and Huse, 2010; Seierstad et al., 2017; Solimene, Coluccia and Fontana, 2017; Cucari De Falco and Orlando, 2018).

The Board of Directors is an internal governance mechanism that ensures a close alignment between the interests of shareholders and managers, and '*board diversity can be defined as variety in the composition of the Board of Directors*' (Kang, Cheng and Gray, 2007, p. 195). Board diversity may affect the effectiveness of corporate board differently because it is presented as both fiduciary and advisory in nature (Hoang, Abeysekera and Ma, 2016).

From the fiduciary perspective, agency theory provides the intention of the board of directors to monitor managerial actions affecting shareholders, ensuring that the interest of managers aligns with that of shareholders, also minority shareholders. In this perspective, the key aim of the board of directors' fiduciary duty is to minimize agency costs. Whereas, from the advisory perspective of governance, the diversity among board members within a firm is a resource firms depend on for good governance. According to the resource dependence theory, improving social relationships is likely to result in economic returns for a firm and '*diversity among board members can engage responsibility towards society as well as towards shareholders, as some directors can introduce values such as economic development being concomitant with moral development*' (Hoang, Abeyseker and Ma, 2016, p. 7).

In literature, diversity has traditionally been divided into two categories: observable diversity and non-observable diversity. The first category includes all the visible attributes of directors, such as gender, age, nationality, ethnic background, while the second category (non-observable diversity) is based on less visible attributes, such as educational, industry experience, functional and occupational background, organisational membership (Kang, Cheng and Gray, 2007). Moreover, '*some studies refer to board diversity as a demographic phenomenon entailing age, gender, and ethnicity, while others refer to board diversity as a structural*

phenomenon comprising CEO duality, board independence, and director ownership' (Hoang, Abeyseker and Ma, 2016, p. 2).

Over the years, the term diversity has been the object of debate between academics and institutions and it has been studied from various points of view. Previous research focused on the issue of board diversity and independence as significant corporate governance issues (Kang, Cheng and Gray, 2007), some authors have analysed the link between female directors and the adoption of corporate social responsibility (CSR) practices, studying how it affects firms' CSR ratings (Bear, 2010; Ben-Amar, Chang, and McIlkenny, 2017), and many other studies analysed the relationship between board diversity and company performance (e.g., Solimene, Coluccia and Fontana, 2017; Glass and Cook, 2018).

Institutions have considered diversity as an important goal in most of the reforms of governance codes (Bravo, 2018). In this sense, on 22 October 2014 the European Parliament and the Council approved the Directive 2014/95/EU amending Directive 2013/34/EU as regards disclosure of non-financial and diversity information by certain large undertakings and groups (EU, 2014 and 2017). The Directive 2014/95/EU provides that certain large undertakings the obligation to disclose diversity policies in relation to the administrative, management and supervisory bodies with regard to aspects such as age, gender or educational and professional backgrounds. Disclosure of the diversity policy should be part of the management report's corporate governance statement, as laid down by Article 20 of Directive 2013/34/EU. If no diversity policy is applied there should not be any obligation to put one in place, but the corporate governance statement should include a clear explanation as to why this is the case (EU, 2017). Therefore, the purpose of the research is to investigate the current extent and quality of Diversity Policy Disclosure (DPD) found in the management report's corporate governance statement of the big public utilities operating in the energy sector in the European Union, analysing if the implementation of the Directive 2014/95/EU has led to an increase of the disclosure of diversity policies.

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. The next section reviews the existing literature on board diversity and on diversity disclosure. This is followed by the research methodology section that aims to describe the sample and explains the research method. The next section provides the results of the empirical analysis. The final section discusses the research results and summarizes the contributions of the paper, highlighting some closing remarks and the limitations of the study.

2. Literature review

2.1 Board diversity

Recently, the roles of corporate boards have received much attention as a result of the increase of visible and highly consequential actions of corporate boards. '*In reviews of the research on the role of corporate boards five main theoretical streams in conceptualizing the role boards are found: legalistic, resource-dependence, class hegemony, agency, and resource based perspectives'* (Huse and Rindova, 2001, p. 156). Specifically, resource dependence theory and agency theory are two organization theories that '*provide the broad theoretical underpinnings for how board diversity and composition influence ratings for CSR and how, in turn, CSR influences corporate reputation*' (Bear, Rahman and Post, 2010, p. 209).

According to the legalistic perspective on boards, the board of directors has a legal obligation to protect the interests of the corporation. Therefore, the board of directors must select and monitor the CEO of a company, evaluate its performance and also represent the interests of the shareholders. Whereas, resource dependence theory identifies critical resources that the board's function can provide to companies, including legitimacy, advice and counsel (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978). According to this theory, thanks to these board resources, the company is able to understand and respond to its environment that can help it better manage CSR issues. In this perspective, cooperation and connection are two benefits for companies (Huse and Rindova, 2001). So, directors are also valuable resources for companies' management because they help companies manage environmental interdependencies thanks to their connections with stakeholders. Conversely, agency theory – that *'has dominated corporate governance studies because it proposes a satisfactory explanation of problems associated with the separation between ownership and control, and governance systems to solve the conflict of interests among management and shareholders are easily derived'* (Huse et al., 2011, p. 8) – provides the rationale for the board's critical function of monitoring management on behalf of the shareholders (Fama and Jensen, 1983); thus the board needs the appropriate mix of experience and capabilities to evaluate management and assess

business strategies and their impact on CSR (Bear, Rahman and Post, 2010). Finally, according to the resource based view of the company (Barney, 1991) and similar theories, the board has been view as a service resource for the company and its management and as a strategic resource impacting company performance (Huse and Rindova, 2001).

Diversity of board allows to improve organizational value, the exchange of information and company performance, also encouraging the exchange of ideas (Kang, Cheng and Gray, 2007). Specifically, the composition of the board influences the way the board performs its specific functions on which the company's performance depends in part (Carter *et al.,* 2010). According to the perspectives adopted by the theories described above, the diversity of corporate board produces a different effect on the roles made for business management. The resource dependence theory considers the diversity of the board as a tool that can help management access the fundamental resources that lead the company towards success, while the resource-based view argues that is a source of competitive advantage deriving from synergies created by the interaction between male and female components, each of them contributes differently to the management (Johnson, Daily and Ellstrand, 1996). According to agency theory, diversity of corporate board leads to the increase of board independence and a consequent improvement of the ability of the board to monitor management, with a positive impact on firm financial performance (Galbreath, 2018).

As part of the diversity of boards there are the age diversity and ethnic diversity.

According to Kang, Cheng and Gray (2007), board age is the most important observable backgrounds of diversity issues for the board of directors and it encourages the exchange of values, experiences and habits of different generations, combining the experience of senior advisors with the dynamism of younger directors. Also ethnic diversity of administrators is considered as one of the elements for better governance (Carter *et al.*, 2010). Moreover, the most recent studies highlight that '*gender composition (i.e., the number of women on the board) is expected to have a positive impact on social capital and CSR*' (Bear, Rahman and Post, 2010, p. 210). Female directors are more likely to have a higher level of education, such as a doctoral degree. Moreover, compared to male directors, women acquire board experiences with smaller firms and, generally, they have expert backgrounds outside of business and to different perspectives to the board. Furthermore, the presence of female and ethnic minority board members allows an organization to deal effectively with diversity; in this way the board members create a link of credibility between an organization and its stakeholders, obtaining a competitive advantage (Bernardi, Bean and Weippert, 2002). In other words, gender and ethnic diversity produce a positive impact on corporate transparency improving the disclosure of crucial information in the markets. In fact, '*women and ethnic minorities can bring new perspectives and concerns to a board and may allow the environment of a firm to be better understood and the information needs of stakeholders to be better assessed*' (Bravo, 2018, p. 105).

Another highly valued role of subsidiary boards was related to ethics and values; in fact, each board member's human and ethical values were considered important (Huse and Rindova, 2001). In this regard, emerges the gender equality issue that has become very important in modern management (Paoloni and Demartini, 2016), for which it is possible to identify two basic principles. According to the first principle, concerning social justice, women have equal opportunities compared to men in access to job. According to the second principle, the gender diversification of the board of directors allows companies to improve their business. Both principles play the role of market reporting by companies, in order to capture the attention of the most responsible investors and stakeholders (Barrientos Báeza *et al.*, 2018).

In the literature the differences that characterize the ethical decision-making process between male and female executives have been studied. According to some scholars, female marketing professionals have a higher ethical research judgment than the male component (Akaah, 1989; Beltramini, Peterson and Kozmetsky, 1984). Moreover, in this sense, the younger directors have a greater sensitivity to the environmental and ethical issues (Bravo, 2018).

2.2 The disclosure of board diversity

Recently, there has been a growing attention to board diversity that has become the subject of debate on best practices in corporate disclosure (Bravo, 2018). For example, gender diversity improves the information

disclosure of companies and leads to a greater transparency of information, determining an increase of quantity and quality of public disclosure by firms (Abad *et al*., 2017).

From a general point of view, firms are evaluated on their disclosures through annual reports, quarterly reports, proxy statements and other published information. Based on these documents, analysts evaluate the timeliness, detail and clarity of information presented (Sengupta, 1998). Specifically, the analysis of the quality of the disclosure can be based on the evaluation of the relationship between what firms identify as their accomplishments and objectives and independent measures of actual performance (Ingram and Frazier, 1980).

From a disclosure perspective, several different theories are used to outline why organisations disclose corporate information and include agency, stakeholder, signalling and legitimacy theory. These theories are interrelated and are part of an integrated framework based on the premise that corporate disclosure has a positive effect on corporate performance by reducing information asymmetry, discharging accountability, signalling legitimacy and achieving excellence (An, Davey and Eggleton, 2011). In advocating for the value of board diversity, environmental, social and governance (ESG) scholars frequently cite research illustrating the business benefits, including improved financial performance and shareholder value, rising investor confidence, and enhanced market knowledge and reputation Recently, research on the relationship between board diversity and ESG disclosure have assumed growing importance (e.g. Cucari, De Falco and Orlando, 2018), whereas others have focused on the relationship between female representation and voluntary disclosure (e.g. Ben-Amar, Chang and McIlkenny, 2017).

To increase the relevance, consistency and comparability of non financial information disclosed by large companies and groups across the Union, the EU have made mandatory the disclosure of non financial information through the issuing of the Directive 2014/95/EU. In addition to information relating to environmental matters, social and employee-related matters, respect for human rights, anti-corruption and bribery matters, the Directive 2014/95/EU provides for certain large undertakings the obligation to disclose diversity policies in relation to the administrative, management and supervisory bodies with regard to aspects such as age, gender or educational and professional backgrounds.

The aim of the European regulator is to enhance a good understanding of the business organisation and affairs of these organisations through a greater transparency regarding the diversity policy applied. Specifically, diversity of competences and views of the members of administrative, management and supervisory bodies enables members of those bodies to constructively challenge the management decisions and to be more open to innovative ideas, addressing the similarity of views of members, also known as the 'group-think' phenomenon. It also contributes thus to effective oversight of the management and to successful governance of the organisation. It is therefore important to enhance transparency regarding the diversity policy applied. In fact, this would inform the market of corporate governance practices and thus put indirect pressure on undertakings to have more diversified boards (EU, 2014).

The Member States should have transposed the laws, regulations and administrative provisions necessary to comply with this Directive by 6 December 2016 and apply the provisions for the financial year from 1 January 2017 or during the calendar year 2017. So, the DPD has become compulsory for the first time in 2017. As a result of the directive implementation, we expect to find a change in the way of making DPD by organisations.

Recent research has investigated the disclosure of non financial information with regard to ESG issue (e.g., La Torre et al. 2018; Venturelli et al., 2017; Haller, Link and Groß, 2017). However, as underlined by previous research, '*the influence of board diversity on disclosure practices still remains largely unexplored and requires further research since a firm disclosure strategy is crucial to satisfy its investors' information needs and therefore reduce information asymmetries in the capital markets'* (Bravo, 2018, p. 104). Thus, the aim of our research is to analyse the quality of DPD, identifying how corporate governance statements declare and communicate specific understanding of company's DPD and verifying the following research proposition and sub-propositions:

- The Directive 2014/95/EU's provisions on DPD leads to an increase of the disclosure of non-financial information.
- *The Directive 2014/95/EU's provisions on DPD leads to an increase of gender diversity disclosure.*
- *The Directive 2014/95/EU's provisions on DPD leads to an increase of age diversity disclosure.*

- *The Directive 2014/95/EU's provisions on DPD leads to an increase of ethnic diversity disclosure.*
- *The Directive 2014/95/EU's provisions on DPD leads to an increase of professional background diversity disclosure.*

3. Research method

The research method is a comparative cross-country analysis, based on a multiple case study, in order to investigate the extent and quality of DPD of public utilities operating in the European energy sector.

To do so, the research analyses the corporate governance statements of the leading companies operating in Germany, France, Italy and Spain**.** Note that, the study does not consider United Kingdom because it has been the first country that has liberalized the gas and electricity market and it has been totally acquired by the biggest of the other countries.

The study analyses the energy sector because it is one of the most sensitive to the disclosure of non-financial information; in fact, companies that operate in this sector have a considerable impact on the environment. Furthermore, the companies of our sample are the big companies operating in the European energy sector and, for this reason, we assume they pay more attention to the disclosure of non-financial and diversity information. So, we include in our sample the following companies:

- Italy: ENI, ENEL, HERA;
- Germany: EON,, RWE, EnBW;
- France: TOTAL EDF, ENGIE;
- Spain: GAS NATURAL, ENDESA, IBERDROLA.

Considering that, according to the Directive 2014/95/EU, DPD was implemented in the financial statements of leading companies in 2017 for the first time, the aim of the analysis is to compare the 2016 and 2017 management report's corporate governance statements in order to verify if the analysed companies are compliant with the requirements of the Directive 2014/95/EU about non-financial information, with particular attention to diversity policy, and if it is possible to identify relevant improvement after the enter into force of the EU Directive.

Data collection started with visiting the web pages of the companies and searching for corporate governance report that is separate from the annual report, while other times it is included in the financial report. In most cases, the document has been found within the sections "Corporate Governance" or "Investor Relations" of the company's websites.

For each document we verified the presence of a special section dedicated to the diversity policy and we also analysed the composition of the Board of Directors or other management board, in order to analyse the level of disclosure on diversity issue and, consequently, to identify the main differences among the main companies operating in the European public utility sector. Specifically, the composition of the Board of Directors was analysed focusing on the percentage of women on the board, the average age, nationality and professional experience of the members of the board of directors.

We adopted a content analysis (Dumay and Cai, 2015; 2014), to measure the content of firm's policy diversity disclosures, according to the provisions of the Directive 2014/95/EU. The next section describes the results retrieved from the content analysis.

4. Research results

We empirically explore the content of corporate governance section of management reports of the main companies operating in the European public utility sector.

First, data analysis began with the identification of the general structure of the documents, as shown in table 1. Specifically, for each company, we analysed the general structure of corporate governance section exploring the number of pages of the corporate governance and the presence of diversity section; when the latter variable is present, we consider the number of pages and number of words dedicated to diversity policy section.

Table 1: General structure of Corporate Governance section - 2017

Companies	Number of pages of the Corporate Governance		Presence of Diversity section		Number of pages dedicated to diversity policy section		Number of words dedicated to diversity policy section	
ITALY	**2017**	**2016**	**2017**	**2016**	**2017**	**2016**	**2017**	**2016**
Eni	120	116	Yes	Yes	2	2	631	376
Enel	63	57	Yes	No	1	-	804	-
Hera	30	37	Yes	Yes	0,5		222	
GERMANY				**Yes**				
Eon	25	23	Yes	-	1	-	344	-
Rwe	5	2	Yes	Yes	0,5	0,5	367	351
Enbw	4	3	-	Yes	-	-	-	-
FRANCE				**Yes**				
Total	61	28	Yes	Yes	0,5	0,5	276	276
Edf	35	36	No	No		-	227	158
Engie	60	34	Yes	Yes	2	2	1016	1345
SPAIN				**Yes**				
Gas Natural	106	109	No	No	-	-	-	-
Endesa	65	66	Yes	No	1	-	351	-
Iberdrola	86	87	No	No	-	-	-	-

From the comparison of the information disclosed in 2017 and 2016 regarding the general structure, we found a considerable increase in the diversity disclosure. In fact, compared to 2016, almost all the companies analysed in 2017 dedicated a specific section focused on diversity policy in the corporate governance section of the management report, with a number of 470 words on average.

The next table 2 shows the composition of corporate governance from a gender perspective. Specifically, board gender diversity is measured through the percentage of women directors on the board. The table compares the percentage of women and men of the board of directors, management and supervisory bodies of the research sample companies, in 2017 and 2016.

Table 2: Composition of corporate governance boards- gender

Companies	Corporate governance boards	Women %		Men %		Information showed in the management report
		2017	**2016**	**2017**	**2016**	
ITALY						
Eni	Board of directors	33%	33%	67%	67%	Yes
Enel	Board of directors	33%	33%	67%	67%	No
Hera	Board of directors	33%	21,42%	67%	78,58%	No
GERMANY						
Eon	Management board	-	-	-	-	
	Supervisory board	22%	25%	78%	75%	No
Rwe	Management board	-	-	-	-	-
	Supervisory board	-	-	-	-	-
Enbw	Management board	0%	0%	100%	100%	No
	Supervisory board	-	-	-	-	-
FRANCE						
Total	Board of directors	45,50%	54,50%	54,50%	45,50%	Yes
Edf	Board of directors	41,70%	41,70%	58,30%	58,30%	No
Engie	Board of directors	47,36%	52,63%	52,64%	47,37%	No
SPAIN						
Gas Natural	Board of directors	17,65%	17,65%	82,35%	82,35%	No
Endesa	Board of directors	18%	10%	82%	90%	No
Iberdrola	Board of directors	35,71%	35,71%	64,29%	64,29%	No

Furthermore, we have highlighted in a specific column whether the information on board composition is explicitly present in the document analysed, indicating Yes. On the contrary, we indicated No if this information

is absent in the corporate governance section; in this case, we manually obtained the percentage of women and men on board calculating the percentage of women and men on the total number of board members. From the results obtained in Table 2, we can observe that the percentage of women and men on board has not changed significantly from 2016 to 2017; women remain on average around 40% and men around 60%. Finally, the next Table 3 shows the composition of corporate governance from the age perspective. The table compares the average age of women and men of the board of directors of the research sample companies, in 2017 and 2016. Furthermore, we have highlighted in a specific column whether the information on board composition is explicitly present in the document analysed, indicating Yes. On the contrary, we indicated No if this information is absent in the corporate governance section; in this case, we manually obtained the average age of women and men on board calculating the percentage of women and men on the total number of board members, based on the information of board members published in corporate governance.

Table 3: Composition of corporate governance boards - age

Companies	Corporate governance boards	Average age of Directors		information showed in the management report
		2017	2016	
ITALY				
Eni	Board of directors	56		Yes
Enel	Board of directors	63	63	Yes
Hera	Board of directors	50	-	Yes
GERMANY				
Eon	Management board	-	-	No
	Supervisory board	59	-	No
Rwe	Management board	-	-	No
	Supervisory board	-	-	No
Enbw	Management board	-	-	No
	Supervisory board	-	-	No
FRANCE				
Total	Board of directors	60	51	Yes
Edf	Board of directors			
Engie	Board of directors	62	62	No
SPAIN				
Gas Natural	Board of directors	-	-	No
Endesa	Board of directors	64		Yes
Iberdrola	Board of directors	-	-	No

From the results obtained, it emerges that in 2016 information on the average age of board members is almost absent, while in 2017 there is an increase in the disclosure of this information in most of the companies analysed, even if some companies do not publish information on age of the components of corporate governance. Finally, we investigated the disclourse on nationality and professional background of board of directors. Although the Directive 2014/95/EU has specifically requested it, most of the companies analysed do not communicate information on nationality or professional background.

5. Discussion and conclusion

Based on the results obtained from the content analysis described in the previous section, we can assess the research propositions in the following manner:

- The Directive 2014/95/EU's provisions on DPD leads to an increase of gender diversity disclosure.

The results of the research support this proposition; in fact, the results show that, after the implementation of the Directive 2014/95/EU, companies have increased information on diversity policy, introducing a section of the management report dedicated to diversity policy. This demonstrates a growing attention by companies towards the DPD required by the directive.

- The Directive 2014/95/EU's provisions on DPD leads to an increase of age diversity disclosure.

This proposition is supported by the results of the content analysis; in fact, although in 2017 still many companies do not disclose information regarding the age of board members, there is an increase in this type of information.

Therefore, the research results seem to reveal that a greater transparency regarding the diversity policy enhance a good understanding of the corporate governance practices and thus put indirect pressure on undertakings to have more diversified boards. In fact, more female directors and age diversity should produce a positive impact on social capital (Bear, Rahman and Post, 2010), corporate transparency (Bernanrdi, Bean and Weippert, 2002) and firm financial performance (Carter *et al*., 2010; Galbreath, 2018). In addition, it appears that board diversity in the energy sector can make boards more sensitive to CSR initiatives and can help them better address CSR issues. Research already suggests that firms with a higher percentage of female board members do in fact have a higher level of charitable giving, more favourable work environments, and higher levels of Environmental CSR (Bear, Rahman and Post, 2010).

- The Directive 2014/95/EU's provisions on DPD leads to an increase of ethnic diversity disclosure.
- The Directive 2014/95/EU's provisions on DPD leads to an increase of professional background diversity disclosure.

The results of the research do not confirm these propositions because, as highlighted above, most of the analysed companies do not focus on the description of the nationality and professional experience of the members of the board of directors. Therefore, we expect to see in the following years a greater commitment on the part of the companies to be more and more compliant with the requirements of the directive on diversity policy dislocation.

In conclusion, it seems that the entry into force of the Directive 2014/95/EU has been beneficial to improve the DPD by the leading European energy company, however a great deal still needs to be done, not just with regard the disclosure of ethnicity and professional background, but as far as the dissemination of culture on diversity policy within the organization is concerned (Bravo, 2018). In fact, the disclosure of information always follow the awareness of the importance of board diversity (Carter *et al*., 2010). In addition, empirical results show that at least women's participation on boards and age diversity improves the corporate governance practices and lead to a greater transparency of information (Abad *et al*., 2017). Thus, these explorative research findings seem to agree with the theory expectations that corporate disclosure has a positive effect on corporate performance by reducing information asymmetry, discharging accountability, signalling legitimacy and achieving excellence (An, Davey and Eggleton, 2011). However, the relation among board diversity, enhanced environmental, social and governance standards and stronger corporate performance should be further investigated. In addition, the main limitation of the study is the adoption of a multiple case study approach that is useful to explore the dissemination of a new phenomenon, but does not allow the researchers to generalize the research results. So, further research will attempt to consider a bigger sample to apply quantitative research methods to generalize the research findings.

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Digital Gender Parity? Gender-Specific Attitudes and Competencies of Young Professionals in Germany

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Abstract: Digitalization has not only affected production conditions but also gender relations by creating favourable conditions that promote gender equality in companies and make use of female resources and competencies. To seize this opportunity, the digital work environment must be collaboratively designed. Currently, in the predominantly male world of IT and engineering, women are still outnumbered. A quantitative online-study with 28 closed questions on the attitudes and competencies of Young Professionals regarding digitalization was conducted from July to September 2017 in Germany. Results were analysed for trends in gender and generations. The participants (n=400, thereof female=273, male=127, in employment=221) consisted mostly of Generations Y and Z, who are at the beginning of their working lives. Several causes of the ongoing gender disparity were confirmed during analysis. While Young Professionals of both genders show interest in digital technologies, this interest was more pronounced among male respondents. Moreover, compared to men of the same age, young female respondents more intensively use the internet and social media while being less interested in technical functioning. Regarding necessary competencies in the digitalized world, male respondents were particularly interested in the importance of problem solving, optimization skills, and interdisciplinary cooperation. Female respondents placed more value on media, social, and communication competencies, as well as personal responsibility. Since leadership roles are traditionally associated with problem solving and decisiveness instead of social competence, these differences could represent barriers in women's careers. However, these discrepancies also indicate that qualified women have more opportunity to become supporters and role models for new participatory leadership. Additionally, this study reveals clear stereotypes regarding women's competencies. Male respondents generally believed that female IT and media competence, as well as their interest in technology are still less compared to men. These study results indicate that future measures should strive to sensitize managers and provide targeted training and support for women. Furthermore, these results contribute to the broad public and scientific discussion concerning the issue of gender parity in the context of digitalization.

Keywords: gender-specific attitudes and competencies, young professionals, digitalization, digitalized working world, digital and media competencies, digital literacy

1. Background

Digitalization and industry 4.0 have become the decisive success and competition factors for companies and organizations. They are also changing people's working and living environments.

Like any new technology, digitalization goes hand in hand with a renegotiation of gender relations, with changes in gender-specific roles and the division of labour. Digital technology development is strongly dominated by men and is characterized by male connotations of artificial intelligence (AI) and the ability to control reality. There is a need to critically analyse digitalization, including the gender aspect, regarding both the conception and effects of digital technologies (Korbik, 2016).

Digitalization will change the traditional fields of engineering and introduce new approaches that could be used primarily by women, especially in the research and development fields. Yet, these areas of opportunity are not self-perpetuating for women (DIW, 2016).

The need for targeted promotion of STEM women to decision-making and implementation positions in the introduction and design of digitalization and industry 4.0 is confirmed by current research results. Industry 4.0 sectors, with 7.2% of women in top management positions in 2016, are well below the national average of 11.7%. Women also account for only 26% of middle management in industry 4.0 companies (Kompetenzzentrum, 2016a).

The design of the digitalized world of work requires a diversity of perspectives, which is only possible through a broader participation of qualified women from different disciplines and specialist cultures (Franken, 2016). It is necessary to sensitize young qualified women to the design of digitalization and to provide greater support for women's careers in STEM occupations.

When it comes to gender perspectives in the field of digitalization and industry 4.0, a lot of research still needs to be done that relates to attitudes, motivation and basic understanding of digitalization as well as to women's specific competencies for shaping digitalization. This project contributes to closing this research gap by examining basic attitudes and knowledge about digitalization from a gender-based point of view.

2. State of research

Existing research on the gender aspects of digitalization is somewhat fragmented and results are compiled from research in the areas "Effects of digitalization" and "Women-specific competencies for digitalization".

2.1 Gender aspects concerning the impact of digitalization on the world of work

The importance of digitalization and industry 4.0 for future business competitiveness is enormous. Today, every second company in Germany uses industry 4.0 applications. Many companies cite the lack of suitable specialists and problems with data security as central obstacles to the introduction of digitalization (Bitkom, 2016). Against this background, the untapped potential of qualified women is considered an important resource that needs to be better exploited.

Automation and networking will bring about lasting change to the world of work, affecting every value-adding activities, from operative production work to skilled labour and management (Hirsch-Kreinsen et al., 2015). For employees, the use of new technologies means a change in their working environment and tasks. In the future, people will mainly be concerned with prescribing, monitoring and ensuring production strategies; the tasks of traditional production and knowledge workers will merge (Franken, 2015; Spath et al., 2013; Stehr, 2014).

Digitalization threatens many jobs with replacement by robots and algorithms. This applies not only to less qualified executive tasks, but increasingly to administrative and service tasks (ZEW, 2015). According to a study by DIW Berlin, digitalization poses a particular threat to women's professions, for example in the services sector. The gender pay gap could also become even greater as a result (DIW, 2016).

For the future of digitalized work in production and services, employees will need digital expertise, a high degree of independence and self-organization as well as an understanding of the interactions between all actors in the value creation process (Hirsch-Kreinsen et al., 2015; IAB, 2016). Social skills (especially communication and teamworking skills) and the ability to work in an interdisciplinary and intercultural manner are becoming more important as work will increasingly take place in cross-functional internal or even cross-company networks, often in digital, virtual and project form. Social and team competencies are often attributed to women in research, underlining their importance in the digitalized world of work.

The design of digital work should allow for more flexibility in terms of working hours and places of work as well as a better work-life balance, which would especially benefit women and mothers (BMBF, 2015; Eisenbeis-Trinkle, 2014; Robert Bosch, 2014).

2.2 Women's competencies for digitalization

The D21 Digital Index 2016 shows that women are at a disadvantage in some areas of digitalization. Older generation of women has not yet made it to the digital age. However, even younger generations of women are not automatically digitally more competent. Although girls are active users, they remain comparatively far removed from the technical side of digitalization; they are less interested in the latest digital trends and see less need for programming languages and digital media to be part of school education (Kompetenzzentrum, 2016b). These results highlight shortfalls in women's digital skills and the need for action.

However, an international study by the consulting company Accenture (2016) shows that women make better use than men of the opportunities offered by digitalization, improving their professional qualifications and career opportunities. These advantages arise when a person is familiar with digital technologies and uses them at work and in everyday life. New opportunities include more flexible working time models, new professions from which more women can benefit, e-learning, digital collaboration tools, social media and the use of smartphones and other digital devices (Accenture, 2016). This means that women who have recognized the importance of digital competencies for the world of work 4.0 are able to make efficient use of them.

3. Objective

Analysis of the research results indicates that successful implementation of digitalization requires better exploitation of the potential of qualified women. Qualified women could close gaps in the skilled workforce based on their existing qualifications and, in addition, contribute to the success of digitalization with their specific competencies (particularly social, teamwork and risk management competencies) and within the framework of heterogeneous teams, in which more balanced decisions and creativity can be achieved.

Consequently, it is important to examine the attitudes, basic understanding and competencies of qualified women on digitalization and industry 4.0 and, on this basis, derive well-founded insights into the motivations and qualifications of women and into women-specific competencies for shaping digitalization.

The Gender 4.0 project aims to examine the basic attitudes and basic knowledge of young professionals on digitalization and industry 4.0 from a gender perspective in order to identify women-specific attitudes, motivational factors, characteristics and competencies to better shape digitalization.

The following research questions were answered to achieve the project objective:

- What gender differences can be observed in attitudes and motivations towards digitalization?
- What competencies do young professionals believe to be particularly important for the digitalized world of work, depending on gender?

4. Methodology

A quantitative survey was carried out between 14 July and 20 September 2017 to answer the above research questions. In total, the questionnaire contains 28 questions, nine on attitudes, six on demographic data, six on motivation and five on mixed questions. In addition, one question consists of eleven competencies assessed on a four-level scale. These are all closed questions, excepting the questions on demographic data. The answer design consists of a four-step scale to eliminate the "tendency towards the middle". Moreover, the study draws on a binary gender understanding and considers gender as a variable instead of a social construct according to the theoretical orientations of gender and queer studies. In practice, and especially in IT, a gender imbalance should first be assumed, which becomes apparent in the separation of women and men (Degele, 2008).

The questionnaire was distributed through various private contacts and placed on social media platforms, such as Facebook and internet forums, blogs, newsletters and e-mail distribution lists. To improve the quality of the questionnaire survey instrument, a pre-test and reliability analysis was conducted with 20 people. The Cronbach's alpha was 0.762, an acceptable result.

5. Results and evaluation

This section analyses the results of the questionnaire. All tables were compiled and designed by the authors based on the results. Unless otherwise stated, mean values were obtained for the different sexes using a T-test for independent samples and generational comparisons using a single-factor ANOVA and the Scheffé procedure. A high mean value (from 1 - 4) indicates more agreement with the item. Mean values starting from 2.5 lie in the approval range; below this they reject the thesis. Young Professionals consist of Generations Y and Z.

5.1 Demographic data

To obtain a better age comparison, the participants were classified into four different generation categories. Since there are differences in the subdivision depending on the author, several different authors were used to create the subdivisions, see Table 1 (following Mörstedt, 2017). A total of 400 persons, 273 women and 127 men, took part. The average age was M=32.85 (MD=28, SD=12.7).

Table 1: Demographic data

label	year	total	female	male
Generation Z	1995 – 2010	49	34	15
Generation Y	1980 – 1994	235	154	81
Generation X	1965 – 1979	67	54	13
Baby boomer (BB)	1955 – 1964	42	29	13
White generation	1919 – 1954	7	2	5

The sample size of the White generation is too small to allow valid conclusions about the population, so this group was not included in the evaluation.

Of the 400 participants considered, 53 persons were non-academics, 133 persons have a higher education entrance qualification (Advanced Vocational Certificate of Education/A Levels) and 214 persons were academics.

5.2 Attitudes towards digitalization

In the question pool about attitudes, there are nine items that examine handling and interest in digitalization as well as the willingness to use robots (see Table 2 and 3).

Table 2: Attitude towards digitalization 1

Basic attitude	male	female	Gen. Z	Gen. Y	Gen. X	BB
I cannot live without the internet.	2,72	2,98	3.02	2.94	2.73	2.81
I always have my smartphone with me.	3.42	3.40	3.57	3.46	3.28	3.17
I take my smartphone with me to the toilet.	2.86	2.58	3.16	2.83	2.18	2.1
I'm not interested in the technical background as long as I can use digital technologies without any problems.	2.13	2.81	2.86	2.5	2.72	2.55
I could imagine working with robots.	2.98	2.53	2.29	2.73	2.57	2.9

The table shows that the averages differ somewhat in terms of gender. More women agreed with the item "I can't live without the internet." in a gender comparison. A possible cause for a higher mean value for women could be their so-called soft skills, since women are often more communicative and socially communicate more frequently than men (see 2.3).

The gender values are very close for the item "I always have my smartphone with me.". For the third item "I take my smartphone with me to the toilet.", the mean values are further apart.

Another question looks at the age-related differences in answering these items. There are slight trends, so that people in Generation Z have a higher basic setting than the other generation groups. With the item "I can't live without the internet.", the Generation X group stands out with the lowest mean value with 2.73. During the period in which Generation X grew up, several economic crises occurred and the divorce rate increased. This could be a possible reason for the low values, as this generation may be used to dealing with losses. Generation X, for example, may believe that digitalization will be discontinued and is relying less on it. The mean values of the second item "I always have my smartphone with me." are all over 3, so every respondent generation take their smartphones with them on a permanent basis in everyday life. A slight drop in the average value can also be seen here, and the highest value here is also for Generation Z. The younger generations grew up with digitalization, everyone now own a smartphone and it is socially accepted to have it everywhere. It can therefore be assumed that the average value for the Alpha generation, which will follow Generation Z, will again be higher.

The values for the item "I take my smartphone with me to the toilet." is as expected: Generation Y and Z are close together in the upper range and tend to take their smartphones with them, while the other generations tend towards the lower range and do not take a smartphone with them. One conceivable reason for the rapid drop in the mean value could be differences in the perceived value of technology. Generation X and the baby boomers experienced the beginnings of modern technology, when televisions, mobile phones and computers were expensive and more susceptible than today's devices.

Another item is "I'm not interested in the technical background as long as I can use digital technologies without any problems.", which was made to test the interest in digital technologies. While men, with an average value of 2.13 showed more interest than women, with an average value of 2.81, there were clear differences in the generation comparison.

Generation Y, with an average value of 2.5, and baby boomers, with an average value of 2.55, are more interested in the technical background than Generation X, with an average value 2.72, and Generation Z, with an average value of 2.86. One reason for the greater difference between Generation Z and Generation Y could be self-evidence. Generation Z is the first generation to have grown up completely with digital technologies, and thus sees its use as a matter of course. Generation Y, on the other hand, grew up without digital technologies and is attributed with a certain independence, which would not be possible without the technical background.

The last item in the attitude question pool is "I could imagine working with robots." and was designed to understand people's future perspectives. The mean values for the sexes are 2.53 for women and 2.98 for men. In a generational comparison, it is particularly noticeable that Generation Z could imagine working with robots less than older generations. If, however, the sexes of Generation Z are considered separately, men have an average value of 2.67 and women 2.12, which reduces the total average value of Generation Z due to the large number of women. However, even women in the previous Generation Y are more interested in working with robots, with an average of 2.55, while the men have an average of 3.06. A possible reason for the low mean values of Generation Z could again be the matter of course of technologies. Women may also have a different understand of the term robot due to differences in their interest in the technical background. Generation X could also not imagine working with robots. One reason for the lower value of Generation X could be the movies from their youth, in which AI take over the world and destroy humanity. Debates about the regulation of AI have long been a reality. Elon Musk, an internet entrepreneur and member of Generation X, has been warning for years about the possible dangers of AI (Holland, 2017). In contrast, Mark Zuckerberg, a member of Generation Y and an internet entrepreneur, sees no danger from AI and promotes its development (Armbruster, 2017). The older generations in comparison most likely expect a relief in everyday life through robots.

In order to obtain a more precise gender comparison, there were two items with one female and one male variant each, "Women/men are good with digital technologies." and "Women/men are not interested in modern technologies." (see Table 3).

Table 3: Attitude towards digitalization 2

Basic attitude	male	female	Gen. Z	Gen. Y	Gen. X	BB
Women are good with digital technologies.	2.84	3.21	2.98	3.14	3.03	3.12
Men are good with digital technologies.	3.18	3.12	3.2	3.22	2.91	3.07
Women are not interested in modern technologies.	1.86	1.68	1.73	1.77	1.73	1.55
Men are not interested in modern technologies.	1.57	1.52	1.49	1.54	1.54	1.6

The female respondents had a tendency to believe that they are good at dealing with digital technologies (3.21), while men support this thesis less (2.84). Similarly, more men believe that women are not interested in digital technologies (1.86 to 1.68). Observable and pronounced stereotypical gender roles could be a reason for this.

Generation X and the baby boomers are particularly striking in a comparison of generations. Both generations say that men are less proficient at using digital technologies than women because men have a lower average. In the item "Women are not interested in modern technologies.", the baby boomers are most likely to assume that this thesis is not correct; here the mean value is even lower than the comparison item with men.

5.3 Motivation

In the question pool on the subject of motivation, there are six items which are intended to highlight basic motivations, readiness for use and the context of digitalization in relationship to work.

Table 4: Motivation

Basic attitude	male	female	Gen. Z	Gen. Y	Gen. X	BB
New digital devices are a status symbol for me.	1.77	1.70	1.86	1.76	1.45	1.83
I am interested in new technologies.	3.47	3.03	2.98	3.18	3.07	3.5
I enjoy the use of new technologies.	3.35	3.26	3.37	3.31	3.12	3.48
Digitalization makes life easier.	3.15	3.22	3.31	3.19	3.1	3.33
I'm stressed to be constantly reachable.	2.60	2.70	2.49	2.75	2.6	2.6
I think it's good that digitalization makes work more flexible.	3.16	3.25	3.18	3.23	3.21	3.31

The gender averages for the item "New digital devices are a status symbol for me." are close in the low range, indicating that both sexes do not consider digital devices to be status symbols.

For the second item, "I'm interested in new technologies.", male respondents indicated more interest in new technologies than women.

When comparing generations, Generation X has a lower mean value for status symbols than the other generations. This could be due to the economic crises and post-war periods during which they grew up, as digital

devices as status symbols are not time resistant and do not represent a safe investment source. Technical devices purchased today may become obsolete tomorrow.

In the item "I am interested in new technologies.", the baby boomer generation is most interested in new technologies compared to the others. The youngest generation, on the other hand, is the least interested. The baby boomers have witnessed the entire development of digital technologies, so there is likely greater interest here. Generation Z, on the other hand, has grown up with digital technologies right from the start, making it a matter of course for them.

The mean values of the items "I enjoy the use of new technologies." and "Digitalization makes life easier." are close together in a gender comparison.

A comparison of the generations shows that baby boomers enjoy new technologies more and find that digitalization makes life easier, even though they responded that they could not have imagined working with robots. This illustrates the thesis that negative attitudes focus only on robots. Likewise, baby boomers have the most fun using new technologies, which is reflected in their increased interest in digital technologies. Generation X has lower mean values compared to its predecessor and successor generations, but the value is still high 3.1 and 3.12.

The last two items in the motivation question pool are "I'm stressed to be constantly available." and "I like the fact that digitalization makes work more flexible.". Both items can be assigned to the work context, since stress due to digitalization occurs primarily in combination with work. Comparing genders reveals only a few differences. Women are somewhat more stressed than men but are more optimistic that digitalization will make work more flexible.

A generation comparison shows that baby boomers believe that digitalisation will make work more flexible, but all groups generally agree with this thesis. Concerning the item "It stresses me to be constantly reachable.", Generation Z in particular, has a low rating, indicating that they feel less stress in response to constant availability. In this group, most are networked and social media is standard for them. It was therefore expected that their value would be lower than that of the other generations. Generation Y, on the other hand, could have a generally higher sense of stress, since they have experienced more responsibility with increasing age. They could be at the point of finishing their studies or starting a family, both of which would explain a higher stress factor that could add up to constant availability.

5.4 Competencies of digitalization

A total of 11 competencies were asked in the question pool of competencies: “Which competencies are particularly important to you in terms of digitalization?".

Table 5: Comparison of competencies

No.	Competency	mean	male	female
1.	Digital and media competence	3.36	3.23	3.41
2.	Social and communication competence	3.36	3.25	3.4
3.	Problem-solving and optimization competence	3.34	3.35	3.33
4.	Personal responsibility	3.34	3.21	3.4
5.	Interdisciplinary thinking and acting	3.29	3.27	3.3
6.	The ability to coordinate work processes	3.14	3.03	3.18
7.	Innovation competence	3.07	2.98	3.11
8.	Mastery of complex work contents	3.05	3.01	3.07
9.	Increasing process know-how	3	2.98	3.01
10.	Ability to interact with machines	2.77	2.88	2.72
11.	Leadership competence	2.7	2.54	2.77

Cross-generational, digital and media competence as well as social and communication competence (3.36 each), personal responsibility as well as problem-solving and optimization competence (3.34 each) and interdisciplinary thinking and acting (3.29 each) were identified as particularly important. On the other hand, the ability to exchange ideas with machines (2.77) and leadership skills (2.70) were rated as less important to the interviewees. This may be due to the expected change from authoritarian leadership to flatter hierarchies and more co-determination.

A comparison between the sexes shows that most values are not significantly different. Female respondents assign higher relevance to digital and media competence, social and communication competence, and personal responsibility. However, across the sexes, all competencies are above the approval limit of 2.5.

6. Conclusion and outlook

Before summarising the key findings, some limitations of the study should be identified. While most young professionals use online media, the comparison with older generations may be distorted by the fact that a pure online survey was conducted, biasing the responses. In order to achieve statistical representativity and make better comparisons, an additional paper survey would be useful. Furthermore, most respondents to the survey were women, with almost 150 more female respondents than male respondents. Therefore, some averages, especially in generational comparisons, may be biased as the female proportion holds more weight.

This analysis of the gender-specific mindset of Young Professionals concerning the digitalization, with over 400 questionnaire respondents indicates that young people cannot imagine a life without the internet, most of them take their smartphone everywhere (95%), and both sexes are interested in digital technology. However, women are less interested in the functionality of technology than men.

Stereotypes regarding competencies of women using digital technologies are common among the younger generations. Young men value the digital competencies of women less than women do themselves. The advantages of digitalization, such as flexible and mobile work, are equally important for young women and men. Further, younger generations can more easily imagine working together with robots than older generations.

This study confirmed that young people have observed great changes in the work environment due to digitalization. Machines and algorithms have replaced many tasks, making work increasingly flexible and virtual. There are new requirements for employee competencies, and organisations should increase their flexibility and develop a new understanding of leadership.

Across the sexes, Young Professionals on a scale from 1 to 4 consider the following to be especially important: digital and media competence as well as social and communication competence (each 3.36), self-responsibility as well as problem-solving and optimisation competence (each 3.34) and interdisciplinary thinking and acting (3.29). This attitude in up and coming professionals and leaders indicates future changes in the economic world, which is actively shaped by the younger generation.

This study ascertains that stereotypes and prejudices towards women in technology or in reference to the digital competencies of women are still alive. This circumstance prevents the promotion of women and creates barriers to career choices and employment. It is necessary for companies and organisations to introduce a cultural change and place more women in positions of leadership, in which women can participate in the configuration of digitalization. The dominance of men on executive boards, stereotypes concerning gender roles and women's lack of confidence are typical barriers for women's careers. However, this mindset is less developed in the Generations X and Z than it is for older generations.

Overall, the consequences of digitalization, such as increased flexibility, the dissolution of boundaries of work, increased complexity, advanced automation and robots, and the threat of employment have distinct effects on different target groups. These consequences are controversial assessed by men and women, youths and elders, high or low qualified persons. Therefore, decisions regarding the configuration of digitalization should be made together. Digital transformation offers an especially great opportunity to women, because good soft skills, which are viewed as a strength of women, cannot be adopted by AI in the near future.

The increased flexibility of work allows home office models, new working time systems and better compatibility of family and work. It is important that qualified women engage more intensely with configuration of digitalization, which can be done by increasing the number of women in STEM professions and executive positions. In addition to that, the digital competencies of young women should be promoted and the sensitisation and preparation of future professional and executive positions should be encouraged. Companies, organisations and the individual employees should pay attention to the chances and risks of digitalization to help shape the future.

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Gender Representation and Gender Identity Threat: An Explorative Study From Hungary

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Abstract: This research paper is to introduce the results of that 2018 exploratory study carried out to give a new perspective on the issue of gender roles with the help of the relevant viewpoints of social psychology, such as the social representation (Moscovici, 1961), the identity process theory (Breakwell, 2015), and the threatened identity study (Breakwell, 1986). The starting point of this study is that gender is understood as a social representation, hence as a social construct, which is defined and which gains value through the process of interaction between members of society (Moscovici, 1961; Jovchelovich, 1996; Wagner, 2003). With the help of the Multiple Threat Prejudice Questionnaire (Siegler et al*,* 2017) the threats to identity by gender of respondents was measured. Subsequently, using the association task, the associations relating their own gender of respondents with high and low levels of threat to identity by gender were measured. Threats to identity according to Breakwell (1986; 1993; 2010; 2015) are understood in a way in which the ideal processes (assimilation, adaptation, and evaluation), due to a given reason, cannot adapt to the guiding principles of identity (continuity, originality, self-efficacy, and self-respect). Given that associations were recorded instead of in-depth interviews being conducted, answers were given to external threats such as changes in one's social context (for example a change of roles due to obligations, or the re-evaluation of a social role already taken demands such change of identity, which contradicts several fundamental principles), or a dominant social representation defining an individual or a group with such qualities and values which individual or group cannot identify with. 152 people participated in the research, the gender and age distribution of whom was the following: 45 men with the average age of 31.7 years (SD=16.56), and 107 women whose average age was 40.5 years (SD=20.58). The research was carried out between December 2017 and February 2018.

Keywords: social representation, gender identity, identity threat, identity process theory, association

1. Background

Social representation is a knowledge about the world. People (groups, cultures) create this knowledge with the interactions and discussions. They create a content of the abstract concepts, objects, elements, and so on. It follows that a social representation, the creating of meanings, is intertwined with the processes of identity (the social and the personal as well) (Moscovici, 1961; Jovchelovich, 1996; Wagner, 2003).

The word of identity has been known since ancient Greek tradition, the so-called principium identity precept, the essence of which is the consciousness of self-identification. The identity theories can be accessible from many aspects. An individual with a unified centre constitutes the subject of Enlightenment which is intelligent and acts consciously. A solid inner core forms this unified system which is engendered at the birth of an individual, and unfolds over time with the individual, thus its essence remains invariable (Bauman, 1997). In contrast, Descartes and his followers believe that the starting point for self-identity is self-experience based on self-reflection and self-awareness (Erős, 1998). Others emphasized the unconscious components of the self-experience such as dreams, feelings, and desires (Taylor, 1989). In this study, we take the concept of the interactionist school's identity (Blumer, 1969, Krappman, 1980, Mead, 1973), which considers identity as a psychic form that provides a person with a definable position in the complex hierarchy of the social system. In addition, it assumes constant reciprocal relationship between the individual and others, and between society and identity.

Accordig to the personal identity theory there is a psychosocial development comprising eight stages from infancy to adulthood. During each stage, the person experiences a psychosocial crisis which could have a positive or negative outcome for personality development, but it emphasizes the role of culture and society (Erikson, 1968). According to social identity theory a person's sense of who they are based on their group membership(s). Tajfel and Tuner (1979) proposed that the groups (e.g. social class, family, football team etc.) which people belonged to were an important source of pride and self-esteem. In order to increase our self-image we enhance the status of the group to which we belong. From there, there is only one step from the development of prejudice and discrimination. Breakwell's identity process (Breakwell, 2015) theory claims that, the individual is

actively trying to build up and maintain an identity. At the same time, however, it is forced to make a permanent change, as it is necessary to constantly re-interpret others and ourselves, adapting to the environment or even to social representations. If a society depreciates a group, it has a negative impact on self-esteem, and thus reaches the issue of embarrassed identity in which we can talk about identity problems arising from many minority situations and stigmatization of prejudice.

Based on the concept of social representation, the gender or other social identity elements (whether ethnicity, nation, religious etc.) can be interpreted as a social representation. It is from our socialization, and it is rooted in our culture (Duveen, 1993; 2000).

The identity is determined not only by intrapsychic processes but also by the social context. In this theory, identity is governed by two dynamic processes, which are assimilation - the incorporation of new elements into the identity structure - and accommodation - reconciling the existing identity system with the new elements. When the process of assimilation or accommodation for some reason does not correspond of the principles governing identity - continuity, distinctness, self-esteem, self-efficacy, sense, belonging or psychological coherence – the identity becomes threatened (Breakwell 1986; 1993; 2010; 2015).

1.1 Aims of research

Based on the social representation (Moscovici, 1961), the identity process theory (Breakwell, 2015), and threatened identity (Breakwell, 1986) we carried out an exploratory study to discover social representation about gender in Hungary. Further, we examined the differences among these representations about gender.

2. Method

2.1 Measuring tools

The participants filled out the Multiple Threat and Prejudice Questionnaire (MTPQ; Siegler et al, 2017) scale. Multiple Threat and Prejudice Questionnaire – MTPQ is a questionnaire under development that measures the dialectical relationship between perceived threat and distancing along different identity dimensions. The questionnaire deals with national, gender, existential and religious threats, and with the distancing of the out groups along these dimensions. The first version of the questionnaire was recorded on a sample of 484 people, and the initial factor structure yielded encouraging results (KMO threat=0,801; distancing=0,845). For the second data capture, the individual factors were validated by already existing external tools: scales of national identification, modern and neo-sexism, life satisfaction, and Rotter's abbreviated questionnaire. The items that saturate the national factor were 166, the gender factor saturated 265, while the extensional dimension was taken up by 118 people, and we found high correlations during the analyzes. Subsequently, based on the results obtained and the construct validity test, the questionnaire was revised on certain items, and their number was changed, and then we re-evaluated it based on a 610 people sample. The statistical analysis indicated the improvement of sociometric indicators.

The questionnaire was revised again. It currently consists of 59 items; 29 for threats, 31 ask for distancing. Existential dimension: A (threat): In the existential dimension, it examines how much the individual feels about financial security, how much he/she feels lost in the socio-economic system, and how much he/she feels safe with the values that he/she represent. B (distancing): Accordingly, within the distancing items we have defined groups that might be in the background of these threats: state leader, a high and a low social status layer, and multinational companies. National dimension: A (threat): the nation's perception; what gives the essence of a nation as an imaginary group based on different representations. Regarding Gellner this might be the biological unity thinking (same blood, same genetic resources); thinking in cultural unity (same language, same culture, same thinking in economic unity, and thinking in social unity (we live within a state border, we pay taxes to one place, we share the same welfare services, we are part of the same system of justice). Threats are targeted at the threat of a nation-state that is perceived in these dimensions. B (distancing): distanced groups along threats: biological: immigrants, minorities, other ethnicities; cultural: western, neighboring countries, minorities as culture; economic: foreign labor, import, foreign companies; social: political elite, economic persona, exclusionary groups. Gender dimension: A (threats): gender identity construction. We have been thinking in two dimensions: firstly, the traditional and modern gender roles, and the other is the way of thinking about sexual orientation which is obviously related to the perception of the individual's own sexuality. Among the items there were some applied to women, and some applied to men. B (distancing): distancing items once belonged to the

group of traditional and modern gender roles. Religious: A (threat): the threat applies how much the individual feels free to choose his/her own religion and ideology, and the other point is how much the individual perceive the excessive religious freedom as threatening. B (distancing): along with the threat, the following groups are in the distancing: different/other religions, preference for religious freedom. The questionnaire is now being re-evaluated under external validity; we will measure the individual factors with other threat specific tools.

The results of the development of the questionnaire were presented at the International Society of Political Psychology conference, and it is expected that a Hungarian article will be produced from the results of the development in 2018.

Our representations determine how we see the world and who we are. The method used for mapping and measuring this knowledge is the association technique. With the help of this, a word-related representation and the knowledge about it can be mapped. This study included two association stimuli in which we examined the respondents' associations for the words of man and woman. As a result, gender scales, gender identity threats and gender distancing dimensions were compared to the associations in the MTPQ questionnaire.

2.2 Procedure

Participants took part in the research voluntarily. The questionnaire was filled out individually, in the course of approximately 35 minutes. Participants first completed the word association task, as part of which each responder was asked to write down all words they could think of in association with the words "woman" and "man". Then they were asked to fill out the MTPQ questionnaire. Subsequently, the gender and age of responders was recorded.

We categorized the participants according to gender identity threat scores. Respondents with high gender identity have a score of above average (M=5,4) plus standard deviation (SD=1,64), and the score of low-gender identity threat respondents is below the average minus standard deviation. In the IRAMUTEQ program with the help of the correspondence analysis, we looked at what words were associated by the participants with low, medium, and high gender identity threats. The program marks this on a coordinate system with different colors, and it distinguishes the words along the threat. After that, the words we received were placed in a table because of the transparency.

2.3 Statistical analysis

Following the electronic recording of the collected data, the results of the association task were analyzed and evaluated with the help of IRAMUTEQ (Ratinaud, 2009) text analysis program. The evaluation with the program included the assessment of the value of the frequency of words, and the correspondence analysis, which shows the variety in richness of vocabulary (Saafa, Housni & Bédard, 2017).

The evaluation of the MTPQ questionnaire was carried out with the help of version 22 of the SPSS statistical software (IBM Corp. Released 2013. IBM SPSS Statistics for Windows, Version 22.0. Armonk, NY: IBM Corp.). The significance limit of the analysis of the data was $p<0.05$. The analysis of the data was carried out with the help of the Kruskal-Wallis test and the Mann-Whitney test.

152 people participated in the study by random selection and based on volunteering. 45 men (average age 31,7, SD=16,5) and 107 women (average age: 40,5, SD=20,5. The 20 % of the participants have primary education, 40 % have secondary education, and 40 % have higher education. The 28 % of the participants live in the village, and 72 % live in the city (in the city – 60%, in a county seat – 10%, or in the capital city – 2%)

3. Results

3.1 Questionnaire and gender differences

The gender-related difference between the certain states of identity is summarized and depicted in table 1. According to our results, the differences between genders based on the sub-scales of the MTPQ questionnaire were two-fold (Threats to identity by gender: $U_1=1848.0$; $p<0.05$; gender distancing: $U_2=1638.0$; $p<0.05$.). The evaluation of the descriptive statistical results showed a higher value in men in both cases ($Mdn_1=6.3$, $IQR_1=2.0$; $Mdn_2=2.5$, $IQR_2=1.5$; women: $Mdn_1=5.3$, $IQR_1=2.33$; $Mdn_2=2.0$, $IQR_2=1.25$). In order to be able to gain a deeper

understanding of these results, in both cases the analysis of the associative answers given to the woman and man words is necessary.

Table 1: Examination of gender differences in the MTPQ scale

MTPQ	Gender Comparison						
	Men		Women				
	Mdn	IQR	Mdn	IQR	U	p	
National biology IDT	4.3	2.83	4.0	3.0	2171.0	ns.	
National social IDT	5.0	2.16	4.3	1.67	2203.5	ns.	
Existential IDT	3.6	2.33	4.0	2.67	2124.5	ns.	
Gender IDT	6.3	2.0	5.3	2.33	1848.0	< 0.05	
Religion IDT	1.3	1.0	1.67	1.33	2294.5	ns.	
National biology D	3.3	2.33	3.0	2.33	2287.0	ns.	
National social D	3.3	2.33	3.6	2.33	2112.0	ns.	
Existential up D	5.3	2.16	5.3	1.67	2396.5	ns.	
Existential down D	3.0	1.67	3.0	2.0	2291.5	ns.	
Gender D	2.5	1.5	2.0	1.25	1638.0	< 0.05	
Religion D	1.67	1.67	1.0	1.67	2204.5	ns.	
IDT= identitity threat scales; D= distancing scale; Mdn= median; IQR= interquartile range; U= Mann-Whitney-test value; ns.= not significant.							

3.2 Identity threat by gender

Throughout the research, the identity threat by gender of the MTPQ questionnaire was scrutinized. Based on the sample, the value of the Cronbach's alpha reliability of the scale is 0.83. Subsequently, based on the average of the threats to identity by gender points, respondents were classified in groups (low, medium, and high threats to identity by gender), the extremes of which were established 1-1 standard deviations from the average (M=5.4; SD=1.64). According to the classification, 5 of men are low, 24 medium and 16 have high identity threats. In the case of women, 21 are low, 63 are medium and 23 are members of the high identity threat group. The gender composition of each group is summarized in table 2. The gender-related associations were analyzed based on these groups, and the those groups falling into the two extremes (low and high points) were taken into account.

Table 2: Descriptive data of identity threat groups by gender

Identity Threat	Gender	
	Men	Women
High	N= 16 M= 33.6 years; SD= 20.1	N= 23 M= 42.2 years; SD= 22.7
Medium	N= 24 M= 31.3 years; SD= 15.3	N= 63 M= 39.56 years; SD= 19.1
Low	N= 5 M= 27.4 years; SD= 9.8	N= 21 M= 41.5 years; SD= 23.0

In the further analysis, other identity state-related criteria based on which the groups (classified according to their identity threat by gender) differed from each other were examined. Based on the pairwise comparisons, differences were shown in the *National Biological* sub-scale both in the low-high ($U=349.5$; $p<0.05$), and the medium-high ($U=1234.5$; $p<0.05$) threat to identity by gender groups. The descriptive results show that National Biological identity threat of the high threat to identity by gender individuals was the highest (Mdn=5.0; IQR=2.0; results in the medium group: Mdn=3.6; IQR=3.0; results in the low group: Mdn=3.1; IQR=4.0.)

3.3 Associations

The correspondence analysis was carried out based on the aforementioned identity threat by gender groups. In the analysis the male responses to the "man" words and the female responses to the "woman" words were examined. The answers were analyzed by four independent encoders. The results are summarized in table 3 and 4.

Table 3: Correspondence analysis of associations of men with low and high identity threats to „man"

Low Identity Threat	High Identity Threat
Agression Confident Strong Paterfamilias Father Work	Confident Fidelity Brave Intelligent Protector Bread winner Friend Career

In the male respondent group - based on the identity threat by gender associations (high-low) - two differing patterns can be seen. In respondents with a low threat to identity by gender the following depiction of „man" was seen: confident, aggressive, a powerful father, who is the head of his family, and whose main task is working.

In the case of the other sample pattern (respondents with high threat to identity by gender), the representations of the participants seem to be driven by a need to comply. These respondents established expectations towards themselves based on their previous experiences in several areas of life. In relation to characteristics, as a sort of men's honor, they mentioned fidelity, confidence, and bravery. Although a more ancient wording, the role of protector can be listed here as well. Intelligence, as a human quality, is depicted as a characteristic strongly relatable to the bourgeois, and the educated. The word "father" is not mentioned for people with a low threat to identity by gender, and in place of *paterfamilias* words like *provider* and *breadwinner* are used, which have diametrically different connotations. The expression *paterfamilias* includes a sense of respect, while *provider*, and *bread winner* are a family role based on economic reasons. In people with high threat to identity by gender the word *friend* can be found, but it is understood rather as a leisure activity, thus is more open to social life, than that of those with a lower threat to identity by gender. The relation of those with low and high gender identities to the world of work is rather interesting, the former - is mentioned before - defines it as *work*, while the latter defines it as a *carrier*, which is assumed to be a harder-to-achieve *state* of the working life.

Table 4: Correspondence analysis of associations of women with low and high identity threats to "woman"

Low Identity Threat		High Identity Threat	
Beauty Warm Well-groom Family Love Housewife	Caring Partner Work Friend Shopping Housework	Menstruation Give-birth Nice Sensitive Persistance Fidelity	Caprice Pretty Wife Grandma Family Marriage

In the case of female respondents, it is obvious that those with a lower threat to identity by gender found a sense of balance between the traditional and modern gender roles, however, when having to choose between carrier and a family, they tipped towards family. Those female respondents with low threat to identity by gender refer to a female as *beautiful*, *well-groomed*, in whose life love towards her family and taking care of it play a central role, thus tasks related to this (such as shopping, and household chores) are represented. At the same time, however, besides words describing a traditional female roles, modern elements can also be found. The word *friend* here also represents an activity related to leisure time and social life. The word *partner* can be assumed to mean equality in the relationship hierarchy. Finally, the word *work* is also present, it can be understood as a task (along with shopping and doing household chores) and it represents equality not only in the relationship hierarchy, but in the world of work as well.

Those female respondents with a high threat to identity by gender there was an absolutely differing pattern in relation to associations. These respondents are constantly threatened by different exert social pressures. Unlike in the case of those respondents with a low threat to identity by gender, for respondents with a high threat to identity by gender, the expressions *menstruation* and *give-birth* were included. In terms of characteristics, these respondents (unlike their peers with low threat to identity by gender) used word like *pretty*, instead of word like *beautiful*, which is not given characteristics, but things an individual needs to act towards. They also used the word *nice* instead of *warmth*. Alongside these words, the utterance of phrases such as *fidelity* were also present, which were prominently used by male respondents with high threat to identity by gender. Fidelity here is synonymous with persistence, and a sense of negativity and burden, something which must be endured; alongside these, the word *sensitivity* is also present, and inherently, and as a rather negative connotation, tantrums, which are typically associated with women. In relation to the word *family* respondents with a low threat to identity to gender mention the word *family* itself, but not the word *love*. *Marriage*, and roles related to it are present, as well as the word *wife* are present, however the word *grandmother* is not. Modern elements are not represented in the answers of female respondents with a low threat to identity by gender.

4. Conclusion and discussion

What kind of social changes can we speak of with regard to gender, which may be compelling and threatening? One of these changes is the intense inflow of women to education and to the labour market, part of which can be dated back to the era of the Industrial Revolution, and which has shown an increasing tendency ever since (Andorka, 2003; Giddens, 2003; Koncz, 1987; Sullerot, 1971). Several studies have been published on the affect of these processes on gender roles (Brannen, 2003; Nagy, 2001; Pongrácz & Molnár, 2011; Schadt & Pótó, 2014; Schadt, 2005). On the whole it can be stated that in some way both sexes are victims of the phenomenon. Men on one hand suffer from a loss of the traditional male roles (such as bread winner, head of family, etc.) from a male perspective with the inflow of women, on the other hand cannot fit into the world understood traditionally as female for certain reasons (e.g. female gatekeepers; Voltz, 2007), or the contradicting role-expectations in the family (Spéder, 2011).

In case of women, we can talk about role overload, due to the second shift at home (household chores and raising children) after having worked through a work day (Hochchild, 1989). They also experience negative preconceptions with regards to traditionally male tasks, positions and roles (e.g. leadership roles; Nagy & Vicsek, 2006; Nagy, 2009; Nguyen, 2005; 2006), or discrimination with regards to their gender on the labour market (Hymowitz & Schellhardt, 1986; Kovács, 2007; 2017; Nagy, 2007; Szabó, 2017; Eagly & Carli, 2007a; 2007b).

The inflow of women to education and to the labour market resulted in the change in structure of the family. The dilemma and urge of having the first child can be understood from the give-birth and menstruation associations. The knowledge about and fear of high number of divorces is well reflected in the use of the word *fidelity* by both genders. Men substitute the word *father* with *bread winner*, which is an economical role, while women do not think of the word “woman” as a mother character, but as a wife character who is established through marriage.

We believe that in relation to these societal changes, those respondents with high threat to identity by gender a.) cannot implement the two strategies of the process theory of identity (assimilation and accommodation), meaning that they are incapable of incorporating the new roles and role expectations relating to these societal changes into their identity structure, b.) one of their guiding principles is affronted (stability, self-efficacy, self-

respect), c.) essentially, they are unable to identify with gender features and roles that are expected and/or mediated by society.

Our further results show that high threat to identity by gender is more typical of men than women. This can be explained by the aforementioned societal changes, and the resulting increase in value of women and the decrease in value and fungibility of men, as women - besides possessing dominion over their biologically determined, and traditionally given role in the family, they also take part in education and the labour market in increasing number.

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Family and Development of Iranian Women's Entrepreneurship in Achieving the Objectives of Iran’s 20-Year Perspective Document, Opportunities and Threats

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Abstract: The issue of entrepreneurship is growing rapidly and the subject of women’s entrepreneurship in being significantly considered by countries all over the world. Many of researchers believe that women’s entrepreneurship activities have a direct and positive effect on social, cultural, health condition of women and their families in developing and developed countries. It is essential to consider the women’s talents and their roles in countries development in order to realize the objectives of Iran’s 20-Year Perspective Document in 2025. Social theories state that work environment, families and social life structure are effective on women’s access to career opportunities and their performance. Families can create opportunities or constraints as inhibitor or reinforcing factors which can influence the individual attempts by women in business. This paper evaluates these factors influence on Iranian women’s entrepreneurship activities. The results of this study indicated that economical requirement of families is the most important factor in encouraging Iranian women to entrepreneurship; the effects of entrepreneur’s family, emotional support from family (spouse, children and parents), unexpected family events (spouse death, divorce), and finally, getting financial support and the support of a family network are the second most important factors in reinforcing the Iranian women’s entrepreneurship development. Although the results of this study indicated that the marital statue is one of the constraining factors for women in entrepreneurship activities, entrepreneur women in our society could enjoy emotional and even financial support from their spouses with their high flexibility, creativity and Perseverance.

Keywords: Iranian entrepreneur women, family, entrepreneurship activities, entrepreneurship development, Iran’s 20-Year Perspective Document[1]

1. Introduction

Entrepreneurship is a phenomenon that emerges in a rigorous and ambiguous situation through discovering opportunities and utilizing resources. Creating initiatives and innovations and creating new businesses require an ability that is found in entrepreneurship. Hence, the current world has been able to see this process with all its features; this comprehension has been deepened about women in recent years (Vossenberg, 2013).The condition for survival in the current world is to use all the resources available in the field of entrepreneurship and provide a ground that allows for the emergence of innovative initiatives and entrepreneurial activities. In the meantime, recognizing women's capabilities and guiding their talents can be effective in exploiting the capacities of this massive social group. In other words, identifying successful patterns can be effective in creating the right environment for the formation of entrepreneurial activities by women (Ming & Choy, 2014).

Women constitute a half of social activists, and have always been considered as one of the conflict axes of social sciences experts in various aspects and dimensions. With the progress of development approaches, the women's role in this matter has been more and more considered, as "the World Bank has identified empowerment as one of the key elements in poverty reduction and the first objective in development. (Aidis et al, 2017).

[1] Iran's strategic plan—called Iran’s 20-Year Perspective Document, or Vision 2025—outlines political, economic and social goals that facilitate its broader ambition: Becoming the Middle East's top power by the year 2025(Solar Calendar Year 1404).

Women have not yet achieved a proper share in the national economy. Women in developing countries are the first hope for the promotion of families and the growth and development of their countries (Ashouri, 2015).

Women have been able to show up their abilities and capabilities in different areas in the short time; and they have created a great evolution in countries economy development by entering to business, but their role is primarily is ignored in developing countries. Emphasize on traditional role of women and their commitments at home in these countries prevent women to distribute their time and energy. Therefore, they face role conflict, when they are present at work market and at the same time present at home for their commitments to family. This issue can have a significant impact on women failure to be successful in business. Recognizing and evaluating the influential factors in women's economical activities need to be broadly investigated and researched.

This is the first systematic and broad review on Iranian entrepreneur women and provides a comprehensive cognition on women's entrepreneurship development in Iran based on 20-Year Perspective Document.

Therefore, this paper evaluates the encouraging and inhibiting factors of family in women's entrepreneurship development in Iran and all over the world by expressing the necessity and significance of women's entrepreneurship In Iran. At the end, the required strategies will be provided in order to reinforce the positive role of families in facilitating the women's entrepreneurship based on objectives of 20-Year Perspective Document.

2. The necessity for research

One of the important objectives of Iran's 20-Year Perspective Document is to make the country as the first technical, economical and scientific power in the area. To achieve this objective and comprehensive and sustainable development, it is necessary to determine long-run policies and objectives. This document is an overall policy of government and causes a kind of procedure unity among authorities and policy makers and let them to prevent waste of resources by appropriate identifying, employing and allocating resources. Hence, all resources including human resources must be considered by policy makers, in country's economic micro and macro planning.

Given the fact that women constitute half of society population (49.2%) and 64% of young graduated population is constituted by women, planning for women employment has been considered by 20-Year Perspective Document.

But based on issued statistics from Iran statistical center, women unemployment rate has been increased from 14% in 1996 to 25% in 2010. Women evolution in recent years has been admirable and positive, but women unemployment rate has significantly increased in 2010 (Iran statistical center, 2010).

Since the public section in not enough able to prepare work force for all community classes, developing the entrepreneurship with an emphasize on role and presence of women in economic, social scenes and reinforcing family are the most important overall policies of Fourth Development Plan of the Islamic Republic of Iran which is formulated based on 20-Year Perspective Document. Therefore, it is essential to provide the required situation and conditions for women's self-employment and entrepreneurship in Iran so as women can improve and finish society problems (i.e. unemployment by creating jobs and career opportunities for themselves and other to realize the Iran's objectives in 2025.

3. Theoretical framework

3.1 Entrepreneurship and women's entrepreneurship concepts

Entrepreneur term, adopted from economical literature of France in 17th and 18th centuries, refers to someone who seeks to increase profit by using the opportunities and accepting the risks and adopts the responsibility of an important activity or project (Littuen, Hannu, 2000).

Given the little research on women's entrepreneurship, its definition is also limited. One of the definitions in this regard is provided by Wells. Based on Wells, entrepreneur woman is someone who starts a new business (wells 1999).

One of the criteria for development evaluating of countries is the presence and participation of women in social and economic activities. In developing countries, women's participation in these structures is limited for various cultural and social reasons. Paying attention to the women's employment condition and guiding them to the labor market can provide the basis for a better utilization of this potential workforce (Johnstone-Louis, 2017).

In today's society, women play an important and expanding role in business. In recent years, the share of women in recent business has decreased. For example, in the United States, from 1990 to 2014, there has been a dramatic growth in jobs managed by women. However, women face certain barriers in business that they must gradually overcome them. (Caputo et al., 2017)

In their theory, Shabbir and Gregorio (1996) also considered the structural factors effecting women's ability to enter the business. These factors are classified into three categories of internal, external and Communication (relation with family, staffs, customers and suppliers) resources. Entrepreneur women, with their strong and firm beliefs not only are confident in their work beliefs, but also their family, fiends encourage them to realize these beliefs and thoughts.

Lener, Hisrich and Brush (1997) also considered five theoretical aspects in studying the performance of entrepreneur women. One of these theories is social learning theory. Based on this theory, learning to be entrepreneur can be effective through observing others' behaviors (Family and friends) as role patterns. The effect of family context and parents' role on entrepreneurs is particularly important. The presence of an entrepreneur parent as role pattern and learning and training through this can have an important role in selecting the job and entrepreneur women success.

Orhan. M and Scott Don (2001) also divide the effective environmental motivational factors in women's entrepreneurship into tow category: Attractive and Repulsive Factors. Repulsive factors are factors such as insufficient income of family, unemployment, lack of job satisfaction and selecting inflexible jobs due to the commitment to family and make the women to enter the business.

Based on the researches, family factors affecting the women's entrepreneurship development can be divided into encouraging and inhibiting factors; these are briefly explain in the following:

3.2 Encouraging family factors in women's entry to entrepreneurial activities

Factors that can have a reinforcing role in family in women's entrepreneurship development process are:

3.2.1 Role model (entrepreneur family)

Social learning theories explain learning entrepreneurial behavior through observing others' behaviors (Family and friends) as role patterns.

In entrepreneur families, behaviors and features of parents create an inspiring source for children and will have a direct and positive impact on being entrepreneurs in future (Benneet and Dann 2000).

Family, especially parents have an important role in creating an incredible and general image from entrepreneurship in children's minds. Investigations indicate that most of entrepreneurs' fathers are self-employed. Researches show that these effects can be intensified by an entrepreneur mother (Hisrich 1998).

Global research on entrepreneurs (2006) in Finland indicated that women have a more direct and immediate role pattern than men in entering entrepreneurial activities (Coalinin and Arnious, 2006).

3.2.2 Important family events

It is believed that, childhood experiences have great impacts on future life of an individual and that is why there have been a great number of studies in different dimensions in this regard.

David Slider in 1986 conducted extensive studies which indicated that 74% of entrepreneurs have experienced sensitive events such as poverty, lack of security, parents' death or parents' divorce (Ahmadpour, 2002).

The results of the study in Pakistan showed that women who look for providing security (security seekers), after the unpleasant events such as death of one of her family members or divorce, start a business in order to amend the family's social or economic situation (Shabbir and Gregorio, 1999).

3.2.3 Creating balance in family and professional life

Entrepreneurship can create Balance and flexibility for women which other jobs cannot (Demartino and Barbato 2002). Entrepreneur women think about balancing work and family more than men (Scase, 1986). They consider a great difference between work and family values, hence, general values and balance have greater importance form them rather than growth and income in business (Kentand, Nielsen and Kjeldscn, 2000).

Due to the role conflict, women extensively try to start jobs that can easily keep balance between family and career (Mistik, 2000).

In Australia, about 63 women with small and independent jobs participated in a survey; the results indicated that the motivation of female entrepreneurs to start a business is not income, but it is flexibility and ability to create balance between work and family and reducing the role conflict (Demartino.R and Barbato, 2003).

3.2.4 Family emotional support

The decision to start an independent business usually changes women's individual life; therefore, the support provided by spouses and families has a great importance. Spouse of entrepreneur women can support women's decision making, emotional and economic issues (Demartino.R and Barbato, 2003). It is critical and important to have a supportive spouse for entrepreneur women (Kjeldscn et al. 2006).

Men usually rely on their wives as their supporters after relying on professional consultants (such as lawyers and accountants). Women first rely on their spouses and then on their friend and coworkers (Hisrich and Peters, 2002).

3.2.5 Economical requirements of family

In many of the industrial countries, women's entrepreneurship development happen due to the provision of livelihoods of women (Counter, 2002).

According to the study by Single, women try to satisfy the common needs in family and in most cases, economical need makes the poor urban women to become a part work force (Banerjee 2000).

Also in Sweden, the most important reason for women to enter labor market is economic condition (Ufuk and Ozgen, 2001). In Scandinavia, especially Finland, family's expectation for having a better economic condition has caused the women participation in entrepreneurship activities (Kavalainen and Arenius, 2006).

3.2.6 Family participation in business

Women start the common cooperation with their husbands for confronting the family, social and cultural pressures and start a business or develop it through this.

In research in Mexico which was conducted on entrepreneur women, the results indicated that women share their business with others and they prefer to do it with family members; because entrepreneur women tend to establish emotional relationship with their partners (Zabludovsky, 2002).

Family businesses owners are clearly recognized in statistics (GEM) in the entry, growth and creating new firms (GEM report, 2010).

3.2.7 Family and women's job selection

Entrepreneur women often select their profession based on the time they need to spend for their families. Mother and family duties have a significant impact on women's job selection (Aafholder and Box, 2005).

Women have different perspectives about job selection based on the age that they have started their business. Women who are younger entrepreneur seek for more flexibility in spending their time with their children; and older women continue their entrepreneurial activities, because their children are grown up and they have enough time to meet their individual wishes and needs (NeerGaard and Kjeldsen, 2006).

Coordinating the work and family responsibilities in entrepreneurial activities is more possible than Paid jobs, thus, women are interested more in entrepreneurial activities than other jobs. Keeping the children needs to set the work hours; so it is easier to set work hours for an entrepreneur woman (Arinous and Coalitin, 2006). Another research in UK in 2006 showed that 80% of entrepreneur women consider flexibility in entrepreneurial activities as a reason to start their business and their success (BIBBY, Financial Services, 2006).

3.2.8 Financial support

Most of researchers believe that, female entrepreneurs mostly employ their own resources and are not welcomed to investment though loans with the exception of borrowing from their family and friends (DTI, 2005).

Female entrepreneurs use informal financial resources like family Credits. Compared to men, women use their own capital; borrow from relatives or their family members and friends.

In Germany, especially for small businesses which entrepreneur women start at home and have limited access to bank financial resources, they rely on home banks for financial support (Welter, 2006).

3.2.9 Network support

Networks are considered a continuous supportive resource for women. Networks not only provide spiritual and executive support for entrepreneurs, but also provide them a set of financial and information resources and access to opportunities (Pam Alexander, 2006).

Personal networks which are formed based on family relationship are examples of support and social capital which women enjoy them (coalanin, 2004). Women do not involve themselves in developing commercial networks, because they are satisfied with their individual network which includes spouse, close relatives and friends (Neergaard and kjelsen, 2006).

3.3 Inhibiting family factors for women to enter the entrepreneurial activities

Based on the conducted researches, in many countries, many factors limit the women's entrepreneurship development, among which we evaluate the created inhibiting factors for women to enter the entrepreneurial activities by family.

3.3.1 Marital status, number of children and their ages

Based on the conducted researches, in many countries, it is indicated that Treating husband, house works and small children who are dependent to the mother are obstacles which inhibit women to enter entrepreneurial activities and have direct and strong effect on women efficiency to enter entrepreneurial activities. (Kentand and Kjeilsen, 2000; 19).

The results of researches by Arinous and Coualanin (2006) indicate that paid jobs are better for women at the early years of marriage, because they enjoy Maternity leave.

Women still accept both primary responsibilities and house works because of creating close, kind and lovely relationship in family; as a result they are not able to accept many of the commercial and career opportunity until their children are grown up.

3.3.2 Role conflict

Different roles of women are Stressful in social structure framework. Work and family commitment face women with role conflict; this kind of conflict is caused by Dual responsibilities of work and family which women have simultaneously (Paden, 1995).

In western Germany, the main duties of women are still housekeeping and looking after the children and their role is defined in relationship with house and family responsibilities and being an entrepreneur is not appropriate for the (Welter et al. 2006).

The results of the researches on 230 entrepreneur women in Turkey showed that they face a lot of problems such as much stress due to the creating balance between family and work life. However, these women believed that entrepreneurship has had a great positive effect on their economic and social life (Youfoh & Ozgen, 2001).

3.3.3 The effects of family training on entrepreneurial activities of women

The main goal of training in developing the entrepreneurial activities includes training people who are confident and aware of the opportunity and generally people who have more tendencies to start an independent business (Katton, 1990)

The results of the researches have shown that, children rapidly and easily learn the knowledge related to the gender from families.

The researchers also have shown that the trend of women's dominance is completely clear in the process of socialization and education from birth moment. Parents and adults' reactions are also different to boy and girl infants.

Family, TV, mass Medias, school plans, the relationship between men and women, text books, stories all based on gender differences and separations and teach girls that it is better for them to stay home and do house and art works; on the other hand, prepares boys for accepting responsibilities out of home, earning money and supervision and management of the family.

3.3.4 Families' perspective and expectations from women roles

Based on cultural norms in many developing countries, families expect women to make any kind of decision with their spouses' permission. This makes to women to enjoy their husbands cooperation and thought and experiences.

In Germany, word division is still traditional and men have the responsibility to earn money and women must do house works and keep children (Wellter, 2006). The most important inhibiting factor for women to enter entrepreneurial activities in Demark is women perception from family expectation from them. Providing the children's needs, mother and spouse's role are expectations which a woman herself and her family have from her (Kjeildsen, Nilson, 2006).

Based on the studies, this research evaluates the following fundamental question in order to determine the opportunities and obstacles for women in developing entrepreneurship in Iran:

- What are the family encouraging factors in developing women's entrepreneurship?
- Which factors in family inhibit women to develop entrepreneurship?
- Which of these factors have the most effect in developing women's entrepreneurship?
- By considering effective family factors, what are the significant and important recommendations related to developing women's entrepreneurship in realizing the objectives of 20-Year Perspective Document in the country?

4. Methodology

This is an applied research with descriptive- survey method. Library studies were used in order to collect the data to formulate research literature and setting the questionnaire; to collect and access the real data on entrepreneurs and experts' comments, questionnaires were used. Our statistical sample includes 139 entrepreneur women.

In this research, the variables describing the encouraging factors for women to entrepreneurial activities are entrepreneur family, important family events, providing the economic needs, family participation in business and emotional, network, financial support; inhibiting factors are, marital status, perspective, family expectations

from women's role, dependent children, different roles and duties of women, and training provided by family to girls; each of these factors have been separately evaluated in the research.

SPSS software was used to analyze the data. Descriptive analysis was used for describing the demographic variables, and statistical tests were employed to analyze the data and answer the research questions. Binomial test was used to determine the effective family factors on developing women's entrepreneurship; and Friedman's Variance Analysis was used to determine the degree if significance.

5. Research findings

The results of Binomial test in 95% confidence level indicated that, factors such as entrepreneur family as role pattern, important family events, providing the economic needs, family participation in business and emotional, network, financial support are effective in developing women's entrepreneurship.

The results of Friedman's Variance Analysis in prioritizing conditions and effective family supports in developing women's entrepreneurship also indicated that at 95% confidence level, the encouraging and inhibiting factors are different in term of prioritizing on impact on developing women's entrepreneurship.

Given the average rank obtained through variance analysis, family's economic needs are the most important factors for women to enter the entrepreneurial activities; the other priorities are respectively entrepreneur family, family's emotional support, important family event, financial support, family network support and marital status.

All factors mentioned in this research are encouraging factors for women to enter entrepreneurial activities, and the only inhibiting factor is marital status.

Based on the obtained results, important and sensitive event in childhood or after marriage can be effective in women's business. That is why; women enter to entrepreneurial activities due to the lack of time and creating balance between work and family life. Researches by Lener, Brush and Hisrich (1997), Dhaliwal (1998), Bennett and Donn (2000), Simion (2006), Global Entrepreneurship Watch report (2006), Coalinin and Arinous (2006), have confirmed this issue.

The existence of a role model in family who have a business can have a great effect on women for entering to a business. Families, especially father and mother, have an important role in creating and incredible and general image from entrepreneurial activities in children's mind; people who learn entrepreneurial activities from their parents, follow them as a reliable pattern in whole their life. Researches have shown that, most of entrepreneur women have an entrepreneur father. Researches by Lener, Brush and Hisrich (1997), Hisrich (1997), (1998), Bennett and Donn (2000) have confirmed these results.

The results of these researches also indicated that, entrepreneur women in Iran and other countries prefer to get their financial help and emotional support from family networks. Problems women face in getting loans from banks, make them use their personal savings and borrow money from family and friends. Researches by Coalinin (2004), Kjeildsen et al. (2006), Pam Alexander (2006), Welter (2006) and DTI, small business service institution in UK (2005) have confirmed these results.

Many studies in different countries have shown that meeting the economic needs is the objective of many women to enter entrepreneurial activities. Women start a business to provide the life cost of themselves, their families and children welfare, or due to the low income of their spouse, divorce or souse's death.

Based on Iranian culture, housekeeping, parenting, provision and preserving spouse interests are considered inseparable duties of Iranian women. Entrepreneur women cannot go out of the country for their contracts without their husbands' agreements, and based on the present laws, spouses of entrepreneur women can stop their wives economical activities, when they feel their interests are at risk. Therefore, marriage is the only inhibiting factor in this research.

But one of the interesting results of this research is that, despite the fact that marriage is the inhibiting factor, it can be changed to an encouraging factor by changing the men's point of view to women's business. The result of the studies by kjeldsen (2000) and Billison and Kioruna (2000) have confirmed the results of the research.

Although dependent child is an important reason for women to enter entrepreneurial activities, there were only few women with a little child in this study. Iranian women probably start their business when their children are grown up like the results of the study in Asian countries by Kjeldsen et al. (2006), Dhaliwal (1998) Coalinin and Arinous (2006). Although training provided by family has significant effect on children personality and identity, the results of the study indicated that it has no great impact on women's entrepreneurial activities as an inhibiting factor. This can be due to the two reasons. First, entrepreneur women in this study had an entrepreneur family and they were closely trained to be an entrepreneur; second, most of girls in our countries have university education; thus, this make the long and formal education and training (school, university more effective than informal training provided by family.

Women have greatly conflicts between work and family values. Merging work and family creates a set of problems in different responsibilities and family relationships. The obtained results indicated that, these factors are not effective in developing entrepreneurial activities, because women try to create jobs that are greatly flexible and let them balance their family and work life. Flexibility and freedom of entrepreneurial activities help women to mix their work life with their personal life and family commitments. Also features such as perseverance, success, creativity and flexibility are from clear characteristics of entrepreneur women. The results of the study by Brush (1992), Shabbir and Gregorio (1996), Mistik (200), Ufuk and Ozgen (2001), DEmartino and Barbetto (2003), Coalanin and Arinous (2006) have confirmed the results of this study.

In general, the family role was evaluated in two encouraging and inhibiting dimensions on the process of developing women's entrepreneurial activities. Based on the obtained results, in order to realize the objectives of 20-Year Perspective Document in2025, it is necessary to promote the entrepreneurship culture and creating an appropriate context for economic and entrepreneurial activities of Iranian woman with respect to keeping family. Therefore, the following recommendations are provided:

- Getting positive influence from unpleasant events in life, such as
- Family members' death, divorce, disability, rejection of the community etc. to enter the business and achieving independency and reducing the Emotional pains.
- Getting positive influence from successful family members as a role pattern and employing their experiences.
- Paying attention to Islamic and Iranian culture to preserve family foundation and reinforcing the relationship between family members along with business development.
- Selecting the type of activities based on needs, characteristics and gender abilities of women and values and family norms and society.
- Providing the facilities and services in doing house works by establishing and developing service institutions, centers to keep and educate and train the children of entrepreneur woman, (developing kindergartens, with skilled and reliable trainers).
- Culturalizing and promoting men knowledge on supporting their entrepreneur wives.
- Participating with family in business and using close relatives, when the husband is sensitive on working with men.
- Modifying some of the limiting family laws for entrepreneur women.
- Telling stories about entrepreneur women successful family life by making movies and writing books in order to encourage families to entrepreneurship.
- Formulating policies and training programs in society to evolve the thoughts in family and society culture towards women abilities in entrepreneurial activities.

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Gender Diversity in Nomination Committee: A way to Promote Gender Balance on Board?

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Abstract: The promotion of gender balance within corporate boards is considered one of the tools to support the gender diversity in the society as a whole. Women in directorial positions generally perform as independent directors considering that the independence must or can be the criteria for the members of special board's committees. This paper, by means of a descriptive analysis, would be a first step of a research project giving a picture of the situation of women on committee boards within the Italian listed companies, with a particular focus on nomination committee. This last assesses and considers the composition of the board and helps to prepare the list of candidates for board positions, according both with the 'voting list' rule (L.262/2005), and the gender quotas (L.120/2011). The research, considering 264 listed Italian companies, will focus on the gender composition of the nomination committee, in relation with gender composition of the board, and regarding different industries. Basing on the results, the paper aims at being the base for a future research aimed at highlighting a possible relation between the number of women in nomination committee and the gender composition of board, starting from the next boards' appointments, which will occur with the L.120/2011 expired. This paper intends to fill the existing gap in the literature about women on board, emphasizing the role of nomination committee. Furthermore, this paper is a starting point for future researches extended to other countries, with potential practical implications, suggesting regulators to focus attention on committees' composition, not only with regard to number and status of independence, but also with regard to gender.

Keywords: nomination committee, women on board, gender diversity, voting list, industry, L.120/2011

1. Introduction

The board of directors has a considerable role in the definition of company's goals and the achievement of related strategies. The gender diversity in corporate boards seems to have some influence on corporate approach to CSR and sustainability (Hyun et al., 2016; Cook and Glass, 2017; Uribe-Bohorquez, 2018), promoting the achievement of UN 2030 Agenda SDGs. Furthermore, the promotion of gender equity within corporate boards is considered one of the tool to support the gender diversity in the society as a whole (Adams and Ferreira, 2009; Huse et al., 2009; Dawar and Singh, 2016; Rao and Tilt, 2016; Cook and Glass, 2017; Paoloni and Lombardi, 2017; Gennari, 2018).

This paper aims at going in depth the board structure, with a focus on women covering positions in board committees. In fact, the importance of gender balance on boards is accepted all over the world, but the scarce presence of women in top level positions is not an unusual situation (EY, 2013; Gennari, 2016; Ciavarella, 2017; UN Women, 2018). In addition, when the women cover directorial positions, they generally perform as non-executive directors, where the independent judgment typical of these roles dampens the possibility of direct and immediate influence in strategic company's decisions (Clark et al., 2007).

On the other hand, this independence must or can be the criteria for the belonging of members in special committees in the board. Board committees have an advisory, purposeful and precautionary monitoring role; their composition can change in terms of directors' numbers and background, but they must guarantee the effectiveness and the efficiency of the board's decision-making processes, together with the autonomy of personal judgement. The constitution of board committees aims at encouraging stakeholder protection, reinforcing the board's expertise and commitment and safeguarding the independence of decision-making processes in awkward situations (OECD, 2015). The prior and existing literature paid attention to board committees, considering their impact on corporate performance, but without giving enough emphasis on the gender issue. The increasing attention for gender balance on boards and the highlighted gap in the literature suggest us to dealing with gender diversity within board committees.

In particular, we focus on the nomination committee because of its role in the assessment about the board's composition (also in terms of gender, membership of minority groups, diversity, etc.), in addition to the balance of knowledge, skills, and experience of the board's members. Furthermore, this committee helps to prepare the

list of candidates for board positions, according with the 'voting list' rule, conceived in Italy with the so-called Savings Law (L.262/2005). This institution is sufficiently rare in the international scene (European Commission, 2011; OECD, 2012), emphasizing the nominating committee's role for the promotion of a balanced board with regard to membership of minority groups together with the respect of gender quotas imposed by the Italian Law 120/2011. Italy, together with other European countries (e.g. France, Belgium, Spain) decided to introduce a binding quotas of the less represented sex (that is the female sex by existing statistical studies) on listed companies' boards, providing a sanctioning system in the case of non-compliance. This legislative intervention, that has a limited duration expiring in 2021, aims at promoting a cultural change in companies, favouring the women's career path towards the top-level positions. The law's expiration makes Italy an interesting case study for thoughts about the effectiveness of a binding action as a starting point for a cultural change.

By means of a descriptive analysis we depict the boards of the 264 Italian listed companies, in relation with gender composition of nomination committee compared to the board. We articulate the analysis for different sectors to highlight a possible different approach by industries.

This paper contributes to the literature in three ways.

First, it fills an existing gap in the literature about women on boards, that is currently focused on the relationship between gender diversity and financial performance (Adams and Ferreira, 2009; Carter, 2003; Erhardt and Werbel, 2003; Pletzer et al., 2015; Post et al., 2011; Shrader et al., 1997; Smith et al., 2006; Webb, 2004) or social performance (Burton and Hegarty, 1999; Byron and Post, 2016; Cook and Glass, 2017; Marz and Powers, 2003; Panwar et al., 2010; Smith et al., 2006). The paper emphasizes the role of women within special committees for a sound governance that could have influence on corporate performance, taking up the call of some scholars who recommended focusing on boardroom dynamics and board processes to explain the firm's performance (Pettigrew, 1992; Forbes and Milliken, 1999; Stiles and Taylor, 2001).

Second, the prior and current studies about committees and corporate governance are mainly focused on the audit committee (Allegrini and Greco, 2013; Barka and Legendre, 2017; Turley and Zaman, 2004) or remuneration committee (Appiah and Chizema, 2015; Kanapathippillai et al., 2016), also in different industries (He and Yang, 2014). As Kaczmarek and Nyuur (2016) point out, the audit committee is the most researched of all three committees, with the nomination committee being the least researched. With this paper we aim at emphasizing the key role covered by the nomination committee for a balanced board with regard to members' characteristics. In fact, a nomination committee with a balanced presence of women is expected to be more sensitive to the gender issue in the identification of potential candidates for board's positions.

Third, the paper widens the current focus on gender issues in committees (Bilimoria and Piderit, Kesner, 1998; Konrad et al., 2008; Liao et al., 2015; Sun et al., 2011; Thiruvadi and Huang, 2011; Garcia-Izquierdo et al., 2018; Velte, 2018; Borrenbergs et al., 2017) with a special attention to the nomination one.

This paper would be the starting point for a future research project aimed at investigating the effectiveness of the Law for a cultural change toward more gender-balanced boards (Fig. 1). This research will be repeated after the board's appointments occurring when the binding quotas will expire, to monitor the potential links between the gender composition of the nomination committee and the gender composition of the board.

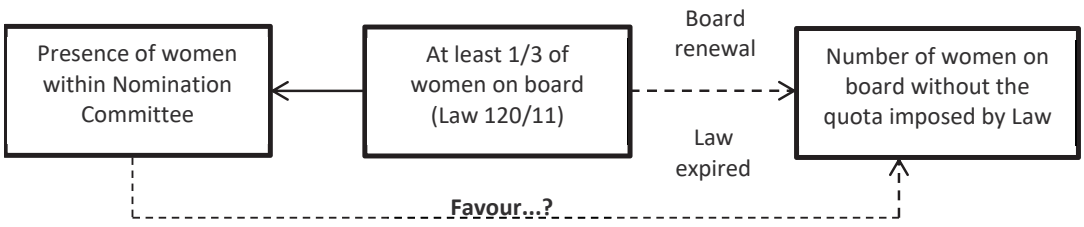


Figure 1: Scheme of the research

The findings could also have practical implications, suggesting regulators to focus attention on nomination committee's composition, not only with regard to the number and the status of members, but also with regard to gender issue.

2. Literature review and theoretical framework

Since the final decade of the last century, board committees have emerged because of the spread of principles and best practices recommendations and the increasing attention for the effectiveness of corporate governance. In particular, the establishment of board committees concerned the management of sensitive issues, linked to significant critical success factors and/or sources of potential conflicts of interest. The introduction of a nomination committee attributes the directors' selection process to a group of board members that is independent from the executive management and powerful enough to make independent recommendations (Ruigrok et al., 2006).

The existing studies and researches on nomination committee follow different approaches, according with the fact that this committee is not mandatory, but regulated by self-discipline tools (as corporate governance codes) and it can be combined with the remuneration one.

One field of research concerns the impact of such committee on the corporate financial performance (Vafeas, 1999; Kallamu, 2016; Zraiq and Fadzil, 2018), according with the agency theory (Jensen and Meckling, 1976; Fama, 1980) that emphasizes the election of board's members as a basic shareholders right (OECD, 2015). In this case, the nomination committee has a special responsibility in this matters: to make sure that established procedures of nomination and election are transparent and respected, to define the general or individual profiles of board members which the company may need at any given time (considering the appropriate knowledge, competencies and expertise to complement the board's existing skills), and to identify potential candidates proposing them to shareholders.

Another field of research concerns the impact of the nomination committee on the board composition (Ruigrok et al., 2006), according with the resource-based theory (Barney, 1991; Grant, 1991; Eisenhardt and Martin, 2000) that emphasizes the board structure as a particular configuration of resources (Macus, 2008) subjected to dynamic reconfiguration for corporate success. In this case, the responsibility of nomination committee relates to the suggestion about the better mix of human resources for the achievement of corporate goals and strategies.

The involvement of the board of directors in the sustainability matters has more and more emphasis as a way for seizing opportunities and managing risk for a competitive advantage in a globalized world. Also international guidelines marked the role of the board for the achievement of sustainable goals promoting a change in the business toward a more sustainable way of corporate development according with the UN 2030 Agenda (UN Global Compact, 2015). Hence, the nomination committee should suggest board's members according with these tasks. In particular, the Goal 5 of the Agenda (that is 'Gender Equality') in sub-goal 5.5.2 refers to the proportion of women in managerial positions.

While abundant literature about women on board exists, few studies focus on the impact of nomination committee on the board composition with regard to gender. Ruigrok et al. (2006) claim that the introduction of a nomination committee per se has an impact on the selection of new board members and that the composition of nomination committee is also likely to influence the selection of new board members. This is in line with the similarity–attraction paradigm (Byrne, 1971; Berscheid and Walster, 1978) that induces groups to select new members who match the group culture and thus knowingly or unintentionally to choose new members who are similar to themselves. Authors, in a time without mandatory gender quotas in the boardrooms, found that female members of nomination committee don't trigger a positive change in the representation of women on the board of companies listed on Swiss Exchange.

Basing on the depicted framework, we issue the following research questions. What is the current trend of women as members of nominating committees in Italian listed companies, also considering the gender composition of the board?

Considering the evidence of some researches (Bruno et al., 2018) which argue that some board characteristics might be desirable under different industry's circumstances, the second research question is about possible different approaches by industries towards the gender issue on boards.

3. Methodology

3.1 Research context

By law, Italian companies can adopt one-tier or two-tier model of corporate governance. The most common model is the two-tier one characterized by the election of board of directors and supervisory board by shareholders meeting. The Self-discipline Code issued by Borsa Italiana for listed companies (2018) recommends to boards, according with the logic 'comply or explain', to set up a nomination committee composed for the most part of independent directors (art.5). The committee delivers opinions to board about board's size and composition, recommends positions, and suggests candidates in the situation of independent members' co-opting favouring the effective board's functioning. The committee support the nominating process both in situations characterized by a wide spread of shares and when block holders have the majority control. In the first case, the lists' drafting can be difficult because of the high ownership fragmentation and the scarce interest in the voting right. In the second case, minority shareholders and other stakeholders need to be protect guaranteeing the possibility to elect their delegates in the board.

Moreover, the Code recommends boards to apply diversity criteria in the board composition, respecting the expertise required, and according with the gender quotas of Law 120/2011. This Law requires a minimum of one-third of the corporate board seats for members of the under-represented gender, starting from August 2012 for three subsequent board appointments. Considering that in Italy directors' mandates are generally for a three-year period, the Law covers a period of six years starting from the first board appointment subsequent to August 2012. If a company doesn't comply, sanctions and invalidation of directors appointed without respecting the Law are established.

Gender issue within the board makes the nomination committee's role particularly important, because the appointment of the board members is the last step of a process that includes the identification of candidates and the creation of lists of eligible persons. Therefore, the respect for a fair representation of both sexes on boards must be considered in this moment, also on the basis of the so-called voting list, that is a mechanism conceived in Italy with the Law 262/2005 and quite rare in the international scene (OECD, 2012). The voting list mechanism imposes to listed companies to allow that minority shareholders appoint their representatives in the board of directors.

Quotas change the board member selection process. As a result, expected direct effects concern the pool of eligible candidates, the number of newly appointed board members, or the increase in the total number of board seats (Bruno et al., 2018).

3.2 The sample

The sample of the study consists of all the companies listed on Borsa Italiana in 2018, but it doesn't consider the foreign companies listed in their own country and dual-listed in Italy. Some companies listed in Italian Stock Exchange in the last two years haven't renewed their board since this moment, so they don't comply with the Self-discipline Code of Borsa Italiana and with Law 120/2011. The Self-discipline Code suggests but doesn't impose the presence of a nomination committee[1]. More than half of Italian companies doesn't have such committee: the reason is probably related to the big diffusion of the so called *insider system* marked by the presence of a main shareholder who influences the board composition.

The sample doesn't consider Italian listed companies in liquidation and those which don't provide updated information about board of directors and internal committees on the issuer's, Borsa Italiana or Consob[2] website. Considering the above, the sample refers to 107 companies.

[1] Corporate Governance Code of Borsa Italiana, at article 5, says: *"the Board of Directors shall establish among its members a committee to propose candidates for appointment to the position of director, made up, for the majority, of independent directors".* The nomination committee institution is historically born in outsider systems, characterized by a high degree of fragmentation of the stockholder structure, for the purpose of ensuring an adequate level of independence of the directors with respect to the management.

[2] Consob: Italian Companies and Exchange Commission is the authority responsible for regulating the Italian securities market.

Prior studies investigate the relations between industry's characteristics and governance mechanisms, as disclosure (Ahmed et al., 1999), managerial incentives (Booth et al., 2002), proportion of monitoring directors (Becher and Frye, 2011), and audit committee effectiveness (He and Yang, 2014). We classified the listed firms according with the codification of Borsa Italiana, to highlight a possible different approach by industries towards the gender issue on boards. The sample considers the following economics sectors: Consumables, Chemistry, Consumer services, Finance, Industry, Health, Oil and natural gas, Public Services, Raw material, Technology, Telecom.

4. Results and discussion: In the following are presented data from the survey

Table 1: Presence of women on boards

Percentage of Women in Board of Directors	Number of companies	% of companies
<20	33	12%
20%-32%	61	23%
33,33%	68	26%
34%-49%	97	37%
50%	4	1,5%
51%-66%	1	0,5%

Table 1 shows the presence of women on boards considering the 264 companies listed in Borsa Italiana on 30 September 2018. All the data have been collected on the web. 170 companies (64%) respect the Law 120/2011, as they have at least one third of women in their board; within this group, 102 companies (39%) have more than one third of women in their board, 4 companies (1.5%) have 50% female members and only one company (0.5%) has more women than men. The remaining 23% of companies complies with the Law's requirements for the first board's renewal that is at least one-fifth of the less represented gender in the board. 33 companies (12%) don't comply with the Law, probably because they have just been listed.

Table 2: Presence of women on board with nomination committee

Percentage of Women in Board of Directors	Number of companies	% of companies
<20	0	0%
20%-32%	18	17%
33,33%	39	36%
34%-49%	49	46%
50%	1	1%
50%-66%	0	0%

Table 2 shows the presence of women on boards in companies with a nomination committee. Most of the companies (83%) respects the Law having more than one third of women on board; within this group a percentage of 47 has more than one third of women on board and one company has 50% of female members. 18 companies (17%) have one-fifth of women on board.

Table 3: Presence of women in nomination committee

Percentage of Women in Nomination Committee	Number of companies	% of companies
<20	15	12%
20%-32%	10	9%
33,33%	30	28%
34%-49%	4	4%
50%	11	10%
50%-66%	0	0%
66,67%	29	27%
67%-99%	2	2%
100%	8	8%

Table 3 shows the presence of women in the nomination committee. The committee's average number of members is 3.27. Female component is various: 18% of the companies have less than one-third of women in the committee, 28% have one-third of women, 10% have a committee composed of women and men in a percentage of 50.29% have more than half of women, and 8% have a committee composed only of women.

Table 4: Classification of the companies due to their activities.

Sector	Companies
Consumables	B&C Speakers, Brembo, Caleffi, Campari, Cir, Elica, Geox, Immsi, La Doria, Massimo Zanetti, Moncler, Ovs, Parmalat, Piaggio, Safilo, Sogefi, Technogym.
Chemistry	Isagro.
Consumer services	Gamenet, Gedi, Giglio, IVS Group, Juventus, Marr, Mediaset, Mondo TV, Raiway, Rcs.
Finance	Aedes, Anima, Banca Carige, Banca Farmafactoring, Banca Finnat, Banca Generali, Banca Ifis, Banca Intermobiliare, Banca Mediolanum, Banca Mps, Banca Popolare di Sondrio, Banca Profilo, Banca Sistema, Banco BPM, Banco Desio, Beni Stabili, Bper, Cofide, Credem, Credito Valtellinese, Dea Capital, Finecobank, Gabetti, Igd, Intesa Sanpaolo, Mediobanca, Novare, Plc, Poste Italiane, T.I.P., Ubi, Unicredit, Unipol.
Industry	Ansaldo Sts, Astaldi, Avio, Biancamano, Cembre, Cementir Holding, Cerved, Datalogic, El. En., Enav, Fiera Milano, Fincantieri, Gima TT, Ima, Interpump, Italmobiliare, Leonardo, Prysmian, Reno de Medici, Saes, Salini Impregilo, Servizi Italia, Tesmec, Toscana aereoporti.
Health	Amplifon, Diasorin.
Oil and gas	Eni, Saras, Snam.
Public Services	A2A, Acea, Alerion, Iren, Italgas, Krenergy.
Raw material	Neodecortech.
Technology	Be, Cad It, Esprinet, Eurotech, Exprivia, Tas, Tiscali.
Telecom	Inwit, Retelit, Telecomitalia.

Table 4 shows the industry classification of the companies which have a nomination committee and Table 5 highlights the percentage of women on board and the percentage of women members of nomination committee according with the prior industry classification.

Table 5: Percentage of women on board and within nomination committee

Sector	Percentage of Women in the Board of Directors	Percentage of Women in Nomination committee
Consumables	35,15%	35,78%
Chemistry	36,36%	33,33%
Consumer services	33,05%	45,00%
Finance	33,75%	44,88%
Industry	35,70%	46,23%
Health	36,67%	25,00%
Oil and gas	37,04%	41,67%
Public Services	39,60%	69,44%
Raw material	33,33%	33,33%
Technology	37,24%	50,95%
Telecom	39,60%	57,78%

Data in Table 5 show a higher sensitivity to gender balance in top positions in sectors such as oil and gas, technology, telecom, and public services. The focus on the composition of the nomination committee expresses the same sensitivity in consumer services, industry, technology, telecom and public services.

5. Conclusions

This paper aims at depicting the status of women on nomination committees on boards by means of a descriptive analysis, also organized by industry. The directors' appointment should be characterized by a transparent process to ensure the balanced composition of the entire board regarding knowledge, abilities, gender, nationality, and so on. For this reason, the presence of a nomination committee is recommended especially when the law allows the same board to provide a list for its renewal in order to identify its optimal composition.

Our study suffers from some limitations. The first and the biggest one is about data collection because we couldn't find an unique and updated database. In fact, Borsa Italiana provides information about boards of directors, board of auditors and committees for most of the selected companies, but not for all of them; furthermore, Borsa Italiana website provides a not up to date Ownership Structure and Corporate Governance Reports. CONSOB website is not really different; also companies' websites give sometimes information not completely available or updated. There is evidence to suggest us a lack of transparency, especially in small companies. This represents a big problem in order to understand and analyse the results.

Despite these limitations, the analysis gives us some cues for future research activities.

The research shows a positive current trend of women as members of the nomination committees in Italian listed companies. Considering the gender composition of the board that displays an average percentage of women of about 35%, the percentage increases in the nomination committee, achieving 45.21%. These results confirm the relevant presence of women supporting the board's choices about its composition; considering that the Law 120/2011 will definitively expire in 2022, we'll aim at monitoring the trend of women on boards over three post-reform board appointments to highlight the possible relations between the number of women on boards as a result of the presence of women in nomination committees.

Considering different industries, we can find different trends according with different areas. The results suggest us a different approach by industries towards gender issue regarding nomination committee; the search of possible causes of this situation (as industry characteristics, risk, reputation, etc.) should be the aim of a future line of research extended to other countries characterized by different corporate governance systems.

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Gender Stereotypes and Career Choices: How Altruism Affects the Professional Aspirations of Adolescents

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Abstract: This paper intends to explore the aspects related to the gender stereotypes, altruism and career choices among adolescents and young adults coming from different education paths. The sample involved three groups: one from high professional school, one from university and one from the high school of humanities. We've considered how gender stereotypes affect task performances and economic subjective preferences when judging men and women. It is career choices that reveal in a very impressive way the professional aspirations of young people. The aims of this study concern the possibility to explore the bond between the subjective traits of altruism, the gender stereotypes and the professional choices as relevant key factors in understanding the aspirations and career orientation of young generations. A *survey* investigates gender stereotypes of our sample; an *objective personality test* measures altruism; a *careers inquiry technique* used in qualitative research investigated the subjective experience of participants in depth. Qualitative research about social gendered representations of some professional aspirations allows us (1) to define career profiles used by participants and (2) to predict their interests in male and female professions affected by gender stereotypes. The results show that most altruistic young people tend to be less influenced by gender stereotypes in the evaluation of career choices. Moreover, altruists prefer more relational professions, thus confirming altruism as a favorable dimension for a pro-social working life. Furthermore, the altruistic personality shows a more integrated perception between sexes and professional aspirations as well as being less affected by gender stereotypes. The implications of this article will serve as a resource for educational programs to promote altruism as a way of thinking and to prevent gender stereotypes.

Keywords: adolescents, altruism, gender stereotypes, career choice, professional aspirations

1. Introduction

Altruism. In recent years, much research has dealt with altruism and its various implications in several areas. A variety of facets concerning this theme has emerged with different suggestions.

To define the concept of altruism we refer to the definition of Pavlov and Markov (2016): «Altruistic behaviour can be expressed through care for other people and actions which contribute to their welfare. Thus, it is regarded as one of the most significant factors in upbringing and education for the survival and development of an individual, as well as for the functioning and development of a society in general. Although much research has been done on altruism, the meaning of this concept is still a source of disagreement» (p. 42). Starting from this concept, we think it is important to analyze how the latest research trends have investigated the concept of altruism and its implications. Some lines of research (Boschini et al., 2018; Salgado, 2018) have considered the social representation of altruism in relation to gender: many studies in psychology and economics aim to explore differences in altruism's gender beliefs and their effects upon behaviour. Some researchers have studied whether and how altruism and gender influence the different types of helping behaviors and the connection between altruism and helping professions (Pavlov & Markov, 2016). A last line of research on the topic, the one closest to what we wish to deal with, investigated the role values play in shaping occupational interests and the perceptions of values afforded by traditionally masculine and feminine occupations among adolescents (Čabarkapa et al., 2017). Weisgram et al. (2010) examined whether individuals' values predicted to interest in different occupations among children, adolescents and adults. Other works investigated the gender differences in altruistic behaviour and confirm that women are significantly more altruistic than man (Branas-Garza et al., 2018) and particularly social psychologists have found that women are expected to be more altruistic than men in a variety of contexts (Eagly, 2009; Heilman and Chen, 2005).

According to the main issues explored within researches about connections between altruism and gender (A. Boschini, et al., 2018; M. Salgado, 2018), among altruism, expectations and stereotypes (Croson and Gneezy, 2009) and between altruism and helping professions (Pavlov and Markov, 2016, Sek-yum Ngai et al., 2009), we investigate if and how altruism affects adherence to gender stereotypes, if and how altruism directs professional choice in a pro-social sense, and how professional choices are affected by gender stereotypes and altruism.

Gender stereotypes. The world of work involves not only societal policies and the individual development, but also cultural stereotypes. Being male or female are topics for heated debate about sex-related differences as uncontroversial (Buss, 1995; Eagly, 1995). On the one hand, the research has suggested that gender ideals of adolescents reflect not only their culture's perspective of appropriate traits and behaviours of women and men but also their personal future aspirations, on the others many studies interpret gender stereotypes as an expression of gender preferences that guide the educational–professional choice towards a direction linked to professional roles (Heppner et al., 2004). If children usually learn cultural-gender stereotypes of many jobs by the time they start school (Franken, 1983; Signorella et al., 1993), boys tend to aspire to jobs traditionally stereotyped as masculine, and girls tend to aspire to jobs stereotyped as feminine (Sellers et al., 1999). Some works (Aros et al., 1998; Ji et al., 2004) has documented that adolescents tend to perceive realistic professions (i.e. drivers) as more appropriate to males, whereas social and artistic occupations (i.e. teachers) are perceived more appropriate to females. It was also documented the role of companions and social contexts in gendered occupational aspirations (Hardie, 2015) and the persistence of educational and professional gender segregation based on the gender socialization processes acted by teacher and parents (Pellerone et al., 2015). Particularly Carrell's (2001) study highlights how cultural beliefs about gender differentially influence the early career-relevant decision of men and women. Ramaci et al. (2017) analyzed the relationship between occupational self-efficacy and professional preference in which males seem to perceive themselves more self-efficient in scientific–technological than females. It was studied also the link between prestige and gender: male-dominated jobs as more prestigious than female-dominated jobs (Beyard-Tyler & Haring, 1984).

We've considered on the one hand how gender stereotypes affect task performances and economic subjective preferences in terms of career choices that reveal the professional aspirations of young people. The bond among subjective traits of altruism, gender stereotypes and professional choices is a relevant key factors in understanding the aspirations and career orientation of young generations.

2. Methods

The main methods used within the research field. The typical instrument used to explore gender differences in altruistic behaviour is the Dictator Game (Brañas-Garza et al. 2018; Farrelly&King, 2018). Much research has introduced qualitative interviews to collect occupational values, gender stereotypes and altruism: surveys (Čabarkapa et al., 2017; Ramaci et al., 2017) or measurements which were adapted from existing altruism scale (Pavlov et al., 2016). Concerning career choice the qualitative research (Liben et al., 2001; Weisgram et al., 2010) use both a vocational test and professional profiles to portray jobs and careers (Riaz, 1995).

Our method. This paper intends to explore the aspects related to the gender stereotypes, altruism and career choices among adolescents and young adults coming from different education paths. To analyze these aspects we defined three research questions: RQ1. If and how adolescents support gender stereotypes in terms of representations of gendered professional careers; RQ2. If and how professional choices of adolescents are affected by altruism and oriented towards pro-social careers; RQ3. How professional aspirations of adolescents are affected by gender stereotypes and altruism.

Our sample involved three groups from three different high schools: technical, vocational and humanities. For each school we considered ages between 15 and 17. To measure how the gender stereotypes and altruism affect career choices among adolescents we analyzed the influence of independent variables on the representation that students have of gendered professions and identified their vocational aptitude to helping jobs. We used the following instruments: "ad hoc questionnaire" and "Adjective Check List". The ad hoc questionnaire was divided into three parts: the first designed to detect biographical data (gender, age, school, family composition and parents' occupation); the second contained a list of gendered occupations; and the third helped to detect the reasons for the choice among pre-established career profiles, using a range from 1 "strongly disagree" to 5 "strongly agree"; the forth detected the supporting degree for male and female stereotypes using a range from 1 "strongly disagree" to 5 "strongly agree". The Adjective Check List is a self-report measure of personality which allows the researcher to select some specific aspects among others. In our application the test gives the measure of altruism. In order to investigate gender stereotypes in terms of gendered professional careers we asked participants to indicate 5 typical professions for male and female. In order to investigate professional choices we applied a *careers inquiry technique* in which each teen gives a mark on a Likert scale for each of 15 predefined professional profiles considered as possible careers for herself and for a teen of the other sex. In order to measure how adolescents support *gender stereotypes* we asked participants to explain by means of a Likert

scale the degree of adherence to each of 15 gendered oriented sentences. For instance: "*women are nurses, not doctors"* or *"power is for men and not for women"*. In order to have a measure of the trait of altruism we used the *Adjective Check List*. It consists of 300 descriptive adjectives used to give a self-report of personality. It offers 37 standardized scales to assess different traits of subjectivity. In order to assess the dimension of altruism we considered the following scales: *Number Checked*, *Intraception*, *Nurturance*, *Affiliation*, *Succorance.*

Our data. We had 120 participants; 40 for each school: technology school, humanities school (scientific lyceum) and vocational school (catering). 77 are boys, 43 are girls, all between 15 and 17 years old. Secondary school in Italy lasts five years for students aged 14 to 19. The schools organize *humanities courses* to prepare the students for the university; *technical courses* to motivate the students to acquire specialist technical skills and to obtain a qualifying technique for a profession and *vocational courses* to acquire certified and recognized skills aimed at a rapid transition into the world of work. This age is usually the favourite period to realize some important reasons for career choice based on personal aspirations.

Independent variables: gender and school.

Dependent variables:

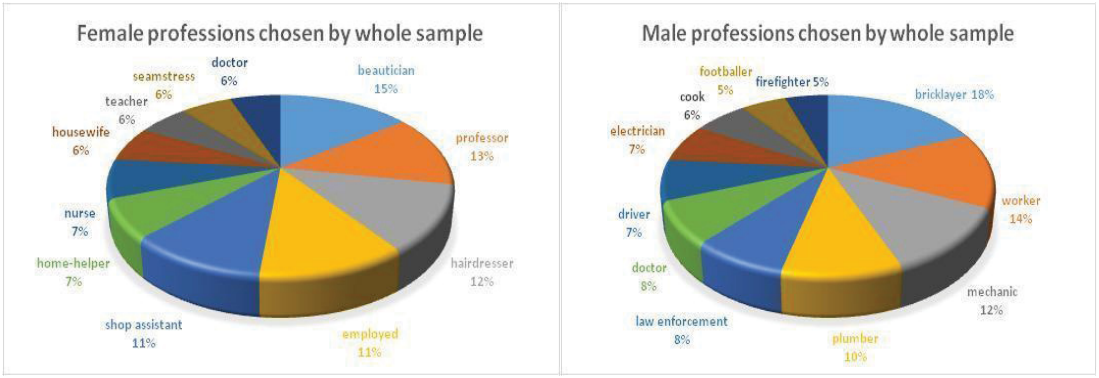
- *professional stereotypes*: 5 typical professions for male and 5 for female written by each participant;
- *traditional careers*: the chosen professions were grouped into tree professional classes - *worker*, *white collar* and *high* professions;
- *professional profiles*: each participant gives her preference from 1 (min) to 5 (max) for each of 15 professional profiles prepared ad hoc (manager, engineer, doctor, lawyer; computer scientist, nurse, employer, waiter, teacher, trader, driver, plumber, worker, firefighter, home helper); boys have read profiles written for males, girls the profiles written for females;
- *gendered projected profiles*: each participant gives not only her preference from 1 (min) to 5 (max) for each of 15 professional profiles prepared but was asked to give a projective preference for a peer of the other sex, imagining how said peer could estimate each profile in parallel;
- *helpfulness*: an indicator obtained summarizing for each participant the given scores for helping professions profiles; we consider this sum as indicator of individual attitude to professions in which the work is characterized by helping others;
- *gender stereotypes*: each participant gives a score from 1 (min) to 5 (max) for 20 stereotypical sentences based on widespread prejudices about men and women; we consider general gender stereotype the total of scores;
- *female stereotypes*: the sum of scores related to stereotypical sentences for women;
- *male stereotypes*: the sum of scores related to stereotypical sentences for men;
- *Altruism*: some of ACL scales were considered useful to measure the altruistic dimension: *Number Checked* that is the total number of adjectives check: *Intraception* that measures the attempts to understand one's own behavior or the behavior of others; *Nurturance* that is the aptitude to provide material or emotional benefits to others; *Affiliation* that measures the skill of seeking and maintaining numerous personal friendships; *Succorance* that is the capacity to solicit sympathy, affection, or emotional support from others.
- *Openness*: we gave a specific significant to the ACL scale called *Number Checked* that is the total number of adjectives checked because it gives the measure of individual availability to self-describe the personality; adolescent who gave a lot adjectives can be considered more extrovert then who gave just a few adjectives; in this direction openness is more than a general number of adjectives checked, but becomes an indicator of extroversion as a part of altruism.

We analyzed data through some significant statistical operations: frequencies analysis, contingency tables, Pearson's correlations, t student and ANOVA for the comparison among averages.

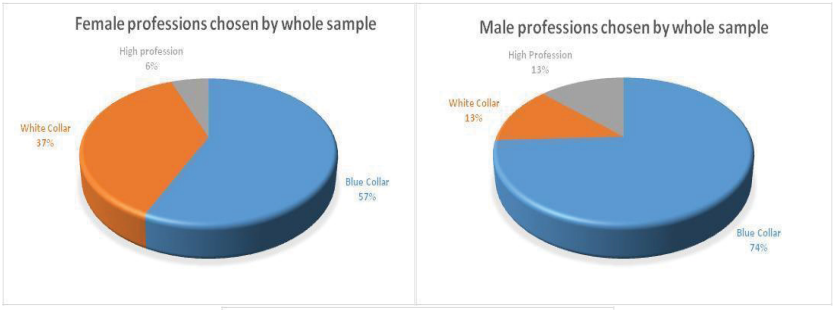
3. Results

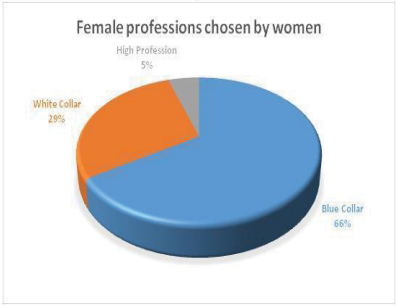
3.1 Professional stereotypes

The aerogramme *female professions chosen by whole sample* shows 11 professions (and related percentages), the more frequent, on 29 that the sample has attributed to women as typical for female. Taking into account that each participant has indicated 5 female professions, the percentages refer to the total number of choices that are 600. Here we present the 11 most represented female professions taking into account that the last 4 are equal to 6% that is equivalent to 36 choices.

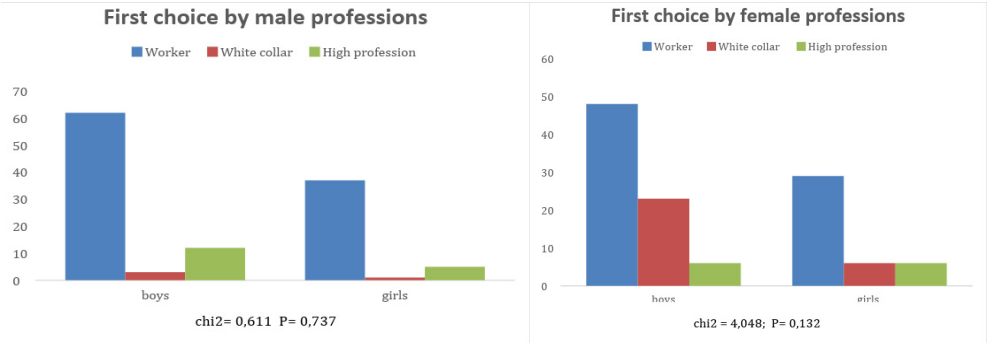


Among professions we find the beautician in first position with 15% that is equivalent to 90 choices. In second position we find the professor with 78 choices (13%). The two most frequent choices point out an interesting track of female professional representation, divided between body care and mind education. Among other professions we can observe that many of them are caring professions (nurse, home helper, doctor). The participants distinguished between professor and teacher. It seems interesting to keep the distinction because the professional image of the teacher sees the woman taking care of children, while the professor deals with teenagers and young adults. In the aerogramme *male professions chosen by whole sample* we find 11 professions on 35 written by the sample. At top there is bricklayer with 18%, the with 14%, mechanic with 12% and the plumber with 10%. All professions that characterize male professional imagery are fatigue and humble works. Boys tend to aspire to jobs that are traditionally stereotyped by culture as masculine, and girls tend to aspire to jobs that have been traditionally stereotyped as feminine (Franken, 1983; Sellers et al. 1999; Carrell, 2001). The first two choices for female professions seem to connote in a less rigid way to the world of women's work, not completely flattened by manual work. In order to explore the career representations we chose to divide them into three main groups: with the term *worker* we mean those jobs requires fatigue (i.e. electrician, driver). For *white collar* (collar) we mean who performs administrative work (i.e. employee). Finally, as *high professions* we consider lawyer, doctor, entrepreneur etc.



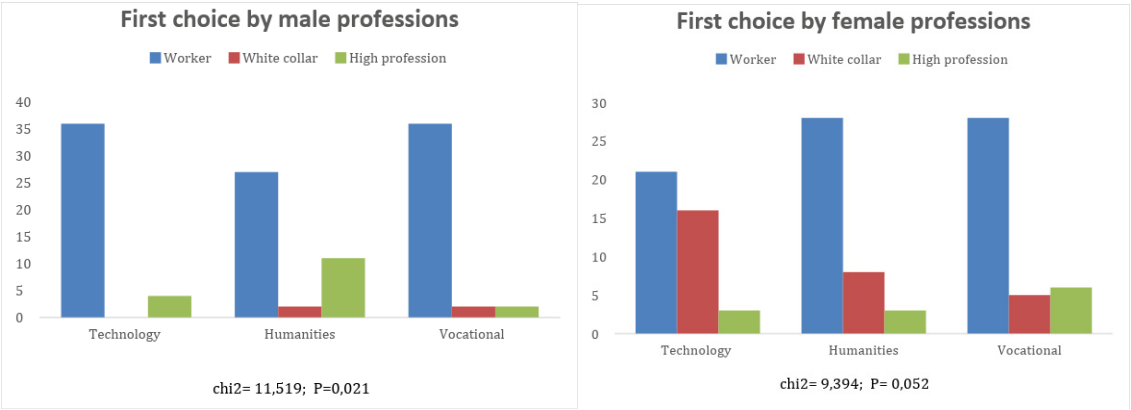


Observing the percentages of collar occupations (fig. 3, 4), we note that they are more present among the female professions (37%) than the male ones (13%). On the other hand, top ranking professions are attributed more to men (13%) than to women (6%). Even the trend of the three careers in the choices of female professionals expressed by the girls workers are the majority (66%), while collar increased and the highs decreased.



The distribution of the first career chosen by men and women for each of the two professions, male and female, both sexes maintain a strong preference for workers and it is still the men who give women a career that is more than high. This figure shows us a greater social mobility of the female professions in the boys representation. The girls seem more committed to the traditional representations of women's work. Our findings are very interesting but seem very different from the investigation of Raffaele Mendez (2002) where girls perceived a wider range of options while boys were attracted in prestigious careers.

Let's look at the distribution of the frequencies of the first career chosen by the students of the three schools that participated in our research: technology, humanities, vocational. All schools choose workers as their first male careers, but only humanities and vocational students attributed a collar career to men, albeit a minority one. The figure of high careers, mostly chosen by humanities students, stands out, confirming a correspondence between high school education and high professional aspirations. The distribution of female careers is also very interesting: despite the worker predominates, collar career is considered significantly higher by technology students, followed by those of humanities. The high career finds a certain relevance among vocational students. Comparing the two histograms, the presence of the collars among the female professions is also evident.



3.2 Professional profiles: Between gender stereotypes and altruism

Among 15 applied profiles we have chosen to analyze only six of them based on gender stereotypes and altruism. We analyzed *home-helper* and *plumber* as *workers*, *teacher* and *firefighter* as *white collar workers*, *manager* and *doctor* as *blue collar professions*. We asked each participant to give their own score from 1 (min) to 5 (max) for each selected professional profiles; boys read profiles written for male and girls profiles written for female. We also asked each participant to express a projective preference from 1 (min) to 5 (max) for an imagined peer of the other sex, hypothesizing how a peer of the other sex could estimate each profile in parallel.

Table 1: Analyzed profiles and gendered profiles[1]

	Gendered profile	Gender stereotypes	Female stereotypes	Male stereo types	Int	Nur	Aff	Suc	Helpfu lness	Open ness
Home-helper	*									
Gender Home-help.		**	**	**		*				
Plumber		*	*	*						
Gendered Plumber		**	**	**				**		
Teacher	*				**	**	**		**	**
Gendered Teacher		**	**	*						
Firefighter	*				**	**	**			**
GenderedFirefighter		**	**	*					**	
Manager	**					*	**			
Gendered Manager					*		*	*		*
Doctor	**				*	**	*			*
Gendered Doctor					*		**			

Those who give a good score to *home-helper* as a possible profession for themselves give similar score also for the other sex. However it is linked with both female and male gender stereotypes. Our sample confirms this job as a helping profession: indeed the scores are closely linked to *Nurturance*.

If a *plumber* seems to be a job conditioned by both female and male gender stereotypes, a gendered plumber is the same and much more. It is interesting the link between gendered plumber – the job projected on the other sex – and *Succorance* that is the ability to elicit sympathy. When the adolescent attributes the job to the other sex he/she uses a relational prototype of it.

Teacher is a job willingly attributed to the other sex, closely linked to the aptitude of helpfulness and supported by most aspects of altruism. Teacher is a both a relational and vocational job. However, this profession is not exempt from the influence of gender stereotypes - more from female ones but also male ones – when the job is projected on the other sex. The link between gendered teacher and female stereotypes could be read as a support of the prototype of educational feminine.

The adolescent who imagines himself as a *firefighter* is an altruist: extrovert, able to understand others and maintaining friendships or soliciting their emotional support. Even we can call the firefighter a vocational profession, when this job is projected on the other sex, it reveals an unexpected ambivalence: on the one hand it seems a helping profession, but on the other hand it becomes linked with gender stereotypes, more with female ones but also male ones.

The adolescent who imagines himself as a *manager*, willingly images the same for the other sex: a choice that seems free from gender stereotypes, then. Moreover the *manager* is an altruistic choice, but with a peculiar distribution of aspects of altruism: when manager is thought for herself, the choice is significantly supported by the ability to provide benefits to others and friendships. When it is projected to the other sex it is supported by the openness and the aptitude to understand the others and solicit sympathy. The Manager emerges as a vocational and relational profession as well as the *Doctor*. She willingly imagines the same vocation also for the other sex, even if in this case she makes a selection among aspects of altruism in favour to understand others and to maintain friendships.

[1] The tables show only the statistical results by asterisk: * is for P <0.05; ** is for P <0.005. When the correlation is negative we use the sign "-" before an asterisk.

Observing all the results regarding the sex profiles, we can observe a very interesting finding: both *home-helper* and *plumber*, as examples of worker career, as well as both *teacher* and *firefighter* as examples of white collar career are jobs considerably affected by gender stereotypes. For the manager and doctor it is different: they are professions free from gender stereotypes and much based on the altruistic personality. It could be read as a sign of a very good competence of adolescents' aspiration: when they address their ambition toward high professions they are able to be unconditioned by gender stereotypes. On the one hand our results about analyzed profiles of workers, *home-helper* and *plumber*, and collars, *teacher* and *firefighter*, as examples of jobs very affected by gender stereotypes are consistent with recent literature that explains the persistence of the phenomenon of the educational professional segregation of gender (Sek-yum Ngai, 2009; S. Pavlov, 2016; Ramaci et al., 2017). On the other hand the attention reserved to high professions seems more free from gender prejudices.

3.3 Gender stereotypes, altruism and professional aspirations of adolescents

Table 2: Altruism and gender stereotypes

	Helpfulness	Openness	Int	Nur	Aff	Gender stereotypes	Female stereotypes	Male stereotypes
Helpfulness		**						
Openness	**		**	**	**			
Int		**		**	**			
Nur		**	**		**	-*		-*
Aff		**	**	**				
Gender stereotypes				-*			**	**
Female stereotypes						**		**
Male stereotypes				-*		**	**	

ACL selected scales of altruism are all linked with each other in a very significant way: there is a strong correspondence among *openness* that is our name for the total number of adjectives checked as a sign of extroversion, *intraception* and *affiliation*. Our findings are consistent with data of Pavlov (2016) about subjective factors as social support or to take care of others. Only *succorance* remains independent from other selected scales of altruism: *succorance* that is the capacity to solicit sympathy, affection, or emotional support from others can be described as the received experience of altruism but does not seem to be linked to other aspects. Altruistic personality is then available to give and not to receive help. This finding refers in a very interesting way to the intra-psychic structure of altruistic personality that merits further research.

Even gender stereotypes are strongly connected in a close correspondence between stereotypes related to the male and female gender, confirming the strict consistency of the distortion produced by social stigmatization. The tendency towards the helping professions is significantly correlated with the willingness to describe oneself, then to a general openness that could be interpreted as extroversion. On the other hand, our results show that there are no significant correlations between the tendency towards helping professions (helpfulness) and gender stereotypes: a fact that could be read in favor of altruism as a protective factor against gender stereotypes. This reading could be confirmed by the significant correlation but inversely proportional one between the need to protect others and gender stereotypes, in particular the stereotypes relating to males. Our findings are in favour of the openness of adolescents.

In Table 3 we observe correlations between gender stereotypes on the one hand and correlation between careers, but in an inversely proportional way. Those who aspires to workers career are inversely connected with both collars and high professions. So that those who aspires to collars career are inversely connected with high professions. It is the same both for male and female professions. The inversely correlations show a situation like this: workers *aut* collars *aut* high. In other words who aspires to one of the three doesn't aspire for the others two. We read this findings as a proof of a sort of independent representations of three careers well present in the opinion of our adolescents. The same independence between careers is confirmed by the positive and

significant correlation into within the same career between female and male versions. Although notwithstanding, the correlation for the high and worker professions is slightly less significant.

Table 3: Careers and gender stereotypes

	Gendered stereotypes	Female stereotypes	Male stereotypes	Female workers	Female collars	Female high	Male workers	Male collars	Male high	Helpfulness
Gendered stereotypes		**	**		*				*	
Female stereotypes	**		**		*					
Male stereotypes	**	**							-**	
Female workers					-**	-**	**			
Female collars	*	*		-**				**		
Female high				-**					*	
Male workers				**				-**	-**	
Male collars					**		-**			**
Male high	*		-**			*	-**			
Helpfulness								**		

There are interesting correlations between careers and gender stereotypes concerning female collars: they correlate rather significantly to gender stereotypes and in particular to those related to the female. A fact that could be read as an extension of the gender stereotypes to certain jobs such as office workers, teachers, nurses, which are popular as collars fit for women. We also find correlations between male high professions and gender stereotypes. But correlations become very significant and inversely proportional between male high professions and male gender stereotypes. A fact that could be read in favor of a certain independence of aspiration to high male careers from the prejudices typically attributed to males. Also interesting are the correlations between male collars career and the propensity towards helping professions (helpfulness). This can be due to the social good representation of firefighters and law enforcement agencies.

Table 4: Gender differences

	boys	girls	P
Stereotypes			
Male stereotypes	23.21	18.63	0.026
Altruism			
Helpfulness	23.42	28.93	0.05
Careers			
Female workers	2.92	3.02	0.008

Table 5: School differences

	Technology	Vocational	Humanities	P
Altruism				
Suc	1.90	0.05	0.83	0.009
Careers				
Female Collars	1.30	0.93	0.73	0.002
Male Collars	0.63	0.50	0.23	0.042
Male High	1.05	0.65	1.30	0.006

On the one hand the boys support the male stereotypes while girls confirm a tendency to traditional careers. These results are consistent with literature: boys and girls choose occupations gender dominated (Raffaele Mendez, 2002; Weisgram, et al., 2010) but women tend to hold more altruistic values. From the comparison between boys and girls we note the dimension of altruism called *succorance*: girls significantly more than boys describe themselves through their capacity to solicit sympathy, giving an image of their tendency for empathy.

About school differences, students of technology school, mostly males, tend to attribute collars to women such as boys see women as teachers. The same students represent male careers as collars, giving an indication of their most representative aspiration, and use the *succorance* as main descriptor of their personality, a draft of their capacity to solicit emotional support from others. High school students of humanities attribute high-profile professions to men, giving an indication of their typical aspirations.

4. Conclusions

Despite altruism remains a concept difficult to define, we have tried to explore how altruistic traits and gender affect the representation of professional aspirations of students of different kinds of schools. According to Pavlov (2016) it is important to extend research by contemplating other variables related to the path of education. We tried to assess professions associated with gender stereotypes, altruism and career choice.

Here our main findings:

- about female professions the two most frequent choices, beautician and professor, point out an track of female professional representation, divided between body care and mind education. Male professional imagery are characterized by fatigue and humble works.
- Related to traditional careers, boys and girls share the opinion about worker as the first. However boys show more social mobility about female professions, while girls remain fixed on tradition. Even if boys and girls choose occupations gender dominated girls describe themselves through their capacity to solicit sympathy, giving an image of their tendency for empathy.
- The comparison among three school paths confirms that workers as privileged career. But humanities and vocational school open a little to collar career, overall for women.
- Observing professional profiles we find *home-helper* and *plumber* - worker career - as well as *teacher* and *firefighter* - white collar career - very affected by gender stereotypes. On the contrary *manager* and *doctor* is are professions free from gender stereotypes and very based on the altruistic personality.
- The propensity to the professions of help is significantly correlated with a general openness that could be interpreted as extroversion. Moreover the propensity to help professions (helpfulness) is free from gender stereotypes: a fact that could be read in favor of altruism as a protective factor against gender stereotypes.

Our research increase information about the population of Italian adolescents exploring the favourite period to realize some important reasons for career choice based on their personal aspirations. However it presents some limitations: the sample is useful only for an exploratory study; the number of boys and girls are not balanced; statistical analysis should be conducted in a deeper way.

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An Intersectional Analysis of African-American Females at Historically Black Colleges and Universities

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Abstract: This study utilizes an intersectional approach to examine how African-American women negotiate their cultural identities at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) primarily located in the Southeastern United States. More specifically the intersections of gender, race, and socio-economic status serve as a springboard for understanding the experiences of the participants centering communicative, discursive practices. HBCUs were selected since they aim, as their mission, to socialize underrepresented group members into careers, social networks, and community engagement. With this aim to empower marginalized populations, generally defined by racial cultural categorizations, this addresses a gap in current research that primarily focuses on racial aspects of culture and identity at HBCUs, as well as highlights how gender influences identity negotiation in these specific contexts. Since members of underrepresented groups often utilize education to increase their upward social mobility and socio-economic status, HBCUs offer a rich context for exploring the diverse ways whereby race/ethnicity, class/socioeconomic status, and gender intersect. Tenets of Black feminist thought are used to analyze 50 participants' in-depth interviews. Black feminism centers the lived experiences of African American women and other women of color. It allows for examining tensions between gendered, raced, and classed forms of marginalization alongside the call for self-definition and agency. Participants find HBCUs empowering, especially because African-American women comprise the majority of the student population at HBCUs (although not in all departments) and have a strong representation as faculty and staff. Although empowerment is highly associated with their experiences, the participants also discuss the following dialectical tensions as they engage in cultural identity negotiation: A) tensions between gender empowerment and marginalization and B) tensions between racialized social scripts and identity development. Implications for theory and application are also discussed.

Keywords: intersectionality, Black feminist thought, communication studies, identity negotiation, Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)

1. Introduction

This study utilizes Black feminist thought and frames of identity negotiation to examine how 50 African-American women negotiate their cultural identities at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). Although a substantive amount of literature examines the experiences of racial minorities in Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs) of higher education, a limited amount of research examines the experiences of African Americans at HBCUS. HBCUs were selected since they aim, as their mission, to socialize underrepresented, socially marginalized group members (particularly African Americans) into careers, social networks, and community engagement. With this aim to empower marginalized populations, generally defined by racial cultural categorizations, this addresses a gap in current research that primarily focuses on racial aspects of culture and identity at HBCUs, as well as highlights how gender influences identity negotiation in these specific contexts. An intersectional analysis of cultural identity, including gender, race, and socio-economic status, serves as a springboard for understanding the experiences of the participants centering communicative, discursive practices in higher education contexts created for the empowerment of African Americans (although admission is open to other racial and ethnic groups). Since the body of research examining the experiences of African Americans in higher education is mostly conducted in the fields of sociology and education, highlighting African American women's voices from a communication studies perspective elucidates the discursive practices relating to culture that influence and shape their perspectives of identity negotiation, while contributing to the growing body of literature that problematizes the presumption of cultural fit for *all* African Americans at HBCUs. As such, the following research question guides this project: *How do African-American women construct and negotiate the intersectional dynamics of their identities at HBCUs?* This focus centers the voices of African American women, to more fully incorporate gendered and other aspects of cultural identity into our understanding of identity negotiation for diverse groups attending HBCUs.

2. African Americans and women in educational institutions: A historical overview

Hecht, Jackson and Ribeau (2003) assert that African Americans, as well as other marginalized groups, use education to improve their economic and social status. Before desegregation in the 1950s and 1960s in the United States, African Americans could not attend the same schools as European Americans. This caused African American communities and allies to establish their own schools, referred to as Historically Black Colleges and

Universities (HBCUs). The first HBCU was established in 1837 in Pennsylvania and to date 103 HBCUs operate in the United States (Bonner, 2001). HBCUs are important institutions in African American communities since these schools "…are where African Americans enact cultural rituals that forge cultural identity" (Hecht, Jackson and Ribeau, 2003, p. 22).

Since desegregation, more African Americans pursue their education at Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs) where they comprise the minority of the student and faculty population. The largest body of research examining the experiences of African American students focuses on undergraduate experiences at PWIs. Despite desegregation, spurred by the 1954 Brown versus the Board of Education decision and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, many African Americans continue to be educated at HBCUs. According to Bonner (2001), HBCUs and PWIs vary greatly. The clear majority of HBCUs are four-year institutions that do not offer advanced degree programs. Only a small number have been classified as Research Level I and Research Level II institutions.

Bonner (2001) further states that numerous scholars regard HBCUs as homogenous educational institutions; however, she contends that the faculties and the student population are more diverse than PWIs. In some HBCUs, such as Lincoln University of Missouri and Kentucky State University, European Americans and non-African Americans (including Blacks not native to the United States) comprise most of the faculty or student body. By 1992, three HBCUs' student populations were comprised of predominantly European American students and at ten, European American students comprised more than 20% of the student population (Bonner, 2001). Therefore, a need remains for scholars to continue to study the experiences of students at HBCUS, particularly African American women whose voices are lost when HBCUs are considered homogenous due to the defining construct of race.

Women have also historically experienced barriers to education. Just as community members created HBCUs for African Americans to attend, separate universities were created and designed especially for European American women. The student body and purpose of women's universities, however, do not serve the same function as HBCUs in African American communities. Most women's universities have a student body comprised entirely of female undergraduate students. Some, however, allow males to enroll in their advanced degree programs. Due to the great strides women made pre and during the Civil Rights Era, many women's universities closed, opened to men, or combined with existing PWIs. For example, Florida State University in Tallahassee has been co-educational since 1947, Hartford College for Women closed in 2003, and Tift College in Forsyth merged with Mercer University in 1986. Many of these universities have historically served European American populations. Only two HBCUs enrol mostly minority women- Spelman College, in Atlanta, Georgia and Bennett College in Greensboro, North Carolina. The educational trends of HBCUs and PWIs, both female and co-educational, reflect diverging experiences for minorities and women. HBCUs continue to operate separately from PWIs, although their student populations have grown more diverse. Conversely, many women's institutions have become more mainstream by admitting males, closing, or becoming absorbed into larger PWIs. This suggests that gender is not considered the same type of cultural construct for Black women as for their European American counterparts. Furthermore, the focus on creating organisations of higher learning for specific racial and gender groups overlooks the experiences of African American women when gender is not central to the organisation's mission.

A growing amount of scholarship, primarily in the fields of education and sociology, examines the experiences of students and faculty at HBCUs. Existing research discusses how HBCUS are more culturally homogeneous and affirming of African American cultural identities than PWIs because they embed African American norms and values into educational discourses and processes (Bonner, 2001; Winkle-Wagner and McKoy, 2016; Njoku, Butler and Beatty, 2017). Studies also suggest that students feel more supported at HBCUs (Winkle-Wagner and McCoy, 2016). A more limited, although growing body of literature, suggests that HBCUs are not culturally homogenous when aspects of cultural identity that extend beyond race and ethnicity, such as gender and sexuality, are considered (Kennedy, 2012; Ford, 2015; Glenn, 2012, 2016; Njoku, Butler and Beatty, 2017; Jones, Ahn, Quezada and Chakravarty, 2018). For instance, an examination of campus policy and press coverage of HBCUs suggests that discourses regarding respectability and "othermothering" can perpetuate stringent gender roles, heteronormativity, and White supremacy (Njoku, Butler and Beatty, 2017). Mobley (2017) also discusses how HBCUs are often sites of social change and resistance for African Americans, yet students with social identities can be marginalized in other ways-such as through sexual orientation. This study contributes to this growing body of literature by centering the voices of African American women at HBCUs through a more nuanced, intersectional understanding of social identity that expands beyond race and ethnicity. This allows for more

complex understanding of an understudied demographic, African American women attending HBCUs, by expanding cultural identity to include the intersection of race and gender instead of examining them as separate, distinct cultural constructs.

3. Black feminism and identity negotiation

Black feminism centers the lived experiences of African-American women with the aim to understand how socially marginalized, underrepresented groups experience, respond to, and resist the forces of oppression that exist within their lives (Allen, 2000; Collins, 2000). Houston (1988) uses the term "double jeopardy" to describe the everyday experiences of African-American women, as well as other women of colour, as they encounter sexism and racism. Black feminism works both as a theoretical and methodological frame that explores marginalizing experiences from the vantage point of the women of colour who experience them. Collins (2000) asserts that in addition to understanding *how* the intersecting nature of oppression manifests for Black women, it is equally important to understand the complicated and nuanced ways Black women negotiate and resist multiple forms of marginalization. The power of self-definition and self-evaluation can counter oppressive discourses regarding their social identities.

Although Collins' (2000) seminal work does not specifically address the concept of identity negotiation, communication scholars have increasingly utilized Black feminist thought to explore the dynamic way that African American women understand and respond to oppressive notions of their social identities-the sense of self (see Glenn and Jackson, 2010). Tensions arise when negotiating self-defined notions of their identities with those projected onto them, through means such as sexism and racism. Hecht, Jackson, and Ribeau (2003) describe this tension as "…the competing forces in society that push and pull individuals toward a variety of identities" (p. 66). Identity can be negotiated through how people define themselves *and* through how others define them (Glenn and Jackson, 2010; Hecht, Jackson, and Ribeau, 2003). Members of more dominant social groups "other" African-American women when they define and structure society for them in ways that objectify and/or marginalize them. These women are often stereotyped and discriminated against because members of dominant groups often perceive and interact with them in ways that limits options for self-definition and empowerment. Collins (2000) discussion of controlling images describes how dominant society controls African-American women through these powerful stereotypes, such as the matriarch image. Through various forms of media, African-American women are often regarded as excessively strong caretakers who put the needs of others ahead of their own and do not use their own resources to help themselves, while emasculating African American men in the process.

Processes of "othering," such as through controlling images and stereotypes, create the "outsider within" phenomenon that many African-American women experience. Even when they gain access to institutions controlled by dominant groups, such as corporate positions, their marginalized status can position them as outsiders as they must negotiate dominant notions of their identity that do not cohere with their own notions of their social identities. Collins (2000) asserts that women resist "othering" and learn to negotiate the "outsider within" aspect of their lived experiences through multiple means, such as "safe spaces" and self-definition. The power of self-definition describes how African-American women can create an empowering sense of agency that challenges marginalizing notions of their identities. These women can create and define their own social realities through the power of self-definition (Collins, 2000; Allen, 2002). Safe spaces help women challenge dominant society by interacting with others who do not project hurtful notions of their identities onto them. Through relationships with others, particularly other African Americans, they can create connections and solidarity to help them cope with and resist damaging notions of African American females' social identities. Black feminism, coupled with the concept of identity negotiation, serves as a framework for understanding the lived experiences of African American women from their own perspectives. Particularly, this frame guides the intersecting experiences of multiple aspects of social identity, such as gender and race, of African American women at Historically Black Colleges and Universities.

4. Method for examining African American women at HBCUs

This research project is part of a larger study examining personal and career socialization of self-identified African American women who have attended HBCUs. Fifty women participated in this study, with an age range from 24 to 48 (average of 31). They come from varied geographical locations, socio-economic status, prior educational experiences, and family histories with higher education (e.g., first, second, and third generation college students). Due to the location of most HBCUs, the participants primarily attended universities located

along the eastern seaboard and the southern part of the United States. I utilized in-depth interviews to capture the participants' perspective as they described their experiences through stories and other personal accounts. This method allows researchers to obtain data regarding past events, as well as events that cannot be directly observed (Lindlof and Taylor, 2002). It also enables researchers to obtain detailed accounts of the participants' experiences in their own words and through storytelling (Kauffman, 1992; Patton, 2002; Francis, 2004).

Participants were recruited using purposive network sampling found through personal and professional networks (Parker, 2002) after obtaining approval from the Institutional Review Board. I conducted face-to-face in a location selected by the participants, such as her home or a private room in a library. When face-to-face contact was not possible, I interviewed participants via telephone. The interviews were audio-taped and transcriptions were verified for accuracy prior to coding and analysis. The interviews ranged from 34 to 99 minutes with an average interview length of 64 minutes. The transcriptions yielded 427 pages of single-spaced text. Two of the participants did not grant permission to tape the interviews. In these instances, detailed notes were taken to use for analysis. In all cases, the participants' names were changed to pseudonyms and references to particular people and universities were deleted. I used open-coding and constant comparison to assign the data into mutable categories and emerging themes (Lindlof and Taylor, 2002). The categories were modified and defined as subsequent interviews were analysed and patterns in discourse and reported practices emerged. I then used member checks with five participants to confirm the coding and data analysis (Lindlof and Taylor, 2002; Patton, 2002).

5. Results

The guiding research question for this study asks: How do African-American women construct and negotiate the intersectional dynamics of their identities at HBCUs? Consistent with the notions of dialectical tensions as conceptualized in Black feminist thought and identity negotiation frames, the participants experience their social identities as tensions between the following to aspects of their lived experiences: A) Tensions between gender empowerment and marginalization and B) Tensions between racialized social scripts and identity development.

5.1 Tensions between gender empowerment and marginalization

Participants find HBCUs empowering, especially because African-American women comprise the majority of the student population at HBCUs (although not in all departments) and have a strong representation as faculty and staff. Nicolette explains, "Just being here and seeing, uh, other African-American women in positions of power…They're successful and, uh, and that was really exciting for me to see." She also notes that this gives her courage to speak up in her classes, which are male dominated: "I have to bring it back to my department. Black women are underrepresented. I know that there's still that male-female domination that you get. So, I have to be conscious to speak up, to give my opinion. Because if not, it won't be considered." Janice adds, "it allows for me to be able to draw from a lot of other African American, um, female role models…accomplishing great things in academia and in my profession as well." She continues to say:

> *especially in my field, it has become more female dominated, but it's White female dominated. And so, a lot of experiences I've had, I'm able to talk to my female professors about how they've come through the ranks…how they've dealt with different things and draw some inspiration from how they've gotten to where they are today.*

Having African-American female role models and mentors helps the students believe they can have successful careers in their respective fields as it creates safe-spaces for learning about potential career choices (Collins, 2000; Bonner, 2001;). Further, it helps the participants prepare for how the dynamics of race and gender may impact their career paths (Allen, 2000; Glenn, 2016).

Although the participants feel that their racial and ethnic culture meshes with the HBCU environment in varying degrees due to a shared racial and ethnic background with the majority of their peers and faculty and greatly appreciate African-American female faculty, they often experience troubling encounters due to gender in these environments. This manifests in marginalization and silence when interacting with others, particularly Black males, on campus. Celeste explains, "sexism issues may come into play, maybe in the way you interact with your male peers. They think you aren't, uh, smart enough to hold a conversation with them or something of that nature." Jade also notes that African-American women may be regarded negatively in the classroom. She recounts that the male professors have interrupted them while they were speaking while allowing their male

counterparts to express themselves at length. She also feels that the professors and her male peers often immediately discount different interpretation of class readings.

Celeste and Jade do not feel comfortable expressing their experiences because of fear of negative repercussions or uncertainty that gender is the root of their experiences. Robin explains, "I have to be quiet and keep my mouth shut. And it shouldn't have to be this way, not at an HBCU." She further adds that despite her disappointment in the treatment of women, she opts not to confront it because, "If I have to suffer through this, I'd rather get it from my own." As Bonner (2001) notes, the absence of visibility and dialogue about these issues does not mean they do not exist for women at HBCUs. The experiences of these students reflect overt sexism regarding intellectual thought that contribute to issues related to presentation of women's bodies and potential sexual assault (Njoku, Butler and Beatty, 2017). Their intellectual positionalities are also under attack.

Michele has also encountered overt sexist comments in classrooms, particularly in her African studies courses. She states, "Cuz stereotypically speaking, African men think African women should be barefoot and pregnant and in the kitchen. So that came up a few times." Tamika has also experienced ideas such as these from her male classmates. She feels that although an academic environment should encourage her peers to challenge traditional gender roles, some males still connect women to stereotypes. She expresses that it can be difficult to hear, "I'm an academic [who can] help change the world, but at the end of the day I'm still supposed to go home and cook, clean, and fold the clothes. It's kind of difficult to go back and forth." Tamika explains that she struggles with reconciling the feeling of being at "home" with "sexism issues I never dreamed I'd encounter." She explains with a shrug and a frown that, "I will have to be the superwoman and do it all." The myth of the superwoman is problematic because it causes African-American women to remain silent and experience psychological and/or physical stress about gender oppression in African-American contexts (Jones and Shorter-Gooden, 2003).

5.2 Tensions between racialized social scripts and identity development

Being in the racial and ethnic majority caused many participants to increase their awareness of how other aspects of their social identities, primarily socioeconomic status and nationality, work as cultural principles in HBCUs. It furthers awareness of performing identity according to social scripts, socially contrived narratives of cultural identity, as they manifest in university cultures in addition to how racialized identities are impacted by other culture dynamics. Leslie notes that when she told her friends that she was attending an elite HBCU, they responded that "it's uppity…and you're bourgeois anyway so you belong there." At first, she was not sure why she received this reaction and often attempted to counter this perception. Prior to attending an HBCU, she had focused her attention on how her racial identity did not fit into others perception of her, but she did not pay attention to how her socioeconomic background did fit into these discourses. She explains that she has "made peace [with]…class privilege" by using her "new social awareness to give back to those of us [African Americans] who are still oppressed." Niambi, on the other hand, still struggles to resolve her feelings about socioeconomic status. She explains that the master narrative of African-American womanhood uplifts certain African-American women but excludes others who are not middle or upper middle class. She finds it difficult to watch women who are not from these backgrounds feel pressure to conform and/or try to hide their backgrounds from their professors and peers. Lela also discusses "uncomfortable moments" regarding her socioeconomic background in comparison with her peers. She explains, "there are a few people that came from, like, inner city Chicago and, you know, certain living situations, socioeconomic backgrounds that I couldn't relate to. So, I kinda felt like I didn't want to say too much." In these instances, the participants learn to negotiate social identities that are impressed upon them by others to foster stronger identification with those in the university (Goffman, 1959). The moments that make them realize they do not fit into organizational discourse are not openly challenged. Instead, they emphasize ways in which class coheres with dominant racial scripts, which associates their race with a lower socioeconomic status and/or urban environments, to mitigate the appearance of identity gaps-conflicts in differing identity constructions (Hecht, Jackson and Ribeau, 2003). This type of identity work is not openly performed and is resolved intrapersonally while remaining silent.

Tasha and Diane discuss how conversations and focus on particular African-American experiences creates tension and conflict regarding the very definition of "Blackness." Tasha explains that by attending and HBCU, "I gained an opinion of certain topics that I didn't know about, like generations and class. People [other African Americans] didn't see me as the same." She asserts that she felt like an outsider at times: "I'm from an urban background and the only one [in my family] going to college…it's like I'm not as good as them or represent the

race as well." Diane states that even though the discourse regarding accomplishments and pride in African-American communities helps her establish a stronger sense of self, she feels pressure to accommodate her fellow peers' constructions of African-American identity. Diane explains, "I felt a different kind of pressure to fit into some hood notion of Blackness, in college no less [laughs]." She further discusses how, "I really wasn't ready for that. We [African-Americans] are so different…And somehow I knew that but expected us to be the same." As with gender, the examination of socioeconomic status creates space for dialogue regarding variations of African-American cultural identities instead of regarding them as a monolith. Diane's experiences also reflect how perceptions of "Blackness" change, some African Americans adhere to identity scripts that constrain rather than become more inclusive of various aspects of cultural identity. Further, her experiences reflect how "Blackness" often need a validator and can become quite contested (Johnson, 2003).

Although the participants talked mostly about how interactions in HBCUs impact their conceptions of race/ethnicity, gender, and socioeconomic status, some discussed how examining these aspects of their identities caused them to interrogate their assumptions about others, particularly nationality, religion, and sexuality. Leslie states, "this was the first time I became really aware of the animosity between Black Americans and Black folk that come from the Caribbean…One of them actually told they did not like Black Americans." Michele discusses how she learned more about differing perspectives of race and ethnicity in her African studies courses as her African peers would tell her that the people who were "first generation from the Continent [of Africa] are African and we are African American." Some of the African students directly questioned the African American students' opinions in class. Michele explains, "Our input wasn't as valid because we, in their opinion, really had no connection to the Continent. And that was very difficult because I never paid too much attention to [it]." Even though she took these classes to expand her knowledge of African issues and culture in ways that affirmed her identity, she found this caused unanticipated identity gaps, which she must now resolve.

Niambi, who uses the term of master narrative to describe the image of African-American women she feels pressured to conform to, states, "There's an assumption that it [notion of African-American womanhood] is monolithic, but it's not. There's friction between women in [African American] sub-cultures at [HBCU]…who do not fit in…Muslim women…women that identify as lesbians." Like Niambi, Kyra has experienced difficulties negotiating the different aspects of her identity. She explains how actions she took to embrace a more African-centered look caused difficulties in how others interpreted the changes in her physical appearance. Kyra states:

> *I actually transitioned to no longer perming [chemically straightening] my hair to wearing a natural and…in part that was kinda hard because you are different and uh, after a while I actually reverted back to perming my hair because it was more mainstream…I felt a little too different. Like I was drawing too much attention to myself, presenting myself as more Afrocentric than I was prepared to be…All of a sudden, they [African-American men] think maybe you're a lesbian and that's not the case either.*

In this instance, Kyra's attempt to embrace a more Afrocentric physical appearance to show connection to her African heritage caused new and unanticipated sites of identity work regarding perceptions of her sexuality. Kyra's experiences demonstrate how emphasizing an aspect of her cultural identity which she perceives as positive, can come with new difficulties reflecting marginalizing aspects of non-heteronormative behaviour that are not perceived as consistent with a notion of "Blackness" centering conservative notions of sexuality (Ford, 2015).

Janice finds the variety in expressions of African-American culture refreshing as it allows her to explore different aspects of her identity. She explains:

> *There's not really one identity, you know. There's just so many and you see them all the time, but it's okay to be different from what the stereotypes are…You can respect each other's differences because there's so many Blacks there. It's not like you're grabbing for someone who looks like you or trying to identify with the one person who looks like you.*

Brenda also believes, "it's refreshing to see so many different types of Black people in one environment…doing different things." These women find they can develop other aspects of their identity in ways that do not create conflict like they have experienced in environments where they felt pressure to minimize intra-group (within group) differences to foster group solidarity.

6. Discussion and conclusion

Consistent with perceptions of HBCUs, the participants find these educational institutions empowering and uplifting. They especially find their connection to mentors helpful in their personal and professional growth. This suggests that uplifting mentoring discourses remain an important aspect of positive cultural socialization and empowerment for these students. (Glenn, 2016) However, they also experience marginalization and silencing regarding other aspects of their social identity-particularly gender. Although gender discourses are visible in HBCUs, particularly when interacting with male faculty and peers, they often remain hidden and covert. The silencing and marginalizing experiences many of the participants encounter show how gender can remain a hidden organizing principle. For example, many of the participants talked easily about race/ethnicity, but often had difficulties framing and discussing gendered discourses. They often hesitated to associate marginalization with gender and/or began to realize how it impacts their experiences during the interviews. Michele's narrative especially exemplifies how she tries to be the "superwoman" to embody all discourses of Black womanhood and perform a variety of social scripts as she feels the pressure to fit into multiple contexts regarding her racial and gender identity (Glenn, 2012; Jones and Shorter-Gooden, 2003). Jones and Shorter-Gooden (2003), however, caution against trying to be a superwoman as it can lead to debilitating health and professional lives (such as through burnout and anxiety).

The experiences relating to socioeconomic status further illuminate intragroup variation among African Americans. This causes many of the participants to interrogate their conceptions of race/ethnicity as they find themselves investigating their own definitions of "Blackness" in predominantly African-American organizations. This causes identity gaps, conflicting notion of social identity, for participants who are exploring notions of "Blackness" in relation to others who define this aspect of their identity in ways that do not cohere with theirs (Hecht, Jackson and Ribeau, 2003). Leslie and Niambi's experiences reflect both sides of the pull of this tension. Leslie feels that her middle-class background distinguishes her from African Americans from lower socio-economic backgrounds. Instead of believing this makes her less "Black" in comparison to her peers, she fosters a connection through incorporating service into her cultural identity. Niambi, contrarily, still feels quite a distance from her peers of differing socio-economic backgrounds. She opts to remain silent when conversations regarding social class arise and hide her lack of belonging to a classed aspect of Blackness.

Pragmatic implications for HBCUs include curriculum development that fosters more discourse of intragroup differences regarding cultural identity. Since many of the participants discuss visibility of African-American contributions to their fields, they also noted that they focused more on males than females (except for literature). They often utilized connections to other African-American women to learn about career benefits and obstacles they may face; however, incorporating the voices of African-American women in the course content and class discussion could also help provide visibility for women of colour. To date, only a few HBCUs have developed curriculum allowing women to obtain certificates or a major central to women's studies (Bonner, 2001). By addressing social identity in an intersectional manner, these universities could expand their work of uplift to members of multiple social groups within African American communities.

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Understanding the Gender gap: Results of an Attitude Survey of Gender, Culture and Women's Representation in South Africa

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Abstract: This paper is an investigation into the gender gap between men and women with regards to attitudes on participation, gender equality, culture, women's representation in government. The descriptive analysis of survey data of a random, stratified sample of 1300 South Africans, analysed with SPSS, shows gender gaps that vary from 5% to 14%. We also found important difference between the World Value Survey's operationalization of culture/gender equality and our own operationalization of culture.

Keywords: gender gap, South Africa, women's representation, culture, voting behaviour of women

1. Introduction

Gender gaps in socio-political attitudes and behaviour have globally become an important field of study. The first studies of the gender gap in the global North were concerned with the voting patterns of men and women, but gradually the gap in political attitudes between men and women also became the subject of study. The results of attitudinal surveys in North American and Europe have shown interesting difference between the attitudes of women and men and have shown that in many cases the gender gap in attitudes can explain why women and men display different types of political behaviour.

This paper discusses the results of a survey of a random stratified sample of 1300 South Africans, regarding attitudes toward gender equality, culture and individual rights and women's representation in government. While a lot of information on the gender gap in different countries in the global North is now available studies of this kind in the global South are rare for a variety of reason: the most important being the lack of infrastructure to conduct survey research[1] and, secondly, the cost surveys using a national random sample is prohibitive. This study that deals with gender attitudes specifically is the first of its kind in sub-Saharan Africa.

In post-colonial societies culture, traditional practices and customary law inform gender attitudes. These are often quite opposed to gender equality. On the other hand, processes of modernization and urbanization play an important role to change attitudes. In South Africa the gender gap was first noticed in women's voting behaviour (see Gouws 2002), but to what extent there are other types of attitudinal gaps are unclear. This study attempts to address this gap in our knowledge about men's and women's attitudes toward culture, gender equality and women's representation in South Africa.

2. The gender gap

According to Bonk (1988: 89-90) the gender gap was coined in the USA because of what was called "Reagan's Female Problem" when different opinion polls showed less support for Ronald Reagan by women than by men. This became known as the "gender gap" in the media. Feminist scholars entered the debate and the term "gender gap" found its way into academic literature.

One of the first scholars to analyse the gender gap was Pamela Johnston Conover (1988) with an article titled "Feminists and the Gender Gap". She refers to research that has been done even before the notion of the gender gap became widely known. This research analysed electoral and partisan gaps but failed to explain why these gaps exist. She was also interested in the disparity in public opinion between men and women. The importance of her research is that it showed that men and women differ very little regarding their views of sex roles and that sex role orientation was not crucial in defining women's perspectives. But women differ in their religious fundamentalism from men. They were more fundamentalist than men. Women also showed more sympathy with the disadvantaged than men.

[1] The Afrobarometer that is conducted in 35 African countries is unique in the African context and has contributed significantly to establish infrastructure and to give insight into political attitudes on the continent.

Her most important finding was that *women* differ from each other, and the way they differ was with regard to whether they had a feminist identity or not. Feminism shaped vales and determine specific issue preferences. The biggest gaps therefore were between feminist women and non-feminist women. Feminist women and men also showed a significant gap with non-feminist women and men. What her research showed is that feminists hold distinctive political and basic value orientations and that a feminist identity help to produce those values (1988: 1000). Feminist women are more liberal, less racist, more egalitarian and sympathetic to the disadvantage.

Another important contribution of Conover's research was on a methodological level. Her thermometer to measure feminist identity that combines self-categorization and intensity in one measure, asking women where they would place themselves on a scale of 1 to 100 in terms of thinking of herself as a feminist. We also used this thermometer in an adjusted form in our study.

Other research on the gender gap focused on the attitudes of men and how shifts in men's attitudes have increased the gender gap (see eg Wirls, 1986). A study by Norrander and Wilcox in 2008 also argued that the gender gap increased because women became more liberal and men more conservative. Religion was an important explanatory variable for greater conservatism among men and women.

An important contribution as a comparative study of 61 nations on the gender gap is that of Inglehart and Norris (2003) with their book *The Rising Tide.* The 61 nations participated in the World Values Survey (WVS) between 1995 and 2001. Their comparison is on a macro level using individual level data to show the effect of support for cultural values for gender equality. The results show that attitudes toward traditional or egalitarian roles for men and women vary with economic development. What they also show is that in poorer developing societies both men and women willingly support the traditional division of sex roles in the private and public spheres, which means that women are not actively restricted or silenced but willingly reinforce patriarchal values and promote socialization into patriarchal understandings of women and men's roles in society (p42).

Their study also showed that shifts in attitudes do not occur in a vacuum but shifts from traditional to secular-traditional and from survival to self-expression values (p153). This is not a linear process - what is also needed is mobilization by women's movements, structural reforms and the implementation of women's rights, so that cultural change is a necessary but not sufficient condition for gender equality.

What these studies show is that different gender gaps have been studied and found in the global North, gaps in voting behaviour, gaps in public opinion, gaps in policy issues such as the use of force as well as gaps in attitudes toward foreign policy. We know, however, far less about gender gaps that may exist in the global South (with the exception of Inglehart and Norris) in general and in Africa in particular.

One of the few studies that look at gender gaps in Sub-Saharan Africa is that of Coffe and Bolzendahl (2011) that analyses gender gaps in political participation. They were interested in why women in democracies participate less than men. While this is well known from Western countries they were interested in whether it is the same in developing countries. They draw on literature that shows that women's political inequality are related to exclusion from leadership roles, resources for mobilization, private patriarchy and male control over women's political spaces. They focused on issues of modernization and cultural isomorphism – the idea that notions of gender equality will be transmitted to developing countries. Based on isomorphism there should therefore be little difference between men and women's participation in Sub-Saharan Africa and the West.

As they indicate socio-economic status and political attitudes have very little explanatory power in explaining political participation in Sub-Saharan Africa. Their findings showed a weak gender gap in registering to vote. Women, however, are much less likely than men to engage in collective action or contact politicians or political institutions (2011: 257). Variables that contribute to the likelihood of women's participation is effective government and the control of corruption. Contextual variables are therefore very important. The longer women had voting rights, the more likely it is that they will participate, confirming to an extent the modernization hypothesis. They suggest that political contexts should be studied further to understand the gender gap. This is what your study intends to do.

3. Methodology

Sampling

The quantitative survey was done by Citizen Surveys, a survey company in South Africa. The sample has been designed as a nationally-representative, stratified random probability sample of 1,300 South African adults aged 18 years and older in all 9 provinces.

Probability sampling in the context of a household survey refers to the means by which the elements of the target population are selected for inclusion in the survey, such as the geographic units (the enumeration areas or EAs) the dwelling units/households in an EA, and persons aged 18 years and older in the selected household. The fieldwork was completed from July to August 2018.

In terms of the racial categorization used in South Africa – 68% was Black, 14% white, 13% coloured (mixed race) and 5% Indian. 48.5% of the sample was men and 51.6% women; 20% was rural, 30% urban and 50% metro.

The data were analysed with SPSS. In this paper only descriptive analyses with be done, since there was not enough time for variable transformation as we received the final cleaned up dataset in the middle of October 2018.

Below I do a descriptive analysis of different gender gaps: in participation, gender equality, culture and women's representation. We start with showing to what extent people think of themselves as "feminists", using a revised form of the Connover feeling thermometer.

4. The gender equality thermometer

Figure 1 shows that there is a gender gap between women and men in rating themselves on the gender equality thermometer. (The question reads – "feminists are people who belief that men and women should be treated equally. Please rate yourself on this scale from 1 to 10 with 1 I do not think men and women are equal and 10 being men and women are equal). 46% men and 53% women categorize themselves at 10 on the scale while 16% men and 14% women categorize themselves at, meaning that they do not think that men and women should be equal at all. Using this definition of feminism nearly half of the sample of men and more than half of the sample of women consider themselves strong "feminists". This is, however, I would argue, only support for gender equality, not feminism per se, as an ideology that involves specific views of the world in relation the gender equality.

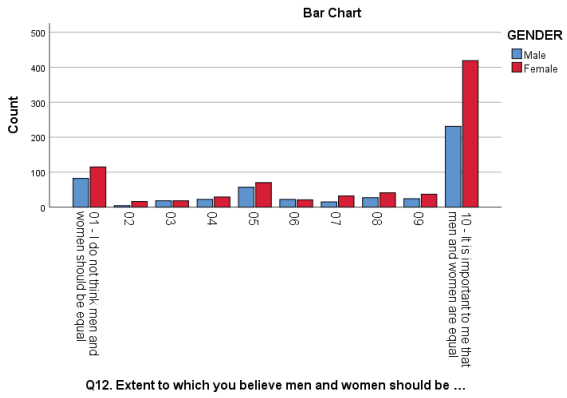


Figure 1: The extent to which you believe men and women should be equal

5. The gender gap in political participation

For measuring participation we used items that vary from non-confrontational forms of participation to violent forms. There were three response categories: "have done, might do and will never do". Below I do not report the percentages for "might do". The findings show the following:

- Signing a petition 22% men and 52% women have done, 43% men and 49% women will never do.
- Join service delivery protest 24% men and 17% women have done, 45% men and 52% women will never do.

- Attend community meeting or lekgotlas 55% men and 44% women have done, 22% men and 25% women will never do.
- Using force or violence for a political cause 10% men and 7% women have done, 82% men and 88% women will never do.
- Attending peaceful demonstration 31% men and 19% women have done, 33% men and 39% women will never do.
- Participate in land grabs 12% men and 7% women have done, 68% men and 77% women will never do.

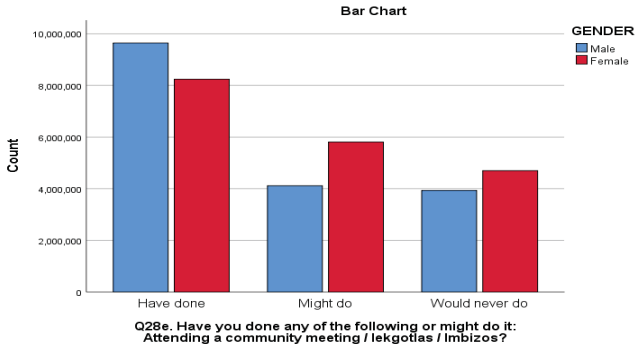


Figure 2: Shows the difference between women's and men's participation on community meetings with higher levels of participation for women having done so

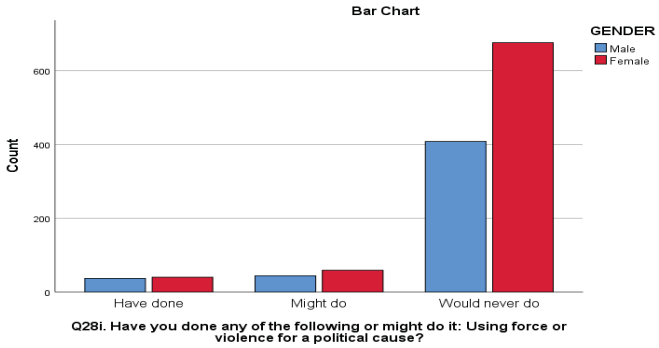


Figure 3: The limited willingness of men and women to participate in violent forms of action with women being much more reluctant

What the findings show is that there is a small gender gap in participation with the majority of men and women only getting involved in non-confrontational types of actions such as signing a petition and attending community meetings. The majority of men and women are opposed to the use of violence, or violent protests and even participating in peaceful demonstrations is not something that the majority has done. What is important is the fact that women are more conservative with regards to what they will NOT do than men and therefore also less active than men.

Yet, there is an anomaly with regard to participation by men and women in the South African context when it comes to registration to vote and if respondents vote in the last municipal election in 2016 – more women than men are registered and voted. 76% men and 78% women are registered, while 59% men and 63% women voted in the last election. This differs from the findings of Coffe and Bolzendahl for other African countries.

6. Attitudes towards gender equality

Inglehart and Norris (2003) argue that despite economic growth and legal-institutional reforms that have contributed to increasing gender equality, culture remains a formidable barrier to gender inequality. Attitudes about sex roles, division of labour in the family and paid employment, as well as in the political arena, often hamper the development of gender equality. As they argue predominant cultural values contribute to social norms, beliefs and values in society, based on levels of modernization. Religious traditions contribute to hamper gender equality (2003: 8). As they state "[W]here traditional values prevail, women are not only limited by society in terms of opportunities they seek, but also choose to limit themselves" (p9). For them cultural change is a necessary condition for gender equality. The important contribution that cultural change make is that it leads

to mass mobilization of women and broad support for public policies that will reinforce, consolidate and accelerate processes of gender equality (p9).

Their findings for the chart on p 33 (gender equality scale by nation) that South Africa is closer to the top at about 70 out of a scale of 90. But on the chart on p54 on the strength of religiosity scale South Africa is much closer to the bottom, being a at 82 out of 100. And on the chart on p82 South Africa is on the side of the scale that women are more right wing than men! Inglehart and Norris based their analyses on items in the World Value Survey (WVS). We used the same items to test perceptions toward gender equality in South Africa. For all the analyses that follow I have collapsed "strongly agree and agree" and collapsed "strongly disagree and disagree" to form one response category each.

The items in the WVS are:

- On the whole men make better political leaders than women do.
- When jobs are scarce men should have more right to a job than women.
- A university education is more important for a boy than a girl.
- Women should have children in order to be fulfilled.
- If a woman wants to have a child as a single parent, but she does not want to have a stable relationship with a man do you approve.

Findings show for "on the whole men make better political leaders than women show 47% men and 33% women agree, while 53% men disagree and 67% women disagree.

For a university education is more important for a girl than a boy 15% men and 12% women agree, while 85% men and 89% women disagree (See bar chart 4)

For being a house wife is just as fulfilling 44% men and 49% women agree, while 56% men and 51% women disagree.

For women can have a child without being in a stable relationship 39% men and 39% women agree, while 61% of each disagree.

For when jobs are scarce men have more right to work than women 41% men and 28% women agree, while 59% men and 72% women disagree. (See Figure 5).

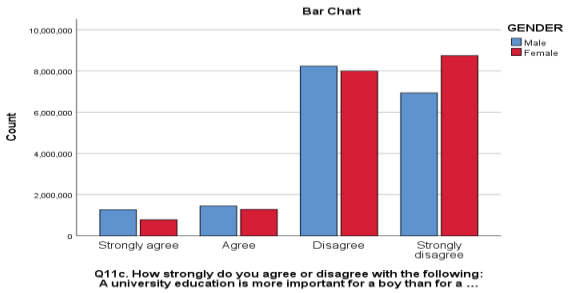


Figure 4: A university education is more important for a boy than a girl

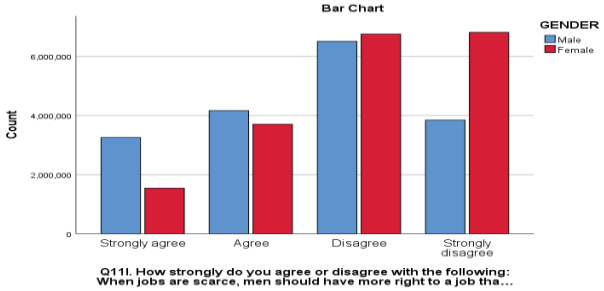


Figure 5: When jobs are scarce men should have more rights to a job than women

These WVS items have high validity and reliability since they have been tested in different country contexts. What our findings show is that the gender gap varies from 14% to 0% and that there is no consistency in how the respondents view these items. The gap is the biggest (for men make better political leaders than women and when jobs are scarce men have more rights to a job than women). For having a child but not being in a stable relationship there is no gap.

There are different ways to interpret these data. One way is to argue that women have internalised arguments about women's representation and that women can be equally good political leaders as men and that tertiary education is as important for boys and girls. Another interpretation is that women speak from experience when it comes to South Africa's high unemployment rate (27%-40% - when including those who have stopped looking for work)). It is often women who find work (as domestic workers or, in lower paid jobs in manual labour sectors) so that they do not believe that men should be preferred workers in economically difficult times. Responses could also be based on gender stereotypes – eg that men should be breadwinners.

This could also explain the lack of a gap for "having a child and not being in a stable relationship, since this is the reality in South Africa where the norm is single women headed household with children and not the nuclear family. It may also be a social acceptability response. (This item loads well on a factor analysis, so it is not an outlier). While there is a gender gap, what is important, however, is that the majority of women and men (more than 50%) disagree that men make better political leaders, the university education is more important for boys, that when work is scarce men have more right to a job and that being a housewife can just be as fulfilling (more women agree in this case). What we need to investigate here is the reasons for this finding – is it a true belief in gender equality and the internalization of gender equality discourses in South Africa, or socio-economic development as Ingelhart and Norris would argue.

While these items have been used by WVS as well as by Inglehart and Norris (2003) they reflect a Western view of gender equality. We wanted to investigate what attitudes look like when a different operationalization of gender equality is used for a more traditional society, where people have hybrid understandings of culture (and the development of culture from more static views under colonialism to changing cultures in post-colonial societies). South Africa is one such a society. Below is a conceptualization of more traditional views of culture. This tension between multiculturalism and women's rights, for example, are often used a measure of a culture's development, overlooking the great variations among cultures and their struggles with patriarchal and religious oppression. It also often overlooks women's agency.

7. Attitudes towards culture – a different operationalization

Gender inequality is often attributed to cultural perceptions about women's roles in the household and also to their reproductive capacities. In the global North conflict around multiculturalism manifested around the incorporation of minority cultures (See Moller Okin, 1999). Very often references to "harmful cultural practices" lead to greater scrutiny of these cultures than the cultures of majorities. In the global South and specifically South Africa majority cultures are often referred to as clashing with liberal values, especially the autonomy of individuals (see Mamdani (2000). Liberalism is viewed as universal, while indigenous cultures are often portrayed as intolerant, and often violent toward individuals that may differ in their interpretation of culture (see Gouws and Stasiulis, 2014: 1-13). We wanted to understand to what extent cultural perceptions influence the attitudes of men and women who often have hybrid identities (living under civil law and customary (traditional) law in South Africa.

We used the following questions to test for adherence to African cultural traditions and customs. We used a 5 point Likert scale (agree/disagree).

- Men should listen and obey when traditional leaders speak (traditional leaders govern under customary law and primogeniture is male).
- Women should listen and obey when traditional leaders speak
- Traditional leaders play and important role in society
- Women should have their virginity tested if it is part of their culture
- In your culture a woman should listen to her husband
- Women should take their husbands' last name when they get married

- The values and traditions of your community are more important than your individual rights.

There was a battery of 17 questions on culture in the questionnaire, but these 8 items were extracted by factor analysis loading on one factor.

Cross tabiulations show a small gender gap between men and women when it comes to these cultural issues. For the analysis we collapsed strongly agree and agree into one response category and strongly disagree and disagree into one response category. We excluded refusals and don't knows. These percentages were small.

For the first item – men should obey traditional leaders 81% men and 76% women agree, while 19% men and 24% women disagree.

For women should obey traditional leaders 85% men and 71% women agree, while 15% men and 29% women disagree. What is interesting is that there is a bigger gender gap for "women should obey traditional leaders" (with women disagreeing) than for "men should obey traditional leaders". These attitudes may be a consequence of traditional leadership not being representative of women's needs, as well as women not being able to become traditional leaders (even though a few now have become traditional leaders after the South African Constitutional Court ruled that they are the rightful heirs of those positions).

For women having to test their virginity if it is part of their culture 68% men and 61% women agree, while 32% men and 38% women disagree.

For traditional leaders play and important role in society 75% men and 68% women agree, while 25% men and 32% women disagree.

For in your culture a woman should listen to her husband 85% men and 82% women agree, while 14% men and 18% women disagree.

For women should take their husbands' last name 85% men and 78% women agree, while 15% men and 22% women disagree.

For the statement that values and traditions of your community are more important than individual rights 49% men and 42% women agree, while 51% men and 58% women disagree.

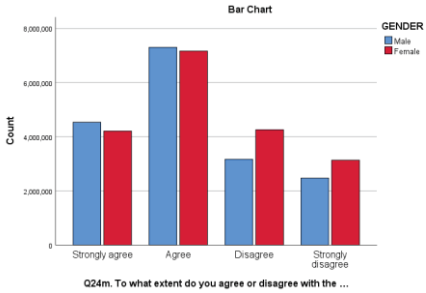


Figure 6: Q24m

To what extent do you agree or disagree that women should have their virginity tested if it is part of their culture

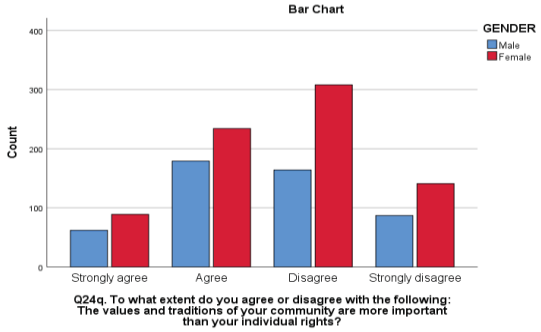


Figure 7: That values and traditions of your community are more important than your individual rights

This descriptive analysis shows that a high majority of men and women believe that culture is important and that traditional authorities are important and should be obeyed. For all the items the gender gap is about 5% to 6% with the only item where more women and men disagreed is "that values and traditions of your community are more important than your individual rights (51% men and 58% women disagreed). This is interesting because there is an inherent tension between group rights and individual rights expressed here. For the other items the percentages of support is much higher – in some cases over 80%.

There is also a paradox of support for individual rights while adhering to cultural practices that may undermine individual rights such as virginity testing and obeying husbands.

8. Attitudes towards women's representation in government

Women's representation in government often an indicator of the acceptance of women's leadership and political participation that will lead to gender equality. The results of descriptive analysis (cross tabulations) show the following:

- For there should be more women in politics 58% men and 63% women agree, while, 42% men and 37% women disagree. (Figure 8)
- For a quota gives women an unfair advantage over men to get into parliament 58% men and 63% women agree, while 42% men and 37% women disagree.
- For when women get into political positions men lose out 44% men and 45% women agree, while 56% men and 55% women disagree. (Figure 9).
- For half of political parties' candidates should be women 64% men and 77% women agree, while 36% men and 23% women disagree.
- For South Africa is ready for a women president there is a significant gap with men 51% men and 72% women agreeing, while 49% men and only 28% women disagree (Figure 10).

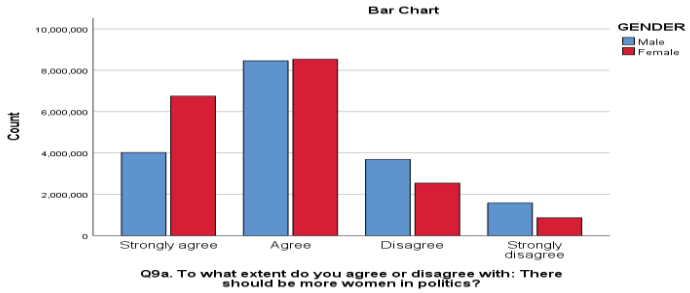


Figure 8: There should be more women in politics

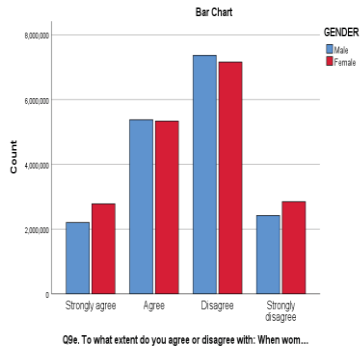


Figure 9: When women enter politics men loose out

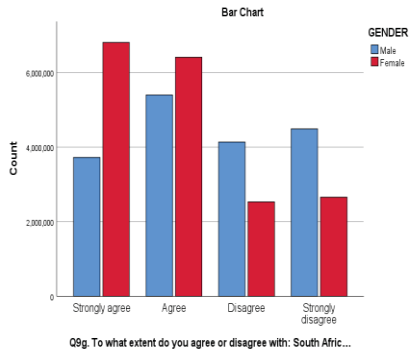


Figure 10: South Africa is ready for a woman president

The gender gap is the biggest for South Africa is ready for a woman president,(the gap is a whopping 20%), followed by there should be more women in politics. The gap is 11%. For "50% of the candidates of political parties should be women" the gap is 9%. For the other two items it is 3% and 1%. The importance of this finding is that it shows that thinking about women's representation in the abstract (having more women in politics, or 50% women) elicit high support from men and women, even though higher for women, but when respondents

have to think about women's representation in relation to men (quotas are unfair and men loose out) there is virtually no gender gap.

9. Discussion

The analysis of the data on gender equality as operationalized by the World Value Survey show contradictory findings for different items. This needs further investigation through analytical statistics. It also raises the question of how fitting the WVS operationalization is for developing countries that do not necessarily have liberal political cultures. The gender equality operationalization assumes a stark division between the public and the private sphere. It seems that respondents do also assume this division, because their responses to questions related to the public sphere (men make better political leaders than women etc) differ from responses to questions dealing with the private sphere (being in a stable relationship and having children, and being fulfilled as a housewife). One needs to ask the question what "being a housewife" means in countries with very high levels of poverty where many women are forced to work or many cannot find work and are forced to be "housewives".

The descriptive analysis of the data of the gender, culture and politics shows that for all variables analysed there is a gender gap that may vary from 5% to 14%. With regards to women's greater representation in government women want more women in government, while men are opposed. However, when questions force respondents to think about women in relation to men women lean more toward fairness and that men should not lose out.

With regard to gender and culture as operationalized by this study women are more conservative and support obedience to traditional authorities and cultural practices that may undermine women's individual rights. It confirms the findings of Inglehart and Norris (2003), that women are not oppressed or silenced, rather they support gender stereotypes or silence themselves.

There is no significant gender gap between women's and men's political participation, but women seem to participate less. This finding supports the findings of Coffe and Bolzendahl for other African countries. Participation in voting, however, does not conform to existing findings, with more women being registered to vote and more women having voted in the last election.

For this paper it was not possible to do analytical analysis but this will be the next stage of analysis that will test certain hypotheses.

Hypotheses that need to be tested are:

- Religiosity contributes to conservative attitudes toward gender equality
- Living in rural areas under customary law contribute to conservative attitudes toward gender equality
- Higher levels of education contribute to more progressive attitudes toward gender equality
- Urbanization contribute to more progressive attitudes toward gender equality
- There is a relationship between thinking of yourself as a feminist and gender equality

Independent variables of race, class, religion and other markers of identity need to be used to determine how these variables influence attitudes toward gender equality.

10. Conclusion

This is the initial stage of data analysis and only show the findings of descriptive analysis. In the next stage indices will be developed to use for analytical statistics (such as correlations and regression analysis). What the data show is a gender gap on all the variables used in this analysis. Some are small and other are bigger, indicating that South African men and women have different attitudes on issues of culture, gender equality and representation.

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Gender Equality and Firm Financial Performance: The Case of Central and Eastern Europe Financial and IT&C Sectors

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Abstract: Today, there is a growing interest on the influence of gender equality on firm performance. This paper examines if the gender equality is influencing the firm performance, comparing two dynamic sectors, Information and Communications Technology (IT&C) and Financial, in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) countries. This study aims to fill a gap existing in the international debate about the development of comparable studies in European Countries. In order to examine the implications of gender equality on financial performance we have used a balanced panel VAR where we have analysed the dynamics of gender equality in CEE countries and its impact on IT&C and financial companies' performance. Understanding the impact of gender inequality in firm performance IT&C and finance sector in EU countries, this study may help management to accelerate the longer term investment in Human Resources offering countries interesting opportunities to enhance cultural systems, improve economic policies and widen the opportunities for States business.

Keywords: gender equality, turnover, performance, IT&C sector, finance sector

1. Introduction

During the last years, several academic studies, within different disciplines (economics, sociology, statistics), have focused their researches on the link between gender diversity and firm performance, affirming that this relations is affected by different forces within Countries, where organizations operate (Durand and Jourdan, 2012). As nations became more open and integrated into the world society, they face increasing pressures and adopting aligned gender equality policies and practices. As a consequence, sectors that are subject to state influence often become more equitable as a result, while high inequality endures in others (Meyer, 2010).

It is evident, therefore, that the influence of these forces may vary across sectors and countries. To help organizations in understanding the opportunities offered by gender equality, it is necessary to study if gender equality can influence companies' performance, observing the phenomenon in specific countries and sectors. Despite this, little empirical researches have been conducted about specific sectors and contexts.

The aim of this paper is to investigate if both larger shares of women in senior management positions and also reducing the pay gap will have a positive impact on the financial performance of companies. The financial performance was designed as the turnover index for Information and Communications Technology (*IT&C*) and financial services sectors in Central and Eastern European (*CEE*) countries, while gender equality was devised as the share of women in senior management and the pay gap in salaries between man and women. Also, it has been taken into consideration the share of women in total employees for the two sectors.

For this reason, this paper treats gender equality logics as pervasively evident features of a territory - Central and Eastern European (Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia – according to European Union definition), countries compared to the rest of the European Union (EU)-, taking into consideration that the CEE economies have more significant deficits in terms of workforce, due to the migration of skilled employees to the western economies in search of better-paying jobs.

This paper is focused, specifically, on aspects that shape gender equality practices within two specific sectors, IT&C and Finance. We exploit the multifaceted nature of these sectors in which the presence of women has had consistent growth during the last years. For this reason, we are interested mainly for gender diversity studies (Weber and Adnan, 2014, Pedrini, 2018), to observe if there is a relationship among gender equality and a firm's performance in the Finance sector and IT&C sector and its effects for Finance and IT&C market in Europe (H1).

We elaborate our empirical analysis by studying European Countries in general and CEE, in particular, nine developing countries and from 2008 to 2016, examining if the mentioned relationship is similar in all European Countries or if there is a difference between Central and Eastern European countries (H2).

In order to respond to these research challenges in the first part of the study it has been used a balanced panel VAR model, for EU 28 member states, starting the year 2008 until 2016 while, in the second part, it has been utilized the same model, but only for Central and Eastern Europe. In this way, it has been possible to observe the main differences between the specificities of the labor market in Central and Eastern Europe and the rest of Europe considering the challenges, in terms of labour market faced by the CEE economies, regarding workforce deficits and high migration rates of skilled employees.

2. Current state of knowledge

This literature review explores studies on connections between diversity and gender equality and corporate financial performance in specific countries and sectors.

On these topics there are few and contradictory researches. Some authors affirm that diversity increase value and business prosperity. In particular, Wiley and Monllor-Tormos (2018) conduct a study that links board diversity to firm performance, using companies in the Science, Technology, Engineering, Mathematics, and Finance (STEM&F) sectors, in the time interval 2007-2013, revealing that corporate performance increases when "there is at least a critical mass of 30% of women on a corporate board". Badal and Harter (2014) examine the relationship between gender diversity, financial performance and employee engagement within 800 business units from two companies being part of different industries. From the study emerges that employee engagement and gender diversity independently influence financial performance and that diversity in organisations may bring financial benefits.

Campbell and Mí nguez-Vera (2007) investigate the link between the board gender diversity and firm performance in Spanish companies, where a specific legislation on female participation in management position was introduced. The authors find out that gender diversity on boards has a positive effect on firm value. The same conclusion comes out from the study conducted by Dezsö and Gaddis Ross (2012): they tested 1.500 firms for 15 years and they discovered that women on top presence improve firm performance on companies focused on innovation. In addition, based on a sample of 125 non-financial firms listed on the Madrid Stock Exchange in the time interval 2005-2009, Reguera-Alvarado, Pilar de Fuentes and Laffarga (2017) showed that the number of women on boards has increased by 98% and they found out that the increase in the number of women on the boards is positively related to higher economic results.

Smith, Smith and Verner (2006) study 2500 Danish firms, for the period 1993-2001 to investigate the relationship between the proportion of women in top management positions and corporate performance and show that the positive effects female managers have on corporate performance depend on their qualifications. Also, the authors Ruiz-Jiménez and Fuentes-Fuentes, (2015) analyse for 205 Spanish SMEs the influence of management qualifications on the innovation performance. Their results confirm that management qualifications positively affect innovation, also doubled by gender diversity in the top management.

However, other studies showed that homogeneity among groups generates better communication, better cohesion, accumulates productivity and avoids conflicts (Böhren and Ström, 2005; Jimeno and Redondo, 2007; Rose, 2007; Campbell and Mínguez-Vera, 2008; Alvarez et al., 2009). Contradictory results converse out of Adusei, Yaw Akomea & Poku`s study (2017), that investigate management gender diversity in the time interval 2010–2014, for 494 microfinance institutions (MFI) across 76 countries. The authors demonstrate that "board gender diversity positively predicts management gender diversity". On the other side, they find out that board gender diversity is negatively and significantly related to financial performance, while management gender diversity is negatively but insignificantly related to financial performance. The study, conducted by Ionascu et al. (2018), highlights that diversity has no significant impact on firm-performance, by examining the connection between gender diversity on corporate boards and firm performance for a sample of Romanian companies listed on Bucharest Stock Exchange during 2012–2016. The authors Marinova, Plantenga & Remery (2016) bring evidence from the Netherlands and Denmark, examining the effect of board gender diversity on firm performance. Their study shows that there is no relationship between gender diversity and corporate performance.

3. Research methodology

Our study aims to observe if larger shares of women in senior management positions and also reducing the pay gap may have a positive impact on the financial performance of companies.

Our methodology is based on the VAR model, a versatile research methodology already used for researches on this topic (Campbell and Minguez-Vera, 2007; Dezso, Ross, 2012; Reguera-Alvarado, de Fuentes, Laffarga, 2015, Shao, Zhang, Yu, 2016, Saha, Ciarli, 2018), in which the relationship between variables being mutual, influencing each other intertemporally.

In the first part of the study, it has been used a balanced panel, for EU 28 member states, starting the year 2008 until 2016. While, in the second part, it has been used the same model, but only for Central and Eastern Europe to observe the main differences between the specificities of the labour market. Then, following the impulse response function, we have compared the results. We have used the UN definition that defines CEE countries as Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia.

In order to prove our hypotheses, it has been used the "index of turnover" in the IT&C sector and also "index of turnover" in the financial sector, addressing the issue from a macro point of view for the whole sector. In this way, we have used the same variable for every country minimizing their particularities within a panel VAR.

For gender equality, the variables used were the "share of women" in senior management and the "pay gap" in salaries between man and women according to Eurostat methodology as % of average gross hourly earnings of men. Also, it has been taken into consideration the share of women in total employees for the two sectors that are constantly changing their composition.

In other words, the following variables have been used: "turnover index" for IT&C and financial companies, the "gender pay gap" and the structure of employees as a percentage between men and women.

The data set was available on the Eurostat data, and it covers yearly the years from 2008 to 2016. The data set is comprised of yearly data, for each EU 28 country, thus having 252 observations per variables. Although the data set is quite small, being considered a research limit, we believe it is enough for testing our hypotheses.

Therefore, in order to improve the reliability of the results the VAR was done as a panel, having more than 250 observations per variables (for CEE countries not being available earlier data).

4. Case study: The impact of gender equality In It&C and financial sectors in EU 28

The first part of the model in order to observe hypothesis, based on a panel VAR of 28 cross sections from 2008 up to 2016, is the following:

$$Index\ ITC_{1,t} = \alpha_2 + \Delta\sum_{j=1}^{j}\beta_{1,j}\,ITC_{1,t-j} + \Delta\sum_{j=1}^{j}\delta_{1,j}\,SERV_{1,t-j} + \Delta\sum_{k=1}^{k}\varepsilon_{1,j}\,management_{1,t-j} + \Delta\sum_{k=1}^{k}\epsilon_{1,j}\,paygap_{1,t-j} + \Delta\sum_{k=1}^{k}\theta_{1,j}\,women_{1,t-j} + u1_t$$

$$Index\ SERV_{1,t} = \alpha_2 + \Delta\sum_{j=1}^{j}\beta_{1,j}\,SERV_{1,t-j} + \Delta\sum_{j=1}^{j}\delta_{1,j}\,ITC_{1,t-j} + \Delta\sum_{k=1}^{k}\varepsilon_{1,j}\,management_{1,t-j} + \Delta\sum_{k=1}^{k}\epsilon_{1,j}\,paygap_{1,t-j} + \Delta\sum_{k=1}^{k}\theta_{1,j}\,women_{1,t-j} + u1_t$$

$$Index\ management_{1,t} = \alpha_2 + \Delta\sum_{k=1}^{k}\varepsilon_{1,j}\,management_{1,t-j} + \Delta\sum_{j=1}^{j}\beta_{1,j}\,ITC_{1,t-j} + \Delta\sum_{j=1}^{j}\delta_{1,j}\,SERV_{1,t-j} + \Delta\sum_{k=1}^{k}\epsilon_{1,j}\,paygap_{1,t-j} + \Delta\sum_{k=1}^{k}\theta_{1,j}\,women_{1,t-j} + u1_t$$

$$Index\ paygap_{1,t} = \alpha_2 + \Delta\sum_{k=1}^{k}\epsilon_{1,j}\,paygap_{1,t-j} + \Delta\sum_{k=1}^{k}\varepsilon_{1,j}\,management_{1,t-j} + \Delta\sum_{j=1}^{j}\beta_{1,j}\,ITC_{1,t-j} + \Delta\sum_{j=1}^{j}\delta_{1,j}\,SERV_{1,t-j} + \Delta\sum_{k=1}^{k}\theta_{1,j}\,women_{1,t-j} + u1_t$$

$$Index\ women_{1,t} = \alpha_2 + \Delta\sum_{k=1}^{k}\theta_{1,j}\,women_{1,t-j} + \Delta\sum_{k=1}^{k}\epsilon_{1,j}\,paygap_{1,t-j} + \Delta\sum_{k=1}^{k}\varepsilon_{1,j}\,management_{1,t-j} + \Delta\sum_{j=1}^{j}\beta_{1,j}\,ITC_{1,t-j} + \Delta\sum_{j=1}^{j}\delta_{1,j}\,SERV_{1,t-j} + u1_t$$

Legend:
Index IT&C – index of turnover in the IT&C sector
Index Serv – index of turnover in the financial sector
Index Management – share of women in senior management

Index Pay-gap – pay gap in salaries between man and women
Index Women – share of women in total employees

After we have estimated the VAR, we have tested whether our model is satisfying all the necessary VAR tests. Thus, the VAR satisfies the stability condition as shown in Appendix no. 1. Therefore, we have ensured the essential condition for VAR stability. From this point on, it is possible to continue the first part of the study. Also, our model is complying with the VAR methodology testing, as can be observed from Appendix 2, 3 and 4.

According to Appendix no. 2, the number of lags is chosen as 1. Thus, a change with a unit of the independent variable will affect the dependent variable within one year. We believe this lag is correct, as the influences of the changes can be observed for the following year financial statements.

The analysis intends to verify these hypotheses:

> *H1.1: larger shares of women in senior management positions have a positive impact on the financial performance of companies in EU.*
>
> *H1.2: reducing the pay gap will have a positive impact on the financial performance of companies in EU.*
>
> *H1.3: larger shares of women in total employees have a positive impact on the financial performance of companies in EU.*

Following the verification of VAR stability conditions and the tests ensuring data accuracy, we performed the impulse functions to observe the impact of the of the gender equality indicators and observe their impact on financial performance of the companies in IT&C and financial services sector.

In this manner, we have focused on the impact share of women's share in senior management, on pay gap's impact, and last but not least on women's share in total employees.

4.1 Impact of a share of women in senior management (H1.1)

After estimating the impulse response functions, it has been possible to observe that the share of women in senior management in the EU 28 member states has a negative impact on turnover in the IT&C sector, but positive in the financial services sectors.

These influences are persistent and long-lasting for the entire period of observation.

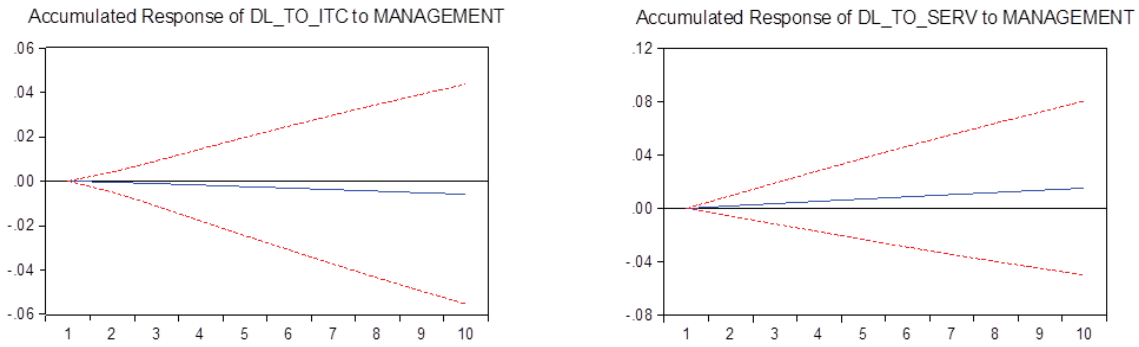


Figure 1: The impact of women share in management on financial performance

Although these responses seem divergent and contradictive, we must keep in mind the differences in the shares of women for these sectors. While the IT&C sector seems somewhat male predominant (Devi & Rani, 2016), the financial services sector do not have this preconception, instead of being more balanced. Thus, it is possible to affirm that a balanced sector, regarding management composition, is likely to have a positive impact on turnover.

4.2 Impact of pay gap on financial performance (H1.2)

In figure no. 2 we can see that in both sectors reducing the pay-gap will have a positive impact on financial performance. We can see that the impact of the gender pay gap is higher in the IT&C sector than the services sector, where the wages are closer between male and women employee (Denk, 2015).

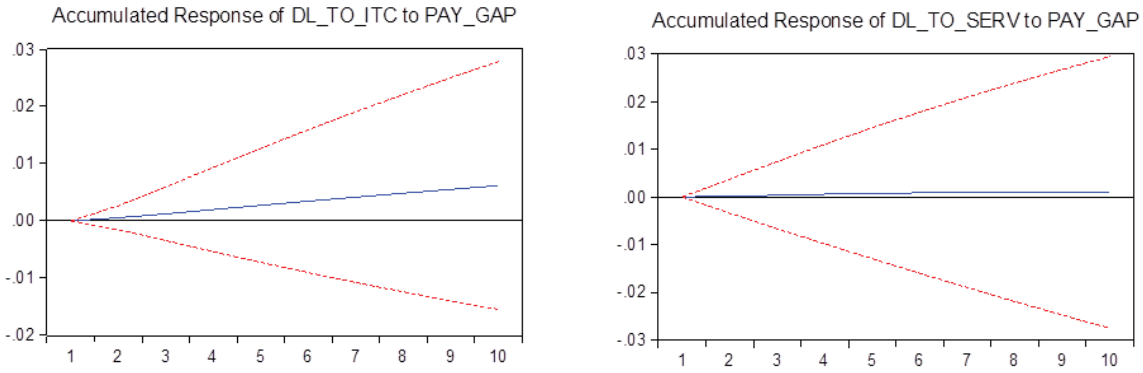


Figure 2: The impact of reducing pay-gap on financial performance

These impacts are long lasting and persisting. Thus, we can state that the composition of pay-gap is not a modification that will be absorbed, but slightly changing the performances in the long run.

4.3 Impact of women share in total employees (H1.3)

In figure no. 3, we can see that, again, the impact of women's share in total employees has a different impact on performance in the IT sector and the financial services sector. Although this may seem like a contradiction, in the IT&C sector, women shares are lower, while in the services sectors the proportion of men and women is better balanced (Lipowiecka and Kiriti-Nganga, 2016).

Therefore, an increase in the IT&C sectors in women share could be a necessity, while in the services sectors, an increase in women share will unbalance equilibrium of gender equality and therefore it could have a negative impact on performance. So**, it is possible to state that the performance is enhanced when the company is tending toward equilibrium and achieves it.**

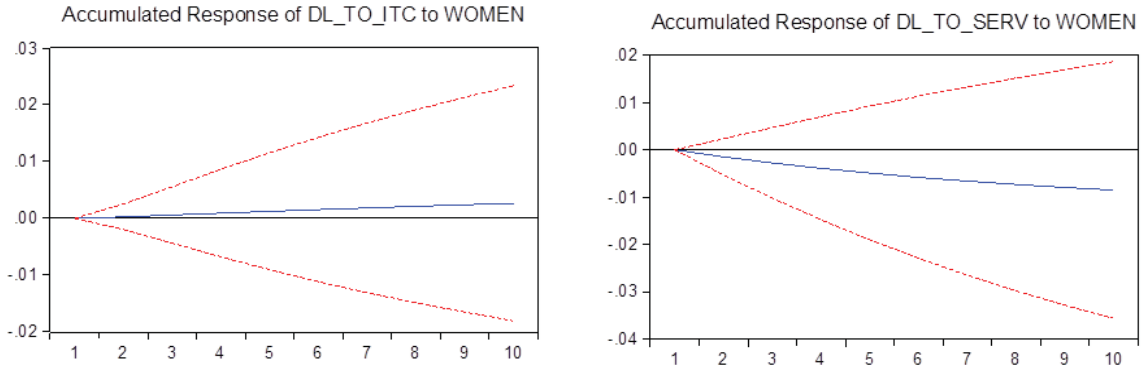


Figure 3: The impact of women share in total employees

Consequently, based on the results in figures no. 1-3, the best-case scenario is an equilibrium on men and women within the sectors. **An unbalanced situation is likely to have a negative impact on financial performance.**

5. Case study: The impact of gender equality in the IT&C and financial sectors in Central and Eastern Europe member states (H2)

After estimating the same model but for only nine cross sections for the countries and Central and Eastern Europe, we have managed to obtain a reliable VAR Model as we can see in Appendix no. 5 - 8.

As we can notice in Appendix no. 6, the number of lags is chosen as 1. Thus, a change with a unit of the independent variable will affect the dependent variable within one year. We observe that there are no influences on the lag, compared to the rest of EU. Thus, a modification in our variables is likely to produce effects after one year, according to the yearly financial statements.

The analysis intends to verify these hypotheses:

> *H2.1: larger shares of women in senior management positions has a positive impact on the financial performance of companies in CEE.*
>
> *H2.2: reducing the pay gap will have a positive impact on the financial performance of companies in CEE.*
>
> *H2.3: larger shares of women in total employees have a positive impact on the financial performance of companies in CEE.*

As our VAR is respecting the necessary tests, as seen in Appendix 5 - 8, we can continue our research with the impulse response functions focusing on the same responses as in our previous study.

5.1 Impact of a share of women in senior management in Central and Eastern Europe member states (H2.1)

As we can see in figure no. 4, the impact of the share of women in senior management positions has the same impact as in the EU 28 member states. However, the intensity of the impact is different. We can explain this difference between EU 28 member states and CEE member states by the larger share of women in EU 28 as opposed to CEE member states as we can merely observe from Eurostat data. Thus, our observation remains, as a balanced sector, regarding management composition, is likely to have a positive impact on turnover.

In this regard, we can say that by increasing the share of women in senior management positions from CEE member states, closer to the share of EU 28 member states, will have positive and long-lasting effects in the financial services sector.

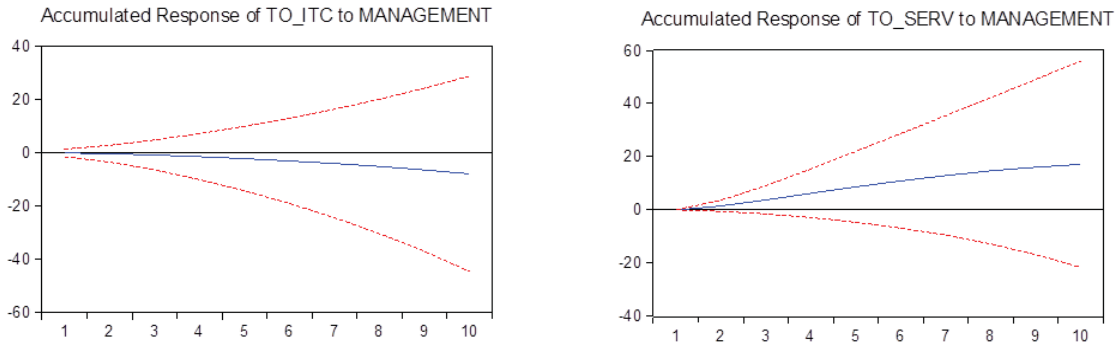


Figure 4: The impact of the share of women in senior management positions

However, for the IT&C sector, the observations remain the same as for the UE 28 member states, an observation that we think is due to the specificities of the IT&C sector.

5.2 Impact of pay gap on financial performance in Central and Eastern Europe member states (H2.2)

As we can observe from figure no. 5, the impulse response function tells us that the impact of reducing the pay gap on turnover is positive and lost lasting. Although the results are similar to the EU 28 member states, the intensity is much higher, which in our opinion is explained by the larger pay gap that exists in Central and Eastern Europe labor market. Therefore, in caeteris paribus conditions, **the impact is going to be stronger as the amplitude of the pay gap is more significant**. As it was highlighted in the previous study, the labor market is searching for equilibrium, and as far from the balance point it is, the higher the impact will be.

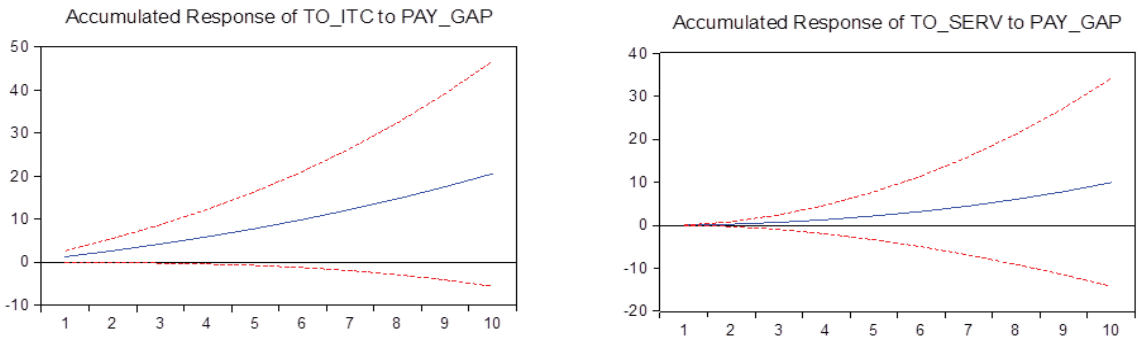


Figure 5: The impact of reducing pay-gap on financial performance

Therefore, based on the impulse response function's results we conclude that, in CEE countries, reducing the pay gap in both sectors will have a positive and long-lasting effect on financial performance.

5.3 The Impact of women share in total employees in Central and Eastern Europe member states (H2.3)

As it is possible to observe from figure no. 6 the increasing of the women share in total employees is going to have a positive and long-lasting effect on financial performance. However, the more substantial impact compared to the EU 28 member states is likely due to the lower share of women on the labor market.

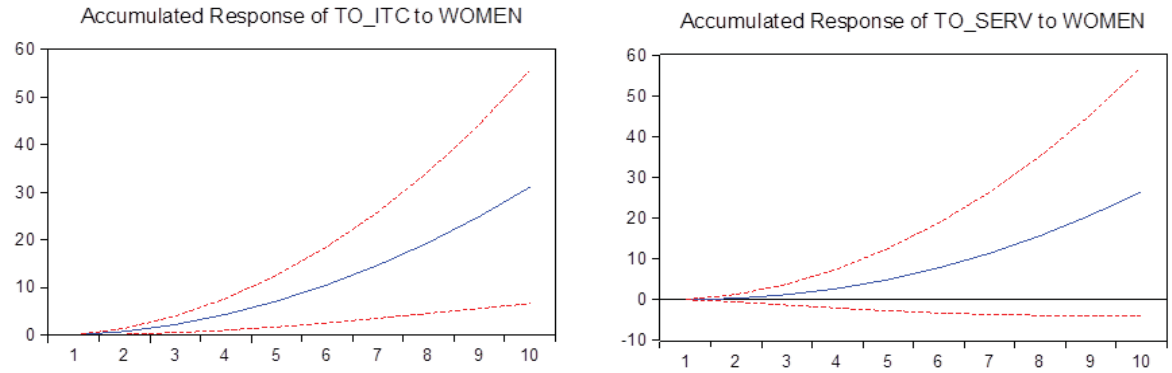


Figure 6: The impact of women share in total employees

Therefore, we can say that the lower the share of women in the labor market in these sectors, the higher the impact will be when the share of women will increase. Moreover, the impact will diminish, as the labor market will be in equilibrium. Therefore, in addition to the first case study, it emerges that a**n unbalance situation could have a negative impact on financial performance.**

6. Results

The VAR model results show that the number of women both in Finance and in the IT&C sector is associated with firm performance, pointing out that the level of gender equity affects firms' performance in both geographical areas.

As it can see in Table no. 1 the results seem similar for both EU 28 and also for CEE member states. However, the intensity for CEE member states is more considerable. This could be explained by the larger pay gap that exists in Central and Eastern Europe labor market. Therefore, in *caeteris paribus* conditions, the impact is going to be stronger as the amplitude of the pay gap is more extensive.

Thus, in our opinion, the CEE member states labor markets and the companies themselves will try to achieve a balanced composition regarding gender for their senior management employees in order to obtain better financial results.

Table 1: Results for EU 28 member states and CEE member states

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2">EUROPEAN UNION 28</th><th colspan="2">CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN MEMBER STATES</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Impact of a share of women in senior management</td></tr>
<tr><td>FINANCIAL SECTOR</td><td>IT&C SECTOR</td><td>FINANCIAL SECTOR</td><td>IT&C SECTOR</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Senior management in the EU 28 member states has a positive impact on turnover in the Financial services sectors.</td><td rowspan="2">Senior management in the EU 28 member states has a small negative impact on turnover in the IT&C sector</td><td>Senior management positions have the same positive impact as in the EU 28 member states with a larger intensity.</td><td>The impact is negative, and the intensity of the impact is larger.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">We can explain this difference between EU 28 member states and CEE member states by the larger share of women in EU 28 as opposed to CEE member states.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Impact of pay gap on financial performance</td></tr>
<tr><td>FINANCIAL SECTOR</td><td>IT&C SECTOR</td><td>FINANCIAL SECTOR</td><td>IT&C SECTOR</td></tr>
<tr><td>Reducing the pay-gap will have a positive impact on financial performance with a very small intensity.</td><td>Reducing the pay-gap will have a positive impact on financial performance. The intensity is larger than in the case of the financial sector.</td><td>Reducing the pay gap on turnover is positive and lost lasting with a tendency to increase as time goes by.</td><td>Although the results are similar to the EU 28 member states, the intensity is much larger, which in our opinion is explained by the larger pay gap that exists in Central and Eastern Europe labor market</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Impact of women share in total employees</td></tr>
<tr><td>FINANCIAL SECTOR</td><td>IT&C SECTOR</td><td>FINANCIAL SECTOR</td><td>IT&C SECTOR</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">The impact of women's share in total employees has a negative impact on performance in the financial services sector with a growing intensity.</td><td rowspan="2">The impact of women's share in total employees has a positive impact on performance in the IT&C sector with a small intensity that is on an upward trend.</td><td>Increasing of the women share in total employees is having a positive in the financial sector and a long-lasting effect on financial performance in CEE member states.
The intensity is very large and increasing very fast over time.</td><td>Increasing of the women share in total employees is having a positive in the IT&C sector and a long-lasting effect on financial performance in CEE member states.
The intensity is considerable and increasing very fast over time.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">We consider that the larger impact compared to the EU 28 member states is likely due to the lower share of women on the labor market.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">We can state that the higher the difference in gender variables is, the higher the impact will be. Also, we affirm that the impact will diminish, as the labor market will be in equilibrium. In caeteris paribus conditions, an unbalance situation regarding gender will have a negative impact on financial performance.</td></tr>
</table>

7. Conclusions

Our paper is a contribution to an insufficient literature regarding gender equality and firm in the IT and financial sectors in Central and Eastern European countries, compared to the 28 EU countries situations. Or results are presenting that the best case/scenario in EU28 is an equilibrium on men and women within the sectors, thus, in caeteris pribus conditions; an unbalanced situation could have a negative impact on financial performance. In addition, by increasing the share of women in senior management positions from CEE member states closer to the share of EU 28 member states will have positive and long lasting effects in the services sector. In CEE countries, reducing the pay gap in both sectors will have a positive and long lasting effect on financial performance. Therefore, the lower the share of women in the labour market of these sectors, the higher the impact when the share of women will increase. Moreover, the impact will diminish, as the labour market will tend to be in equilibrium. The study's results suggest that the analysing gender equality in IT&C and Finance sectors both in EU and in CEE could be a prominent field of study. It has limitations related to the analysis sample and to the financial performance because it is only a quantitative index. However, there always will be the post hoc ergo propter hoc trap, and in order to clarify the issue, we believe is worth investigating further.

Appendix 1: VAR stability condition

Roots of Characteristic Polynomial	
Root	Modulus
0.972866	0.972866
0.945562 - 0.034421i	0.946188
0.945562 + 0.034421i	0.946188
0.312900	0.312900
-0.030505	0.030505
No root lies outside the unit circle.	
VAR satisfies the stability condition.	

As we can see in Appendix 1, the VAR satisfies the stability condition, therefore we can proceed with our testing.

Appendix 2: VAR Lag order selection

VAR Lag Order Selection Criteria						
Endogenous variables: DL_TO_ITC DL_TO_SERV PAY_GAP MANAGEMENT WOMEN						
Lag	LogL	LR	FPE	AIC	SC	HQ
0	-276.7932	NA	0.000105	5.032022	5.153384	5.081262
1	**230.8608**	**960.9166***	**1.91e-08***	**-3.586800***	**-2.858631***	**-3.291359***
2	248.6342	32.05568	2.17e-08	-3.457754	-2.122777	-2.916112
3	265.0747	28.18356	2.55e-08	-3.304904	-1.363120	-2.517061
4	282.1349	27.72282	2.98e-08	-3.163122	-0.614530	-2.129077
* indicates lag order selected by the criterion						
LR: sequential modified LR test statistic (each test at 5% level)						
FPE: Final prediction error						
AIC: Akaike information criterion						
SC: Schwarz information criterion						
HQ: Hannan-Quinn information criterion						

According to Appendix no. 2, the number of lags is chosen as 1.

Appendix 3: Autocorrelation LM test

VAR Residual Serial Correlation LM Tests		
Lags	LM-Stat	Prob
1	50.18992	0.0020
Probs from chi-square with 25 df.		

The VAR satisfies ***the autocorrelation condition***, as shown in Appendix no. 3. This condition is respected by using the LM autocorrelation test, being an essential condition in validating the VAR methodology.

Appendix 4: VAR Residual Heteroskedasticity test

VAR Residual Heteroskedasticity Tests: No Cross Terms			
Joint test:			
Chi-sq	df	Prob.	
219.3606	150	0.0002	

Also, one can see in Appendix no. 4 that the VAR model is respecting the Heteroskedasticity conditions and therefore we can proceed forward with our impulse response functions.

CEE MEMBER STATE PANEL VAR TESTING

Appendix 5: VAR stability condition

Roots of Characteristic Polynomial	
Root	Modulus
0.873	0.873
0.849 - 0.031i	0.849
0.849 + 0.031i	0.849
0.325	0.325
-0.031	0.031
No root lies outside the unit circle.	
VAR satisfies the stability condition.	

As we can see in Appendix 5, the VAR satisfies the stability condition, therefore we can proceed with our testing.

Appendix 6: VAR Lag order selection

VAR Lag Order Selection Criteria						
Endogenous variables: TO_SERV MANAGEMENT PAY_GAP TO_ITC WOMEN						
Lag	LogL	LR	FPE	AIC	SC	HQ
0	-544.9509	NA	28365.12	24.44226	24.64300	24.51710
1	**-286.7888**	**447.4810**	**0.903125***	**14.07950**	**15.28395***	**14.52851***
2	-261.3538	38.43524*	0.924311	14.06017	16.26831	14.88334
3	-238.5899	29.34007	1.141680	14.15955	17.37140	15.35689
4	-203.8002	37.10906	0.929047	13.72445*	17.94000	15.29596
* indicates lag order selected by the criterion						
LR: sequential modified LR test statistic (each test at 5% level)						
FPE: Final prediction error						
AIC: Akaike information criterion						
SC: Schwarz information criterion						
HQ: Hannan-Quinn information criterion						

As we can notice in Appendix no. 6, the number of lags is chosen as 1.

Appendix 7: Autocorrelation LM test

VAR Residual Serial Correlation LM Tests		
Lags	LM-Stat	Prob
1	41.82759	0.0188
Probs from chi-square with 25 df.		

The VAR satisfies ***the autocorrelation condition***, as shown in Appendix no. 7. This condition is respected by using the LM autocorrelation test, being an essential condition in validating the VAR methodology.

Also, we can see in Appendix no. 8 that the VAR model is respecting the Heteroskedasticity conditions and therefore we can proceed forward with our impulse response functions.

Appendix 8: VAR Residual Heteroskedasticity test

VAR Residual Heteroskedasticity Tests: No Cross Terms			
Joint test:			
Chi-sq	df	Prob.	
333.4107	300	0.0896	

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Social Innovation, Social Entrepreneurship and Gender: Women's Approach to Facing Relevant Social Challenges

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Abstract: This article presents the perspective of women facing the social challenges relevant to our society. Through the analysis of case studies of social innovation and social entrepreneurship in Spain and using the Grounded Theory, I will show not only the women vision on the global problems of humanity, the priorities on the challenges of our society for a better, more just and more human world, but also the distinctive features of innovative and enterprising women. I will finally show how women design and implement innovative solutions for a better world. I can, in short, reveal to what extent social innovation has a woman's soul.

Keywords: gender approach, social innovation, social development, grounded theory, women and human development

1. Background

Throughout the years 2013-2018 I developed the research *La innovación social Española: ejes vertebradores desde la Teoría Fundamentada* (Herrero de Egaña, 2018a). There I unravel and explain social innovation in Spain: its management, triggers, good practices and frequent mistakes.

By carrying out a series of activities of the Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), such as data accumulation, constant comparison, coding and categorization, category saturation and analysis of thousands of data related to social innovation, specifically in Spain, I highlighted significant theoretical findings anchored in the data and, therefore, validated by the data themselves.

From that starting point, this paper represents the continuity of the research and explores and develops one of the lines of research that remained open after the investigation work: the role of women in social innovation.

The empirical study, compared and anchored in the data, of cases of women social innovators in Spain, makes it possible to demonstrate how it decisively contributes to face the global challenges facing humanity for a better, more just and more human world.

In this paper, a gender-based approach to social innovation in Spain is carried out, focused on how women see the problems of our society, what problems seem most relevant to them and what specific characteristics, if any, women social innovators in Spain have.

For this purpose, I will briefly explain the Grounded Theory at a glance and how I applied it in this research; the expressions that I have used — like "social innovation" or "Relevant Social Challenges" — and how I understand them, and then I will describe the corpus, explaining in detail the case studies.

A brief reference to the corpus of research and, in particular, explain the selection criteria of the 50 cases of Spanish social innovation, from which explain how social innovation in general and *women social innovat*ion in particular contribute significantly to the social challenges of humanity is needed.

2. The Grounded Theory at a glance and how I applied it in this research

The sociologists Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss (1967), in their work *The discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for qualitative research,* propose the basic principles of Grounded Theory as a method of approaching and analysing social reality, whose main objective is to generate theory from the data, resulting in a theory grounded in the data.

Hereafter I will make a brief reference to the principles of the Grounded Theory as it was enunciated; I will define its key concepts and how I applied them specifically in this research.

- **Construction of theory versus verification:** Unlike other methodologies used in social sciences, the Grounded Theory does not put emphasis on verifying pre-existing theories or demonstrating preconceived hypotheses, but on constructing and systematizing the theory that emerges from the analysis and the constant comparison of the data. "Our basic position is that generating grounded theory is a way of arriving at the theory suited to its supposed uses. We shall contrast this position with theory generated by logical deduction from a priori assumptions, that generating grounded theory is a way of arriving at the theory suited to its supposed uses" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p 2).
- **Generation of theory as a process**: The generation of a theory implies a research process. Likewise, the generation of a theory from the data means that most hypotheses and concepts come from the data themselves, systematically studied in the course of the research. "Our strategy of comparative analysis for generating theory puts a high emphasis on theory as process, that is, theory as an ever-developing entity, not as a perfected product" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p 32).
- **Importance of the data:** The theory must be anchored in the data, comes from the data and originates from them.
- **All data are susceptible to generate theory**: "Although the emphasis on qualitative data is strong in our book, most chapters also can be used by those who wish to generate theory with quantitative data, since the process of generating theory is independent of the kind of data used" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p 18).
- **The accumulation and analysis of the data must be done simultaneously***:* "In the beginning, one's hypotheses may seem unrelated, but as categories and properties emerge, develop in abstraction, and become related, their accumulating interrelations form an integrated central theoretical framework, the core of the emerging theory. The core becomes a theoretical guide to the further collection and analysis of data. […] When generation of theory is the aim, however, one is constantly alert to emergent perspectives that will change and help develop his theory. These can easily occur even on the final day of study or when the manuscript is reviewed in page proof: so the published word is not the final one, but only a pause in the never-ending process of generating theory. When verification is the main aim, publication of the study tends to give readers the impression that this is the last word" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p 40).
- **The importance of comparative analysis**: "In discovering theory, one generates conceptual categories or their properties from evidence; then the evidence from which the category emerged is used to illustrate the concept. The evidence may not necessarily be accurate beyond a doubt (nor is it even in studies concerned only with accuracy), but the concept is undoubtedly a relevant theoretical abstraction about what is going on in the area studied. Furthermore, the concept itself will not change, while even the most accurate facts change. Concepts only have their meanings re-specified at times because other theoretical and research purposes have evolved" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p 21 f.).
- **Theoretical sampling**: "Theoretical sampling is the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyses his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges. This process of data collection is controlled by the emerging theory, whether substantive or formal" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p 45).

The Classic Grounded Theory had its origin in a different world, in 1967, years in which the context, the problems and the media were totally different from the ones we have today and, in practice, with regard to data collection, we spoke only of interviews and in very specific and localized contexts.

There is a fundamental fact in this substantial change of context, the irruption and normalization of the so-called "New Technologies" now Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) because they are assumed as common vehicles of information and communication.

ICT has not only changed the context in which the day to day of all of us is developed, whatever our age and condition, but they have had a fundamental impact on this research, since they directly affect the forms of collection and accumulation of data, in the generation of the data themselves (both in quantity, quality and speed).

Thus, the basic data collection tool in the days of Glaser and Strauss, the creators of the Grounded Theory, was the personal interview and, instead now, we can not only do virtual interviews but the primary data can be collected from endless sources and in real time.

In this work I have adapted Grounded Theory to a context marked by the global, with data that tend to infinity and with means of data collection that go far beyond interviews. For this reason, the sources of information have been numerous and diverse and the corpus of research is extensive, heterogeneous, representative and specialized. It consists of more than 3,000 entries, which have been coded, compared, analyzed and saturated), generating 160 codes and 26 categories.

Among these 3,000 data, there are more than 500 examples of social innovation and 50 cases of study of social innovation in Spain, of which 15 are cases of women social innovation (promoted by women).

3. Corpus: Sources of information and case studies

As data compilation, codification and comparison were essential for my research, I must talk about the corpus of research in figures, as mentioned above: more than 3,000 entries, which have been codified, compared, analysed and saturated throughout more than 5 years (2013-2018), and more than 500 social innovation examples and 50 case studies of Spanish social innovation. These case studies have played a special role in this work, specifically to identify the gender perspective in social innovation in Spain.

Throughout the investigation, I discovered elements that were evidenced as relevant to determine what social innovation is, what its characteristics, triggers, keys to its success and frequent errors are.

By "case study" I understand a paradigmatic example, analyzed in depth and exposed in a brief and schematic way, which will serve to exemplify one or several significant elements of research.

I have chosen 50 case studies out of a total of more than 500, of which 300 were Spanish. For their selection I have paid attention to their representativeness, in order to individualize, from their qualitative analysis and the realities they stand for, the characteristic features of social innovation in Spain and perhaps the factors that favour and drive it.

I have used four selective criteria to determine the representativeness of the cases:

- 1) Relevant Social Challenge (RSC): For social innovation to be included in the selection, it must face a relevant, real and priority social challenge or problem. To determine which the relevant social challenges are, I have assumed those emerging from the research itself, that is, those to which society in general and civil society in particular give greater prominence, in light of social innovations arising to face or solve them.
- 2) Innovative element/s that they contain: This criterion assumes that cases containing one or more innovative elements, which differentiate them from other similar initiatives in terms of the problem faced or in terms of the proposed solution, will be potentially included to determine which the innovative elements are, as well as to determine the relevant social challenges. Again, these cases, already advanced in the previous section, have been evidenced by the research itself.
- 3) Change that they generate: I have selected cases that generate a change in the social reality they want to influence, because their results are objectively verifiable and have impact indicators.
- 4) Place where innovation occurs: This criterion prioritizes cases in Spain to try to determine whether social innovation has characteristic cultural features.

4. Social innovation, relevant social challenges and gender perspective: how they are understood and related in this paper

As known, *social innovation* is a phrase under construction: there is not a single definition assumed by all. In my doctoral dissertation *La innovación social Española: ejes vertebradores desde la Teoría Fundamentada* (Herrero de Egaña, 2018a), I proposed a definition that synthesizes all the fundamental elements of social innovation and overcomes the previous definitions, in that it represents a timeless definition of what social innovation is: "new or innovative ways that society has got in order to face the relevant social challenges (RSChs), which are more effective, more efficient and more sustainable or that generate greater impact than the preceding ones and that contribute to making it stronger and more articulated".

In the same way, I must explain at this moment what I mean by *Relevant Social Challenges.* They are the topics which society is interested in, in all their forms and combinations, and are known by analyzing the cases of social

innovation of a place in a given period. They represent a way of expressing in positive the problems of a society seen by the agents of its social change.

To determine which the relevant social challenges are, I have assumed it is those that the investigation itself has revealed to me, that is, those to which society in general and civil society in particular give greater importance, in the light of the social innovations that arise to face or solve them. It is important to note that this is an expression coined during my research which refers to the challenges that Spanish social innovators have prioritized in their innovations.

As I mentioned before, when coding 50 Spanish social innovation cases, my research has allowed me to unveil in a systematic way what the concerns of social innovators in Spain are. The interest of this point is that the RSC or priority of Spanish innovation emerge from the data handled, regardless of the priorities and aims of the agendas defined by the states or the experts at different levels, be they global (Sustainable Development Goals, Millennium Development Goals, UNDP Development Indicators, etc.) or national (Priority Objectives of the Spanish Cooperation, etc.). For instance, if in the research many projects or cases have appeared that face the waste of food, then the avoidance of waste of food becomes a RSR for the Spanish social innovation.

This is important to think over to what extent the *gender issue* is a priority for Spanish social innovation. As it is considered that there are inaccuracies in the use of the expressions “gender approach”, “gender vision” and “gender analysis” (Calvo, 2012, p 276), I must explain now how I understand these phrases for the purposes of this paper.

The *gender perspective* is an analytical category that embraces all those methodologies and mechanisms aimed at “the study of cultural and social constructions for men and women, which identifies the feminine and the masculine” (Chávez Carapia, 2004, p 179) against the background of the inequality between genders in all social classes. I refer to this expression as a strategic element promoting equality between women and men, as it was laid down in the document emanating from the Fourth Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995, when it was used for the first time (UN Women, n.d.). I refer therefore to the role of women, although recent approaches also include studies on men and the masculine, or analysis of lesbianism, masculinism and homosexuality.

In this paper I´m going to work with two categories: social innovation (in general) and women social innovation (with a strong women leadership).

5. Women as social innovators

The corpus of research on social innovation "in general", that is, without a specific promoter, is 50 cases; we will differentiate it and compare it with that of social innovation promoted by one or more women, which is 15 cases.

I will analyze a comparative analysis of the triggers, the innovative elements, the relevant social challenges, good practices, frequent mistakes, of women social innovation and social innovation in general.

As we can see in figure 1 out of 15 cases of social innovation are promoted by women which is a high proportion since the remaining cases are not necessarily promoted by men but do not have this markedly female leadership (they can be promoted by mixed groups, of men and women, by indefinite groups (as consortiums between different actors, companies, universities, administrations, etc.).

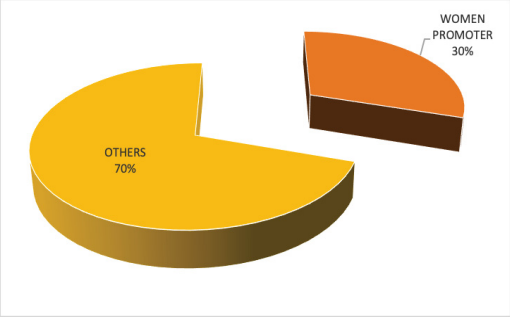


Figure 1: Corpus: Study cases of social innovation in general and women social innovation

5.1 Women social innovation and innovative elements

To determine what the innovative elements are, as well as to determine the RSChs, again they are those that have been evidenced by the research itself, and that lie around three axes: the mode, the subject and the scope.

- **Mode** is the category that groups codes that have to do with *a new way of doing things* (in a collaborative, disruptive, smart, among others), to generate social changes; They have to do with *how* social innovation is managed.
- **Context** is the category that groups codes that refer to *new areas in which social innovation acts*, beyond traditional geographical borders (glocal, virtual, urban acupuncture, etc.); It has to do with *where* social innovation is developed.
- **Actor,** is the category that groups together a series of codes referring to *new social actors* (the crowd, the prosumers, grassroots, etc.); It has to do with who is managing social innovation.

These new actors, new contexts and new modes of doing, are the innovative elements that can lead us to make a classification of social innovations according to the dominant innovative element or elements they contain.

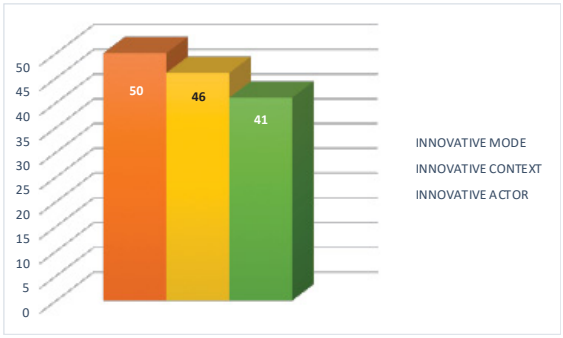


Figure 2: Innovative key elements (mode, context and actor) in social innovation in general

I speak of the dominant innovative element because, as we can see in Figure 2 above, a high percentage of the cases of social innovation analysed (82 %) are innovative in the way as well as in the subject and the field, and 92 % are innovators. in the way as in the field, and 100 % of the cases are innovative in the mode.

It can be affirmed, therefore, that social innovations in general are innovative for more than one reason or in more than one aspect. Compared with women social innovations we realised that percentages of innovative elements are very similar, as we can see in Figure 3.

The most numerous group of innovative elements is that which falls within the category mode, that is, in social innovation in general and in women social innovation, things are always done differently.

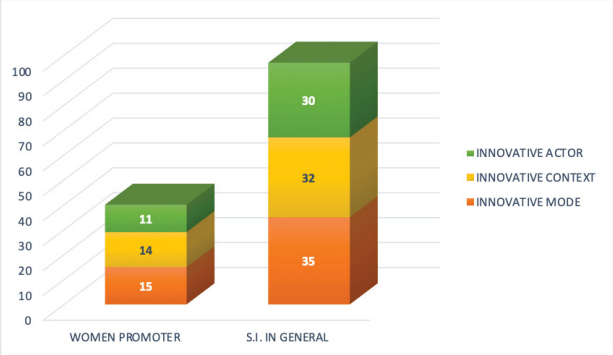


Figure 3: Innovative elements: Comparative analysis

The most frequent innovative modes in women social innovation are #collaborative (10 cases), #smart (9 cases) and #catalytic (6 cases).

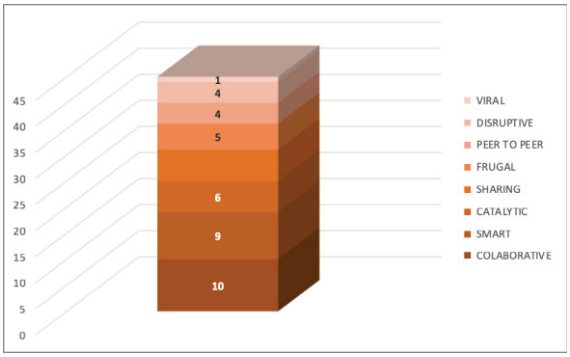


Figure 4: Women social innovation: innovative mode

Entering in depth in the innovative context in which women social innovations are developed, the analysis shows that the most repeated code is #local, followed by the code #glocal, which mixes local and particular elements with global ones and that is represented by the phrase "think globally and act locally"; so, we can affirm that women social innovation is more devoted to implement local solutions to a local or a global problem.

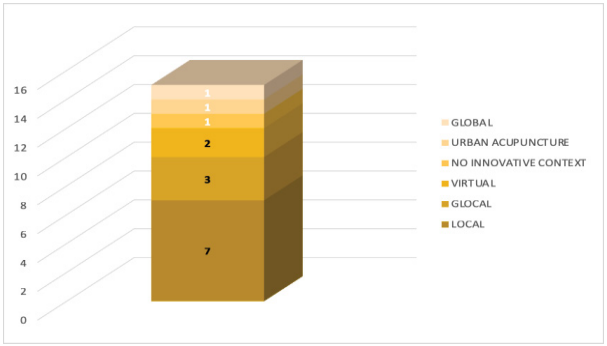


Figure 5: Women social innovation: innovative context

Regarding the presence of innovative actors in women social innovations the code #grassroot (understood as the natural and spontaneous association, from the base, of the members of a group or community, for community or group support, where the community or group acts on its own initiative in a specific environment) is the most frequent one.

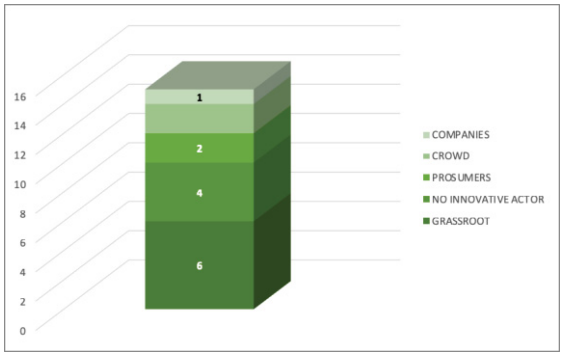


Figure 6: Women social innovation: innovative actor

5.2 Women social innovation characteristics, triggers, best practices and frequent weaknesses

The characteristics that emerged in the investigation of Spanish social innovation in general were commitment, idealism, inventiveness, thought and acting provoking, creativity, and boldness. As we see in figure 7 women social innovation is 100 % committed, very idealistic and bold (12 of 15 cases) and enough ingenious and creative.

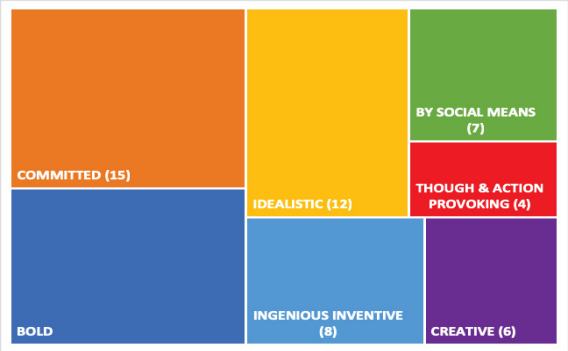


Figure 7: Women social innovation: other characteristics

In the research have been evidenced five different triggers: social sensitivity, close problem, strong leadership, self-employment, and others; this triggers are compatible with each other, that is, there may be one or several. As Figure 8 shows 100 % of innovative social women, affirms that a deep social sensitivity has been one of the main triggers; Minor percentages are the fact that they live close to the problem they want to face and that they have a strong social leadership.

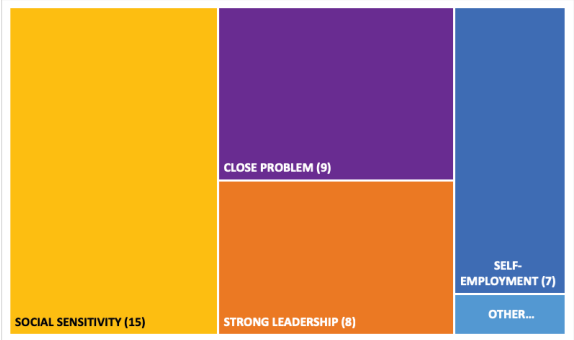


Figure 8: Women social innovation: triggers

The analysis of the 15 cases of women social innovation in depth, especially through interviews with their promoters has allowed us to unravel the best practices and the most frequent weaknesses in women's social innovation. So, it is interesting to underline that women social innovation is rooted in the territory (remember that one of the innovative contexts of women social innovation was #local and #glocal); that another of their strengths is that women social innovators are good networkers and that they have a remarkable experience and social base.

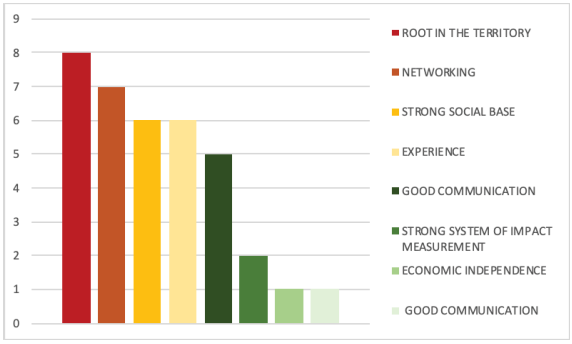


Figure 9: Women social innovation: Best practices

On the other hand, economic dependence and a poor system of impact measurement are the most frequent weaknesses of women social innovations.

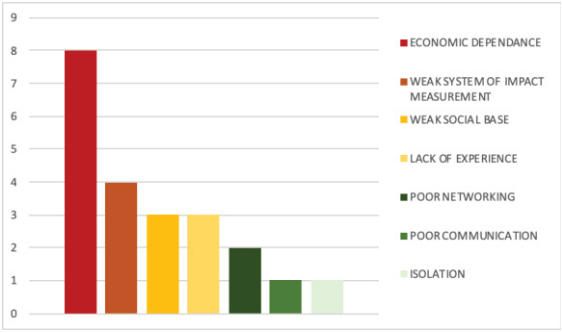


Figure 10: Women social innovation: weaknesses

5.3 Women social innovation and relevant social challenges

Throughout this text we have referred in numerous to the relevant social challenges of the Spanish social innovation. It is important to point out that this is a phrase coined during the investigation that refers to the challenges that Spanish social innovators have prioritized in their innovations.

Relevant Social Challenges for Spanish social innovation in general can be grouped into five categories:

Table 1: Relevant social challenges, categories and codes (Source: Herrero de Egaña, 2018a, p.)

RELEVANT SOCIAL CHALLENGES OF SPANISH SOCIAL INNOVATION				
INCLUSION	**SUSTAINABILITY**	**PARTICIPATION AND INCIDENCE**	**DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN RIGHTS**	**INSTRUMENTAL**
UNIVERSAL ACCESSIBILITY	EMISSIONS	ACTIVISM	FOOD	COORDINATION
GENDER	FOOD	CONSUMPTION	FAIR TRADE	FINANCING
DEMOCRATIC	CONSUMPTION	DEMOCRACY	COMUNICATIONS	TRAINING
INTERCONFESSIONAL	ECOLOGY	MOBILIZATION	CULTURE	
INTERCULTURAL	ENERGY		DEMOCRACY	
LABORAL	ENVIRONMENT		EDUCATION	
PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES / DISEASES	POPULATION		ENERGY	
SOCIAL	RECYCLING		JUSTICE	
TECHNOLOGICAL	NATURAL RESOURCES		HEALTH	
			TRANSPORTATION	
			HOUSING	

The interest of this point is that, independently of the priorities and objectives of the different agendas at the global level (Sustainable Development Goals, Millennium Development Goals, UNDP Development Indicators, etc.) or national (Priority Objectives of the Spanish, Cooperation) defined by the States or by the experts, the relevant or priority social challenges of Spanish innovation, as well as the RSR of women social innovation, emerge from the data handled. That is, if many projects or cases that face food waste have appeared in the research, the waste of food becomes a RSR for Spanish social innovation.

In the paper "Retos sociales relevantes de la innovación social española y grandes retos europeos: análisis comparado basado en el estudio de casos", presented in 2018 at the XVII International Congress of Researchers in Social Economy and Cooperatives CIRIEC (Herrero de Egaña, 2018b) , the alignment in general terms of the RSR of the Spanish social innovation and the challenges posed by different agendas was already evident. In this paper I broadly explained the connection between the MDGs, the SDGs and the RSRs, and I was able to show the extent to which Spanish social innovation has a positive impact on European and global achievements and challenges.

As we can infer from the next figures, women social innovators has approximately the same priorities as social innovators in general, but Figures 12 and 13 show how RSRs vary if we talk about Spanish social innovation, in general or if we talk about women social innovation, since RSRs referring to sustainability, incidence and inclusion are much higher in the women social innovation.

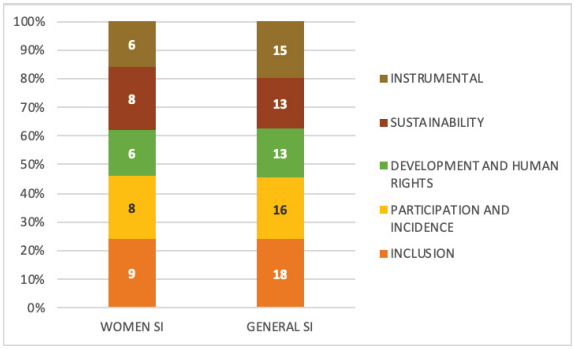


Figure 11: Comparation between the RSC of Women Social Innovations and Social Innovation in general (number of cases)

We can affirm that most of the case studies assume two or more of these challenges, and at least 37 % of the cases face the 5 RSC of Spanish social innovation in general and at least a 40 % talking about women social innovation. From this point of view we could think that social innovation in Spain when promoted by women is more ambitious and aspiring than social innovation in general.

	INCLUSION	PARTICIPATION AND INCIDENCE	DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN RIGHTS	SUSTAINABILITY	INSTRUMENTAL
WOMEN SI %	60	53	40	53	40
GENERAL SI %	51	46	37	37	43

Figure 12: Comparation between the RSC of Women Social Innovations and Social Innovation in general (percentages)

6. In conclusion

In conclusion, after this research I am able to affirm that women, in Spain, are empowered as social innovators as an specific powerful collective which has its own characteristics, triggers, best practices, and weaknesses.

Women social innovation has its own priorities, as a collective in front of relevant social challenges and its own responses to these challenges; answers that are measurable and verifiable.

The research anchored in the data and in the case study demonstrates how women leaders are contributing in a different way to a better, more just and more human world.

Identifying and exposing the weaknesses of women social innovation, give to institutions and society the clues of where to support and strengthen so that this impact reaches all its potential.

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Women Empowerment in Household Economic Development: Lessons From Poverty Reduction for Ethnic Minorities in Vietnam

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Abstract: This paper reviews the poverty reduction process in Vietnam and experiences of decision-making empowerment in household economic activities for ethnic minority women in their efforts to reduce poverty. The study analyses data from the Gender Equality Survey, covering 950 households in matrilineal ethnic groups (in the South of Vietnam) in 2018 and life stories of women from Hmong, Tay, Khmer and Xo Dang ethnicities. The analysis reveals a strong engagement of ethnic minority women (both matrilineal and patriarchal groups) in household economic decisions. They have overcome various cultural barriers to take initiatives in accessing to bank credit, which has been used for developing household livelihood. Thanks to their own efforts and supports from the Women's Union, many ethnic minority households have escaped from poverty, ended food shortage and started commercial production. As a result, ethnic minority women have been increasingly active in both their family and community.

Keywords: women empowerment, developing countries, gender and development, identity and culture

1. Introduction

Poverty reduction is one of the top priority policies for developing countries to improve people's livelihoods and protect the environment (Litchfield et all, 2003). Empowering women in household economic development and introducing economic development policies for these women is a robust strategy for alleviating poverty in developing countries (Kadiyala S., 2004). Empowerment is the process of gaining control of resources or increasing self-efficacy. External actors can either change or play as a catalyst in the decision-making process, and individuals involved in the process would decide at their discretion how they can make a difference in society (Sen G, 1998). Women empowerment and household economic development are closely linked to reduce gender inequalities and empower women to benefit from development (Esther Duflo, 2012; Bradshaw S. et all, 2017). As empowered, rural women can access family labor, control resources, access leadership positions or communicate with others outside the family, actively manage savings and credit, and their incomes are improved (S. Galab and Rao, 2003).

One of the experiences in poverty reduction by developing countries is the policy intervention in form of microfinance support for households. Empowering women to manage household microfinance is seen as a magic bullet against poverty. When poor women have access to microfinance, they are empowered to make full use of their economic capabilities and actively participate in household production, increasing productivity and redefining their status in family and community (Mayoux, Linda, 2000).

In this paper more analyses on women empowerment in household economic development will be carried out. In addition to aggregate data from secondary literature, primary data from National Project "Some major issues of gender equality in ethnic minority areas of Vietnam" (called 2018 Survey in this paper) will be analyzed. This project has not been completed, however quantitative information from 951 households, including 424 males and 527 females as representatives, from ethnic minority groups in the Southern provinces (Soc Trang, Ninh Thuan, Dak Lak) will be used (mostly from matriarchal ethnics such as: Xo Dang-218, E De-226, Cham- 250, Khmer-250). The qualitative data with life stories of women and information from observation method are also analyzed. Authors of the paper are Principal Investigator and Co-PI of the Project.

2. Context of study

Vietnam is a developing country that has strongly alleviated poverty by significant reforms in household economy towards sustainable development. Thanks to the reform (known as Doi Moi), Vietnam has gained

remarkable achievements in economic development, significantly improved living standards of the majority of population, especially ethnic minorities. After 30 years of Doi Moi, various ethnic minorities in Vietnam have experienced strong economic growth, while maintaining a distinct culture and continuing development (WB, 2009 and Baulch Bob et al. 2002, 2009). Using the USD 1.90 a day as a poverty line, the poverty rate fell from about 50% in the early 1990s to the current level of 3% (WB, 2016: 11, 23, 5). The initial progress that Vietnam has made is attributed to reforms in the rural economy, equal allocation of agricultural land to rural households and diversification of farming activities. These reforms have created appropriate incentives for larger agricultural production and exports (WB, 2012:4). The personal financial development, which is based on the community supervision and assistance in poverty alleviation, boosts the household efforts and promotes the value of social and cultural capital of Vietnamese. In this way, the approach and areas of support for women to proactively develop household economy for poverty escape are meaningful interventions.

In recent years, the Vietnam Government has made efforts to address the financial difficulties of the agriculture sector. The State Bank of Vietnam (SBV) has issued many documents guiding credit issues in the agriculture sector, including lending for post-harvest loss reduction in agriculture and aquaculture production and the extension of loans for paddy stockpiling. The number of communes with bank / bank branches and people's credit funds is 19.65 percent (p.37), 8.70 percent in Midlands and Northern Mountain and 10.67 percent for Central Highlands (CSCRAFC 2016: 66-67).

Capital support activities for women to develop stable economic conditions and sustainably alleviate poverty are performed through different credit channels, which are designed appropriately for each targeted group. For instance, the Women's Union intensifies its support for poor and near-poor[1] women accessing preferential credit sources from the Bank of Social Policy and microcredit projects directly managed by the Women's Union.

According to statistical data of the Central Vietnam Women's Union (VWU) up to July 2017, the total number of poor and disadvantaged women entitled to borrow capital from entrusted and trusted funds with the Social Policy Bank, Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development, a number of commercial banks, and the VWU's funds and programs/projects are nearly 3 million households with over VND 75,000 billion (Vietnam Government, 2017). For better-off households[2] and farms, the credit sources for agriculture and rural development managed by the Bank of Agriculture and Rural Development are identified as important channels providing capital support for women. The diversified sources of funds help farmers, especially women farmers, have many opportunities to access loans. Women have more opportunities to access small-scale loans (e.g. loans from policy banks or trust funds through the Women's Union).

It is necessary to mention preferential credit for poor households from the Vietnam Bank for Social Policies as an effective way to promote household production. Women's Union is among the socio-political organizations assigned to manage credit on their own and take responsibility in production planning, disbursement and monitoring, ensuring the debt servicing and revolving as well as community development (Michael, 2001, WB, 2012: 122). According to the World Bank, up to 80% of ethnic minority households have access to loans with low interest rates, infrastructure investment, and use of cash for extension services given to landowners and livestock growers (WB, 2012: 133,139). Thus, Vietnam has completed the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) for rapid poverty reduction. Over the past 15 years, over 25 million Vietnamese have been lifted above the poverty line. The poverty picture in Vietnam has turned from food shortage in the 90s of last century to scarcity of education, health care, drinking water and environmental sanitation in the early years of the 21st century (UNDP, 2014, ADB and UNWomen, 2018).

One of the lessons from the poverty reduction in Vietnam is the support policy for poor ethnic minority women in their household economic development. As reported by the Central Institute for Economic Management (CIEM, 2009), the wealth of ethnic minority households is related to the gender characteristics and the ability to speak fluent Vietnamese (CIEM, 2009). Along with the cultural habits of ethnic groups to perceive men as the household head, the lack of fluent use of Vietnamese makes ethnic minority women more impeded in communicating with communities outside of their group (VASS, 2008; IFGS and other Organizations, 2016). The Women's Union is an important organization that helps women overcome these obstacles, providing opportunities for ethnic minority women to participate in village meetings, in addition to technical training in

[1] Based on standard criteria of the Government.
[2] Usually is group of 40% top income.

livestock and crop production. In particular, ethnic minority women are directly exposed to credit with the support and supervision of the grassroots women's union.

Vietnam has 53 ethnic groups, in which both patriarchy and matriarchy exist. The Kinh and most ethnic groups residing in mountainous areas of the North and North Central regions follow the patriarchal system, while the matriarchal system is observed in certain ethnic groups living in the South and Central Highlands regions. In the patriarchal culture, the patriarchal regime always dominated with the absolute male control in a family (Barfield, 1997). Having the patriarchy in a family, men are always in a higher position than women, who have less power and more dependence on men. In matriarchal minorities, women have the right to manage inherited asset, including land and valuable assets as perceived by the people, but men have more rights in production, livelihoods and external affairs. Both patriarchy and matriarchy have made the woman in a family to be dependent on men and gain insignificant rights to decide and participate in household economic activities. The gender division of labor is paralleled by the separation of family decision-making power and the external activities of the household to the community and society. The cultural prejudice, which attach women to housework in the family only and associate men to production and other activities outside the family, leads to the notion that women, who do domestic work only and not engage in family income generation, are less valuable than men (UN Women, 2015).

The patriarchal and matriarchal ethnic groups in Vietnam still retain their ethnic cultural identity nowadays. The characteristics of family culture and relationships follow the gender prejudice. Even some ethnic groups, namely Khmer, Cham and E De, follow the matriarchy but men have the power to make the most of family decisions, especially in external matters and livelihoods. Women only take care of daily expenses and housework, as well as childcare. The participation in economic activities of women is highly limited in matriarchal system.

Although Viet Nam has progressed towards gender equality and the position of women in society and family has improved, in general women remain disadvantaged relative to men, especially in ethnic areas. The Viet Nam Household Living Standards Survey 2014 (GSO, 2016) showed that nationwide, one in four household heads are women (26.54 per cent, compared to 73.46 per cent of household headed by men). From Survey on socio-economic situation of 53 ethnic minority groups 2015 (GSO, 2016), of the more than 3 million ethnic minority households surveyed, 82.32 per cent of households were headed by men. On average, ethnic minority women are household heads at a rate nearly 9 percentage points lower than the national average. Position of head of household is related to a right of having land certificate. Eventhough the Land Law 2003 allowed both husband's and wife's names on the land certificate, the issuance of land use right certificates under the names of both the husband and the wife is still slow. According to the UNDP (2013) report on women's access to land in Vietnamese society, about 18 percent of women are solely named in the certificates of land use right; the proportion of certificates with both names of the husband and the wife is only 22 percent; and the proportion of certificates of land use right entitled solely to men is double that figure. The most vulnerable women are those who live in mountainous areas. The exclusion of women's names from certificates of land use right decreases their role in mobilizing land and human resources for socio-economic development.

In the present context, the external social impact has made women's perceptions change. Ethnic minority women are increasingly involved in income-earning activities. Especially some ethnic minority women have actively accessed to credit, manage loans and take initiative in production based on discussion with the man/husband in the family. The model of discussion and consensus by spouses has clearly generated significant economic benefits, particularly in the poverty eradication among selected ethnic groups (Nguyen, 2017).

3. Credit access of ethnic minority women

Ethnic minority women in Vietnam have witnessed significant changes in terms of their participation in household economic development programs. Coming from poor households, which were highly exposed to food shortages and diseases, ethnic minority women have benefited from poverty reduction policies of the Government of Vietnam by borrowing from development banks to finance farming and husbandry. In fact, women are always the main laborers in the family, engaging actively in economic activities such as cropping and livestock production. Nonetheless, they hardly involve in social activities, external communication and technical training courses (WB, 2012; VASS, 2008; IFGS and other, 2016).

Implementing the credit policy for poor ethnic minority households, the Women's Union has supervised the lending procedures, instead of the husband. The Women's Union has even encouraged women to borrow with the husband's consent for production.

The form of microcredit was highly suitable to ethnic minority women, who also have better defined strategies for family economic development, changing their perception of ending poverty on their own. In one poor commune (Tan Lien), Lang Son province, Tay women have the very high rate of loan balances from banks (83.6%).

Women Union has a very important role in helping women borrowing and managing loan. The loan term is 36 months and interest rate is 0% with the principle of credit revolving in the community. Each group of borrowers consists of five to ten women, who supervise the credit use of every member. If the loan cannot be fully paid by the due date, the group will support the debtor to pay on time and assist to pay off the debt from production. Having guarantee from the Women's Union, loan procedures are designed for the convenience of borrowers. The loan is disbursed and returned by harvested agricultural products in some places. The credit flexibilities ensure loans to be fully used without overdue debts.

The Vietnam Bank for Social Policies has required loan applications to be signed by the spouses since 2008. As explained by the bank, the husband must be responsible for loan repayment if he used the money borrowed by his wife to unreasonable purposes. In cases where the husband applies for a loan without agreement from his wife, the bank would not approve. The commitment of both husband and wife in borrowing procedure helps to enhance the loan effectiveness. A large number of households have invested in production and started to make a profit. This requirement addresses the gender discrimination in some ethnic minorities, giving women more equal rights in their effort to develop the household economy (IFGS and other, 2016).

The credit provided by the social policy bank and managed by the women's union, which also offers legal support, to poor ethnic minority women for animal husbandry and vegetables has successfully lifted many households from poverty line. As a result, their children have access to education. Families have food sufficiency and revolving profit from production. For poor families with chronic poverty or difficulties such as labor shortage, illiteracy or severe illness, the women's credit group mobilizes support from remaining members in form of breeding pigs, breeding chickens or farming labor. If women are inexperienced, the staff of women's union visits them to instruct how to take care of the family, grow plants and raise livestock.

Having more funds, ethnic women have been more active in production investments such as raising livestock (e.g., pigs, chickens and ducks) and planting vegetables (e.g., cabbage and potatoes) (IFGS and other, 2016). The poverty rate in a poor commune, Tan Lien (Lang Son province) dropped from 56% (2005) to 38% (2009). Currently, 83% of households, of which 65% borrowers are women, in the commune have loan balances at banks. This impressive achievement has been critically attributed to commune women's union and women in households, who have made great efforts to end poverty (Dang, 2013)

Box 1: Women change life together

In 2003, I was the first borrower that accessed bank credit in the village. At the beginning, I was much worried about the debt. After two years of doing a good work, I have persuaded other women to borrow. At that time, many people were reluctant to credit because they were afraid of overdue debts. Observing my positive outcomes, they have asked me to help with bank procedures. In case of Mrs. H, she was so poor, living in a dilapidated house and unable to raise livestock. We mobilized 30 kg of rice from other women in the group, who also helped her to rebuild the house and presented her two piglets. After one year, the pigs were sold at VND 3 million, which was used by Mrs. H to raise other chickens and pigs. (In-depth interview with a staff of women's union in Tam Nguyen village, Lang Son province)

However, there is still gender disparity in accessing and using credit exists. Studies indicate that compared to men, rural women have fewer opportunities to access credit (FAO and GSO, 2010). The results from the 2012 VLSS also show that the proportion of female-headed households benefiting from the credit policy for the poor was 7.4 percent—2.3 percentage points lower than of those headed by males (GSO, 2014: p.348). In the 2018 Survey, among 573 households ever used credit there were 38.4% loaned by wife compared to 55.5% loaned by husband.

4. Pariticipation of ethnic women in technical training

In addition to the micro credit strategy, ethnic minority women have more opportunities to access to technical training and application to agricultural production. Training for technological transfer plays an important role in farmers' agricultural production. In the 2018 surveyed areas, training courses and workshops on agricultural science knowledge and techniques were organized through diversified channels. For example, the district-level Agricultural Extension Department operated agricultural extension courses in collaboration with the commune Women's Union and the commune Farmers' Association. Farmers evaluated the effectiveness of training courses in which they participated highly. As a result, they gain techniques of cultivation. In ethnic minority communities, a significant number of women participating in technical training. For example, there are about 30% of women in 2018 surveyed areas participating in training. There are also about 30% of those who usually participate in extention agriculture training are women. Women who are considered most regularly participated in credit policy training is accounted for 36% of total.

However, there are still gender gaps found in agricultural extension programs. Unlike the traditional model for developing agriculture, farmers now switch to planting and breeding on an increasingly larger scale, bringing applied science and technology into farm production. These new jobs are often dominated by men in the family. Therefore, men usually participate in training workshops on scientific and technical knowledge and women have fewer opportunities to attend these programs (Hoang, 2010). Data from the 2012 VLSS also shows that the proportion of households headed by men benefiting from projects in agriculture, forestry and fishing is 8.2 percent, or 4.5 percentage points higher than that of households headed by women (GSO 2014). One study by Pham Thu Hien and Nguyen Thi Huong (2014) shows that in a number of agricultural projects, women participate more in the models for raising livestock and cultivation rather than in the models for mechanization application and study tours. Time constraints and lower education levels may limit women's participation in training courses offered by agricultural extension centers. Also, social norms may prevent women's access to extension services. For instance, women might feel reluctant to go to see the mostly male extension officers for advice and instruction (Pham, 2014). In the 2018 Survey, a gap between men and women in attending extention agriculture training is about 12 percentage points and credit policy training is about 4 percentage points.

Gender gaps in access to modern machines and equipment for agriculture development still remain. According to the 2012 VLSS (GSO 2014), the proportion of households headed by men benefiting from machines and material production support projects was 5.1 percent, 2.6 percentage points higher than that of households headed by women. There is a significant gap between men and women in the application of mechanization. While a lot of work in the agricultural sector is being mechanized to lighten farming tasks, this mostly benefits men who are in charge of the parts of farm work that are more closely related to mechanization, such as tillage, harvest, post-harvest jobs, and transportation. When asking who are the most benefit person in the family from projects on supporting machine, production materials, 25.6% of responses are for husband only, compared to 13.5% for wife only and 57.2% for both husband and wife.

5. The status of women in family

The 2018 Survey show a figure of decision-making power between husband and wife. in the family matter It can be shown that, ethnic minority women nowadays involve more in contributing income for the family and at the same time, participate more in decision making process in the family. However, in general the husband still are the main person who make important decision in the family, except for decisions related to daily expenditure (Table 1). This result is similar to many findings elsewhere (Tran and Nguyen 2008; Nguyen 2017; etc).

It is also found that, there is a close relationship between family living standard level and person who make decision in the family. In general, the better living standard of the family the more power for women in decision making in the family. The increasing of living standard in the ethnic minority families since the Renovation (Doi Moi) in 1986 has significantly contributed to the empowerment of ethnic minority women.

Table 1: Relationship between living standards and decision-making power in the family (%)

Family acitivities	Better-off households	Medium households	Poor households	Overall
Business decisions*				
Both Hus and Wife	62.2	58.4	47.8	50.0
Wife	8.1	4.2	5.8	5.2

Family acitivities	Better-off households	Medium households	Poor households	Overall
Husband	28.4	37.2	43.9	40.1
N	74	401	446	949
Daily expenditure decisions *				
Both Hus and Wife	50.0	43.1	43.5	43.5
Wife	50	52.9	51.8	52.5
Husband	0	4.0	4.5	3.9
N	74	401	448	950
Important decisions in family*				
Both Hus and Wife	73.0	69.8	59.9	65.0
Wife	5.4	3.0	2.9	3.1
Husband	21.6	26.4	36.3	31.1
N	73	401	447	949
Main income earner in family				
Wife	13.7	7.2	7.4	8.2
Husband	58.9	50.9	55.9	53.8
Equal contribution	27.4	41.6	36.5	37.7
N	73	401	447	949

Source: the 2018 Survey

Notes: Significant level: * p<0.05

Table 2: Key decision makers in household economic activities by Ethnic minority (%)

	Xo Dang (n=218)	E De (n=226)	Cham (n=250)	Khmer (n=250)
Business planning ***				
Male	61.0	48.2	32.0	30.1
Female	4.6	4.9	3.2	9.6
Both	32.1	46.9	64.8	40.2
Credit ***				
Male	45.4	19.5	21.6	24.0
Female	11.0	14.2	16.4	11.2
Both	34.9	49.1	57.6	23.2
N/A (no credit access)	8.7	17.3	4.4	41.6
Daily expenditures***				
Male	4.6	4.0	2.4	6.4
Female	85.8	85.8	82.6	57.2
Both	9.6	10.2	14.8	36.0
Attending technical training on agro-forestry production***				
Male	32.6	40.3	30.0	15.2
Female	26.1	24.8	12.8	4.4
Both	8.3	10.2	3.2	1.2
NA (Unavailable training/Not farmers)	29.4	19.0	51.2	79.2

Source: The 2018 Survey

Note: Significant level: *** P<0.000

Survey results in the Table 2 show that, even in the traditional culture of matriarchal ethnicities, nowadays wives still maintain custody of cash and husbands make major decisions in business planning, credit access and participate in technical training courses on agro-forestry production. The extent of participation by wives is not critical, especially in household business planning. Women from Khmer, Cham and Xo Dang ethnic minority groups have rarely engaged in agricultural training courses. They mainly care for daily family expenses as tradition.

The key barriers for less empowerment of ethnic minority women include low education, limited knowledge of borrowing rules and procedures. For example, due to illiteracy, most of the ethnic minority women have to ask their husband to borrow money. Some women can not read and write, and have to put their fingerprint on the loan application. One Muong female, rice grower, living in Hoa Binh province, mentioned "*I dare not go to banks as I will have to fill in the forms with letters. If I was a borrower and unfortunately our business failed, my husband*

would blame it all on me." (IFGS and other, 2016). Credit groups and bank officials are difficult to manage those, who are not aware of borrowing rules and procedures.

The survey results point out limited decision-making power of ethnic minority women in families at present. Although a great efforts from the government and social movements and women are more likely to have access to concessional loans through the Women's Union, they are still heavily dependent on men in practice. That is problem needed to be solved to make more empowerment of women in coming years.

6. Remarks

Women empowerment in household production transformation and agricultural product diversification is one of the solutions for sustainable poverty reduction in Vietnam. The support and empowerment are more meaningful to ethnic minority women, who are living in difficult conditions and facing a wide range of cultural and socio-economic barriers. Ethnic women have tried hard to address their difficulties for family well-being. Meanwhile, they need to be more empowered in their family and communities.

Credit granting policies should raise the loan amount and lengthen the period before repayment is due, in keeping with the farmer's production cycle, especially for orchard production. Information relating to loans, application procedures, and schedules should be disseminated to all farmers on time, as required by law, but especially to ethnic minority women.

There is also a need to enable ethnic minority women to participate more actively in agricultural extension programs. The programs should enhance the provision of information for female farmers. There should be more workshops gathering farmers to share experiences on applying cultivation skills, agricultural production. Gender balance should be seriously taken into account when organizing these workshops.

There is a continuous need to raise the awareness of local officials, mass organizations, and male and female farmers on the roles of ethnic minority women in agriculture. It is necessary to implement measures to promote women's participation in stages of production related to decision making and monitoring of agricultural investments in the community.

The achievements in poverty reduction for ethnic minorities in Vietnam have demonstrated the importance of associations, including women's union. In addition to facilitating loan procedures, the women's union has strongly supported members to resolve family difficulties and gradually promote household production. Women have progressively involved in household production and businesses. In particular, the right to discuss and make decision in family matters has been clearly emphasized. The Government of Vietnam is recommended to continue its integration of gender development support policies into socio-economic development programs and policies to empower women, especially ethnic minorities.

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A Practical Approach for Measuring Women's Empowerment

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Abstract: Women empowerment is an emerging concept that became a core and essential goal for any development initiative in most countries. Consequently, many scholars have studied the definition of women empowerment and much effort is made by private, public and third sectors to support and empower women. However, there is no unified definition for women empowerment until now. Also, there are no defined measurements that measure the effectiveness of such effort. Accordingly, this paper focuses on women empowerment measurement and how can concerned parties figure out if women are empowered or not. Some researchers argue that women empowerment can be measured through women's control of their income and decision-making process. On the other hand, some link it with women's rights for education, political participation, healthy life and gender equality. Consequently, the paper suggests a new approach for empowerment measurement, which depends on the assessment of personal skills and Key Performance Indicators (women empowerment indicators - WEI's) that measure women empowerment before and after receiving an empowerment activity, based on a pre-defined reference (targets) for each WEI. Where the skills assessment focuses on assessing the personal skills needed for women to be empowered, such as self-confidence. On the other hand, the WEI's are divided into personal, social and technical WEI's that measure the level of women empowerment in terms of these three aspects. The paper uses primary and secondary data, where the first author collects primary data from the field and explores the literature to find studies related to women empowerment measurement. Hence, primary data collection and analysis follows qualitative data collection and analysis techniques, since the first author has interviewed a group of decision makers who work on women empowerment programs. The main output of this paper is proposing an approach for measuring women empowerment, which has the value of maximizing the benefits of women empowerment and ensuring that women have received the right services, which enable them to be empowered. Accordingly, these measurements can be used as a tool for all individuals or entities that are providing women empowerment activities.

Keywords: women empowerment, women empowerment indicators, assessment of women's personal skills, women empowerment measurement and women empowerment definition

1. Introduction

Nowadays, we are living in a changing and fast-moving world that needs well-prepared individuals who are able to adapt with these changes, be a part of any development plan and be a step ahead from other individuals who are just following the change and reacting based on it. Having these individuals contributes to creating a mature society that directs the changing wheel to the benefits of individuals, societies and economies. However, having these individuals requires creating a balanced society that provides equal opportunities and exerts effort for building individuals who have the necessary and required skills, knowledge, mentality and experience to be an effective part in their societies.

So, in order to be a part of the change and contribute in enabling individuals and creating a balanced society, where both sexes are responsible for cultural and economic growth, the authors have decided to focus on supporting all concerned parties who work on enabling women to be an effective part in economies and societies, through helping such parties to sustain their efforts and to ensure that women are offered the right services they need to be empowered.

Women are capable and able to be economically independent and have all the necessary skills to do that. At the same time, such parties are making efforts to support women and utilize their capabilities for the benefit of themselves, their families, their societies and their economies. Unfortunately, no effort is paid to measure women's improvement and empowerment. Accordingly, after deep research, the first author suggests an approach for measuring women empowerment through personal skills assessment and women empowerment indicators (WEIs) assessment, in order to maximize women's benefits and create a continuous pipeline of joint efforts that help women to be developed and empowered based on a defined reference and baseline.

2. Research methodology

This paper has built based on primary and secondary research. For the secondary data, the first author has explored the literature, in order to find the latest research regarding women empowerment definition and

women empowerment measurement. Also, it has been decided to collect primary data, through following a qualitative data collection technique, which is "interviews", in order to ask the interviewees about their opinions regarding women empowerment measurement.

The targeted audience for interviews were Jordanian entities and startups who are supporting women and working on women empowerment. Table 1 shows a general description for interviewees, in terms of their role and their entity type.

Table 1: Interviewees information

Interviewee	Job Role	Entity type
(1)	Founder	Startup that empowers Jordanian women, through cooking, as it provides women with a platform to sell their products.
(2)	Founder	Association for empowering Jordanian women, through producing and promoting handicraft products.
(3)	Board member	An association that supports professional and business Jordanian women, through providing business-to-business and personal networking and training courses.
(4)	Co-Founder	Startup that empowers Jordanian women, through providing and connecting them with home-based jobs.
(5)	CEO	Company that employs Jordanian women to do handicraft products, after training.
(6)	Founder	Initiative that empowers Jordanian women who are studying in university, through offering training courses, awareness sessions and promoting their products.
(7)	CEO and Owner	Consultation Company that applies women empowerment projects in Jordan, as they help women in all the business stages from ideation to launching to growth.

Figure 1 shows the main decisions regarding the data collection for this paper, in terms of types of data, in addition to data collection techniques (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2016).

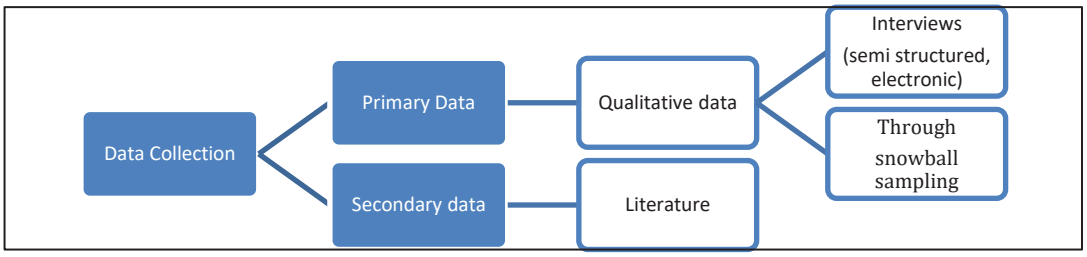


Figure 1: Data collection main decisions

3. Women empowerment definition

Women empowerment is one of the essential pillars of any developing initiative that aims to build a balanced society that has a shared economic, academic and social contribution from both sexes; women and men.

Consequently, many scholars have studied the definition of women empowerment, without putting effort into reaching a unified definition for it till now. However, Mosedale has argued that women empowerment is one of the challenging concepts to be applied and measured, due to the following facts: (Mosedale, 2005).

- Disempowering a party causes the need of empowerment. Consequently, the need for women empowerment is because they are disempowered compared with men.
- Women empowerment shall be claimed and asked by women themselves, as it cannot be gifted from a third party. However, the role of third parties is to support women while they are empowering themselves, in addition to preparing suitable conditions for empowerment.
- The concept of empowerment can be achieved if women have control of their own decisions and able to take it.
- Women empowerment is a continuous process that does not have a certain goal, limit or end. As the results of women empowerment can be measured relatively to other women or to women's previous situation before empowerment.

So, in order to study the definition of women empowerment deeply, the first author has explored and analysed the definitions suggested by six scholars. Table 2 shows the definitions of women empowerment based on the opinion of these scholars and summarises the main concept of each definition.

Table 2: Women empowerment definitions

Author	Definition	Main concept
The United Nations Development Fund for Women (Mosedale, 2005)	*"Having access to and control over the means to make a living on a sustainable and long-term basis and receiving the material benefits of this access and control."*	The ability to secure a sustainable living means.
(Carr, 2000)	*"Women empowerment goes beyond short-term goals of increasing women's access to income and looks for longer term sustainable benefits, not only in terms of changes to laws and policies that constrain women's participation in and benefits from development, but also in terms of power relationships at the household, community and market levels."*	Having power relationships in homes, community and market.
(Mosedale, 2005)	*"The process by which women redefine and extend what is possible for them to be and do in situations where they have been restricted, compared to men, from being and doing. Alternatively, women's empowerment is the process by which women redefine gender roles in ways which extend their possibilities for being and doing."*	The process of extending and redefining what is possible for women.
(Kabeer, 1999)	*"It is about the process by which those who have been denied the ability to make strategic life choices acquire such an ability."*	To gain the right of making strategic choices
(Karl, 1995)	*"It is a process of awareness and capacity building leading to greater participation, to greater decision-making power and control and to transformative action."*	To have better decision-making power and control.
(Juhod, 2016)	*"It means equality in economic resources, training, and knowledge that enhances women's economic position by removing all obstacles that prevent their empowerment from the economic side and guarantee women access to full participation in the national economic structure and equality in access to economic resources that include land, capital and technologies. Additionally, women should have the right to access vocational training, knowledge and means of communication that are considered effective tools for enhancing the economic position of women."*	The equality in economic resources, training, and knowledge.

Accordingly, it can be noticed from Table 2 that the concept of women empowerment focuses on giving women the power and resources to own and control their decisions, to expand the possible limits and to secure a sustainable income. So, the women empowerment definition that can be concluded, based on the discussed definitions is:

> *"Extending and redefining what is possible for women, through changing the laws that limit their participation in communities and economies and limit their benefits from any development initiative. In addition to giving them the power in their homes, communities and market, as well as creating equality in economic, training and knowledge resources, in order to give them the access to secure a sustainable living and have the control to make strategic decisions related to their lives".*

Evans has argued that in order to empower women and achieve the goals behind that, there are prerequisites that shall be met before, which are; having social places, where women can discuss and improve their ideas, also having role models for women who were empowered and broke the rules. In addition to having an ideology that justifies the reasons behind giving women their rights, and finally a network that facilitates and helps with empowering women and makes a social movement for it (Evans, 1979).

4. Women empowerment measurement

Much effort has been exerted to find a suitable way to measure women empowerment. However, there are many points of view regarding this point. Kantor has argued that women empowerment can be measured through measuring two main things, which are: women's control for the income of their businesses, in addition

to their participation in the decision-making process at their home (Kantor, 2003). Also, Kabeer has added that women empowerment is a combination of social and economic aspects, so it can be measured through the following (Kabeer, 1999a):

- Women's freedom, which represents their right for education and their right to move freely.
- Equality in gender roles and decision making between men and women.
- Equality in marriage and divorce aspects.
- Financial independence, where women control their income and how it is shared with the family.
- Marriage advantages, in other words, women have chosen their husbands, where the age and educational differences between them are small.

Additionally, Mason and Smith have argued that women empowerment is deployed in order to enhance women's access to education, employment and healthcare. So, it can be measured by the following (Mason and Smith, 2003):

- Having the power of economic decision making, where women participate in family's economic decisions, especially for the decisions related to the money they own.
- Having the power of decisions related to family size, where women can participate in decisions related to the number of children they may have.
- Having the right to move freely, where women can move and visit any places without any restrictions.
- Husband control, where husbands are controlling women by force or not, and if women are afraid to disagree with their husbands' opinion or not.

Finally, there are many global measurements, which measure women empowerment performance in countries across the world, such as the Gender-related Development Index (GDI), the Gender Inequality Index (GII) and Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM).

However, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in their "Human Development Report" has published these measures. In these indexes, UNDP gives a number or index for each country (Charmes and Wieringa, 2003). Also, they divide countries into main four categories, which are; very high human development, high human development, medium human development and low human development countries (United Nations Development Program, 2016). Table 3 shows the differences between these three indexes, in terms of their description and indicators.

Table 3: Differences between the UNDP indexes

Element	GEM (Charmes and Wieringa, 2003)	GII (United Nations Development Program, 2016)	GDI (United Nations Development Program, 2016)
Description	*"It measures the inequality between males and females, based on three dimensions"*	*"It measures the gender inequality, based on three dimensions"*	*"It measures the gender gaps in human development achievements, based on three dimensions"*
Dimensions	Female share in political power (seats in Perlman) Female share in managerial positions in administrative and professional sectors Women income	Health, by measuring the maternal mortality ratio and adolescent birth. Empowerment, through measuring the percentage of parliamentary seats occupied by women and percentage of women who have at least secondary education. Women labor market participation	Long and healthy life. Knowledge. Standard of living.

To conclude, there are several ways that measure women empowerment, which were suggested by scholars, such as women's economic control and participation, decision making participation in family, education right and level, movement right, equality in marriage and divorce aspects, husband control, political participation, share in managerial position (labor market) and healthy life. Table 4 shows a comparison summary of all women empowerment measurement for each scholar or index mentioned before.

Table 4: Comparison summary of women empowerment measurements

Measurement element	Kantor	Kabeer	Mason and Smith	GEM	GII	GDI
Economic control and participation	√	√	√	√		√
Decision making participation	√	√	√			
Education right and level		√			√	√
Movement right		√	√			
Equality in marriage and divorce		√				
Husband control			√			
Political participation				√	√	
Share in managerial position				√	√	
Healthy life					√	√

However, women empowerment measures have been taken further in this paper in the primary data collection, as a question related to women empowerment measurement has been asked of interviewees. Accordingly, the findings of this section and the findings of interviews will be used to suggest a new approach to measuring women empowerment.

5. Women empowerment measurement based on primary and secondary data

As mentioned before, in order to find a comprehensive measurement for women empowerment, interviewees have been asked to suggest practically what women's empowerment means for them and how they can measure it. Table 5 shows the opinion of each interviewee regarding the measurement of women empowerment.

Table 5: Women's empowerment measurements suggested by interviewees

Interviewee	Women empowerment measurement
1	Providing equal opportunity for men and women who're interested in joining their platform.
2	Measuring the following within a certain and defined period of time: Woman achievements. Improvement process, in terms of her skills, personality, product quality and development. Increasing number of sales orders.
3	Based on the women contribution to GDP, if it increased that means that she is empowered.
4	Once the woman has the needed knowledge, awareness, tools, support and the space to innovate and apply what she wants to do, without having any economic, social and governmental barriers.
5	Seeing the woman's life level is growing up and her family's standards are becoming higher. Seeing women have the power to do what they like, when they like.
6	Through pre and post evaluation for the woman (before and after the program). When the woman convinces her family to open her business, she is empowered.
7	Through the increase in number of linkages (customers and suppliers). Sales volume (the increase in the number of sales). The increase in number of employees (indirect).

To conclude, most interviewees have agreed that to measure women empowerment, a certain base shall be defined, in order to be the reference for women improvement. So, the first step is to define the current situation of women, then to test their economical, social and personal improvements within a certain period of time based on that base. However, business growth and sustainability are considered as practical and tangible measures for women empowerment. On the other hand, as it has been discussed before, many scholars have worked on finding a suitable way for measuring women empowerment and measuring the results of any empowerment activities and efforts that may be paid for women, where some of them have suggested social measurements and some of them have suggested economical measurements.

Accordingly, Table 6 shows a summary of women empowerment measurements based on interviews and the scholars' (literature) points of view.

It can be noticed that both parties agreed that women empowerment can be measured, based on women's economic control and participation, decision making participation, education right and level, movement right,

equality in marriage and divorce aspects, political participation and the release from the social barriers surrounding women.

Table 6: Women's empowerment measurement comparison

Measurement element	Kantor	Kabeer	Mason and Smith	GEM	GII	GDI	Interviewees
Economic control and participation	√	√	√	√		√	√
Decision making participation	√	√	√				√
Education right and level		√			√	√	
Movement right		√	√				
Equality in marriage and divorce		√					
Get rid of social barriers			√				√
Political participation (seats in Parliament)				√	√		√
Share in managerial position				√	√		
Healthy life					√	√	
Equal gender opportunities							√
Business Growth							√
Personal development							√
Enhancing family's/men's mentality							√
Expanding network base							√

6. Suggested approach for women empowerment measurement

Based on the outcomes of the primary and secondary data, the first author has suggested a comprehensive approach for measuring women empowerment that combines two assessment methods, which are the assessment of women's personal skills and the women empowerment indicators (WEI's). Knowing that both assessments were built to measure women empowerment improvement after receiving certain empowerment activities. However, based on a previous study done by the first author, it has been proven that women are qualified and have the ability to grow and to be economic active members. On the other hand, they need to be empowered and supported to believe in their abilities, fight for their rights and find suitable options that make them economically independent. Consequently, scholars have argued that entrepreneurship is considered one of the effective economic empowerment methods for women (Datta and Gailey, 2012). From this point of view, the first author decided that empowerment activity is helping women in opening, growing and sustaining their own businesses, as a solution for their challenges.

The assessment of women's personal Skills

The assessment of women's personal skills depends on defining some personal skills that are required in women's personalities, in order to be empowered and to be economically independent (open their businesses). The main steps that shall be followed, in order to measure women empowerment through skills assessment can be summarised by the following:

- Defining the required skills with the minimum level of each one (basic, competent and advanced).
- Meet women before receiving empowerment activity and measure their level in each personal skill.
- Identify the skills that need improvement to reach the required level.
- Meet women after receiving the empowerment activity and measure their level in the personal skills.
- Identify and analyse the skills that have been improved and the ones that have not been improved.

The Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) has argued in their women's entrepreneurship report that a group of factors contribute in women's entrepreneurial perception and their abilities to open their own business, which are networking, self-confidence (to reduce the fear of failure factor), motivation, entrepreneurial intention and having a clear vision (GEM, 2017). Accordingly, the first author has defined the needed skills for measuring women empowerment, based on these factors. Table 7 shows the definition of the skills and the required level.

Table 7: Skills assessment

Skill	Basic	Component	Advanced
Self confidence	-	-	Required level
Deep trust and belief in personal value and abilities (Bénabou and Tirole, 2002)	Woman does not believe in or trust her abilities	Woman knows her value and abilities	Woman totally believes and is sure about her value and abilities
Entrepreneurial intention	-	-	Required level
The presence of the willingness and aim to open a new business within three years or less (GEM, 2017a)	Woman is not sure about her intention to open a new business	Woman has the intention, without having a clear vision about the timing	Woman is sure that she will open a new business within three years
Motivation	-	-	Required level
Having the enthusiasm and influence to pursue an entrepreneurial opportunity (Shane, Locke and Collins, 2003)	Woman is not motivated to open her business	Woman is motivated to open her business within 5 years	Woman is motivated to open her business within maximum 3 years
Networking	-	-	Required level
The ability to build and maintain professional connections (University of Cambridge, 2018)	Woman does not have professional network	Woman has limited professional network and is not able to maintain them	Woman has big professional network and is able to maintain and grow them
Having a clear vision and idea	-	-	Required level
The presence of a specified business idea with a clear vision (Shane, Locke and Collins, 2003)	Woman does not have a specific and clear idea or vision	Woman have a specified idea with a limited vision	Woman have a specified idea with a totally clear vision for goals and aims

Women empowerment indicators (WEI's)

The assessment based on women empowerment indicators depends on defining certain key performance indicators that measure the improvement of women after receiving an empowerment activity.

The indicators are divided into three categories, which are: personal indicators, social indicators and business/ technical indicators. The personal indicators measure how women are empowered in the personal level, in terms of work life balance, decision-making control and entrepreneurial personal skills improvement. Also, the social indicators measure how women are supported by society and family. On the other hand, the business indicators measure how women start and open their businesses and how they become economically independent. However, the main steps that shall be followed, in order to measure women empowerment through the women empowerment indicators can be summarised by the following:

- Build women empowerment indicators (WEI's), as mentioned in Table 8.
- Meet woman, to assess her based on WEI's.
- Document the current situation of the woman.
- Meet woman to assess her after receiving an empowerment activity.
- Compare woman's empowerment level before and after receiving the empowerment activity.

Table 8: WEI's assessment

WEI	Importance	How to calculate	Expected value
Personal			
Percentage of working hours per week	To measure the work life balance	Total working hours per week/ total number of hours * 100%	27% or less (assuming that the total working hours per week are 45)
Percentage of decision making contribution (if she is married)	To measure woman's participation in family decision making process	Number of decisions that woman contributes in/ total number of decisions * 100%	100%

WEI	Importance	How to calculate	Expected value
Percentage of personal skills that woman needs improvement in	To measure women's needs for improvement	Number of personal skills that need improvement (based on the assessment of personal skills)/ total number of personal skills * 100%	0%
Woman network improvement per year	To measure the increase in the number of women's connections (professional) during the year	Number of new connections - Number of previous connections	4
Social			
Percentage of family support (number of supportive members/ total family members)	To measure the level of family support	Number of supportive members/ total family members * 100%	100%
Number of orders that have not been completed due to social constraints annually	To measure the number of orders which have been affected by a social constraint, such as the presence of kids or lack of trust on women businesses	Count the number of failed orders, due to social constraint during the year.	0
Number of work related decisions that have been affected negatively by a male figure (husband, father,…)	To measure the number of work related decisions that have been taken by a male and affected the business negatively	Count the negative decisions that have been taken by a male	0
Business and technical			
Percentage of sales increase	To measure woman's business launch and growth	Sales after receiving empowerment activity/ sales before receiving empowerment activity/ sales before	Minimum 10%
Number of new customers per quarter		Count the number of new customers each three months	Minimum 4
Percentage of savings	To measure the level of woman's financial management	Total amount of savings/ total profit * 100%	20%
Percentage of economic dependency per month	To measure woman's independency	Amount of money taken from another person/ total expenses	0%

7. Conclusion

Women empowerment is a critical concept that has deep social, personal and economical effect on women, as it is linked with women's ability to control their decisions, secure and control their income, have power in their homes, participate in economic development and have the right to learn and improve. Women empowerment can be developed, through creating a supportive eco-system that incubates women and provides an environment that engages them with their selves, families, societies and economies. However, securing a sustainable empowerment that has a tangible and continuous effect on women, requires defining some measurements, which test the impact and ensure that women have received the right efforts that enable them to be empowered and be economically independent. The primary and secondary researches have agreed that women empowerment can be measured by women's decision making participation, economic participation, education rights, movement rights, political participation, personal development, gender equality and expanding the network.

From this point of view, the first author has suggested a new approach for women empowerment measurement, that depends on women's personal skills assessment and women empowerment indicators assessment, where women are assessed before and after receiving an empowerment activity, based on a defined skills, such as self confidence, motivation, networking and having a clear vision. In addition to a define personal, social and technical empowerment indicators, such as percentage of working hours, percentage of decision making contribution, percentage of family support and percentage of sales increase.

This paper has contributed in recommending a comprehensive "women empowerment definition" based on the findings of the secondary data. Also, this research has contributed in recommending a practical measurement for women empowerment, based on primary and secondary data. Moreover, the paper has contributed in enhancing the author's knowledge regarding women empowerment.

On the other hand, there are many recommendations for future researches, such as applying the measurements and testing the suggested approach by one of the entities who are involved in women empowerment activities, studying the critical personal skills that affect women and have major contribution in their empowerment and dividing women empowerment measurements into levels, based on women's maturity and empowerment level.

Finally, there was not enough space in this paper to provide examples of applying these ideas to a sample of women. The second author assisted with supervision of this research and preparation of this paper.

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Re-Figuring Innovation in Games: A Feminist Interventionist Project

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Abstract: This paper reports on an ongoing, 5-year, international feminist intervention research project funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, "Re-Figuring Innovation in Games". The project includes researchers, students, game designers, community members, and video game companies in Canada, the U.S., and the U.K. Its most fundamental goal has been to build an explicitly feminist coalition to intervene in the habitually hostile and misogynist cultures of making and playing digital games. To date, our collective work has involved examining the structural and cultural issues in play that continue to successfully marginalize, harass and exclude women and others from a highly lucrative technology industry. The paper will also focus on describing some of the interventions that effectively interrupt and reconfigure persistent patterns of inequality and will demonstrate how the international network is striving to realize local, and extra-local change.

Keywords: gender, video games, inequity, feminism, video game industry, interventionist research

1. Background and context

A very real challenge of the 21st century is the enduring inequity between men and women, especially in relation to the design, uptake and use of digital technologies, including digital games (Hill, Corbett, & St Rose, 2010; Burrows, 2013). Researching this persistent under-participation of women is of social, cultural and economic interest and importance. For example, companies in Canada and the United States that have more women in positions of power (corporate officers and/or boards of directors) outperform those who have few to no women (Gillis, 2010). In late fall 2018, California, recognizing the deep structural inequities at all levels of pay, passed legislation that required all companies registered in California to have women on boards of directors (at least two on boards of 5, and 3 on boards of 6 or more) by 2021 (Stewart, 2018).

The digital games industry, like the technology sector in general, is and has been male dominated for decades, and recent reports indicate that of those women who begin careers in technology, 56% eventually leave its inhospitable and often outright discriminatory culture, and this is especially true in the games sector (Burrows, 2013; Cain Miller, 2014; Huhman, 2012; McWhertor, 2014; Snyder, 2014). In the past few years, Google announced that it would work to fight "deep set cultural biases and an insidious frat-house attitude that pervades the technology industry" (Manjoo, 2014), while other large tech companies like Facebook, Microsoft and Apple have explicitly stated that they will work to increase diversity in their workforce. All major digital game companies, however, have been silent on that issue, despite estimates that the number of women working in the games industry is around 21% (IGDA, 2017).

A contributing factor to the games industry's gender imbalance and the consequent social and economic impact is that women, both those who play and those who make games, are routinely harassed and threatened both online and offline (Gray, 2012; Griggs, 2014; Jenson & de Castell, 2013; Lee, 2014; Plunkett, 2012; Schreier, 2014). Meanwhile, women have come to make up more than 45% of the total player market, if mobile and casual games are factored in, and surveys over the past few years have placed women's mobile gameplay as high as 65% (Google Play, 2017). There is no empirical research to date that accounts for the entrenched gender divide in the games culture and industry.

The aim of this paper, then, is to overview a large, ongoing study of video game cultures and industries, funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. "Re-Figuring Innovation in Games" (ReFiG) has sought not just to document the paucity of women working in the games industry, but also to research how best to support their work, including how to ensure they can access the formal and informal educational opportunities required to develop the skills necessary for successful participation. We argue that it is through researching and supporting a critical mass of women, allies and partnerships that we can most meaningfully work to change what has become the status quo in game development and play: women are harassed both in public and behind the scenes, and are subjected to a heinous range of threats, even rape and death (Pantozzi, 2013; Schreier, 2013).

In mid-August 2014, Twitter, Reddit, YouTube, gaming websites and 4chan exploded with allegations of corruption in games journalism, naming the phenomenon "Gamergate" (see Twitter hashtag #Gamergate). At that time, nearly every major English news outlet and game-related journalistic website reported on "Gamergate" (Collins, 2014; Dockterman, 2014; Farokhmanesh, 2014; Schulten, 2014; Southey, 2014; Stone, 2013; Their, 2014; The Stream, 2014; Weinberger, 2014). Women in all capacities within the games industry, including critics, game players, game makers and journalists, were at the center of the controversy, and many received threats that, as games journalist Auerbauch put it, were "so egregious" that a prominent female journalist (Jenn Frank) publicly announced that she would no longer be writing on games (Aucherbach, 2014a, 2014b). This situation further escalated into a public threat of a "massacre," forcing games critic Anita Sarkeesian (Executive Director, Feminist Frequency*)* to cancel a public address at the University of Utah (Robertson, 2014; Wingfield, 2014)[1]. As caustic and hostile as game culture has become for women, exposed so publicly over the past 3 years (Jenson & de Castell, 2013), it is now the largest entertainment industry worldwide (ESA, 2018) and therefore *represents vital opportunities for economic growth and cultural participation*.

2. Description of the project

ReFiG has brought together post-secondary institutions, community, non-profit organizations, digital games companies, academics, indie game designers, game journalists, and bloggers to conduct longitudinal research that documents, analyses, interrupts and transforms inequitable conditions that reinforce traditional biases and impede innovation in games industry and culture**.** Our four specific research objectives (and corresponding research themes (see Figure 1) are:

- 1. Generating methodologies and tools that document and study gamer culture and games;
- 2. Catalyzing empirically driven research on the experiences and roles of women in the games industry;
- 3. Studying, documenting and assessing informal educational opportunities for participation in digital game design and development;
- 4. Locating, examining and reporting on policies and practices in formal game development programs that are successfully building and sustaining more equal participation by men and women, and documenting the impact of these programs on innovation, in the cultural as well as technological and economic spheres.

In collaboration with an international group of researchers, students, community members, game designers and many others, we have sought ways to interrupt and reconfigure the longstanding patterns of female inequality and under-representation in the games industries and cultures. There is currently no research or project of this scale that takes up the challenge, through evidence-driven research, to *intervene to tackle the hostile and marginalized conditions of women in games*.

Working across these four research areas, and in collaboration with partners that have local, national and international ties, we have mobilized gender-sensitive research methodologies to inform innovative and context appropriate practices that promote active engagement between researchers, the games industry, community groups, and others in the sector. Key outputs have included the co-development of: an inclusivity toolkit specific to the games industry; curricula for game incubators and gender sensitive game programs; journalistic high-impact blogging; and scholarly presentations and publications.

3. Theoretical framework and methodology

This project is grounded in two feminist approaches: intersectional theory and gender-based interventionist methodology. Feminist theory has a rich history of critically interrogating structural inequities that obstruct and marginalize women. Taking an "intersectional" theoretical approach to feminism means that while gender remains its primary lens, analysis must also be attuned to inequities that stem from ethnicity, class, sexualities, and abilities. Intersectional approaches understand that oppression is interlocking (Samuels & Ross-Sheriff, 2008), and that gender as an analytic category is context dependent and therefore tied to other sites of oppression (Hulko, 2009). Methodologically, the feminist approach to research and innovation that we are taking can be best summarized as "interventionist", aiming not only to document and analyze conditions of oppression and marginalization, but also to actively work to improve those conditions (Lather & Smithies 1997).

[1]Using Montreal Massacre shooter Marc Lepine's name, as well as his words, the warning read: "Feminists have ruined my life and I will have my revenge"—chilling reminders of the obstacles still very much in play for women.

Our integrative analytical tool for coordinating work across the partnership is Actor Network Theory (ANT), as developed and articulated in the field of Science and Technology Studies by Bruno Latour (1987, 1992, 2005), John Law (2004) and Michel Callon (1987). ANT defines 'the social' – institutions, practices, and interactions – as the product of engagement and associations between human and non-human 'actors'. As Latour insists in his introduction to ANT (2005), agency is distributed across actors that co-constitute a network. Non-humans have been delegated the task of prescribing, framing, eliciting, and enabling certain forms of action, and prohibiting or discouraging others. Social scientific research, from an ANT perspective, is tasked with "re-assembling" the associations between human and non-human actors in a network so as to better map their interrelationships. As an "object-oriented sociology for object-oriented people" (Latour, 2005, p. 74), ANT is particularly productive as a means of studying highly-technologized networks of practice. It has been usefully applied to studies of digital play (Giddings & Kennedy, 2008; Giddings, 2007) to chart the co-relations of human and virtual agencies in games. In this project, we have examined both sides of the player/game relation: how the games configure the players and how, in turn, those who are making games configure economic relations of production. ANT makes it possible to document and trace the ways in which we are both shaping and are shaped by the technologies we use, and is one of the few theories that give technology a central 'speaking role.' The above approaches frame and direct the work that has been developed in each of the four thematic research areas. We describe those next, and in each section, report on some of the research that has been accomplished to date.

4. Thematic research areas

Our approach to this project has been through intersecting thematic research areas which have allowed us to study gender and other structural inequities for women in games, focusing our research efforts on four key areas of culture, industry, and both formal and informal education. Working collaboratively, and cutting across the four thematic research areas, ReFiG participating researchers, students and community members have identified a set of feminist principles and practices that guide this project, many of which will be familiar to feminist researchers, but are worth elaborating on here. For instance, and without prioritization: 1) an interest in social change and for many of us, studying conditions (of women/others) in order to improve them; 2) locating yourself in the research – who you are and why are you studying people, places, or objects; 3) co-creation of research outcomes and intersubjective relationships; 4) participants are people, not data points; 5) prioritization of research that is interested in the advancement of folks who identify as women; 6) research that practices reciprocity; 7) transparency of expectations and outcomes; 8) respect people's right of refusal; 9) approach research with an ethics of care; and 10) cultivate surprise in your research. What follows is a summary of the thematic research areas along with a brief, and certainly not complete overview of research conducted in those areas to date.

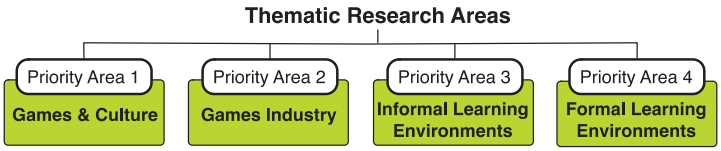


Figure 1: Research areas

4.1 Research area 1: Exploring the culture of games and gameplay

In 2012, the darker side of digital games culture began to be exposed across the U.S., the U.K. and Canada as major news outlets turned public attention to the violent, vitriolic and misogynistic harassment women game players and critics face (Consalvo 2012; Jenson & de Castell 2013; Jilani 2014). In tandem, games themselves came under closer scrutiny, as critics began to take serious measure of the character and extent of representational concerns in large-budget, top-selling games – most prominent among these being the lack of central female characters (Williams et al. 2009), with the typical presentation of female characters being "damsels in distress" (Feminist Frequency 2013). In the rare examples of a female protagonist, she is likely to be presented as hyper-sexualized, as in the famous *Tomb Raider* series. The underlying premise of these critiques is that in perpetuating heteronormative stereotypes featuring dominating male central characters and sexualized and subordinate female ones, the games industry attracts and rewards its targeted male gamer audience for identifying with regressive forms of hegemonic masculinity that marginalize female gamers and designers alike. To date, we have documented the 'ripple effects' of gendered stereotypes from the representation of gender in games, the circulation of discriminatory discourse in online game-related forums,

and documented debates and controversies within player communities. We have also conducted embedded research and collected data from hundreds of game developers at gaming events and hosted international symposia for industry and academics concerned about sustainability in games ecosystems. An extensive database documenting the reported conditions and experiences of women in the industry in Canada and the US is now being used to discover significant patterns of gender discrimination, and to cross-correlate data on women's routes into and career pathways within the industry. We have also produced a range of studies into the expansive cultures of game play, including the creation of an online resource chronicling the history of LGBTQ games, the LGBTQ videogame archive (https://lgbtqgamearchive.com/), ethnographies of women's experiences in the emergent live streaming culture, participatory cultures in competitive gaming, and investigations into how masculinity manifests in play. Empirical findings in this thematic area have advanced theory about how and under what conditions women and minorities are able to participate with voice and visibility in games culture. Crucially, these findings also inform on what needs to change, and what specific methods and approaches might best support those changes.

4.2 Research area 2: Documenting and studying the digital games industry

While there is much in the way of anecdotal evidence illustrating the relationship between misogyny and the exclusion of women from the gaming industry, no comprehensive studies either in Canada or internationally have adequately documented this problem. For example, it is still not clear how and in what ways the games industry is inhospitable towards women, implicitly or explicitly, even though the games industry has had a "#metoo" movement of sorts. In late November 2012, a Twitter hashtag, "#1reasonwhy" went viral in answer to the question of why there are not more women in the games industry. Responses revealed the scale and scope of sexual harassment, misogyny and discomfort experienced by women who work or have worked in the industry. However, there is very little academic research in Europe or North America that documents the gender-based issues raised in that viral twitter response, nor is there any data that provides a coherent picture either of what women's roles are in the industry or of women's remuneration in comparison to men's. The industry-based data collected to date in North America and Europe is based on self-report from several surveys, one conducted by a game industry focused group in the U.K. (UKIE), and the other by the International Game Developers Association (IGDA). These surveys report that approximately 18-22% of those working in the games industry identify as women. The 2017 IGDA survey also reported that many of those in the industry (both men and women) either experienced or witnessed harassment.

This research area has documented and described, from an intersectional standpoint, the contemporary landscape of the games industry, through both workplace ethnographies and data collection on employment statistics, working conditions and differential promotion and pay rates in each of our partner countries (Canada, U.S., U.K). We continue to gather data on women working in games, and forging collaborations with industry insiders for policy development, particularly in Ontario, Quebec, and the UK. Collaborating with large-scale game studios has also been a significant part of this project, and we have had substantial success working with and placing embedded researchers in smaller studios, collaborative workspaces, industry festivals and events, and within a coalition of indie game developers (Indie MEGABOOTH), as well as with teams working in emerging fields related to games in esports, transmedia, and VR production. Rather than looking exclusively at women working in game companies, we also mapped the vital role of women in the cultural and economic frameworks that drive the industry.

4.3 Research area 3: Informal learning environments: Feminist interventions

Informal learning environments, especially for adults, are invaluable sites for the acquisition of new skills and competencies (Engëstrom 2009; Knowles 1984; Marsick & Watkins 2001). One of the key outcomes of an earlier research project was the development of an explicitly feminist community-based infrastructure supporting the technological skill development of women interested in entering the games industry, in Toronto, Montreal and the UK. The two non-profit organizations created during this earlier project (Dames Making Games, Toronto; Pixelles, Montreal) are still active and have agreed to partner in this proposal. These groups have helped women design and develop digital games, present newly developed games to the wider game development community, and support the entry of more women into industry jobs. The research in this theme has documented who participates in these kinds of non-formal game 'incubator' programs and why they do so, the curricula used, the means and methods of instruction. Most importantly, it documents the outcomes for participants using these organizations to enter the larger games and new media industries, thereby identifying effective and sustainable approaches.

The methodological focus of this area is feminist intervention and impact assessment (Lather 1991; Rommes, Bath & Maass 2012), which, as mentioned, works not just to analyze but also to positively change those conditions and to assess the impact of those changes. Examining grassroots and community efforts in the UK, US and Canada, including participant-led informal learning environments, has enabled the identification of potential and actual outcomes (both creative and economic) made possible by such initiatives, including pathways to employment, creative output, and community-building. To date, we have also developed and piloted a manual for the creation and implementation of "community-based" game-focused programs, to be launched in early 2019. Partnerships have been productive in this area with a number of community organizations' researchers collaborating in informal learning program design, delivery, and impact assessment.

4.4 Research area 4: Studying inclusive formal learning and educational opportunities

This research area has gathered data from all university and college game programs in Canada, building a database of programs, diplomas, certificates, and exemplary courses. We have interviewed a large sample of instructors teaching in those programs about student demographics, completion rates, and equity policies, and we have begun a large scale, online survey of students and instructors in game and game related programs. An overview of post-secondary game programs in the US and UK are underway, and in the UK context we have conducted qualitative case studies of four higher education programs, including interviews with students and instructors as well as an analysis of policy, curriculum, and marketing materials. Provisional analyses identified key challenges to inclusivity in formal education, including the recruitment of women and other gender minorities, the lack of critical game literacy in game program curricula, and the domination of technology and business programs by male students, in comparison to less gender-stratified art and design programs. Simultaneously, our research reveals a number of successful initiatives encouraging female recruitment and retention, including active leadership and 'ambassador' roles.

5. So what? A working challenge as conclusion

With an interventionist project of any size the challenge is, and has been, how to make conditions more habitable for women and other gender minorities. That is, what conditions will enable feminist work to make the kinds of interventions that result in positive change? The four thematic research areas we have described, and the work within them, is working towards that change. As an example, in the early days of 2019, the first exhibition of LGBTQ video games opened in Berlin (Thaddeus-John, 2019). That exhibition is based on the partially funded ReFIG work by Adrienne Shaw at Temple University, who founded the LGBTQ videogame archive (https://lgbtqgamearchive.com/). The exhibition and the website both serve, we argue, as interventions into the culture of making and playing games, making a space for queer, nonbinary and other folks to come together around shared interests and shared content. More broadly we know from the scope and breadth of the work we have done, only briefly described here, that these small- and large-scale interventions can and do have a lasting impact on the lives of participants well beyond the event they participated in. Of course, the challenge in all of this work has been how to engage with the political climate of today, while still advancing the aims of the research. That has meant that some of what we have had to learn is to not retreat from difficult discussions, but to learn from our mistakes and indeed make it possible for people to make mistakes. Like with all good games, we have to build and sustain a place where people can try and fail, over and over, with some consequences, certainly, but always with a goal towards progression. We need to make room for failure and to be forgiven for our collective ignorance, but most importantly to be willing first and foremost to learn, to develop what Ivan Illich (1973) called "tools for conviviality." Tools, he said foster conviviality "to the extent to which they can be easily used, by anybody, as often or as seldom as desired, for the accomplishment of a purpose chosen by the user." That is, convivial tools or technologies are those that can be shared – are open-source – and are driven by the needs of the user, not the developer. We have and are developing those convivial tools in this project, tools that might well help us attain, as Illich recovers the word from Aristotle, a kind of "graceful playfulness".

A key importance of this research is that it has been able to document the fact that the harassment of women, minorities and others is an ongoing issue in the games industry, and no matter how much both players and makers of games "love" their playing and making, it is not enough to combat the ongoing harassment. We have also shown that while education might be somewhat of a barrier to entering into the games industry, it is certainly not the only one, and many women take up positions in the industry without having had any formal computer science training or formal training as game designers. And finally, we have shown, over time and in five separate locales (Brighton, Vancouver, Toronto, Montreal and Bristol) how an interventionist approach to playing and making games, namely one that gives a safer space to women and girls to make and play on their

own, creates opportunities for women to take up employment in the games industry, and for women and girls to skill up as players and makers, so they can participate in the largest and most influential creative industry of the 21st century. Finally, and it is worth repeating, that within all this work, we see time and time again the ways in which patriarchy operates structurally, placing limits on women and girls that they themselves and we ourselves do not always recognize.

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Tackling Sexism, Gender Stereotyping and Unconscious Bias in Education

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Abstract: This paper discusses a research informed project that set out to tackle sexism, gender stereotyping and unconscious bias in education. It reports findings from a pilot study of the project, conducted with 19 trainee teachers (practicing early years' practitioners) in the UK. Data were collected via surveys, audio recordings of the sessions and participant's action plans and session notes. The findings indicate that many participants (but not all) subscribed to an ideology of gender-blindness, not only by viewing education as gender neutral, but colluding in concealing its gendered nature, for example by normalising sexism in non-gendered and non-sexist terms. Other participants could be categorised as the 'enlightened'. All participants claimed to gain a greater awareness of sexism, gender stereotypes and unconscious bias in education, but not all felt confident that they could address these problems. The shift in their awareness, however, marks a significant change in mindset for those previously subscribing to gender blindness.

Keywords: gender, sexism, stereotypes, unconsious bias, education

1. Background – problem, need and significance

This paper discusses a Teaching and Learning (T&L) intervention, which sought to tackle sexism, gender stereotypes and unconscious bias in education, which was funded by the University of Reading Teaching and Learning Development Fund (TLDF), in the UK. A second aim of this paper is to report preliminary findings from a pilot study conducted to evaluate the project.

Sexism is of growing concern in contemporary education (Leaper and Brown, 2014). Understood as a form of prejudice or discrimination based on gender, typically, it presents as gender stereotype biases, which stem from "preconceived ideas whereby females and males are arbitrarily assigned characteristics and roles determined and limited by their gender" (Gender Equality Commission of the Council of Europe, 2015). In education, the gender stereotypes children encounter can profoundly influence:

- expectations of appropriate gender-based behaviour
- academic preferences
- perceptions of ability
- perceptions of status and worth compared to peers
- access to equitable educational opportunities
- interpersonal and intrapersonal relationships among peers
- physical and psychological wellbeing
- career choice
- regard for self and others in the school environment, and beyond.

The development of gender stereotypes coincides with the pivotal period of early years and primary education and escalates during a child's secondary school years. First, from around the age of 2, young children begin to develop concepts of gender (Aina and Cameron, 2011), with most children being able to identify whether they are a boy or a girl by the age of 3 years (Martin and Ruble, 2004). Between the ages of 3 and 5, young children develop their understanding of what it means to be a girl or a boy and develop their own gender identity. At the same time gender stereotypes begin to emerge. During this period idealised stereotypes and expectations about motherhood and work professions are often fostered. Children may begin to feel constrained by societal pressures to fit in with narrow roles for their gender. By the ages of 5 gender stereotypes are well formed and by 5 to 7 years they are rigidly defined (Martin and Ruble, 2004). During primary schooling (5 to 11 years) and secondary schooling (11 to 16 years), negative gender stereotyping can escalate into profound sexism and sexual harassment. Illustrative of this, recent research, conducted with 1,634 teachers at primary and secondary schools in England and Wales, found:

> *'Gender stereotyping is a typical feature of school culture…Sexual harassment is highly prevalent in schools. It is also gendered, overwhelmingly involving boys targeting girls… Sexism and sexual harassment in schools has been normalised and is rarely reported… The use of misogynistic language is common place in schools' (National Education Union and UK Feminista, 2017).*

The report made recommendations for consistent and ongoing action from schools, Government and education bodies, and called for the Department for Education (DfE) to urgently make tackling sexism and sexual harassment in schools a policy priority. Recommendations were also made for training for school inspectors to enable them to take action, inspections of Initial Teacher Training (ITT) providers to assess whether training adequately equips trainees with the skills they need, and compulsory training for all trainee teachers. A key problem is that teachers feel ill equipped and unsupported in this regard (National Education Union and UK Feminista, 2017). It is against this background that the T&L project was developed.

2. The T&L project

Based on a theoretical framework advocated by Iris Bohnet (2016), the T&L project was designed to de-bias the environment using a capacity building approach that incorporates the unfreeze-change-refreeze technique pioneered by applied social and organisational psychologist Kurt Lewin (1947, 1951).

The half-day session sought to facilitate participants' active engagement in four activities:

- 1. Cartoon strips with scenarios to illustrate unconscious bias
- 2. Card game to illustrate the cumulative impact of institutionalised gender stereotyping
- 3. Role play scenarios of sexism and gender stereotyping
- 4. Action planning and feedback.

The awareness-raising aspect (*unfreeze*) aimed to raise awareness, so participants became progressively aware of sexism, gender stereotypes and unconscious bias, since the first step to address the problem is to draw attention to it (Hofbauer and Wroblewski, 2014, p. 22). Taking an experimental approach, session activities sought to build participants capacity to creatively address the root cause of problems not just the symptoms, thus bring about *change* in educational space. Participants left with action plans. They participated in a second session a few weeks later to reflect on learning and changes they had made.

3. Research design

The research sought to examine the impact of the T&L project on participants and their practice. It was granted full approval by the University of Reading Research Ethics Committee. Purposive sampling was used to recruit 20 early years' practitioners to the pilot study. One person withdrew from the study, but continued to participate in the project, leaving a sample of 19. All participants were part-time students at the University. They were all female. Fifteen were of White ethnicity and five of Asian ethnicities. Except for one participant, aged 51-60, they were aged 40 or less. All participants held a degree qualification, five also held a teaching qualification and two a Masters degree.

Data were collected by:

- survey prior to the session and 3 months later
- In-class observations and audio recordings
- Feedback sheets
- Participant's activity notes and action plans.

Quantitative data were analysed in SPSS. Analysis of qualitative data was undertaken following Braun and Clarke's (2006) 6-step framework. This involved data familiarization, initial coding, thematic analysis, followed by data triangulation to examine similarities and differences within and across the different data-sets (Patton, 1990). Final themes were defined. Following Maguire and Delahunt (2017), this involved answering questions such as: 'What is the theme saying? If there are subthemes, how do they interact and relate to the main theme? How do the themes relate to each other?' (p.33511).

4. Findings

Observations suggest that many (but not all) participants subscribed to an ideology of gender-blindness, not only by viewing education as gender neutral, but also colluding in concealing its gendered nature, for example by normalising sexism in non-gendered and non-sexist terms (Glick and Fiske, 1996; Becker and Swim, 2011; Becker and Wright, 2011; Riemer et al., 2014; Valentine et al., 2014). Others could be categorised as 'enlightened'. The 'Modern Sexism Scale' (Swim et al., 1995), incorporated in the survey, provides further insight into participants attitudes. Scores on this scale range from 8-40, lower scores indicate less sexist responses. Participants scores ranged from 12-29, the mean was 22. Sub-items measuring denial of continuing sexism range from 4-20. Participants scores ranged from 6-15, the mean was 11. Sub-items measuring antagonism toward women's demands range from 2-10. Participants scores ranged from 2-8, the mean was 6.

Despite holding somewhat traditional, arguably sexist attitudes, analysis of qualitative data illustrates the awareness raising (*unfreeze)* aspect of the project was achieved overall, and for most participants this prompted some revisions in thinking. A common theme was that it "*made me challenge my own thoughts on gender roles but reaffirmed some opinions".*

There is evidence that participants examined, to varying degrees, the root causes of gender prejudice, such as *"how much our upbringing and beliefs seep into our attitudes of gender and sexism"* and in consequence *"…how easy it is to make sexist comments without realising it".*

The most common learning outcome was "*… to challenge sexism, and it's ok to challenge sexism - recognise different types of sexism'.* Typically, this meant *"not be afraid to challenge others' statements and beliefs"* .

Focusing outward on the behaviour of others was more common than self-reflection. Nevertheless, two participants did appear to reflect on themselves to "…realise when you are biased". Many found this challenging because it involved *"thinking and reflecting on personal practice"* and *"expressing feelings".*

Analysis of participants action plans shows they predominantly focused on dispelling children's perceptions of gender stereotypes, by adopting positive exemplars of counter-stereotypes, such as "*pictures of both genders in roles such as washing up, cooking, driving a tractor and farmer*", using *"books about women in male dominated roles and vice-versa…",* bringing in speakers from *"different professions, e.g. doctors, nurses etc."* as well as a range of activities such as producing "a *'Challenging Gender Stereotypes' poster for each of the rooms in the nursery…"* using: *"…the Disney film 'frozen', as a comparison with the other Disney film… ask the children why the story is different."*

Others sought to neutralise gender, for example by "*having dressing-up outfits available for both genders…,"* and *"discouraging children from thinking girls can only wear pink and boys can wear blue"* or allowing children to share toilet facilities.

To create a more inclusive learning environment one participant planned to use a talking object to "*prevent the children from talking over each other…[to] listen and respect each other's opinion".* Only a small minority planned to talk with parents and/or colleagues and only one thought to look at *"research evidence for how gendered language influences the way children think and learn".*

None of the participants had received training on these issues before. Typically participants commented: *it is "not a very common subject to be taught [and there's] not much information available [on it]".* They found it refreshing that the sessions *"addressed all forms of sexism, didn't avoid talking about it!"* This meant they were able to discuss issues openly and without fear of backlash. Participants liked that the project "*was practical, related to real situations and it is easy to see how it can be applied"*, and commented it *"was interactive so kept me interested"*. Still, those that resisted change, failed to progress beyond the *unfreeze* stage.

5. Discussion and conclusions

All participants gained a greater awareness of sexism, gender stereotypes and unconscious bias so achieved the unfreeze stage. Still, some did not feel able or willing to address such issues. This shift in awareness, however, marks a significant change in mindset for those previously subscribing to gender blindness.

Those that did take action in their practice context, most commonly focused on changing children's perceptions of gender stereotypes. Getting to the root cause of problems, for example, by challenging the behaviour and perceptions of others was cited less and only a couple of participants engaged in deep reflection on their own gender biases.

Previous studies have attempted to capture factors causing change towards more equal and non-prejudicial attitudes and behaviour patterns, however there is inconclusive evidence of 'what works' (Bohnet, 2016). The findings from this study suggest learning interventions that thoughtfully incorporate action learning activities with reflection appear to work raising awareness. However, it is very likely that for lasting meaningful change to occur, interventions need to be sustained over a longer period and combined with work-based learning (learning by doing), as well as support for self-reflection.

In conclusion, further research is needed with larger samples, over longer periods of time to establish the extent to which learning interventions work and to understand the nature of what works, and the conditions necessary for interventions to work. This should include consideration of the characteristics of institutional culture most receptive to change. Action research could prove fruitful in this regard.

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Gay Girl in Damascus: Saving Brown Women From Brown Men in Syria

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Abstract: This paper extracts the phrase "white women saving brown women from brown men" from Gita Spivak's celebrated essay " Can the Subaltern Speak?" and applies it to the various Western interventions that have used "crisis initiation" (i.e. false flags) using the theme of gender injustice to initiate "humanitarian interventions" in the Middle East, Libya and the Former Yugoslavia. The paper analyzes the hoax of the social media blog "Gay Girl of Damascus", which appeared at the beginning of the so-called "Syrian Uprising" of 2011 and examines how the hoax advanced the Western project for regime change in Syria. The blog purported to record the experiences of Amina Arraf who described herself as a Syrian-American lesbian living in Damascus. Eventually, on June 6, 2011, Amina's cousin claimed that Amina had been abducted by the Syrian government, sparking popular outrage in the Western LGBT community and widespread coverage within the Western mainstream media. In the end, the blog post was revealed to be a complete hoax and "Amina" was revealed to be Tom McMaster, a heterosexual American man living in Edinburgh. The paper discusses how Western "humanitarian interventions" have been used as a cynical justification for war and the theft of resources and how Western "imperial feminists" (who in turn transform into "white women saving brown women from brown men") have colluded in the endeavor. Rather than improving the circumstances for women and sexual minorities in the region, Western governments and their allies have worsened the situation as they have nurtured, encouraged and supported various jihadist rebels. The jihadist victims include the Yezidi women of Iraq taken as sex slaves; women killed for adultery; and gay men thrown off tall buildings, stoned to death or shot for allegedly practicing same-sex relations.

Keywords: imperial feminism, humanitarian intervention, sexual minorities, Middle East, Arab Spring

1. Introduction

In her celebrated essay entitled "Can the Subaltern Speak?" cultural theorist Gayatri Spivak enunciated the theory of "white men…saving brown women from brown men (Morris 2010, 48)" in which she identified the European colonial artifice of using perceived gender injustice perpetrated by colonial subjects as a justification for colonial rule and the "mission civilisatrice."

More recently, as Western governments have worked towards regime change against the secular Syrian government—as they have done previously in Libya and Iraq—the Western civilizing mission using gender injustice as justification for humanitarian intervention took a strange twist with the appearance of a popular social media blog "A Gay Girl in Damascus" which began appearing in early 2011 at the beginning of the so-called "Syrian uprising." The blog purported to record the experiences of Amina Arraf who described herself as a Syrian-American lesbian living in Damascus. Eventually, on June 6, 2011, Amina's fictional cousin claimed that Amina had been abducted by the Syrian government, sparking popular outrage in the Western LGBT community and widespread coverage within the Western mainstream media. In the end, the blog post was revealed to be a complete hoax and "Amina" was revealed to be Tom McMaster, a heterosexual American man living in Edinburgh. In fact, the theme of gender injustice, including gender injustice as hoax, has been a prominent trope Western government have promulgated in various "humanitarian interventions" in the Middle East and North Africa.

By contrast, women and sexual minorities in the region have been left to deal with the real-life consequences of the meddling and interference which has included the collusion and the arming and financial support of various extremist religious groupings battling secular governments. Syrian and Iraqi women such as those from the Yezidi religious minority, for example, were kidnapped, beaten and sold into sex slavery by the Islamic extremist group ISIS, while Syrian and Iraqi men accused of practicing same-sex relations were thrown off tall buildings or stoned to death. Meanwhile, female Kurdish militia fighters from the Rojova region, paradoxically aided by the same Western governments supporting the misogynist religious rebels, gained accolades in the Western media for courageously confronting religious patriarchy. In the process, many Western feminists, believing the fantasy that they have more rights than other group of women globally, joined in the social mission with their "white men…saving brown women from brown men" and became "white women…saving brown women from brown men."

2. Historical and theoretical background

The use of gender as an excuse for the colonial civilization mission has a long history. As Spivak notes in her essay, for example, British colonial authorities used the practice of Indian widows throwing themselves on their husbands' funeral pyres to justify the innate superiority of British culture. However, as Indian writer Shashi Tharoor comments, instead of improving life for Indian women, the British enacted laws based on Victorian-era morals such as Section 94 of the Indian Penal Code which criminalized adultery for married women but not married men (Tharoor 2016, 117). Furthermore, in a move mirrored throughout the British Empire, in places where there had been no previous strictures against same-sex practices the British enacted Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code which criminalized "carnal intercourse against the order of nature", i.e. same sex relations, an edict which was only annulled in 2018. This feigned concern for the plight of Indian women provided cover for the true goals of British colonialism: the plunder and exploitation of Indian resources.

At the same time, collusion between British suffragettes and British Empire was apparent from the beginning of the movement, a complicity conspicuously demonstrated when the most famous English suffragette, Emmeline Pankhurst, became a fervent supporter of Britain's entry into the First World War, stating on a lecture tour: "If you go to this war, and give your life, you could not end your life in a better way—for to give one's life for one's country, for a great cause, is a splendid thing (Hochschild 2011: 107)." Pankhurst, whose early views survive among contemporary feminists, was also a staunch supporter of the British Empire who believed that Britain not only had a moral duty but also the right to rule the rest of the world. As she explained: "Some talk about the empire and imperialism as if it were something to decry and something to be ashamed of. It is a great thing to be the inheritors of an empire like ours (Kang 2018)."

Yet another strand of the feminism of the first two decades of the twentieth century in Western countries such as Britain and Germany was the support for the eugenics movement (the science of improving a human population by controlled breeding). A leading proponent of the eugenics movement was Emmeline Pankhurst's daughter, Christabel. Another early feminist, the British author Marie Stopes, emphasized the explicit racial aspect of her ideology by calling her organization the Society for Birth Control and Racial Progress, while others other organizations such as the National Society for Equal Citizenship accentuated a class interest by calling in the 1930s for the sterilization of 'unfit' women, a euphemism for working-class women and unwed mothers (Amos 1984, 13). After the Nazis expressed admiration and began the actual implementation of the ideas of the eugenics movement by sterilizing and murdering disabled people and others with undesirable racial genetics, the eugenics movement lost favor, but this early collusion of feminism and support for European colonialism and racial hierarchy led more radical feminists to label this feminism as "imperial feminism" or "bourgeois feminism." To its detractors from the Global South such feminism also became known as "Western feminism," a criticism which, for the purposes of this paper, is still relevant as Western feminists conspire with the mostly male Western military-industrial complex in employing feminist rhetoric to support Western imperialism and neoliberal economic policies.

Western governments have often used this "saving of brown women from brown men" using hoaxes, "false flags" and the manipulation of gender relations in the country under attack, and it has often involved conspiring with local conservative (often religious extremists or fundamentalists) to overthrow or destabilize secular governments which do not align themselves with the economic goals of Western governments. As the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) collaborated to overthrow the secular democratically-elected progressive government of Iranian president Mohammad Mossadegh in 1953, for example, it co-opted the support of conservative Islamic clerics who opposed Mossadegh's plans to allow female suffrage and right to employment (Afari 2009, 197).

With the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990 and the rise of a unipolar world in which the United States became the unrivaled military and economic power, the manipulation of gender relations became a consistent weapon wielded against governments standing in the way of the implementation of a capitalist neoliberal economic order. For instance, after the Iraqi dictator, Saddam Hussein, invaded and occupied Kuwait (a country which, like Iraq, was not distinguished for its democratic credentials) in 1991, the world witnessed a young girl named Naira appearing before a U.S. congressional committee sobbing and claiming to have seen Iraqi soldiers "come into the hospital with guns, and go into the room where 15 babies were in incubators. They took the babies out of the incubators, took the incubators and left the babies on the cold floor to die (Regan 2002)." The testimony, which the human rights group Amnesty International used to accuse Iraq of atrocities in Kuwait, played perhaps

the instrumental role in the decision of the American government to invade Iraq. It later transpired, however, that the confession was in fact a complete fabrication concocted by the American PR firm Hill & Knowlton and that the sobbing Naira as in fact the daughter of the Kuwaiti ambassador to the United States who had never seen the atrocities she described.

The use of gender injustice as a pretext for destabilization also occurred in Yugoslavia, a country whose economy, a mixture of private and state planning, was deemed too socialist to comply with the capitalist economic and geopolitical goals of the United States and other Western European powers. During the Bosnian War of 1992-1995, the Western press sensationally reported on the existence of an orchestrated and systematic campaign of rape by Serbian soldiers. As the author Diana Johnstone notes, there is no doubt that, as in any other war, many rapes on all sides of the conflict occurred; what is suspicious is that the rapes would occur on the part of only one of the parties involved in the war. As she writes, "the mainstream media chose to play up stories involving Muslim victims, while ignoring rape of Serbian women. To this bias was added a political twist: rape was 'promoted' from a sordid personal crime to a central feature of one of the warring parties (Johnstone 2002, 83)." Adding more weight to Johnstone's argument is the fact that these fabricated allegations of rape were previously used against American foes. For instance, former CIA intelligence officer John Stockwell admitted that in the 1970s the CIA continually manufactured false news stories including the story that Cuban soldiers were raping Angolan women (Fernandez 2017). The tale of supposed Serbian rape camps is also ironic given that the North American Treaty Organization's (NATO) "humanitarian intervention" and illegal attack and bombing of the Former Yugoslavia in 1999 was led by President Bill Clinton who at the time was embroiled in the Monica Lewinsky sex scandal, leading some to speculate that the decision to bomb Serbia was an effort to distract American attention from the imbroglio. Meanwhile, Clinton himself has since been accused of at least four cases of sexual misconduct or rape (Relman 2018).

During the Western invasion of Afghanistan in 2001, the theme of "saving Afghan women" became a prominent justification used by both American government officials and mainstream feminists. Lost in the argument for another "humanitarian intervention" was the historical context which stretched back to the 1978 Afghan government coup by the non-aligned People's Democratic Party. In its first year of office, the party implemented women's rights initiatives such as limits to child marriage, women's literacy initiatives and the building of medical clinics. Facing a backlash from conservative landowners and religious forces, which the United States armed, the Afghan government invited Soviet intervention in 1979 (Davidson 2016: 98-101). Following ten years of supplying arms and aid to Afghan mujahedeen, whom American President Ronald Regan compared to the "moral equivalent of our founding fathers" during a visit to the White House in 1985, the Soviet Army left Afghanistan in 1989. Then, after years of internecine fighting between various mujahedeen factions, the Taliban, a militia group which imposed a strict interpretation of Islamic religious law, assumed control of roughly three quarters of the country and began implementing severe restrictions on women's rights including the enforced wearing of the all-encompassing burqa and the abolition of the right to work or study after the age of eight.

Ignoring the significant role the American government had played in the rise of the Taliban, after the events of September 11, 2001 American president George W. Bush used the plight of Afghan women to justify American and NATO intervention in the country, stating: "The Taliban's days of harboring terrorists and dealing in heroin and brutalizing women are drawing to a close (Russo 2006)." In this, he was joined by the Executive Director of the Feminist Majority Foundation, Eleanor Smeal who, drawing on the ideology of imperial feminism, testified before Congress in October 2001 advocating the need for gender equality in Afghanistan; however, she never criticized the American role in creating the inequality. It was as if she and other mainstream feminists were suggesting that Afghan women could not be liberated without NATO bombs or without being saved by their liberated Western sisters. Meanwhile, seventeen years later (at the time or writing), the number of Afghan girls completing primary and secondary school is declining (Naderi 2018) and the Taliban controls more of Afghanistan than ever before (Fox 2018).

The manipulation of women's rights as a justification for regime change and war also a theme in the Anglo-American invasion of Iraq in 2003 when, in the run-up to the illegal invasion, U.S. National Security Adviser Condoleeza Rice and Vice President Dick Cheney met with a group calling itself "Women for a Free Iraq" to discuss the apparent beheadings, rape and torture Iraqi women suffered at the hands of the Iraqi regime. The meeting was rather curious considering, as the feminist American anti-war group Code Pink notes, that "from 1958 to the 1990s Iraq provided relatively more rights and freedoms [for women] than most of its neighbors (Laskey 2006)."

Later, as the United States and other Western European nations prepared for regime change against the secular regime of Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi in 2011, American National Security Adviser Susan Rice, reprocessing the allegations of Bosnian Serb "rape camps", made unsubstantiated claims at the United Nations Security Council that Gaddafi was supplying his troops with Viagra in order to instigate mass rape (MacAskill 2011). In the end, video footage emerged of Gaddafi being sodomized with a bayonet by a rebel fighter after being captured. Upon hearing of his assassination, American Secretary of State Hilary Clinton, whom prominent American feminist Gloria Steinem supported for president lauding Clinton's supposed humanity, triumphantly chortled: "We came, we saw, he died."

Meanwhile, it is no coincidence that the countries targeted for intervention have all in some way opposed the Western capitalist neoliberal economic model whose prescripts of economic austerity have led to part-time and precarious employment, lowering of wages, and the decimation of state-run institutions, all of which disadvantage women more than men.

3. The "Gay Girl in Damascus"

The hoax that became known as "Gay Girl in Damascus" is clearly only one in a long line of false flags and hoaxes using what author Jean Bricmont has termed "humanitarian imperialism" to advance the aims of foreign policy in Western democratic societies where "ideology…may constitute the principal form of social control (Bricmont 2006, 31)". To the list of the gender-themed "crisis initiation", as Patrick Clawson of the neoconservative Washington Institute of Near East Policy terms these admittedly false provocations, can be added other "initiations" such as the faked "Racak Massacre" in Kosovo in 1990; the necessity to capture or "hunt down" Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan in 2001; non-existent "weapons of mass destruction" in Iraq in 2003; and the hyperbolical threat of a no-mercy massacre in Benghazi, Libya in 2011.

In fabricating his story of Amina, the fictional gay girl from Damascus, Tom McMaster formulated a character more American than Syrian and transplanted her holus-bolus to the quite different cultural milieu of Damascus about which he knew very little (despite Amina's pretensions of being a feminist who consciously chose to wear the hijab "as an Arab and a Muslim (The Guardian 2011))." No doubt McMaster had imbibed Western Orientalist stereotypes of Arabs and Muslim societies as controlling, dogmatic and rigid, although why he and others would choose to undermine the secular Syrian government against its jihadist opponents is an open question. As the tale forwarded to Amina's faked abduction and the possibility that the Syrian government was targeting Amina and others for their sexual orientation, however, McMaster joined those advocating regime change in the belief that there really was a queer-positive, non-violent, feminist opposition force in Syria ready to assume power. Meanwhile, McMaster's blog was only one in a series of "crisis initiatives" initiated in the Syrian War, the most obvious of which were the chemical attacks of August 2013 and at Khan Shaykhun on April 4, 2017. Although Western reporters were quick to blame the Syrian government, veteran journalists Robert Parry and Seymour Hersch both concluded the attacks were carried out by rebel factions who hoped the attacks would prompt the U.S. to intervene militarily (Sterling 2018).

As journalist Patrick Cockburn argues, this belief in a strong democratic opposition force was delusional. Indeed, although Western governments continued to promulgate the myth of the supposedly secular Free Syrian Army (FSA), FSA council meetings were inevitably attended by the undemocratic representatives of the Saudi, Jordanian, Qatari, and UAE intelligence forces, and by 2014, when the war had reached a stalemate, the armed opposition force became increasingly dominated by the extremist Islamic State of Iraq and Shams (ISIS) which adhered to a fundamentalist interpretation of Islamic sharia law. As Cockburn observed: "Ideologically, there was not much difference between ISIS and other jihadist groups [the United States, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, the Gulf countries and Israel were sponsoring or supporting] in the opposition such as Ahrar al-Sham or the Army of Islam, which also seek a theocratic state under sharia law (Cockburn 2015, 85)."

The claim that the West was attempting regime change in Syria to end human rights abuses is also spurious as such concern is not considered when applied to authoritarian friends such as Saudi Arabia which maintains a strictly-controlled system of gender apartheid where crimes such as apostasy, witchcraft and same-sex relations are capital offences. Even as Saudi Arabia (whose governing ideology differs very little from the jihadist rebels of ISIS) and other Gulf allies invaded Bahrain in 2011 to prop up a minority-led Sunni regime oppressing its Shia majority and then launched a war against Yemen in 2015 which has devastated the country and put it at risk of large-scale starvation, instead of censure Western governments have continued to sell the country arms.

Likewise, Israel (which has provided a haven to various jihadist groups in the occupied Golan Heights and has launched countless attacks inside Syria since 2011) has invaded the essentially defenseless civilians of the Gaza Strip twice using white phosphorous and the latest military hardware yet it still enjoys comprehensive American diplomatic, military and financial support. Clearly, therefore, Western efforts at regime in Syria were not aimed at establishing democratic governance, particularly when unlimited corporate campaign financing in the United States and neoliberal economic austerity policies in Europe have led to a rise in authoritarian sentiment and a weakening of democratic values .

Despite the pretenses of Western "humanitarian intervention", the end results of the invasions have proven beneficial neither for "gays" nor "girls" nor ethnic and religious minorities living in Damascus, Baghdad, Kabul or Tripoli. For example, after the overthrow of Muammar Gaddafi, Libyan women who came under the control of Islamist forces found that one of the first acts of the rebels was to reinstitute polygamy while women under the age of sixty in the east of the country were banned from travelling abroad without the permission of their male guardians.

Indeed, occupying forces themselves have been complicit or actively involved in sexual assaults. For instance, five U.S. Army soldiers were charged and convicted of the gang-rape and murder on March 12, 2006 of the 14-year-old Iraqi girl Abeer Qassim Hamza al-Janabi who was killed alongside her mother and father and six-year old sister in her family home near the town of al-Muhammadiyah, Iraq. Meanwhile, in 2015, The New York Times reported that American troops were advised to overlook any evidence of Afghan allies' abuse of young boys (Goldstein 2015).

The infamous photographs emanating from the Abu Ghraib prison in Baghdad became a symbol of the duplicity of the American claim to be "liberating" Iraq or that it was "others"—the Serbs, the Muslims, the Arabs—who resort to uncivilized practices such as rape. Most of the photographs released to the public were of male prisoners forced to sexually humiliate themselves while being taunted by American guards, including three female officers. Unreleased photos from Abu Ghraib show an Iraqi teenage boy being raped by an American translator and another of an American soldier raping a female prisoner. Other male detainees were raped with truncheons, wires and a phosphorescent tube (Gardham 2009). According to author Naomi Klein, the evidence that emanated from both Abu Ghraib and the Guantanamo Bay Prison demonstrated deliberate and systematic policies designed to break personalities. As she writes, in both places "two forms of abuse come up again and again: nudity and the deliberate interference with Islamic practice (Klein 2007: 134)."

Meanwhile, in areas in Syria, Iraq and Libya "liberated" by Western proxies such as al-Nusra Front and ISIS, women quickly found their rights severely constrained including forced veiling, restricted freedom of movement, and capital punishment for adultery, a practice always applied more harshly against women than men. To the horror of the Yezidi people of Iraq, the Islamic State's medieval interpretation of Islamic law included the taking of sex slaves, especially among those, like the Yezidis, considered to be pagans not entitled, like Christians and Jews, to pay a tax to live in the caliphate. ISIS promised its fighters slave girls as the spoils of war, explicitly so that Islamic State fighters could gratify themselves sexually (Wood 2017: 191-192). In total, 5,838 Yezidi women were kidnapped and sold in markets, either electronically or over a mobile phone app. The women could be re-sold and, according to the author Cathy Otten, some women were held communally in places where they were "chained, beaten, and passed around like animals between the men (Otten 2017, 135)."

An inspiring image of non-Western female resistance was provided by the egalitarian female fighters from the northern Kurdish enclave of Rojava which was founded using anarchist governing principles. The female fighters became especially celebrated in the battle against ISIS at the Siege of Kobani in October 2014 when the Kurdish female combatant, Arin Mirkin, blew herself up as she was surrounded by ISIS fighters (Cockburn 2015, 8). ISIS fighters feared being killed by female fighters because they thought that male fighters killed by women would never enter paradise. It is widely believed that Kobani was saved from ISIS capture due to American airstrikes and that the enclave exists due to American largesse, leading one to ask whether the U.S. will realistically continue to protect an entity based on anarchist principles. This is especially dubious considering that in the past U.S. NATO ally Turkey has helped ship arms to Syrian Islamist rebel areas and has not concealed its open hostility to a Syrian Kurdish enclave which could embolden Turkey's own Kurdish citizens.

Meanwhile, the situation for sexual minorities has also deteriorated as a result of Western intervention in Iraq, Libya and Syria. Indeed, the world was shocked by horrifying photographs of men in Syria and Iraq, including

ISIS' own members, accused of practicing same-sex relations or even perceived to be gay, being stoned to death or thrown off tall buildings (with at least one being stoned to death after surviving the fall). Despite the fearmongering of the "Gay Girl of Damascus" hoax, such events had never occurred under the secular governments of Iraq, Syria or Libya where homosexuality was quietly tolerated. Indeed, the execution by shooting of three men accused of homosexuality on April 30, 2015 in the city of Derna marked the first execution of this kind in the history of modern Libya (Fehlbloom 2015).

The executions in fact mirror the witch-hunt and honor killings against gay men or men perceived to be effeminate which occurred after the Anglo-American invasion of Iraq in 2003 and which have re-occurred on a periodic basis since then, prompting many to state that gay life was freer under the regime of Saddam Hussein. Indeed, a 2009 report on BBC's Radio 5 Live found people speaking warmly about the underground gay culture under Hussein. As Ali Hili (a pseudonym), the organizer of Iraqi LGBT, stated in an interview in 2007: "Homosexuality was generally tolerated under Saddam…Life in Iraq now is hell for all LGBT people; no one can be openly gay and alive (Terkel 2009)."

Notwithstanding the significant role the United States has played towards the deterioration of the situation for sexual minorities in the region, Samantha Powers, the former American ambassador to the United States under Barak Obama (who channeled the imperial feminism of yore and became a leading proponent of the bombing of the Former Yugoslavia in 1999 and later the NATO military intervention in Libya in 2011) appointed herself ambassador for the rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people. In June 2015, for example, Powers appeared, quite without irony, with Subhi Nahas who spoke about the harrowing situation for sexual minorities under the rule of the very fundamentalist Islamic groups that the United States and its allies have aided and abetted.

4. Conclusions

Since the publication of Spivak's seminal essay in 1983, the world has witnessed a series of Western "humanitarian interventions" in which the West has used Spivak's trope of "saving brown women from brown men" to justify military invasion whose real purpose is based on the imperatives of capitalist neoliberal economic interests.

When he created his fictional blog "Gay Girl in Damascus," Tom McMaster reworked Western Orientalist tropes of supposed Western moral superiority that Western powers had perfected to launch previous invasions. In the process, McMaster was joined in his crusade by imperial egalitarian feminists, many of them now holding high governmental positions, who, as African-American feminist theorist Bell Hooks observes, appropriate "feminist jargon while sustaining their commitment to Western imperialism and transnational capitalism…Such thinking merely mirrors the imperialist racism and sexism of ruling groups of Western men (Hooks 2000, 45)."

Unsurprisingly, the results of these Western interventions, based in reality on the demands of neoliberal economics and transnational capitalism rather than solidarity with the oppressed, have been desultory: the return of male guardianship in Libya, sex slavery in Syria and Iraq, stoning or throwing sexual minorities off high buildings in Libya, Syria and Iraq, and no substantial improvement for the lives of women in Afghanistan.

Indeed, Western destabilization has created the largest flow of refugees since the Second World War with news reports replete with stories of refugees, many of them women and children, drowning at sea attempting to escape the violence their humanitarian bombers have perpetrated.

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Women on the Board of Directors: Linked to a More Transparent Policy?

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Abstract: The gender quota has supporters and opponents, but it is undoubtedly an effective way to increase the number of women on boards of directors (BOD). Much research has already been carried out into the functioning of women on the BOD and the consequences for the working of this body and for the performance of the company. An aspect that has hardly been investigated is the relation between the presence of these women and the disclosure of information. However, the BOD plays an important role in the reporting behavior of a company, since it is responsible for what information is disclosed to the outside world. In this study, we investigate whether more women on the BOD provide more transparency and a more truthful image of a company by voluntarily providing more information. In doing so, we focus on the voluntary release of both strategic, financial and non-financial information. Based on the 2011 and 2015 annual reports of 60 Belgian listed companies, we found no support that the presence of women on the BOD has a positive effect on the degree of voluntary reporting of information, not even when these women are independent or sit on the audit committee. Additional analyses show that a negative and statistically significant effect on the voluntary reporting of financial information can be observed. We also find some evidence of tokenism, since the negative effect on relation with the financial reporting manifests itself from two women. Altogether, it therefore seems that a more transparent communication is based on the personality of the members of the board rather than on their gender.

Keywords: gender quota, board of directors, voluntary reporting, transparency, tokenism

1. Introduction

The overall interest for gender diversity on the board of directors (BOD) has increased considerably in recent years. Several countries have followed the example of Norway by setting a gender quota, whether or not inspired by the Directive of November 14, 2012. The Belgian government also approved a bill on July 28, 2011 that led to a quota on the number of women in the BOD of Belgian listed companies. More specifically, at least one third of the members of the BOD of Belgian listed companies had to be of the opposite sex than the other members by 2017 (Article 518bis, §1, Companies Code). This also applies to small and medium-sized enterprises, but they had two years postponement.

Although much research has already been carried out regarding the presence of the women on the BOD, an element that has hardly been studied - and not at all in Belgium - is the impact on information provision. Yet, the BOD plays an important role in the reporting behavior of a company, and is responsible for what information is released to the outside world. Transparency of information is an important pillar of good corporate governance. Knowing that women make decisions in a different way and generally take less risk and act more ethically, it is very likely that their presence on the BOD will have an impact on the reporting behavior of companies. The objective of this study is therefore to check whether more women on the BOD leads to more transparency and a more truthful image of a company by voluntarily providing more information.

The contributions of this study are twofold. On the one hand, we add to the topic of reporting, which has received increasing attention in recent years as a result of the many scandals (Barros, Boubaker and Hamrouni, 2013). By focussing on the degree of voluntary reporting, we contribute with our results to a topic that is underexposed in the international literature. On the other hand, our results add empirical evidence to the current debate on gender influences in BOD.

2. Provision of information as a task of the board

The BOD has various tasks. According to the typology of Hung (1998), this results in six roles, namely a network, coordinating, maintaining, supporting, controlling and strategic role. These roles are discussed extensively in other studies, whether or not subdivided into overarching functions of the BOD, namely the service, control and strategy function (Huse, 2005). Although information provision is not explicitly mentioned as a role, the BOD is

responsible for the information provided to the outside world. After all, an important principle of good governance is transparency (Rao and Tilt, 2016). Reporting is therefore a decision that mainly comes from the BOD, and can be seen as part of its controlling task.

Previous research on the influence of the BOD on reporting has already examined the influence of elements such as the composition and size of the BOD (Cheng and Courtenay, 2006, Chen and Jaggi, 2000, Yekini et al, 2015, Samaha, Khlif and Hussainey, 2015), the independence of the board members (Eng and Mak, 2003, Ho and Wong, 2001, Donnelly and Mulcahy, 2008, Cheng and Courtenay, 2006, Akhtaruddin et al., 2009, Patelli and Prencipe, 2007), the presence and effectiveness of an audit committee (Dobija, 2015, Ben-Amar and McIlkenny, 2015, Samaha, Khlif and Hussainey, 2015) or the remuneration committee (Choudhary, Schloetzer and Sturgess, 2013). So as to determine the impact on the reported information, various measures were considered, such as the information quality in the financial statements (Oba, 2014, Ho and Wong, 2001), earnings management (Alves, 2011, Faleye, Hoitash and Hoitash, 2011), the information value of the reported earnings (Vafaes, 2000), the probability of fraud (Beasly, 1996), the completeness of the statutory mandatory financial reporting (Chen and Jaggi, 2000), the amount of voluntary information (Samaha, Khlif and Hussainey, 2015) or the likelihood of financial restatements (Abbott, Parker and Presley, 2012).

In these studies, reporting not only includes the information that companies are required to disclose, but also the information that companies voluntarily disclose through the discretionary release of financial and non-financial information in addition to legal obligations (Barako and Brown, 2008). This voluntary information can go very wide, and includes all information that is not mandatory to make public (Prince and Dwivedi, 2013). In the literature a number of theories are proposed to explain the voluntary disclosure of information. More concretely, use can be made of the agency theory, the signaling theory, the capital need theory, the resource dependency theory, the legitimacy theory, the institutional theory and the stakeholder theory (Shehata, 2014).

The conflicting results obtained in these extant studies show that other elements also play a role. As such, Abbott, Parker and Presley (2012) state that it is also interesting to look at the diversity in the BOD, as this can influence independence as well as group dynamics, for example. An important component of diversity that has received a great deal of attention in recent years due to the rise of the quota laws is gender diversity. Women are increasingly present in the BOD. The presence of women on the BOD was therefore examined by a number of authors.

3. The impact of women

In the literature, important differences have been cited in the core values that male and female directors possess, and which may have an impact on the reporting by the BOD. Women thus contribute to a large pool of human and social capital and can make important contributions to the strategy of the company (Adams and Funk, 2012). They would also make decisions of a higher quality and for a better corporate governance, because they are better prepared and their presence is associated with better communication. They are also characterized more often by independence and ask critical questions, which enables them to make a major contribution to the monitoring role of the BOD. In general, women would behave more ethically in their assessments and behaviors compared to men. Because they feel a great public responsibility against misconduct, they would also indicate illegal activities more often (Kaplan et al, 2009). Also, there is evidence that women have a positive influence on the performance of the company, which is associated with a higher level of reporting by companies (Nalikka, 2009). All in all, there is some evidence that women would provide more transparency, which could have a positive effect on information quality and reporting (Gul, Srinidhi and Ng, 2011, Abbott, Parker and Presley, 2012).

In the context of voluntary disclosure of information, only the study of Nalikka (2009) has been found. She conducted research with data from 2008 for listed companies in Finland. She found no significant relationship between women on the board and the degree of voluntary reporting. However, our study takes place eight years later and in the meantime the mindset has been changed further in relation to women in leadership positions, partly due to the increased attention from regulators. Because of the quota, women are increasingly represented in BOD in comparison with the previous decade. These elements combined give impetus to the following hypothesis:

H1: There is a positive relationship between the presence of women on the BOD and the degree of voluntary reporting of information by Belgian listed companies.

In addition to the number of women, a number of moderating effects could also be present. Extant research (cf. section 2) states that the independence of the BOD is an important characteristic with regard to the degree of voluntary reporting by companies. Independent directors can, in fact, challenge and control management more because they have a less strong relationship with them. They also have greater motivation to closely monitor the operation of the company, since the value of their human capital is highly dependent on how they carry out their monitoring task. More independent directors are therefore considered to have a positive impact on reducing information asymmetry. In addition, they would represent the interests of the minority shareholders in order to reduce the conflicts between the majority and minority shareholders. Furthermore, Terjesen, Couto and Francisco (2016) find evidence that the effect of independent directors on business performance is only positive if they are in a gender-diverse BOD. Combining the above elements gives rise to the following hypothesis:

H2: The positive relationship between women on the BOD of Belgian listed companies and the degree of voluntary reporting is stronger when these women are independent.

Secondly, in the academic literature (cf. section 2), the presence of the audit committee is often associated with the degree of voluntary reporting by companies, as they are a key figure in fulfilling the monitoring role. However, women could also play an important role in fulfilling the monitoring role. There is evidence (Adams and Ferreira, 2009, Simpson, Carter and D'Souza, 2010) that women are more likely to be present in monitoring-related committees, including the audit committee. Ittonen, Miettinen and Vähämaa (2010) believe that women in the audit committee can improve their effectiveness and monitoring activities. For example, there would be a lower inherent risk of adjustments to the financial statements. The combination of these elements leads to the following hypothesis:

H3: The positive relationship between women on the BOD of Belgian listed companies and the degree of voluntary reporting is stronger when these women sit on the audit committee.

4. Methodology

4.1 Sample

Since Belgian legislation on gender quotas was approved in 2011 and applies to large listed companies from 2017, we opt to focus on the companies listed on Euronext Brussels in 2011 and 2015 (being the year for which the most recent annual reports were available at the time of data collection). We restrict ourselves to non-financial companies, being a sample of 63 companies. For the construction of the data set we used the company information and financial data retrieved from Van Dijk's Bel-First database. In addition, the annual reports of companies and possibly other reports such as sustainability reports were used. This information is found on the company's website.

During the analysis, it appeared that one company did not include a complete statement on corporate governance in its annual report, and two companies experienced a major structural change (reverse take-over and merger) during the period under review. As a result, the final selection consists of 60 companies, for which the necessary data were collected.

4.2 Measurements

Dependent variable: Since there is no access to an external rating to determine the level of voluntary reporting by companies, a self-developed voluntary disclosure index (VOLREP) is used. We started from the research by Meek, Roberts and Gray (1995), which serves as a starting point for many other studies related to voluntary information provision (Barros et al, 2013, Chau and Gray, 2010, Allegrini and Greco, 2013, Saha and Akter, 2013). After adjustments to the Belgian regulations and to our sample, this - unweighted - disclosure index counts 85 items, divided into strategic (25 items), non-financial (31 items) and financial (29 items) information. For each item on this checklist, it is checked whether they are reported in the annual reports, as well as in other separate reports such as sustainability reports and activity reports (where 1 = reported, 0 = not reported). The total score is divided by the maximum number of items and multiplied by 100, resulting in the voluntary disclosure score. The reliability of the resulting measuring scale is checked using Cronbach's alpha values. These statistics indicate

very high values (being 0.93 in 2011 and 0.94 in 2015), which indicates a high internal consistency, and provides good support that the items in the index measure the same underlying construct.

Independent variable: The presence of women on the BOD (W-BOD) is measured by the percentage of female directors on the BOD.

Moderating variables: A first moderating variable is the degree of independence of the women on the BOD (W-INDEP), measured by the percentage of women who are independent. A second moderating variable is the presence of women in the audit committee (W-AUDIT), measured by the percentage of female directors who sit on the audit committee.

Control variables: We also control for a number of variables which, according to previous research, have an influence on the degree of voluntary reporting. The first six variables concern characteristics of the company, in particular the SIZE (measured as the natural logarithm of the total assets), PROFITABILITY (measured as the ROA), GROWTH (measured as the market-to-book ratio), LIQUIDITY (measured as the current liquidity ratio), DEBT (measured as the debt to equity ratio) and the SECTOR (a dummy, where 1 = production and 0 = non-production). In addition, three characteristics of the BOD are included, namely the size (SIZE-BOD, measured as the natural logarithm of the number of members in the BOD), the independence of the BOD (INDEP-BOD, measured as the percentage of independent members in the BOD) as well as CEO duality (DUAL, being a dummy, where 1 = CEO is chairman and 0 otherwise). Finally, a control variable is drawn up for the year in which a company must comply with the quota law (DATE, being a dummy, where 1 = 2012 or 2017 and 0 = 2019).

5. Results

5.1 Descriptive statistics

The descriptive statistics show that companies in the dataset score an average of 45.20% for the total voluntary reporting (ranging from 5.40% to 75.99%). The strategic component scores the highest (56.21%), followed by the financial (41.32%) and the non-financial component (38.09%). On average, the BOD comprise 15.59% of women, while there are still companies with fully male BOD. Furthermore, the percentage of independent women and female members of the audit committee is 42.59% and 22.86% respectively, and on average 2% of the companies have a female chairman. All averages have increased over the period under review.

As far as control variables are concerned, several outliers were noticed at five companies. Since the dataset is already limited, it was decided to winsorise the data. From the correlation matrix, no additional interventions were required.

5.2 Regression results

Table 1 summarizes the results, and reveal that none of our hypotheses are supported. So we cannot conclude that female directors have a significant effect on the degree of voluntary reporting in listed companies, even when they are independent directors or sit on the audit committee. The predetermined influence is only found for three control variables, being the size of the company, the size of the BOD and the sector.

Table 1: Regression results

	H1		**H2**		**H3**	
	β	SE	B	SE	β	SE
W-BOD	-0,012	0,076	-0,106	0,108	0,043	0,101
W-INDEP			-0,005	0,031		
W-AUDIT					0,056	0,044
W-BOD * W-INDEP			0,002	0,002		
W-BOD * W-AUDIT					-0,003	0,002
SIZE	5,734***	1,093	5,725***	1,111	5,683***	1,094
PROFITABILITY	-6,502	8,823	-6,886	9,136	-6,207	9,046
GROWTH	0,822	0,596	0,776	0,600	0,822	0,644
LIQUIDITY	-0,122	0,998	-0,130	0,986	-0,130	0,954
DEBT	-0,080	0,315	-0,016	0,301	-0,006	0,339
SECTOR	6,084**	2,919	6,075**	2,972	6,171**	2,914

	H1		**H2**		**H3**	
SIZE-BOD	11,016**	4,544	11,079**	4,904	9,836**	4,867
INDEP-BOD	0,092	0,069	0,069	0,078	0,090	0,068
DUAL	5,874	3,831	5,790	3,788	5,941	3,962
DATE	-3,674	2,846	-4,156	3,000	-3,604	2,841
Y15	1,221	1,441	1,064	1,492	1,015	1,556
	R^2 = 0.541 F = 67,35***		R^2 = 0.533 F = 66,61***		R^2 = 0.550 F = 73,38***	
Dependent variable = The level of voluntary reporting						
N = 120						
** p < .10 ** p < 0.05 *** p < 0.01*						
SE = Standard Error						

6. Additional results

After establishing these results, a lot of additional and robust analyses were carried out. In this way variables were measured in an alternative way, other analysis techniques were used, the existence of a non-linear relationship was tested, the potential problem of endogeneity was checked, ... In all cases, results remained largely analogous. However, two analyses did give significant results.

The first analysis leading to significant results concerns the breakdown across the three categories. As indicated in section 4.2, the voluntary disclosure index is composed of three types of information, being strategic, non-financial and financial information. According to various studies, the category plays a role in the influence that the BOD has on its reporting. Previous research mainly looked at the non-financial information, for various reasons: the less strict regulation, the broadness of the concept, the socially increasing importance, the link with the ethical values of the woman, ... However, this led to varying results.

In our study, we do not find a statistically significant relation between female directors and the reporting of strategic and non-financial information. We do, however, notice a negative and statistically significant effect (at the 1% level) on the financial voluntary reporting. This is not in line with the expectation that the presence of women is positively related to voluntary reporting. However, the literature about the impact of female board members on financial performance also has many negative results. In addition, women are more socially and stakeholder-oriented, and are less driven by profit and financial performance. As a result, they may also attach less importance to the voluntary release of financial information. This could be a reason why they have a negative impact on financial voluntary reporting. Note that no influence is found for the moderating variables either.

The second analysis leading to significant results concerns the importance of tokenism. The literature shows that the critical mass theory and tokenism may also play a role in the influence that women have on the BOD. One woman in the BOD could be regarded as a symbol or a token, since she was only appointed to demonstrate to the outside world that the company values diversity (Adams and Ferreira, 2009). Her capacities often play no role. According to the critical mass theory, the presence of a single woman would often not be enough to notice an influence of the presence of women (Konrad, Kramer and Erkut, 2008, Larkin, Bernardi and Bosco, 2013). In general, it is stated that a critical mass of three women is required to experience an impact from the presence of these women on the BOD (Joecks, Pull and Vetter, 2013). To test this relationship, we use the method of Torchia, Calabrò and Huse (2011), in which the sample is divided into four groups according to the number of female directors (being 0, 1, 2, and 3 or more). Thus, n-1 dummy variables are used, the first group being the reference category.

In our study, we find no significant evidence for tokenism for reporting as a whole. However, when we consider the impact on the three categories of voluntary reporting separately, we notice a significant effect on financial reporting. The negative effect (significant at the 5% level) on the financial reporting manifests itself from two women, resulting in a critical mass of two women. When considering the influence of independence, the impact of women in general is negative and statistically significant at the 1% level. The interaction term is positive and statistically significant at the 10% level. The negative influence of women on the BOD thus becomes more positive as more women become independent. However, for the influence of the audit committee, no

statistically significant results can be noted for the financial component. There is also a lack of statistically significant results in both the strategic and the non-financial component.

7. Discussion and conclusion

This study examines the impact of the presence of women on the BOD on the reporting behavior of Belgian listed companies. Due to a lack of evidence of appreciable influence, no decision can be made about the relationship between women on the board and the degree of voluntary reporting. One possible cause is the fact that this investigation is too early, since not enough women are present on the BOD yet, or since these women who do have a seat cannot yet exert a serious impact.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that academic literature about the influence of women on company outcomes often has to do with non-significant results. So undoubtedly, a more plausible cause is the fact that male and female directors may not be as different as suggested in the literature. The literature mainly focuses on their differences and the positive influence of women. However, women today have equal access to education and work in the Western world (Giannarakis, Konteos and Sariannidis, 2014). In addition, some differences between men and women also disappear over time, such as the fact that female board members are often younger (Adams, 2016). Female presence in itself may be morally desirable, but does not entail economic effects (Isidro and Sobral, 2015). So other specific characteristics and behaviors may play a role that cannot be distinguished on the basis of sex (Giannarakis et al, 2014, Carter et al, 2010).

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Intersectionality, Gender-Based Analysis and Francophonie: A Complex Relationship

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Abstract: This paper presents the results of an ongoing government-funded research project on gender-based analysis (GBA) and intersectionality, using a qualitative methodology based on policy analysis and interviews. It develops a comparative perspective between three governmantal policies adopted in Quebec and in Canada: gender-based analysis, gender-based analysis plus and equal access to employment programs. Gender-based analysis is a gender policy used to assess the impact of policies and programs for men and women. In the 1990s, intersectionality emerged as one of the essential paradigms for Anglo-Saxon feminisms. The intersectional approach is now seen as an important turning point in feminist practices in Francophonie but there is resistance as the figure of the universal woman is still present in francophone feminisms. I identify some of the problems related to the development of an intersectional gender-based analysis in a francophone context and more specifically the problem of categories. My analysis exposes some of the resistance found towards an analysis decentered from a universal subject-woman. Concepts and categories of differences that are predominant in francophone feminisms reveal specific forms of theorization of differences. French feminist theories that give precedence to gender in their analysis of women's oppression have had some influence on feminist debates in Francophonie and might explain current resistances to the project of intersectionalizing GBA. Despite these obstacles, there are many interesting examples of intersectional GBA projects conducted within Francophonie. These projects are innovative in their methodologies and their approaches to categories of difference. Findings show that challenges regarding the enrichment of the GBA in francophone states are complex. Reflection must continue on the categories and terms that make sense for this specific context, an exercise eminently political that is situated beyond the logic of public administrations. It is important that women and feminists of all origins participate in the conversation around gender-based analysis to improve its efficiency.

Keywords: gender-based analysis, intersectionality, public policies, Francophonie, feminism

1. Introduction

This paper is about gender-based analysis (GBA), a gender policy used in Quebec, a Canadian province. GBA is used to assess the impact of policies and programs on men and women. The objective of this paper is to discuss GBA, its limits, and current efforts to intersectionalize this policy. In the 1990s, intersectionality emerged as one of the essential paradigms for Anglo-Saxon feminisms (Hancock). The intersectional approach – the process of decentring gender as a point of departure for evaluating the experience of inequality (Hankivsky, 2012) so as to include other categories, such as race, class, sexual orientation and skills – is now seen as an important turning point in feminist practices in Quebec (Pagé and Pires, 2015). What impact has it had on the Quebec government's gender policies? How does the political culture specific to Quebec society determine the content of policies such as GBA, and does it influence opinions about frames such as intersectional analysis? By comparing the GBA used in Quebec to gender-based analysis plus (GBA+) used in Canada, I hope to show how the distinct political cultures in Quebec and in Canada have led to the adoption of different gender policies. I am also interested in experiences with intersectionalization of GBA and the difficulties that such an exercise entails. On that point, I discuss the implementation of another Quebec policy, equal access to employment programs (EAEPs). EAEPs are interesting for their intersectional approach to oppression, as they aim to correct discrimination against several groups – women, visible and ethnic minorities, Aboriginal peoples and people with disabilities. What role has the Quebec feminist movement played in the implementation of GBA and EAEPs, and how can their different analysis frames be explained? Through my analysis, I will offer some responses to these two questions.

I turn to Dhamoon for her definition of intersectionality, which she apprehends first as an analytic paradigm and second as a framework for analysis applicable to different marginality or power relations: 'This analytic paradigm can be widely applied to the study of social groups, relations and contexts, so as to go beyond the conventional scope of nonwhite women. On this basis, as a framework of analysis that is widely applicable to various relations of marginality and privilege, intersectionality can be integrated into mainstream social science ways of conducting research and building knowledge' (Dhamoon, 2011). In Dhamoon's view, at least four different dimensions can be found in an intersectional analysis, including identities, such as Muslim woman; categories of difference, such as race and gender; processes of differentiation such as racialization and gendering; and systems of domination, such as racism, colonialism and sexism. These dimensions may be considered simultaneously or

separately. In this article, the term 'intersectionality' has a variety of meanings and uses, depending on whether I am referring to a methodological approach, an activist practice or an analytic tool (Bourque and Maillé, 2015).

Here, my analysis of government gender policies offers a contrast between how they are formulated in the Quebec and Canadian contexts, respectively, in terms of the categories of identity and difference upon which they are based. I point out the absence of intersectionality in the formulation of certain Quebec policies, such as GBA, and its presence in others, such as EAEPs. In Canada, diversity has been taken into account as an element at the basis of gendered analysis of public policies since 1995, a fact that Hankivski points out: 'Despite the primary focus on gender, it is also worth noting that from the very beginning, and specifically with the 1995 Federal Plan, diversity was seen as an important component of GBA' (2012). Canada has integrated the diversity-sensitive approach into its policy analyses since 1995; why have such practices not been adopted in Quebec? I shall try to explain these differences in terms of the distinct political cultures of Quebec and Canada.

2. GBA in Quebec: History, definition, and issues

In Quebec, the plan to implement a tool to measure the impact of government policies on women and men goes back to the years that followed the Fourth World Congress on Women, held in Beijing in 1995. Following consultations in 1996 with people from the women's movement and the community, union, professional, employer, educational, university and regional sectors, and after internal attempts by state feminists to sway decision makers (Massé et al., 2002), the Quebec government established an action program on this question. The project, titled *Analyse différenciée selon les sexes*, was presented in May 1997 by the Secrétariat à la Condition feminine, in the context of the government's *Programme d'action 1997-2000 pour toutes les Québécoises* (Kurtzman and de Sève, 2001). Quebec feminists and the Quebec women's movement were involved in formulation of this policy and in the implementation of the project from the beginning. Kurtzman and de Sève wrote on this subject, 'The presence of feminists in the government apparatus represents an important asset for the application of GBA to governmental policies. Nevertheless, it is essential that women's groups remain vigilant and participate in the consultations and exchanges that give rise to its formulation and application' (Kurtzman and de Sève, 2001).

The Quebec version of GBA is a conception of government policy based on the idea that formal equality does not guarantee equal results for the two sexes. Usually, government policies are formulated based on the principle that there is no distinction between the sexes and these policies will have similar impacts on men and women. GBA takes the opposite position, stating that women's and men's experiences with policies must be documented in order to discover how these policies have different impacts according to sex, and these consequences must be analyzed. GBA must make it possible to discern from a preventive position, during the design and formulation of a policy or any other measure, the different effects that its adoption by the government may have on the women and men who are affected by it, taking into account their different socioeconomic conditions (Massé et al., 2002).

The Quebec women's movement partnered with the Quebec government to enable adoption and spread awareness of this policy by dispensing, for example, GBA training to community groups. In a report published in 2015 by the Quebec government's Secrétariat à la Condition feminine, the body that oversees GBA, it was noted that nine GBA projects had been launched by the Québec government between 1997 and 2004. One project aimed to develop a framework for analysis to measure the impact of taxation policies on the situation of women and men; another project dealt with planning urban transportation in light of a comparative study of the mobility of women and men (Secrétariat à la condition féminine, 2005). After 2009, the Québec government went further, progressively integrating GBA into all of its practices through a project-by-project approach. The first GBA action plan, spanning 2007 to 2010, encompassed development of an implementation strategy for GBA and appropriate instruments for its application, for raising awareness among and training more than 1,000 people, and for encouraging the mobilization of government departments and agencies, regional structures and urban centres around its integration into projects. The plan for 2011 to 2015 consisted of implementing projects that integrated GBA into government departments and agencies. Eighteen departments and agencies were committed to performing more than 35 actions that took GBA into account. Awareness-raising and training sessions on GBA were offered to senior civil servants, managers, and professional personnel in these departments and agencies. One of the important aspects of the GBA implementation program for the Quebec government involved the development of gender-based databanks, a prerequisite for enabling and ensuring the

success of GBA. Since 2013, an agreement between the Quebec government and the Institut de la statistique du Québec has made it possible to publish gender-based data produced by the departments and agencies.

The government's strategy for instituting GBA in Quebec was therefore based on three elements: awareness raising and training, the creation of projects and the production of gender-based data. Despite the absolute priority given to the gender factor in the GBA model adopted by the Quebec government, a number of projects have gone beyond gender analysis to integrate other variables. One project was intended to take GBA into consideration when the governmental action plan for fighting homophobia, the target group for which was composed of gay people, lesbians and transsexual and transgender people, was implemented. In another project, GBA was integrated into the evaluation process for a program that assists immigrants and visible minorities with integration into employment (Secrétariat à la Condition féminine, 2015).

Quebec feminism was committed to GBA from the beginning, and many feminists working in the field or within governmental structures such as the Secrétariat à la Condition féminine actively promoted it. A number of women's groups offered GBA training in the community, including the Assemblée des groupes de femmes d'interventions régionales (AGIR Outaouais); Centre Main d'Femmes; Relais-femmes (2007), a prominent group in the Quebec women's movement; and the Observatoire sur le développement régional et l'analyse différenciée selon les sexes (ORÉGAND), the main mission of which is linked to the promotion of GBA. Founded in 2003, ORÉGAND develops regional GBA research and expertise and is planning to build regional and local gender-specific databases. The group's website lists a group of GBA tools accessible online.

The GBA promoted by the Quebec government in partnership with the women's movement seems to serve the cause of all women, but, in fact, it may also reproduce the exclusion resulting from a feminist analysis that, by focusing only on gender, completely avoids differences among women and leads to the reproduction of discrimination. The statistical data produced during the government's GBA analyses show only generic gaps between men and women, with homogeneity as to situation assumed within each gender category. GBA is the methodological translation of a gender-based feminist analysis and of a conception of a universal women's status that does not take account of intra-sex distinctions. It should also be noted that GBA is not anchored within a specific theoretical framework that would propose a vision of hoped-for change – a critique made by Hankivsky (2005), who sees GBA as an amorphous, confused approach disconnected from contemporary feminist theory.

Even though support for a tool such as GBA continues to be strong among Quebec feminists, a movement with few minority women's organizations (Lépinard, 2014), voices are emerging to demand that the complexity of women's realities, particularly those of minority groups, be better accounted for in the formulation and analysis of gender policies. This is borne out by the transition toward intersectional analysis taking place in new fieldwork initiatives and expressed in public statements by groups and individuals in the Quebec women's movement (Pagé and Pirès, 2015). For instance, since 2012, the Conseil des Montréalaises, an advisory body of the City of Montréal that consults on female–male equality dossiers and on the status of women, has been committed to implementing intersectional and gender-differentiated analyses that take account of cross-discriminations experienced by women of various origins or conditions (Conseil des Montréalaises, 2016) and to actively promoting GBA+ to the municipal administration. In 2011, the Fédération des femmes du Québec (FFQ), a leading group in the Quebec women's movement, and Relais-femmes jointly developed training in intersectional analysis, and the FFQ now uses an analytical grid that refers to patriarchy, capitalism, and colonialism (Maillé, 2017). In 2018, the FFQ has presented a motion supporting all Muslim public servants who wish to wear a hijab at work (Canadian Press).

In 2015, an analysis by the Secrétariat à la Condition féminine reflected the necessity to move beyond GBA – that is, to cross-reference gender analysis with other variables to paint a fairer portrait of inequalities: 'Although giant steps have been taken toward equality between women and men in Quebec in recent decades, inequalities of concern persist in certain areas and among different groups, such as Aboriginal women, immigrants, disabled and in sexual minorities, and those living with a low income or in a remote region. Given these realities, the application of GBA could prove a perspective to consider.' (Secrétariat à la Condition féminine, 2015)

Despite this openness, Québec gender policies keep intersectional analysis on the margins. How can differences between Quebec and Canadian gender policies be explained? In the following section, I describe the gender-

based analysis "plus" employed in Canada, and then I seek out explanations for the differences observed in the gender policies used in Quebec and in Canada.

3. Gender-based Analysis 'Plus' (GBA+) in Canada

GBA+ is defined as an analysis method that makes it possible to assess the eventual effects of policies, programs, services, and other initiatives on women and men of different backgrounds because it takes account of gender and other identity factors. All federal civil servants must use this approach in their work asking themselves basic questions and challenging their suppositions toward various groups of women and men (Status of Women Canada). The 'plus' in the name serves to emphasize that GBA+ goes beyond gender to include an examination of a wide range of other related identity factors, such as age, education, language, geography, culture, and income.The point of departure for GBA+ is that women and men are not homogeneous populations and gender is never the only factor in defining a person's identity; rather, it interacts with factors such as ethnic origin, age, disabilities, where the person lives, and other aspects of individual and social identity. GBA+ takes account of these factors and thus challenges notions of similarity (or 'homogeneity') within populations of women and men. Comparative analysis based on sex and gender may serve as a gateway to studying a given question, but women, men, girls, and boys do not form homogeneous populations. A group of factors interact with sex and gender to compose the lived experience of each individual. Through GBA+, it is possible to take account of factors that, cross-referenced with sex and gender, shape the life experiences of people and populations and certainly have an influence on the anticipated result of initiatives. For the Canadian Minister of Status of Women, 'Through the application of GBA+, the Government of Canada is working to ensure that our policies, programs, legislative initiatives and decision-making take into consideration the multiple identity factors that make us who we are, including sex and gender, race, national or ethnic origin, indigeneity, age, sexual orientation, religion, socio-economic condition, rurality and ability' (Status of Women Canada, 2018).

4. Quebec and Canada: Contexts with different influences

Although GBA+ constitutes a form of intersectionalization of GBA, it must be understood that the two frameworks do not spring from a similar logic.The 'gender only' analysis that underlies GBA is the approach that predominates in the Quebec governmental apparatus and in Quebec feminism, a feminism which has always given much attention to analysis centred exclusively on gender, recently became receptive to intersectionality. The GBA+ adopted by the government of Canada conveys an opening to intersectionality and a sensitivity to multiculturalism: "the official policy of multiculturalism has legitimized and fostered ethnocultural mobilization by providing a symbolic recognition of diversity" (Laperrière & Lepinard, 2012, p. 3). This policy raises strong political resistance in Quebec. I have evoked the adoption of intersectional analysis in the Anglo-Saxon world as part of the explanation for the adoption of GBA+ by the Canadian federal government. Could we do the same thing for the adoption of GBA in Quebec by invoking the specificities of the feminisms of La Francophonie? I suggest that French feminist theories that give precedence to gender in their analysis of women's oppression have had some influence on feminist debates in Quebec (Maillé 2010). Nevertheless, one might think that the intersectional turn observable in France may also have influenced Quebec feminism.

5. Quebec Equal Access to Employment Programs

Having observed that Quebec is continuing to use GBA whereas Canada adopted GBA+ in the late twentieth century, I now turn to another Quebec policy, equal access to employment programs. EAEPs introduce the taking into account of differences such as racial identity, ethnicity and disabilities, performing a decentring in relation to gender. Here, I describe these programs, their history and the connections that they have had with the women's movement. In April 2001, the Quebec government passed the *Act Respecting Equal Access to Employment in Public Bodies*, affecting public organizations with 100 or more employees. The Quebec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms frames the application of EAEPs, and the Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse du Québec provides support to organizations and firms that must or want to implement them. The Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse was created in 1976 under the Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms. Its present name and responsibilities result from the merging of the Commission des droits de la personne and the Commission de protection des droits de la jeunesse in 1995.

EAEPs fight employment-related discrimination. These programs are addressed to public bodies (municipal, education, health, and social services networks and Crown corporations) and certain private firms. They were

created so that members of groups that are victims of discrimination can be fairly represented within their workforce. EAEP programs target five groups:

- 1. Visible minorities – that is, people other than Aboriginals who are not white by race or colour. This definition came from the Canadian *Employment Equity Act* (1995), which designated 'persons, other than aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour.' Specifically, the population of visible minorities is composed of 12 subgroups: Chinese, South Asian, black, Filipino, Latin American, Southeast Asian, Arab, West Asian, Japanese, Korean, other visible minorities and multiple visible minorities
- 2. Ethnic minorities – that is, people other than Aboriginals and members of a visible minority, whose mother tongue is neither French nor English; the definition of ethnic minority comes from the Quebec *Act Respecting Equal Access to Employment in Public Bodies*. The mother tongue is the one learned first in childhood and that the person still understands. This language must be neither French nor English. Examples include people who were born in or whose forebears are from Germany, Greece, Italy, Hungary or Russia
- 3. Aboriginals – that is, Indians, Inuit and Métis of Canada
- 4. Handicapped people – that is, people who have a deficiency causing a significant and persistent incapacity and who are likely to encounter obstacles in the accomplishment of common activities.
- 5. Women.

In 1985, the Quebec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms was amended to include EAEPs. This amendment was necessary because, according to the Quebec Charter, it was not permitted to distinguish, exclude, or prefer on the basis of banned reasons for discrimination, among them sex, race, ethnic origin and handicaps. How, then, could measures be put in place that conferred temporary advantages on members of target groups (Legault, 2013)? EAEPs were made possible thanks to an exception to the Quebec Charter. The text to this effect stipulates that EAEPs are intended to remedy the situation of persons belonging to groups that are discriminated against in employment, in the education and healthcare sectors or in any other service ordinarily offered to the public. An EAEP was deemed non-discriminatory with regard to race, colour, sex or ethnic origin if it was established in compliance with the *Act Respecting Equal Access to Employment in Public Bodies* (chapter A-2.01). Therefore, since 1986 in Quebec it has been possible to institute measures that allow people covered by one of the conditions in the Quebec Charter to be selected for hiring, promotions, access to training, and so on (Legault, 2013). It is notable that the categories used in the EAEPs to define people belonging to a visible or ethnic minority come from two different sources: the government of Canada for visible minorities and the government of Quebec for ethnic minorities.

The categories formulated to operationalize EAEPs raise a certain number of questions. As Chicha and Charest (2013) report, the definitions of visible and ethnic minorities raise a number of problems: 'The absence of coherence is obvious when one refers to a geocontinental space (South Asian), a language (Arabic), a nationality (Korean) and a skin colour (black). The notion of visible minorities is very explicitly stamped with racializing criteria.' The expression 'visible minority' could be criticized for being essentialist, as one might come to define individuals as a function of their belonging to the group and deduce that there are 'natural' differences between members of this group and everyone else. This situation might become a justification for differentiated treatment. In short, the definition of visible minorities is a legacy of the racization process at work within the state (Labelle, 2010). Nor is the category of ethnic minority exempt from ambiguity; it induces a vague categorical logic that introduces standardization by bringing together in a single group people with diverse experiences and profiles. It combines two groups experiencing very different realities: immigrant ethnic minorities and ethnic minorities born and raised in Quebec who, although their mother tongue is neither French nor English, generally can speak at least one or the other of these languages. Nevertheless, although these categories are imperfect, they have made it possible to begin operationalizing an intersectional vision of the realities of men and women that reflects the realities of the Quebec context.

What role has the women's movement played in the implementation of EAEPs? According to Legault, it is clear that in Quebec, state feminists and certain women's groups mobilized in the late 1970s to demand such programs: 'In 1978, in concert with the Commission des droits de la personne and certain women's groups specializing in the area, the Conseil [du statut de la femme] finally asked the government for amendments to the Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms so that the legislature could authorize the institution of "positive action" – that is, affirmative action – programs' (Legault, 1991). However, it must be understood that the demand made by state feminists and women's groups aimed for adoption of a law centred on a single

discriminated-against group, women: 'The new objective was now to admit the principle of an obligatory catching-up for women so that they could attain true equality as quickly as possible' (Legault, 1991). For its part, the Commission des droits de la personne has always used the concept of minority groups in its mandate and in its approach to EAEPs (Jetté and Murphy, 1982, p. 3).

6. Conclusion

In this paper, I have analyzed the intersectional aspects of three gender policies: gender-based analysis in Quebec, gender-based analysis 'plus' in Canada, and Quebec equal access to employment programs. GBA developed by the Quebec government, in partnership with the women's movement, continues to prioritize gender even though new projects have shown a recent openness to enriching the analysis by taking other identities into account. The categories proposed in EAEPs and GBA+ are useful for enriching the GBA and provide a basis for rethinking the gender policies currently implemented in Quebec. But the transition to an intersectional GBA in Quebec governmental policies requires the conceptualization of categories to be used to reflect the struggles for social justice that exist there.

In the case of the EAEPs, I have underlined certain problems related to the categories that are used in these programs, particularly in the definitions of visible and ethnic minorities. Although EAEPs operate on the basis of individuals' self-identification with one or another category, it remains that the exercise is complex and that, on the whole, these categories and subcategories refer to a troubling image of identity-related debates in Quebec. Added to this is the concrete problem of production of and access to data that operationalize these categories and of taking account of specific aspects linked to the experiences of minority groups. This necessitates the involvement of people who identify with these minority groups in the processes aiming to determine the categories and requires additional resources to produce these data. The categories proposed for the GBA+ developed by the Canadian government are a reflection of Canadian multiculturalism policy and there is more work to do on the «plus» of GBA+, which is still in its implementation stage. Furthermore, if the EAEPs are an example of gender policy made in Quebec that integrates an intersectional grid, it must be emphasized that minority groups other than women have been added, whereas the women's movement demanded programs targeting women only and not the other minority groups. Finally, although GBA, GBA+, and EAEPs make it possible to generate original data on inequality, there is still much work to do to transform these data into action.

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Mothers, Fathers the Formation of Daughters in Ivy Compton-Burnett: A Literary and Pedagogic Analysis

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Abstract: Family relations within late Victorian/Edwardian bourgeois family represent the core of the vast majority of the novels by Ivy Compton-Burnett. This author managed to put in evidence all the contradictions and the hypocrisy which constituted the inner nature of Victorian and Edwardian family. From this perspective, the main topic approached in this paper will be the relationship between dysfunctional parents, especially mothers, and their daughters in a small yet representative corpus of works by Ivy Compton-Burnett including some of her most prominent novels: Brothers and Sisters (1929), A House and its Head (1935) and Parents and Children (1941). As has been argued, in several works by Burnett, great importance is given to the figure of the governess who usually tends to act as a replacement for an absent or not loving mother. Furthermore, in Parents and Children, the figure of the eldest daughter who acts as a mother for her younger siblings and is in competition with her own mother is displayed. As has been pointed out by several scholars, the distance between mothers and daughters represents one of the pivotal issues of Victorian educational system and, generally speaking, the role of the mother is of crucial importance for the development of the subject formation of daughters. This leads us to the aim of this paper, which is the analysis, both from a literal a psychoanalytic and pedagogical standpoint, with particular reference to feminist critical pedagogy, of the role of the mother and of family relations on the personal developments of daughters during the Victorian age through the lens of Ivy Compton-Burnett's novels. To this purpose, we will associate the close reading of the texts giving also great importance to the style, a crucial feature in Compton-Burnett's works, supported by gender-oriented literary criticism and a pedagogical perspective.

Keywords: family, literary criticism, maternity, modernist literature, pedagogy

1. The issue of family in the twentieth century English novel: An introduction

From the end of the Nineteenth Century, the so called *fin de siècle* years, within English culture and in particular in the field of fiction, we could observe a sharp decline of the traditional patriarchal system and of a reality, both from a cultural and broadly speaking, symbolical point of view. Nevertheless, feminist revolution played a vital role in the process of social development in so far between the Nineteenth and the Twentieth centuries, within western industrial societies, women managed to conquer better positions within the public sphere as well as the private one claiming equal rights including salary equality and franchise. From this perspective, gender studies have been highlighting the development of variated formation paths for women during the nineteenth century that frequently have been overshadowed by the bourgeois educational model of the self-effacing mother relegated to the domestic sphere. Literature frequently has represented women's educational aspiration. Additionally it is important to argue that in the same period along with feminist movements, psychoanalytic revolution develops strongly and, as a consequence, several "nightmares" of European bourgeois culture, including the power of sex, desire and women's speech, invaded the quietness of bourgeois space. As Virginia Woolf wrote in her diaries, the twentieth century is an "age of fragments" (Woolf, 2005, p. 20). Due to the development of Freud's psychoanalysis and to the destruction brought by the First World War, reality started to be perceived by artists and by writers in particular as something impossible to define or to describe according to the aesthetic and conceptual categories that had been used during the Victorian Age. The birth and the development of psychoanalysis at the end of the nineteenth century interrupts the status of safety of the self, putting in light all the issues that escape the realm of a shared knowledge and denounce the repressive dynamics of Victorian moral double standards (Gay, 1984). Furthermore, the self that in realistic novel was considered as a unitary entity, after Freud's revolution, is read as an ever-changing reality whose evolution proves to be unpredictable. The characters move and behave in a state of uncertainness an the plot in itself, which realist writers conceived as an Euclidean path, ordered according to a recognisable structure, starts to be fragmentary and rhapsodic: this is one of the main stylistic features of English Modernism (Rabatè, 2001). The core of this epistemic crisis is bourgeois family that had been one of the thematic bulks of the Nineteenth Century novel. It is in particular in two narrative genres that family ties play a vital role: the family saga, and the *bildungsroman* (Moretti, 1999). As has been argued, these narrative models underwent a process of mutation reflecting the crisis of patriarchal family and of bourgeois society, we have mentioned above (Sackville-West, 1965). Nevertheless, it is important to observe that family, as a theme, does not disappear from the English novel during

Modernism but the novel strives to represent the transformation that involved bourgeois family from the end of the Nineteenth century. In particular, modernist writers have given light to the decay of a family ethic based on marriage and parenthood, two institutions that especially after the First World War, due to a reversal of traditional gender roles within family structures, went into a deep crisis (Lamarra, 2001). One of the best examples of this tendency is E.M Forster's *A Passage to India* (1924) in which Mrs Moore, an old late –Victorian woman who has travelled to India, in order to arrange the marriage of his son Ronny, who is a civil servant in Marabar, and the young Adela Quested. Moore could be considered as the epitome of Victorian culture in itself, a culture that exalted marriage as a social institution of paramount importance. In the second part of the novel, the character undergoes a deep psychic crisis (partly due to the "magic" Indian atmosphere). The crisis of marriage as an institution is responsible for a revolution also in parental roles, both from an historical and pedagogical point of view, a fact that fiction and especially women's fiction in this period manages to represent. This leads us to approach the main theme of this paper: the mother-daughter relationship within women's literature during Modernism and especially in the works of Ivy Compton-Burnett. Our analysis of three Compton-Burnett's novels written between 1929 and 1941 (*Brothers and Sisters, A House and Its Head, Parents and Children*) will be based on a double perspective. These texts will be analysed through the technique of the "close reading" aimed at highlighting the contents and the main thematic issues related to the representation of motherhood. This reading will be included in a theoretical framework rooted in the feminist critical pedagogy and psychoanalysis. Additionally, a critical and literary background will be provided in order to establish the cultural and artistic period in which Compton-Burnett worked.

2. The representation of motherhood in English high modernism: An outline

The condition of daughters stands as a pivotal issue within the canon of English and English speaking fiction during the twentieth century. From this perspective, it is important to observe that this issue is not limited to women's literature but it accompanies the English Novel of the Twentieth Century. One of the most prominent fictional daughters in this period is James Joyce's Eveline, whose is the title one of the central short stories included in *Dubliners* (1914). Eveline is a young woman whose mother is dead. She lives with her younger brothers and sisters and a violent father to whom she is subjugated, not from a material point of view but rather from a psychological one. From a pedagogical perspective we can observe that she plays the role of a substitute mother for her family: "She had hard work to keep the house together and to see that the two young children who had been left to her in charge went to school regularly and got their meals regularly. It was hard work- a hard life- but now that she was about to leave it she did not find it a wholly undesirable life" (Joyce, 1914 p. 25).

Eveline, despite suffering from the presence of a violent father and because of her loneliness, when she has the chance to change her life marrying a man, she is unable to leave for America with him: "She set her white face to him, passive, like a helpless animal. Her eyes gave him no sign of love of farewell" (Joyce, 1914, p.38).

From Eveline's perspective, maternal love is the first and only model of relation, thus every attempt to break to find her independence as a woman is forbidden by her inner sense of guilt.

As far as women's fiction is concerned, one of the most accomplished examples of family novel and of the mother-daughter, relationship is Woolf's *To the Lighthouse* (1927). The centre of the story is Mrs Ramsay who may be considered as the embodiment of maternity herself. Ramsay is the mother of six and, as Fusini (2012) points out, the character of Mrs Ramsay is the reproduction of Woolf's own mother; the novel is inspired by Woolf's own life. The author in fact manages to portray a dramatic schism between mother and daughter which proves to be unusual within contemporary narrative until that moment (Rich, 1986).

Ramsay has a strong influence on Lily, pushing her to marry and somehow to follow the traditional formation path for a woman. Lily, a painter who lives close to the Ramsays and can be considered as a sort of daughter for Mrs Ramasay, symbolically rebels to Ramsay's models and decides not to marry and to be faithful to her art. Lily is a new woman silently rebels against the maternal image and symbolically kills her (Kristeva, 2006), but from another point of view Lily, as every woman who seeks for the independence from the maternal figure, she is haunted by the ghost of her mother and strives to be in contact with her body.

As gender-oriented psychoanalysis shows us, the bond between mother and daughter is preverbal, is related to the pre-verbal and symbolic dimension of language (Kristeva, 1979, Hirsh, 1989). Patriarchal society does not teach women the love for the mother. It is interesting to observe that daughters are unable to fully love their

mothers in so far they are in contact with the image that patriarchy has produced of motherhood (Muraro, 1991). Furthermore, they rely on the love for the father which conceals the love for the mother, harder to be processed and which belongs to the pre-oedipal phase of the self (Buzzati, Salvo, 1995).

As Sapegno (2018) argues, the history of Electra shows that the main element of this debate is not the obsessive love of a daughter for her father, a love that conceals the ghost of incest, but the effort to find an ally against the maternal figure. The mother embodies a series of cultural restrictions and the "female destiny" of being mothers and wives. Thus, Electra and the other "father's daughters" place themselves along their fathers' side in so far fathers are the embodiment of logos and intellectual and personal independence

As far as the history of novel is concerned, the relationship of daughters with parental figures, from the perspective of women has generally been variated.

From both an historical and literary point of view, the relationship between mothers and daughters has always been complex in particular between the late Nineteenth-century and the Twentieth Century (Showalter, 1977). The idea of maternity as pure self -effacement, which was a result of patriarchal cultural construction, was challenged by several modernist women writers like Willa Cather or Rose Maculay. These writers portrayed alternative forms of motherhood, giving voice to aggressive and dysfunctional yet self-aware mothers (Del Sapio-Gerbero, 2000). Furthermore, in several novels mothers are portrayed as weak or ill and absent figures who, notwithstanding, holds in hostage their families, as it is possible to see in Woolf's *The Years* (1937). From a pedagogic and psychoanalytic perspective, it is possible to argue that this new generation of daughters, embodied by modernist writers, gave voice to the necessity of the women of their time to construct a formation path for women, which could stand as an alternative to patriarchal philosophy of parental models.

This leads us to the main topic of our paper: the mother – daughter relationship in the works of Ivy Compton-Burnett, whose novels deal with the crisis of Victorian parental models highlighted by the figure of dysfunctional mothers.

3. The crisis of Bourgeois family in Ivy Compton-Burnett: An interdisciplinary perspective

Ivy Compton-Burnett has been one of the most popular and prolific writers in the canon of English contemporary narrative. Her literary production includes nineteen novels published between 1925 and 1965, (her first work, *Dolores*, written in 1911, is not included by critics in her official production but is considered as a juvenile work) (Burkhart, 1965). In our paper we will focus on Burnett's production between 1929 and 1951, in particular we will approach *Brothers and Sisters* (1929), *A House and Its Head* (1935) and *Parents and Children* (1941). In all these novels different kind of motherhood and daughterhood are shown, in particular it is the conflictual relationship between mothers and daughters that we will observe from both a literary and pedagogical standpoint

The core theme of every novel by Compton-Burnett is represented by family relations within late Victorian middle class; as she told to Michael Milligate during an interview in the Sixties, it would have been impossible to her to approach things of which she did not have a perfect knowledge and which were in a "state of flux" (Burkhart, 1972,p.75).

The society Burnett depicts in her novels is the countryside bourgeoisie in a period that range from the 1880s to the first years of the Edwardian Age. This kind of society was characterised by a nearly obsessive attention given to social rituals. Victorian bourgeois were influenced by the "theatrical show of society" (O' Morgan, 2013,p.120). Burnett manages to portray the violence that in her vision is the essence of social relationships and in particular of family ties during this period. Even though the Nineteenth century has been marked by an evolution in parents-children relationship due to a partial transformation of maternal and paternal models, bourgeois family in that period could be easily defined as a "den of snakes" (Cambi, 2006, p. 23) based on a sort of " black pedagogy" (Miller, 2004, p.23).

From this perspective, we can argue that Compton-Burnett uses a modernist outlook on these issues in so far she is able to put in evidence several hypocrisies of Victorian culture. In particular, the concept that emerges from the vast majority of these novels is that Victorian family is not the place of love and protection but is both a prison, a place impossible to escape from and a source of violence.

The relationships between the members of the same family are characterised by violence; frequently, in these novels incest and murder represent the core of the plot.

This thematic feature is reflected in the narrative technique Burnett uses. The author escapes the golden rule of the interior monologue, one of the main stylistic features of modernist fiction. Burnett, in order to convey the violence of the relationships she describes, makes a massive use of dialogues. As has been observed, her works, from this point of view, could be included in an alternative narrative genre, the "novel play", additionally, Burnett herself described her novels as something "between a novel and a play" (Wheeler, 1997). The dialogues, made of rapid and sharp exchanges, are influenced by the classic technique of the *stychomitia* and by Bernard Shaw's dramas, sentences are short and characterised by great clarity (Burkhart, 1972). Furthermore, Burnett uses other theatre techniques including the "asides", the side-dialogues that in general are overheard by the villain of the story, in these novels the characters use language "like soldiers use their weapons, to injure and kill" (Townsed, 2009).

It is in this environment that the generational difference is transformed into a form of competition between parents and children. This proves to be particularly relevant for mothers and daughters in so far the latter are constantly forbidden to enter into adulthood by their mothers, who complain for their loneliness and social entrapment.

As has been argued, family dynamics are the thematic bulk of Burnett's production, the setting of these novels is always a large country house that is the scenario of violence and is the realm of the tyrant. As a matter of fact, In every novel by Compton-Burnett there is a tyrant, a dictatorial figure who in general is embodied by the *paterfamilias* whose main victims are the children or a weak wife as in *A House and Its Head* (1935) in which the despot is Duncan Edgeworth, who is virtually responsible for the death of his wife. The only member of his family who tries to oppose to him is his eldest daughter Nance. Nance plays a protective function toward her mother and tries to contain her father's psychological violence, using the few weapons she has at her disposal including indifference: "Nance embraced her mother and went to her seat, obeying the unrecognized law that the father should not receive a morning salute" (Compton-Burnett, 1935 p. 9)

In these novels, fathers seem to exercise an absolute power over their relatives. Duncan is the embodiment of the symbolic dimension of patriarchy and in particular of the Victorian conception of it that considered the paternal figure as a sort of God-like authority figure (Mintz, 1983). One of the weapons used by Duncan is the financial dependence of his daughters; the only way for Nance to free herself is to achieve economic independence after the marriage with another character, Oscar Jekyll. This leads us to a brief reflection on the education of women during the beginning of the Twentieth Century, as Duncan says "Well, you will both be dependent, whether or not you want it" (Compton-Burnett, 1935 p.16). As has been observed, women during the Nineteenth and the Twentieth Century belonging to the bourgeoisie were not enabled to have a regular educational path and they lived in a situation of perpetual dependence, from their father when unmarried and then from their husbands once married. This represents a serious pedagogical issue that literature mirrors as we have seen. It is interesting to note that in Compton-Burnett's novels, the presence of a tyrannical father is frequently associated to a weak or absent mother. In *A House and its Head* the mother, Ellen, is portrayed as a weak, ill, weeping figure whose only destiny is death. From this perspective, the author reproduces a very common device within Victorian literature which has inspired Ivy Compton-Burnett. According to Carolyn Dever (2001), in the mid-nineteenth century the "predominant domestic topos in the Victorian novel is a family represented in terms of maternal death or desertion" (Dever, 2001 p. 11), the scene of maternal deathbed which is a topic of Victorian Family novel is a feature of several pieces of fiction during Modernism. In Woolf's *The Years* the agony of the mother is the core of the first part of the novel. In *House* after the death of Ellen, Nance as the eldest daughter replaces her in the family hierarchy and symbolically she starts to occupy the other end of the table, the place of the mistress of the house. It is interesting to observe that when Duncan remarries, this new family structure undergoes a process of rupture in so far Nance is substituted by her father's young new wife. Once again, this new situation is symbolically represented by a change in the disposal of the family around the dinner table: "This is your place – said Duncan; - the place of the mistress of the house for generations" (Compton-Burnett, 1935 p. 124). Furthermore, due to her mother's weakness, Nance grows a special bond with her governess, Cassie, whose position in the house is threatened by the newcomer. As has been argued, governesses play a vital role in Compton-Burnett's narration. Frequently they are an ally of the children, especially the daughters against tyranny. They provide a strong role model for the daughters depicted in these novels and play a vital role in their education (Justice-Gentile, 1991). From this perspective the family dynamics

reproduced by Compton-Burnett open an interesting space of reflection upon the pedagogic theme of female heritage. Furthermore we should argue that in *House* two kinds of daughterhood are represented. On one side we have Nance who follows the maternal principle, on the other side there is Sybil who could be defined a "father's daughter", according to a formula used by Sapegno (2018). Thus if Nance, like Antigone, refuses the law of the Father, Sybil, like Iphigenia, bounds to the patriarchal principle. She is the only member of the family who, despite being aware that her father is morally responsible for the death of her mother, tries to show sympathy for him and to console him: "She broke into the library, where Duncan was by himself. – Father, you and I must grieve for mother alone" (Compton-Burnett, 1935, p. 67). In other words, Sybil proves to be faithful to the father. This proves to be particularly interesting from a psychoanalytic standpoint. This leads us to approach another novel written by Compton-Burnett, *Brothers and Sisters* (1929). In this novel, which is considered the masterpiece of the author's production. In *Brothers*, the tyrant is the mother, Sophia Stace. In this case, we could observe a reversal of roles in so far the father is weak and dies. As Justice-Gentile (1991) points out, Compton-Burnett has managed to create female characters that, despite having a dysfunctional maternal attitude, epitomise assertive femininity compared to an increasingly weaker paternal figure. We should observe that women in Compton-Burnett's novels due to the virtually subjugated condition of women within late Victorian Bourgeois family are not able, like men, to use only economic power as a weapon or their "moral authority" but they use a distorted idea of love, an obsessive love to subjugate their children. They are not satisfied to force people to do something, they need to persuade them, "to seize their inner freedom" (Bolzani, 2009 p. 12). This is the case of Sophia who, after the death of her weak husband, Christian, catch her children in a grip made of her sorrow and of the sense of guilt she manages to instil in her children: "The next days passed as a continuation of the same day. Sophia's grief hung like a pall on the house, crushing its inmates with a load as if of guilt, that their sorrow was less great than hers" (Compton-Burnett, 1929 p. 145).

The main victims of this behaviour are Sophia's eldest son Andrew and her eldest daughter Dinah. We should argue that Andrew is the main target of Sophia's dysfunctional love as her male eldest and responsible for the perpetuation of family tradition: " Andrew, as a matter of his parent's filial duty rather had followed his grandfather's wish and stayed on the land; that is, remained at home at the command of his mother" (Compton-Burnett, 1929 p. 31).

Andrew, thus, has a weak personality. As has been observed, Compton-Burnett's children, unlike their evil characters, suffer from a lack of personality, typical od modernist characters, that contributes to push them into the role of victims, otherwise they "would have to work, or give up their education, or search for a mate or stand on their own feet" (Karl, 1963). As far as Dinah is concerned, as her brother she is unable to survive her mother's tyranny. Furthermore, she is another "father's daughter" who loses the protection of her father and is not able to create a bond with her mother. Additionally, Dinah is excluded by her mother from any role in the house: "Dinah lived under the same conditions [of Andrew], except that she was not held to share the duties on the land which were…performed by either Christian or Sophia" (Compton-Burnett, 1929 p. 32). Thus, we can argue that Sophia uses not only the sense of guilt as a weapon to subjugate her children but also the tendency to impede them to have a role within the family. As a result, Dinah, after the death of Sophia, remains in the house, unable to live an autonomous life or search for a mate. The negative influence of mothers upon daughters is generally concealed by a distorted pedagogical attitude and is associated by different kind of mother figures. One of these models is the "tutor mother" who holds an obsessive control over her daughter and her relations with other people which manages to damage the development of her daughter's relational life.

From a psychoanalytic point of view, Sophia is a "crocodile mother" who is obsessed by childcare and sacrifices every aspect of herself to that becoming a bad mother in so far the " crocodile mother" wants to "devour her children" (Recalcati, 2010): "For her children her love demanded more than it gave" (Compton-Burnett, 1929 p. 26).

Sophia herself is portrayed in the first part of the novel as an assertive daughter who, being motherless, replaces her father, a tyrant, at the head of the house: "Sophia sat in her father's seat at the head of his table…the seat was symbolic of Sophia's position in the household" (Compton-Burnett, 1929 p. 25). From a symbolical outlook, Sophia as a daughter rebels to the law of the father to establish a perverted law of the mother. Interestingly enough, the story told in *Brothers and Sisters* has a strong autobiographic origin, since as Hilary Spurling (2009) observes, Ivy's mother, Catherine, after the death of her husband, throws upon her children an atmosphere of sorrow mixed with sense of guilt. She forced her children to undergo rituals including funeral wakes several days a week. According to Spurling, the obsession of Compton-Burnett for family plots and for parental figures is

rooted in her exigence to tell her story in order to overcome a trauma (Spurling, 2009). In *Parents and Children*, the mother , Eleanor Sullivan, cannot be defined as an evil character but as several Victorian upper-classes mothers she is physically productive but she is completely unable to establish a truly sentimental relationship with her young children, she barely visits them in the nursery and they barely can stand her. Eleanor is replaced by her eldest daughter, Luce, who acts as a mother for her younger brothers. Another surrogate mother is Regan, Eleanor's mother in law, who gives her grandchildren and children affection and education. Thus, Eleanor is an absent mother while Regan is the epitome of self-less motherhood: "Regan was a woman who only loved her family. She loved her husband deeply, her children fiercely, her grandchildren fondly and loved no one else" (Compton-Burnett, 1941 p. 15).

4. Conclusions and further perspectives

As shown by the paper, the representation of motherhood plays a vital role within the context of Twentieth Century English literature with particular reference to the works by Ivy Compton-Burnett analysed in this essay.

The analysis has shown that mother-daughter relationship exercises a vital influence on the development of family plots especially within women's narrative. From a psychological point of view, the maternal figure epitomises the roots of every individual and thus plays a crucial role in the transmission of psychic and cultural elements. In particular, for every young girl she is the first object of love that is due to give love and protection as an element of mediation with the outer world. Meanwhile the mother is also the embodiment and the psychic reality that gathers around itself the nightmares related to women's self-formation, being a constant presence who would accompany daughters through adulthood, a time when they will seek to find their own place as independent selves (Buzzati, Salvo, 1995). From this perspective, Compton-Burnett's novels can be easily analysed both from a purely literary-critical outlook and from a more specifically pedagogical one. The pedagogical framework provided above enables Compton-Burnett's reader to have a clear view of the issues approached by this author in her novels notably the different kinds of dysfunctional motherhood she portrays and the relationship between mothers and daughters. In this relationship, both the mother and the daughter have on their bodies the mark of the reciprocal presence in so far every daughter is the "symptom" of her mother (Buzzati, Salvo, 1995 pp.40-41). This analysis has been possible on the ground of the synergy between three different scientific areas, feminist critical pedagogy, psychoanalysis and literary criticism, which can be easily combined to provide a more comprehensive analysis of fictional works, according to the multidisciplinary approach of critical theory (Tyson, 2011). Through this paper, we intend to apply the same method to different literary genres, including the bildungsroman, wishing for an increasing synergy between different interpretative frameworks, focalising on educational issues, which are the result of a specific socio-cultural environment and have been portrayed effectively by the works analysed above.

Exploring the complex relationship between mothers and daughters through the analysis of Compton-Burnett's novels, the pedagogic outlook lead to put in light the compulsory and regulatory nature of pedagogic models associated to gender difference. These models, in the past have given importance to an educational approach which was supposed to be genderless but which gave prominence to men, as matter of fact. Furthermore, this approach to textual analysis is conducive to highlight the history of female subjectivity, which has proven to be more obscure than male subjectivity (Ulivieri, 1999). The paper both posits a connection between male tradition and the overshadowing of female subjectivity and highlights the "female practices" aimed at contrasting female exclusion from the processes mentioned above and the gender inequality which is strengthened within family.

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Women Entrepreneurs in Cape Town, South Africa: Challenges and Opportunities

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Abstract: The dynamic for women entrepreneurs in South Africa is one that offers many opportunities. As a developing nation, the field provides many niches that represent opportunities within the sphere of small-and-medium enterprise (SME) business endeavours. There are challenges as well as opportunities in various fields of entrepreneurship. Some challenges and opportunities are unique to specific fields and others are more general. The scope of this paper involves investigating women entrepreneurs' dynamic through introductory interviews of success in the field of women's entrepreneurship in Cape Town. The study intends to highlight the issue by way of quantitative analysis. In doing so, an exploration of case studies is necessary to achieve perspectives on the relationships between women entrepreneurs and the environment in which they operate. SME's are the main focus in this study, especially those enterprises operating in areas inhabited by people on the lower end of the income spectrum. Urban and rural settings are also taken into consideration as important environmental factors that have profound effects in a number of different ways such as access to resources and support structures. The scope also extends to analysing general trends inherent in the process of setting up and executing entrepreneurial enterprises. Included in these trends are the challenges perceived and challenges dealt with by women entrepreneurs. How these challenges have been met is an important aspect to this analysis. These challenges are noted as issues that are easily or not easily resolved, and whether they are dealt with by the individual entrepreneur or with help from external sources, as in many cases, the problems are outside the control of the individual entrepreneur and as such, may require governmental responses.

Keywords: women entrepreneurs, interagents, small and medium enterprises (SMEs)

1. Introduction

Challenges to employment, historical challenges linked to education and work opportunities have resulted in entrepreneurship models based in micro, small and medium enterprises (SMEs) being launched. The economic climate in South Africa is one that provides many opportunities for developmental entrepreneurship. In both rural and urban areas, the focus of women in entrepreneurial fields is an important issue as it addresses both economic growth and gender equality – two factors that play an extremely important role in South Africa in terms of its future as well as its ideals. This paper deals with both by engaging with women entrepreneurs through a series of questions designed to attain quantitative data. In addition to this quantitative data, some insightful quantitative data exists as a by-product of these interviews. The idea of the micro entrepreneur notes the need for small business as a means of survival in South Africa, ones which compete with each other in various areas but also ones which are not necessarily located in a specific venue but rather are mobile, even if this is on foot to sell goods in various areas.

The data collected and analysed suggests the importance regarding the status of women entrepreneurs in this country, as well as the positive and negative challenges they face in their own contexts as well as a wider context within the South African economy.

2. Literature review

2.1 Women and SME

The existence and the role of SMEs have a significant effect on theoretical constructs on the topic of entrepreneurship. As such, focusing solely on SMEs and entrepreneurship without investigating the foundational theories behind them would result in a paper that lacks the holistic approach desired. Much of this theoretical work exists beyond the realm of nations and their borders, as a large part of the dynamic of women entrepreneurs is cross-cultural, existing in a sphere that cannot be isolated to distinct localities. This is evident

in the fact that women entrepreneurs across the world are often subject to similar problems which are inherent in patriarchal societies (Nyakudya, 2018).

Stead (2017) investigates some of this theoretical basis by discussing the roles and relationships between women and "socially embedded gendered assumptions in entrepreneurial practice." This is salient in that it affects women throughout the entire process of entrepreneurial ventures. The work draws on social theories of belonging where five forms of how women navigate and are expected to navigate their way through the field of entrepreneurial enterprise is posited. This is ongoing and relevant in that women continue to face impediments to their success in realms dominated by men, or where men are subject to preferential treatment.

2.2 Opportunities for SMEs in South Africa

As South Africa is an emerging economy and with vast portions of its society living in informal settlements, the focus on initiatives in townships is an important one. Hikido (2017) addresses this focus by discussing entrepreneurship in township tourism. Hikido notes that 25% of all international tourists in South Africa visit the townships (George and Booyens, 2014 in Hikido, 2017), and a significant part of this tourism sector are the bed and breakfasts driven by local black women. The significance of this is that the tourism sector forms a part of the driving force of entrepreneurial activity.

Mandipaka (2014) provides an overview of women entrepreneurs, focusing on contributions made by women to the business sector, as well as various support structures that exist to expedite women's entrepreneurship. There are various support strategies in place by the Department of Trade and Industry. There is the South African Women Entrepreneur's Network, the Technology for Women in Business programme, the Isivande Women's Fund designed to provide "small, women-owned businesses with affordable, usable and responsive financial solutions", and Bavumile which is a programme designed to upgrade basic skills of women with home-based enterprises (Mandipaka, 2014). These support structures are also the focus of research conducted by O' Neill and Viljoen (2001) in their paper, "Support for female entrepreneurs in South Africa: Improvement or decline?". In studying these support structures, the challenges women face are brought to light, and in so doing, the research corroborates with other research that the factors inhibiting women are numerous. The authors mention support strategies such as programmes which provide access to finance and credit, business skills training, and government support in recognition of the role women play in business (O'Neill and Viljoen, 2001).

2.3 Challenges to women-based SME's

Critical to the study of women's entrepreneurship is the focus on challenges that women face in starting and running their own business. Sharma (2015) interrogates this issue in her paper "Women Entrepreneurs: Challenges & Opportunities," which focuses on India but notes the universality of challenges women face around the world, wherein topics such as the promotion of women's entrepreneurship in developing countries, the gender gap and business performance are discussed. Sharma outlines six challenges that women face that resonate across the board especially in developing countries, namely (pp. 251-252):

- Access to financial resources;
- Inadequate training and access to information;
- Work-family interface;
- Women's safety and gender-based violence;
- Lack of social support;
- Legal barriers and procedures.

There are a number of works which focus on women entrepreneurs specifically in South Africa. Meyer and Landsberg (2015) define the factors that motivate women entrepreneurs by discussing the key motives of women who entered into a female entrepreneurship development program from 2013 to 2015. Challenges faced by women entrepreneurs are also addressed by Chinomona and Maziriri (2015) who note the challenges hampering the success of women in this field as lack of education and training, specifically in Gauteng. They further note overarching challenges as being "poverty, inequality and unemployment" which "are affecting females more than men".

In a similar work which focuses on challenges women entrepreneurs face, Nambiar (2015) notes through a qualitative study the challenges faced by- and the psychosocial support systems in place for women entrepreneurs in South African townships. Although the study conducted by Mwangi focuses on the dynamic in the Gucha district in Kenya, it can easily be applied to women in the same circumstances in many parts of South Africa. The psychosocial aspects that need to be addressed are evident as being financial stress, depression, social isolation and poor relationships with friends, relatives and workmates (Mwangi, 2012 in Nambiar, 2015).

2.4 Gender gap

Another salient issue is the gender gap which is addressed by Nyakudya et al. (2018) who focus on this issue by using a quantitative analysis. The study conducted for the paper used a database containing 19 469 case samples to study the gender gap involved in the extent to risk aversion and entrepreneurial ability. The data provides an important quantitative result as to the reason behind the gender gap involved in entrepreneurial practice in South Africa. Expanding on the issue of a gender gap, Phipps and Prieto (2015) engage with the topic further by comparing the sexes in their paper "Women Versus Men in Entrepreneurship: A Comparison of the Sexes on Creativity, Political Skill, and Entrepreneurial Intentions". Phipps and Prieto conducted a quantitative study which concluded that male students were significantly more likely to have entrepreneurial intentions. This study corroborated with the results of other studies such as Wilson, Kickul and Marlino, 2007 and Zhao, Seibert and Hills, 2005 (Phipps and Prieto, 2015).

What is apparent from research available is that there are many opportunities but also many challenges for women entrepreneurs, internationally and in South Africa. Research to a specific regional area or city helps to further expand the opportunities and challenges specific to it. This helps to provide regional specific data for analysis and evaluation and to help further expand the research data.

3. Research methodology

The first part of the study involved a literature review designed to locate various aspects of difficulties in the lives of women as entrepreneurs, and research the dynamic in which these entrepreneurs operate, as well as the effect that these dynamics have on them specifically as women. This formed the foundation of ensuring challenges and opportunities noted nationally and internationally were considered when collecting data.

In order to help understand the challenges and issues specific to women entrepreneurs in Cape Town, interviews with a small number of entrepreneurs in various spheres of entrepreneurial activities in Cape Town, was determined. Initially, the research was designed to be quantitative, however, some respondents supplied qualitative insights of which some are noted in this paper.

Data accumulation was then conducted and done via a quantitative method. Questionnaires were designed as a series of multiple choice questions. These questionnaires were distributed amongst various groups of women who fall into the category of entrepreneurs and interagents within certain business spheres.

A total of 20 respondents took part in the survey. These respondents were all either flower sellers in Adderley Street, merchants from Greenmarket Square, or sales representatives and product distributors for a makeup company. Interviewing flower sellers in Adderley Street was seen as particularly important in that it is a sphere that has undergone much stereotyping as being female and Coloured, and it was a stereotype that was used as a point of selling the "charm" of Cape Town, with the flower sellers appearing on tourist postcards (Bickford-Smith, 2009). All respondents were anonymous, and data obtained from them were freely given. The results from their participation follow. As such, for our paper, we focused on Cape Town's Greenmarket Square, as the clients there are predominantly tourists, and the vendors come from many different parts of Africa (Wankah, 2009), and the close-by Adderley Street with its long tradition of flower sellers

The data was collected, collated and interpreted in the forms that follow. Through the process of questioning respondents to gather quantitative data, a number of qualitative instances of data were also freely given, although not solicited. Some of these instances are added to the analysis in this paper to achieve a more holistic outcome.

4. Initial findings

The first component of the research was to identify the information about the respondents, to help identify categories and code accordingly. Of the 20 respondents who took part in the survey, all answered the question regarding their age. The median age was 41,85 with the youngest respondent being 25 and the eldest being 65.

In terms of monthly revenue, there were significant differences. Although revenue from month to month can fluctuate vastly, an aggregate was solicited from each respondent. The lowest monthly income was stated as being R100, while the highest was R60 000. The average income for the respondents was R7605, 56 per month. In addition, it is important to note that for some entrepreneurs, there is only one source of income, while for others, their entrepreneurial activities facilitate an income that is only secondary. 18 respondents answered this question, while two abstained.

Figure 1: The next question asked the respondents to identify their business position in terms of whether they are product distributors or business owners. 40% indicated that they were product distributors while 55% identified themselves as business owners. 5% identified as "other" and specified themselves as sales agents. The 55% who identified themselves as business owners were all street traders, either selling flowers, clothing or arts.

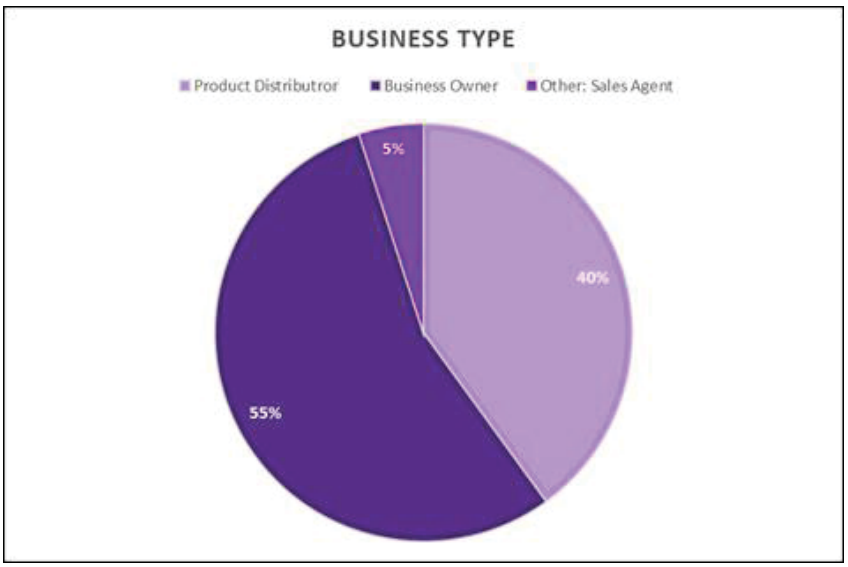


Figure 1: Illustrates business types

Figure 2: 85% of the respondents were involved in the retail industry, while 15% were involved in wholesale. All the respondents in this case were involved in selling products, mostly via street trading.

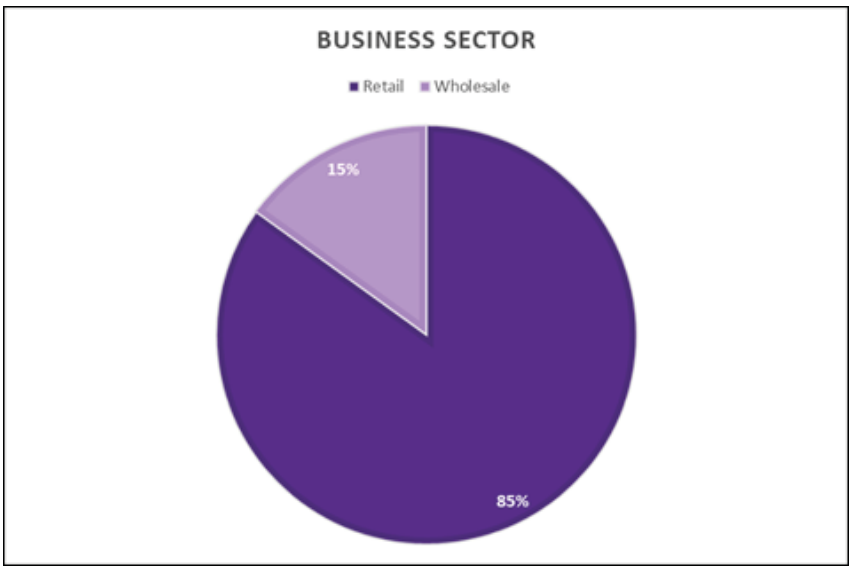


Figure 2: Illustrates the business sector

Figure 3: Regarding the primary reason for entering the field of entrepreneurship, 50% of the respondents claimed it was a passion or a dream that they wanted to achieve. 25% said it was because they needed more money, while 10% said that the primary reason was to be involved more in the community, and only 15% specified "other". This indication was unusual in that even within the economic climate, only a quarter of the respondents cited needing more money as their primary desire for entering business.

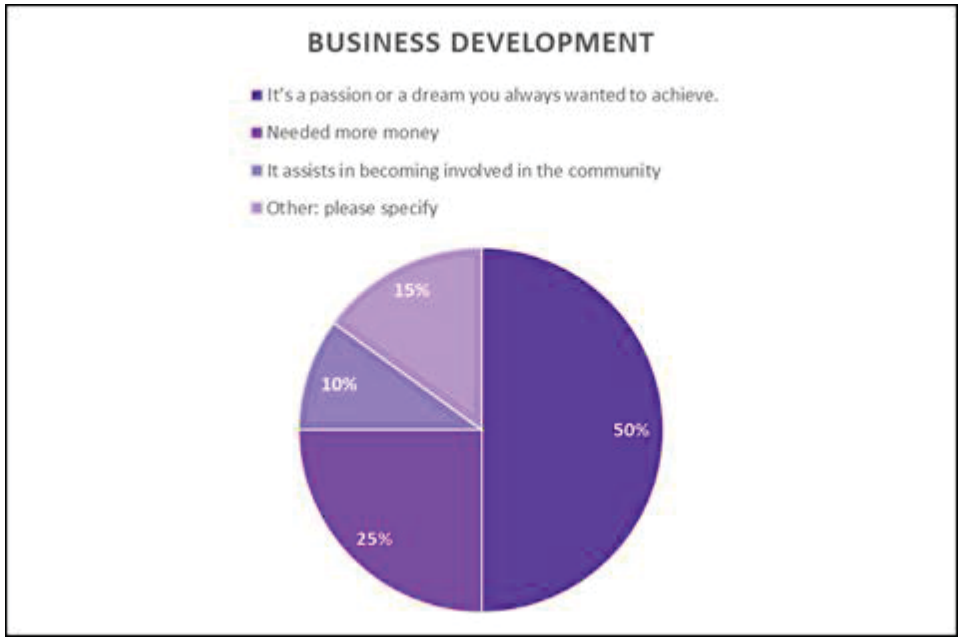


Figure 3: Illustrates business development

Figure 4: In terms of time taken to start up their businesses, 55% (11 respondents) noted that the process was quick. Of these 11 respondents, it is important to note that 4 indicated that their business was inherited – a dynamic in which very little to no time would be needed to set up operations. 15% (3 respondents) said that it took 1-6 months, while 20% (4 respondents) stated that it took it took 7-12 months. 10% (2 respondents) indicated that their operation took over a year to set up.

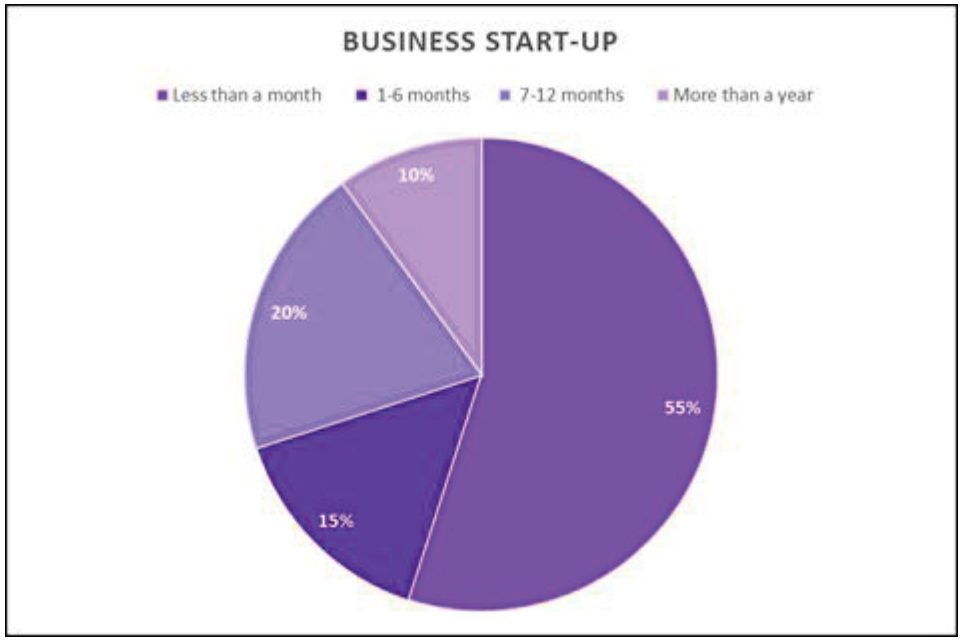


Figure 4: Illustrates business start-up

Figure 5: The question of whether the revenue attained was a primary of secondary income showed an almost even split, with 55% (11 respondents) indicating that the revenue generated from their business was their only

source of income, while 45% (9 respondents) stated that the income generated from their venture was secondary.

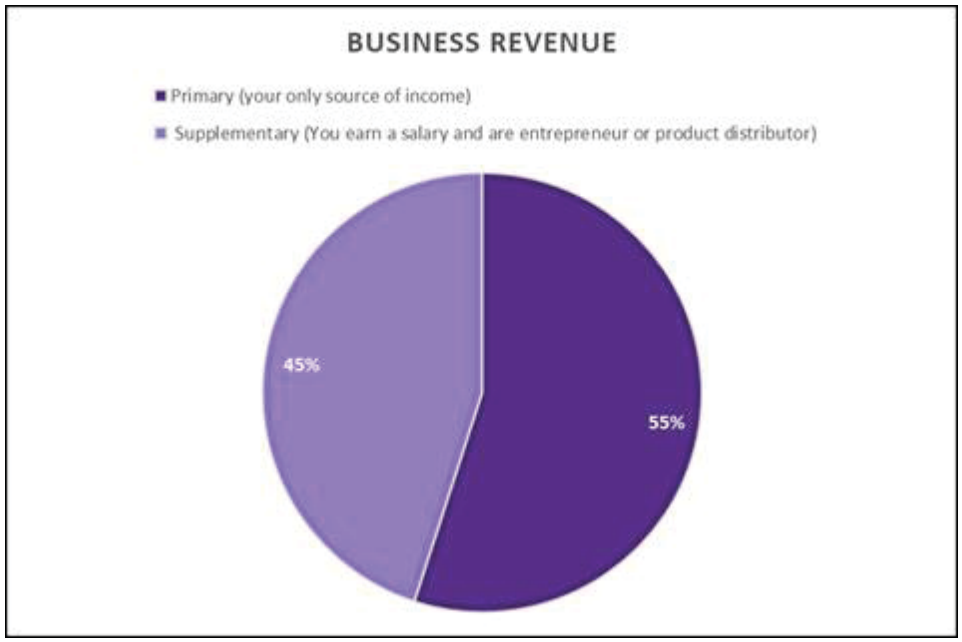


Figure 5: Illustrates business revenue

Figure 6: 50% of the respondents claimed their business was profitable. 40% said they only break even. In both extremes, 5% (1 respondent) said her business was very profitable, and 5% (1 respondent) said she operated at a loss.

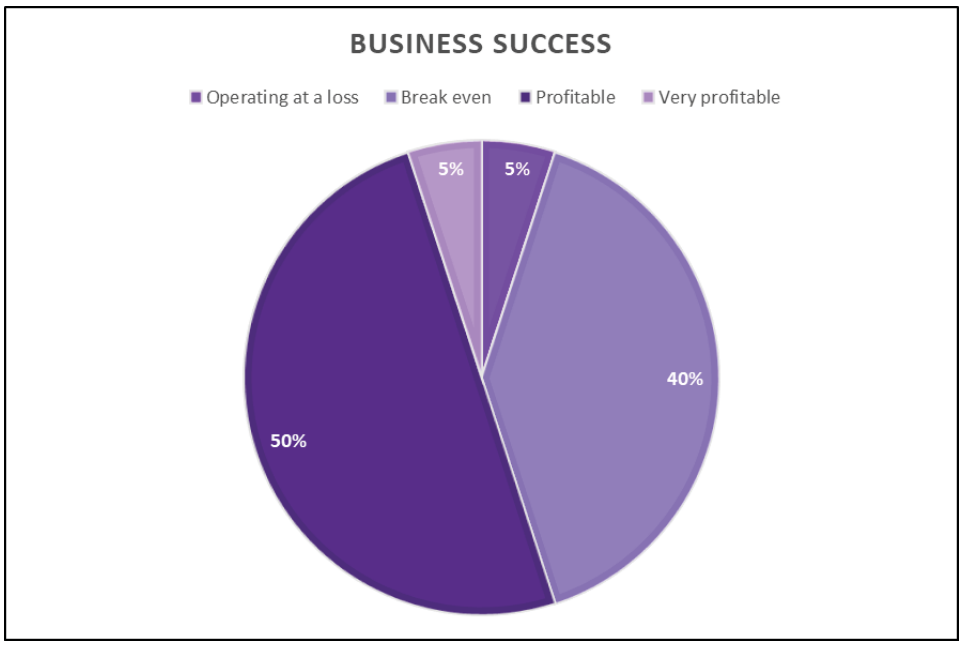


Figure 6: Illustrates the success of the business

Figure 7: The challenges involved in entrepreneurial ventures were wide and varied. 5% (1 respondent) claimed there were operational difficulties 10% (2 respondents) said there was a lack of equal opportunities for women. 5% (1 respondent) noted that there was intimidation. However, the majority (60%) claimed that balancing life and work was a difficult challenge. 5% (1 respondent) noted that crime was a problem. 10% (2 respondents) claimed “all of the above” as problems, and 5% (1 respondent) claimed “other”.

Figure 8: In terms of attaining resources, 45% (9 respondents) claimed that it was very easy. 20% (4 respondents) said it was easy. 15% (3 respondents) claimed that it was difficult. A further 15% (3 respondents) said it was very difficult, and 5% (1 respondent) said that attaining resources was a situation that varies from month to month.

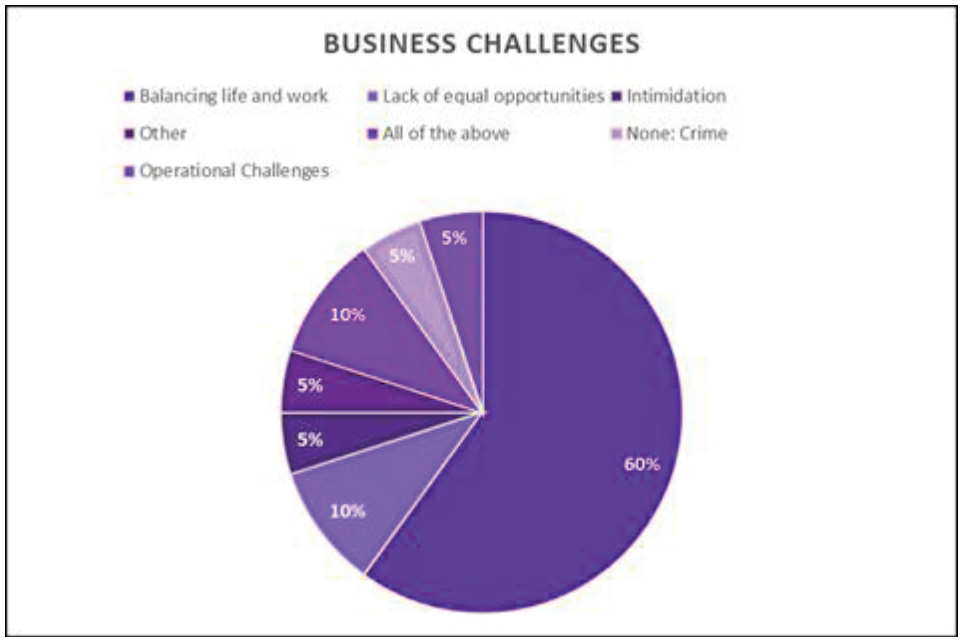


Figure 7: Illustrates business challenges

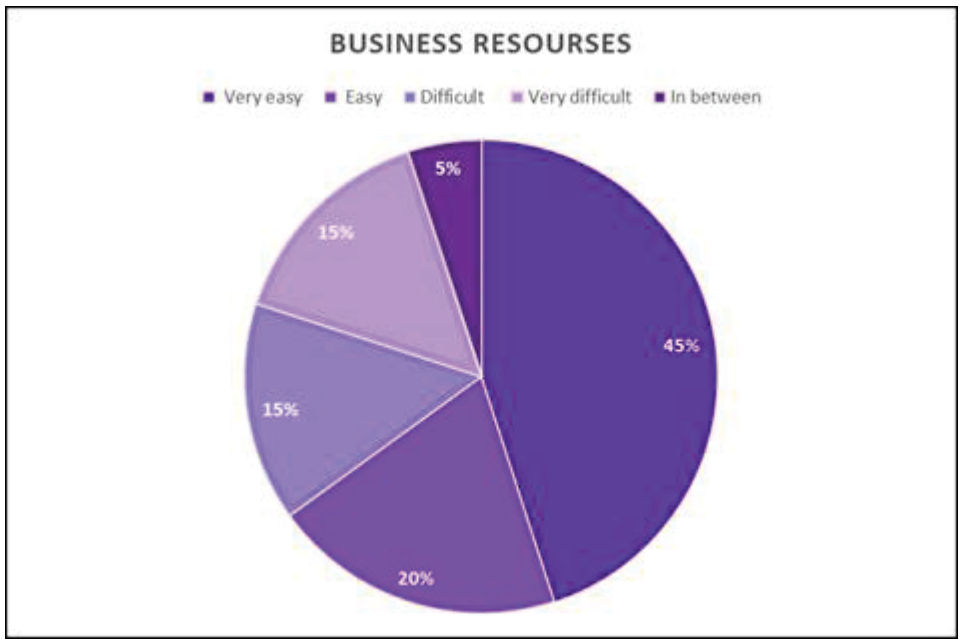


Figure 8: Illustrates business resources

Inferred from the data, starting a business is not a major hurdle encountered, and there is no significant difference in whether the business serves as a primary or secondary source of income. However, fields of concern are represented in the statistics that show only half of these businesses are profitable. In addition, the area of most concern identified is the challenge of balancing life and work.

5. Recommendations

Problems persist within the entrepreneurial field for women such as balancing life and work, as well as gender-related intimidation. Although many indicated their decision to engage in entrepreneurial activities as a dream or passion they wanted to fulfil, the dynamic of having to balance life and work is still problematic. This is particularly salient when one considers the societal pressure put on women to be the primary caregivers in the family when children are involved. It is unlikely that this dynamic exists with any significance within the male

population. This remains a societal issue which needs to be addressed by challenging the patriarchal norms and expectations of men and women in society. This is based on a reasonable assumption indicated by the statistics involved with balancing life and work, as well as qualitative data extracted from the respondents. Many women indicated that they are expected to take a greater part in running the household, such as cleaning and cooking, than male counterparts within the family unit. This dynamic indicates an increased difficulty for women to balance life and work. Within this dynamic, it is clear that there is a situation of inequality of engendered responsibility that persists.

What is also problematic is that only 55% claimed their enterprises were profitable. And although this is a majority, it can be construed as being not high enough. Difficulties in the economic climate were mentioned as a reason for the poor performance of certain enterprises. To generate information on how this reflects as a gender-based problem, or even if it is a gender-based problem, it needs to be compared with the same statistical analysis from studies of this nature taken from a male-based perspective.

Other difficulties mentioned were thieves stealing from warehouses (flower sellers), not having qualifications to perform other jobs, and not being able to find other employment. It is necessary in this regard to compare qualifications and access to jobs and activities between male and female respondents in order to ascertain whether this dynamic is inhibiting to women's access to employment.

It is therefore recommended that initiatives are enacted to address societal issues that inhibit the progression of women in the workplace, and to combat entrenched patriarchal structures which place extended demand on women's responsibilities as well as the paradigms which exist in how women are perceived within cultural and societal contexts. Initiatives in this regard may be instituted from within or without government. The accompanying trend of how men are perceived and what is expected of them within the household also bears scrutiny in needing cultural and societal revision.

6. Conclusion

The results show that balancing life and work remains a high priority for women entrepreneurs. And while starting the business remains positive in terms of time taken, the results of such enterprises are often not profitable enough. Many interviewees indicated that business was better in the past. The main factors therefore, remain economic and social ones that exceed the scope of the entrepreneurs' enterprises. These problems exist at national and international levels.

Despite these observations, and because of the limitations of this research, it remains difficult to assess the problematic areas without a proper context of weighing entrepreneurial success against the factors of gender (a study of male entrepreneurs needs to be undertaken) and economic climate (a study of entrepreneurial business needs to be conducted in which current outcomes are measured against outcomes from the past).

Despite this, there are some positives, especially in the sphere of retailing in Greenmarket Square. Traders there make more of a profit than what is currently perceived, and traders are selling goods that are in high demand. It is possible that this is attributable to Cape Town's status as a tourism hub, as many tourists pass through Greenmarket Square as a primary source of souvenir acquisition. In Greenmarket Square, there was no noticeable difference between the numbers of men and women traders, which indicates on the surface that there are no inhibitions which effectively prevent women from trading there. In Adderley Street, there was a huge disproportion of women to men selling flowers, indicating that the business is dominated on the direct face-to-face side by women. In these areas, it is clear that women are very much present, however, as the study shows, there are major concerns for women which men do not face.

As this is an exploratory study, the challenges and opportunities for the group identified helps to show some of the challenges linked specifically to flower selling and XXXX. This research helps to begin the process of unpacking sector specific challenges and opportunities for women in Cape Town, and it shows that further research should be conducted into different sectors of the economy, even under the SME field. This ongoing research will enable data on different SME functions to be analysed and explored from a women's studies imperative in Southern Africa.

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Women in the Labor Market in the City of Manizales, Caldas, Colombia

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Abstract: In Latin America, women face discrimination at all levels of employment and management. Some studies have concluded that Latin Americans, as compared to Europeans and North Americans, are more likely to put up with the fact that power is unequally distributed within companies. This creates an environment that encourages the acceptance of labor inequality between genders (Vergara, 2011). This research project attempts to understand women and their inclusion in the workplace, as well as the ways they are limited within the labor market. Understanding and characterizing the limiting factors of women and analyzing their behavior in the labor market can help to identify appropriate actions that will lead to greater equity for women. The problem of the gender gap, which has been debated in many circles, is the result of cultural traditions and ideologies. Women have often not been allowed to develop the necessary skills to advance in life or to preserve their liberties and opportunities as people, and are not offered the same opportunities as men to take part in economic and political spheres (Vázques-Parra, 2016). "The presence of socioeconomic and cultural factors that limit the competitive development of women has been well studied. Several of these limitations are related to the reproductive role of the female sex, the lack of access to educational preparation, and the lack of economic rights, among others" (Vázquez Parra, Arrendondo Trapero, & de la Garza, 2016, translated from Spanish). This leads to an understanding that, in general, is already accepted, but that has not been given adequate attention or analysis. As Charlo Molina and Núñez Torrado (2012) argue, it is society that gives value to both male and female roles—this has brought about a discriminatory socioeconomic position against women, just as it has brought power and respect to men. The term diversity refers to the interaction of different individuals with different cultures, ages, genders, education levels, development, life experiences, abilities, talents, functional and organizational differences, etc. In other words, according to the European Institute for the Management of Diversity, "diversity is understood as profiles that differentiate people and have an impact on group behavior" (Abay Analistas Económicos y Sociales, 2012, translated from Spanish). "Organization is defined as the interaction of multiple actors and processes that respond to the pressures of the environment in which they operate, from which a high capacity for self-organization emerges and develops" (Lowendahl and Revang, cited by Torres and Mejía, 2006, pp. 125, translated from Spanish).

Keywords: women, the labor market

1. Theoretical approach

According to existing information in Colombia, the national government supports the participation of women from a normative framework through laws and policies established by different entities. For example, the National Public Policy on Gender Equality recognizes that: "Women, as social subjects, contribute to the development of the country in all arenas; however, there remain various forms of discrimination that affect and impede women's exercise of rights and the expansion of their capacities" (Alta consejería Presidencia para la Equidad de la Mujer, 2012, translated from Spanish). Likewise, the "Principal Instruments and International and National Norms" are also stated (Programa Presidencial para la formulación de Acciones y Estrátegias para el Desarrollo Integral de los Pueblos Indígenas, 2013, translated from Spanish), which emphasizes the importance of achieving maximum participation of women in equal conditions as men by providing training and employment opportunities. Furthermore, it focuses on the elimination of traditional gender roles, with an emphasis on equal labor opportunities.

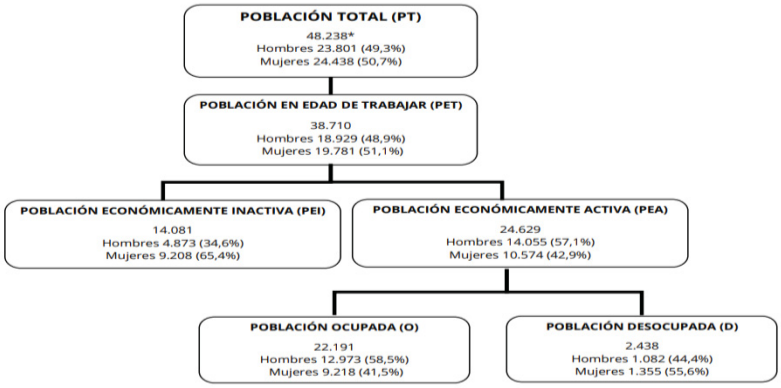
Nearly all of the above applies to a study done in Popayán, which concluded that the cost of working for women along with raising and caring for children, without recognition, limits effective establishment in the labor market. Personal and family barriers such as maternity, age, and marital status also have an effect.

Using direct precedents from studies done in Mexico, Spain, and Chile by the Monterrey Institute of Technology; the University of Sevilla; and Fuentes, Palma, and Montero, respectively, one can conclude that the difference in the economic participation of women is statistically significant, and that women receive a lower wage than men, despite having equal characteristics in terms of human capital.

Women's participation in the labor market is only just beginning to improve significantly thanks to factors that positively influence organizational development: recent studies maintain that gender diversity and the educational level of employees are both positive influences in this area. Thus concluded a study from an administration journal in Spain, which reported important growth thanks the contributions of women in the workplace.

2. Population distribution by gender

Of the total national population from the period of February-April of 2018, 50.7% were women and 49.3% were men. The population that was economically active was composed 57.1% by men and 42.9% by women. Men represented 58.5% of those employed, and women 41.5%. Of those unemployed, 44.4% were men and 55.6% were women. Percentages of the national population.



3. Labor market participation by gender

Men. The national unemployment rate for men over the period from February-April of 2018 was 7.7%; from February-April of 2017 the rate was 7.3%. Overall labor force participation rates for men from February-April of 2018 was 74.3%, and employment rates were 68.5%. For the period of February-April 2017, these statistics were 74.4% and 69.0% respectively.

The sectors that employed the highest shares of men for the period February-April of 2018 were: Agriculture, livestock, hunting, foresting, and fishing (22.9%) and Businesses, hotels, and restaurants (22.6%). For the period of February-April of 2017, these sectors were 22.8% and 22.2% respectively. During the same period in 2018, the occupation with the highest participation of men was self-employed with 45.2%. For same period in 2017 this proportion was 44.8%.

Women. At the national level, the unemployment rate for women for the period of February-April 2018 was 12.8%, accompanied by a labor force participation rate of 53.5% and an employment rate of 46.6%. From February-April of 2017, these numbers were 12.8%, 54.4%, and 47.4%, respectively. The sectors employing the highest proportion of women for February-April of 2018 were: Businesses, hotels, and restaurants (33.2%) and Community, social, and personal services (31.0%). For February-April 2017 these proportions were 34.0% and 30.5% respectively. The occupation with the greatest participation of women for the period February-April 2018 was self-employed with 40.9%. This rate was 40.1% in for the same period in 2017.

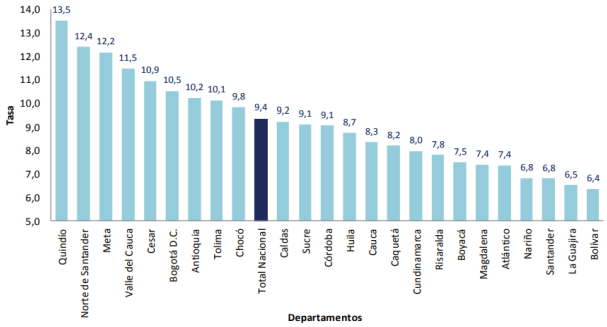
4. Length of job search

When considering educational levels, at the national level women require longer to find employment, with the exception of women with university and graduate school training, who require on average 2.4 weeks less than men with the same education.

In general, women take five months to secure employment (one month more than men). This is significant for women, as during that average of 30 days, men have already earned their first month's pay.

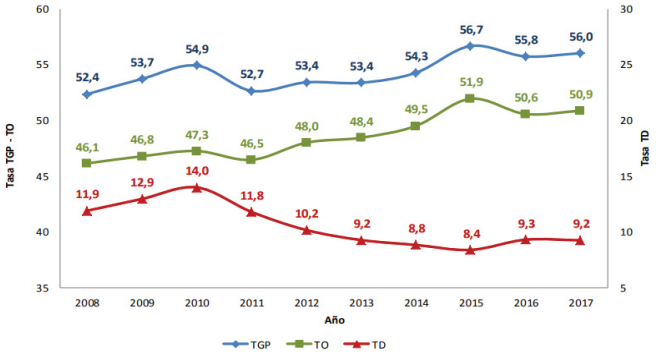
5. Labor force participation

In 2017, Caldas had an overall participation rate of 56.0%, an employment rate of 50.9%, and an unemployment rate of 9.2%. National unemployment rates, 23 departamentos y Bogotá D.C 2017.



Source: DANE, GEIH

The objective underemployment rate for Caldas was 5.0%, and the subjective underemployment rate was 21.1%. Overall rates of workforce participation, employment, and unemployment. Caldas 2008 - 2017

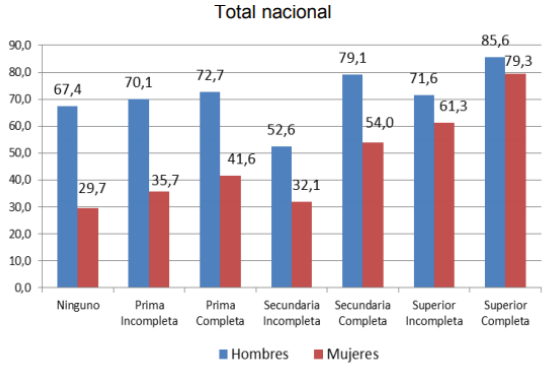


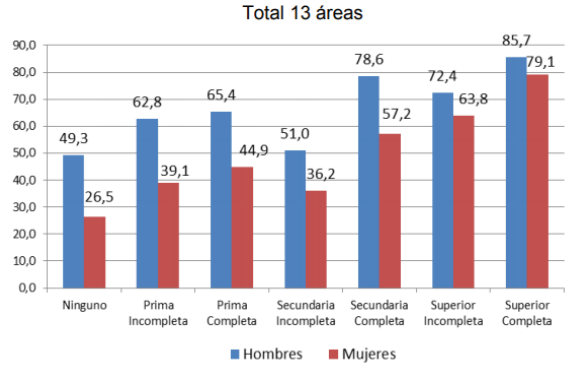
Source: DANE, GEIH

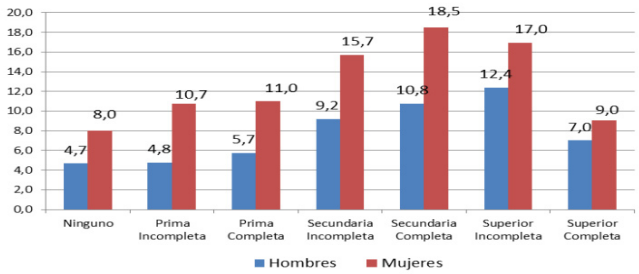
6. Labor market indicators by educational level

The national employment rate for women with completed levels of higher education was 79.3%, 6.3 percentage points lower than the rate for men (85.6%). The gap between men and women tends to be lower among those with higher levels of education.

Nationally, the unemployment rate for women with secondary education was 18.5%, which is 7.7 percentage points greater than men with the same educational level. Similar behavior was recorded across 13 regional areas. Employment rates according to gender and education level. National total and total of 13 areas and Unemployment rates by gender and education level National total 2011

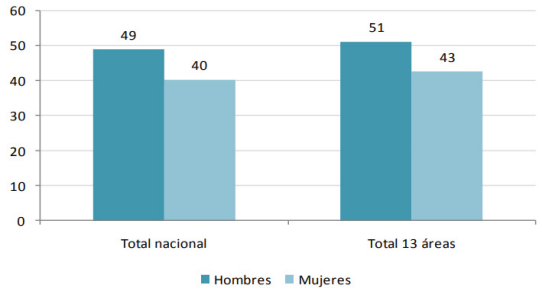






6.1 Hours worked

The national average for hours worked by men is greater than hours worked by women by 9 hours. Across the 13 areas, the difference is 8 hours. Average hours worked by the population according to gender national total and total of 13 areas 2011



6.2 Workload

In the national total, women have an average workload of 67 hours, greater than that of men by 10 hours. However, disaggregating this by paid and unpaid hours, men have more paid work time than women. These variables show similar behavior across the country's principal business cities and the 13 areas.

6.3 Demographics of Manizales

According to the figures published by the Center for Information and Statistics (Centro de Información y Estadística) for the year 2016, the population of Manizales is 397,466 inhabitants.

Of those, 111,290 (or 28%) are under 20 years of age, while 16% (63,595 people) are over age 60. This indicates that 56% of the population (222,581 people) are between ages 21 and 59.

Men make up 48% of the population, and women the remaining 52%—that is to say, 206,682 women and 190,784 men.

6.4 The range of working age women in Colombia

Calculations from recruitment firms indicate that the age in which women can most easily enter the Colombian labor market is between 25 and 45 years of age. "For women age 50, options are more limited—not because of their age, but because their profiles are more suited to management positions and the demand is greater in middle management," says a report by Michael Page (translated from Spanish).

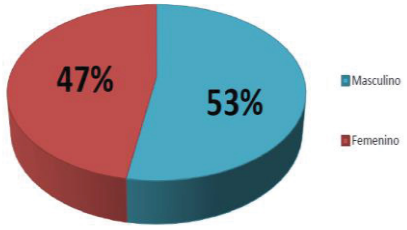
6.5 Business survey in Manizales

The business survey in the city of Manizales began in 2004 as an initiative prompted and led by the Manizales City Hall and the Chamber of Commerce of Manizales for Caldas.

The first results provided by the census was the commercial characterization of the city and its 11,225 registered businesses.

The survey found that 9,232 business establishments, or 82%, belonged to individuals, while 18% (1,993 businesses) pertained to a legal entity, which is to say, a company.

Regarding the individual entities, it can be inferred that 53% are male (4,852 people), and 47% (4,350) are female. Gender distribution of private entities (Caldas, 2014)



7. Results

The findings of this study, as they relate to the economic participation of women, may be seen as an obstacle. However, it is also necessary to recall that these findings also serve to emphasize areas of opportunity. The inclusion of women in the job market is a key factor for competitiveness, and Manizales has been facing these challenges for many years.

The results of the descriptive analysis offer important points to consider: for example, in spite of the fact that there is a greater population of working-aged women in the city, men have greater rates of labor force participation. This is compounded by the average duration of unemployment, which is higher for women in the city, who are affected by this 1.1 months of extended unemployment. Unemployment factors are related to the search for an adequate schedule and commute distances that also allow for the completion of household tasks and responsibilities.

The theoretical review reveals that women have been segregated in similar ways internationally, nationally, and locally. In Manizales, although the government has been taking actions in favor of inclusion, the numbers have not increased proportionally.

While equal opportunity in access to employment has been increasing over the years Manizales, the process is long overdue, as gender exclusion in the 21st century is a well-known phenomenon. Women continue to dedicate more hours to unpaid domestic work and caring for relatives, which is time that, if spent in a formal job, could improve economic participation and contribute to gender equality.

We conclude, in preliminary terms, that businesses in the city of Manizales to not achieve the necessary inclusion established by law and policies to defend the rights of women and to close the gender gap.

It is therefore necessary to promote local commitment dedicated to gender equity in the economic sphere; thus, I insist that such research continue with continued analyses of these indicators until more equitable results are achieved.

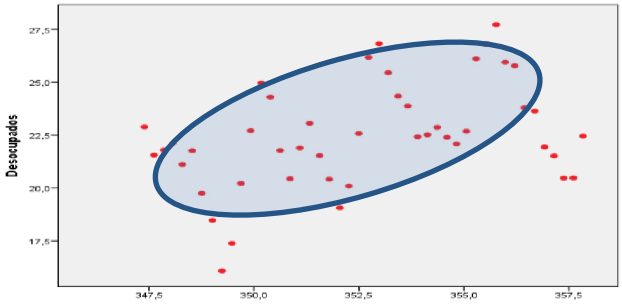
Table 1: Matrix of correlations of TGP (Global participation rate), PEA (Economically Active Population)

Año		PEA	TOTAL POPULATION
2016,0	TGP	,947**	-,627*
		0,000	0,029
2017,0	TGP	,988**	,662*
		0,000	0,019
2018,0	TGP	,999**	-,939**
		0,000	0,000

The table shows how in the last three years as the total population increases, the overall participation rate decreases, with the exception of 2017 where the relation was positive, however, with the economically active population (EAP). The overall participation rate has maintained a highly significant relationship

8. Relationship between work-time application and the number of unemployed

As expected in the 2015-2018 period, there is a significant correlation between the number of unemployed and the economically active population (r = 0.395, p = 0.007). As the population of working age increases, the population of unemployed increases.



9. Working population age

A predictive model is estimated by the OLS method (least squares) of the number of unemployed (ldesc) based on the working-age population (lpet). The series is monthly and runs from January 2015 to December 2018. The model is estimated in logarithms and is shown below.

Coefficients						
Model		Non-standardized coefficients		Coefficients standardized	t	Sig.
		B	Standard error	Beta		
	(Constante)	-26,606	10,372		-2,565	,014
	lpet	5,066	1,768	,396	2,865	,006

$$\ln(Desc_t) = -26.6 + 5.06 * \ln(PET_t)$$

According to the previous equation, whose coefficients are statistically significant, we can say that an increase of 1% in the population of working age, the number of unemployed increases by 5%.

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Charlo Molina, M. J., & Núñez Torrado, M. (2012). La mujer directiva en la gran empresa española: perfil, competencias y estilos de dirección.

Economically Active Population (E.A.P.): Also known as labor force; these are people of working age who work or are actively searching for work.

Fuentes, J., Palma, A., & Montero, R. (2005). Discriminación Salarial por Género en Chile: Una mirada global. Chile.

Objective underemployment refers to those who have the desire, but also have taken steps to achieve their aspiration and are able and willing to make the change.

Programa Presidencial para la formulación de Acciones y Estrátegias para el Desarrollo Integral de los Pueblos Indígenas. (2013). Legislación y Pueblos Índigenas de Colombia. Colombia.

Subjective underemployment refers to the simple desire of a worker to improve his wages, working hours, or have a job better suited to their personal abilities.

Total Population (T.P.): Estimates based on results of the population census.

Underemployment and Inadequate Employment Conditions:

Vázquez Parra, J., Arredondo Trapero, F., & de la Garza , J. (2016). Brecha de género en los países mienbros de la Alizanza del Pacífico. Estudios Gerenciales.

Vázquez-Parra, J. A.-T. (2016). Brecha de género en los países miembro de la Alianza del Pacífico.

Vergara, M. L.-B. (2011). Factores que influyen en la participación de la mujer en cargos directivos y órganos de gobierno de la empresa colombiana. Cuadernos de Administración.

Working age Population (W.A.P.): Constituted by people ages 12 and older in urban areas, and ages 10 and over in rural areas.

Intrinsic and Extrinsic Factors in Empowerment of Women Towards Leadership: A Study in Higher Education (South Africa)

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Abstract: Women's positions in society at large, have been within a context of cultures where patriarchy is the dominant culture and in which the glass ceiling is reached in attaining positions of leadership. The inequality in gender and leadership filters through all sectors of society, and manifests in the gendered cultures in which men are the voices of influence. Internationally, and nationally within South Africa, equity in representation of women in leadership has been acknowledged as part of transformation towards sustainable leadership. South Africa has focused in the past few decades post-democracy (1994), on gender inequality across sectors of society, and has focused on policy to address such inequities. The dearth of women in higher education (HE) leadership despite policy imperatives, as well as forming the majority in the field of HE, has put the focus quite sharply on inequities and professional support to address such inequalities**.** The scarcity has been attributed to a number of factors, including perceptions that there is a limited number of women applying for senior and leadership positions, insufficient support for professional effectiveness and career progression, and institutional cultures that favour men. Research also reflects that men tend to blame women themselves, saying that women do not apply to a sufficient degree. This paper focuses on an empirical study done in the South African higher education environment, to ascertain what motivates women towards taking up leadership positions. Factors, as identified through literature and qualitative empirical studies, formed part of the research instrument. A questionnaire was designed targeting women within South African Higher Education Institutions. Hypotheses were tested in terms of intrinsic and extrinsic factors that determine women's access to leadership positions. The data was analysed according to descriptive and inferential statistics. Findings indicated that though extrinsic factors impact on women's access to leadership positions, intrinsic factors, inclusive of vision, aspiration towards leadership and research, impact positively. The results may have significance in that they indicate that though extrinsic factors impact on empowerment of women to leadership, intrinsic motivation may be more influential than considered, to women's empowerment and leadership career-pathing decisions.

Keywords: intrinsic and extrinsic factors, women's access to leadership positions, quantitative study

1. Introduction

The study focuses on intrinsic and factors and their impact on leadership in women in academia. Though not based on these theories, over the centuries various theorists have focused on nature versus nurture in terms of success factors within the human species in various contexts. Galton (1869), for example, one of the earlier theorists 'studying the variations in human ability', was convinced that success was due to superior qualities passed down to offspring through heredity' (Plucker, 2013). Philosophers such as Plato and Descarte, argued that nature (genetic disposition) strongly influenced human development, with behaviourists such as Pavlov, Watson and Skinner arguing that behaviours could be learned through conditioning (a concept introduced by Pavlov) (Cherry, n.d; Davis Washington, n.d) . This study does not focus on the nature versus nurture debate but on extrinsic and intrinsic factors identified through a literature study and empirical research that have pointed to both inhibiting and motivational factors that potentially impact on women's aspirations towards leadership in higher education. Recent studies (Fizgerald, 2014; Moodly and Toni, 2017a and 2017b) still indicate that women are under-represented within positions of influence and power. The question may be – can this absence be attributed to the gendered-culture spaces within these environments, and the lack of support for women capacity-building towards leadership? Or is it that women do not aspire to leadership and there is no inner drive to career-pathing in this direction? Perhaps it is a combination of these factors, notwithstanding the impact of the broader socio-cultural contexts of our geographical spaces which still predominantly tend towards patriarchy. The study focuses on factors or characteristics identified as extrinsic (outside of the person), and intrinsic (within), to answer the questions as previously posed. This a quantitative study, in a South African Higher Education context, which identified characteristics/variables as revealed in literature in terms of intrinsic and extrinsic factors that impact on women in Higher Education aspiring to and occupying leadership positions.

2. Theoretical framework

The authors write in the contexts of Rawl's theory of social justice and Vroom's expectancy theory of motivation, respectively. In terms of the social justice framework, it is argued that within a South African context, women's access to leadership has to be a concertedly and consciously facilitated approach in addressing inequities of the past, a result of the South African apartheid system pre-democracy (1994). This oppressive system of governance perpetuated various forms of inequalities, including the oppression of women, and black women in particular. The paper's social justice framework is contextualized in terms of Rawl's theory of social justice as 'distributive justice in terms of the 'principle of redress' 'to compensate for inequalities and to shift the balance of contingencies in the direction of equality' (Finn and Jacobson, 2017). In terms of Vroom's expectancy theory of motivation, Parijat and Bagga (2014:1) state that '*humans are basically psychological beings and need inspiration whether extrinsic or intrinsic for achieving organizational as well as their personal objectives and goals'*. Two aspects that Vroom's theory emphasises is that of 'rewards' and 'personal goals' (Parijat and Bagga 2014:3). The expectancy theory of motivation argues that different factors motivate individuals, though it is not specific in terms what these are (Lunenberg, 2011). The theoretical framework is adapted in terms of the authors' identifying that various factors motivate women's decision to access leadership. These factors are separated as extrinsic and intrinsic motivators.

3. Literature review

Fitzgerald (2014:1), researched reasons for women seeking to become leaders and the manner in which they enacted leadership by drawing on the experiences of '30 senior women' (p2) and the 'perspectives of 25 women colleagues' (p1). Among the personal characteristics of the women in leadership highlighted by Fitzgerald (p11), all had 'higher degrees and/or professional qualifications' (p11), were aged 50 years and older and had vast academic experience. Fitzgerald 'suggests that women leaders occupy' spaces as 'leaders and managers' where males are in the 'majority' as 'academics'. She investigates how women have 'negotiated and claimed a space for themselves' within these spaces and once within these, how they 'act as leaders and managers' (p2). Fitzgerald acknowledges the universal challenges of women in academia, inclusive of 'work-life balance, securing promotion and recognition, balancing career expectations and choices, negotiating high teaching and administrative workloads, meeting demands of research audits' and 'the gendered cultures' of these institutions. She argues for a perspective of leadership not 'as a set of personal attributes 'but rather for 'leadership as relational' (p4). These include but are not limited to skills that speak to 'relational skills', 'collegiality' and collaborative ways of working' (p9).

Fitzgerald (2014:11) argues that 'leadership is contextual, personal and adaptive' and 'enacted in different ways according to circumstance, space and time'. Further she states that there is no uniform way of leadership and 'practices 'and 'experiences' vary as do women. Research by Moodly and Toni (2017a) argue that there are women who have broken through the universal challenges as reflected in Fitgerald's work, and argue that both intrinsic and extrinsic conditions can be identified in those who have been successful in attaining leadership positions. These conditions are embodied both within the individual person, as well as within the cultures of social and workplace environments and can be further identified in terms of intrinsic and extrinsic factors as outlined further on in this paper. Personal factors cited included 'self-motivation, independence, being a hard worker and confidence, with 'mentoring', networking and support from senior leaders being identified as extrinsic factors (Moodly and Toni, 2017: 159). In terms of these factors and the non-linear and non-chronological career pathways of women, Moodly and Toni (2017b) argue for interventions within a model called the Moodly-Toni framework, stating that women need a model particular to their needs that facilitates access to leadership. Litzky and Greenhaus (2007: 637-638) argue that women have a 'weaker desire' for 'senior management positions in comparison to men. Their research seems to confirm findings that women ascend to 'upper middle management' also referred to as the 'glass ceiling'. Factors that inhibit women's ascension to senior levels of leadership and management were identified as the non-linear and non-chronological pathways of development (as previously mentioned), 'restricted access' and 'masculine organizational cultures' amongst others. Furthermore, they cite Powell (1999) amongst numerous authors, in stating that in addition to external factors inhibiting women's access to senior leadership, 'positions in senior management hold less interest for women than men' and this has an impact on them entering into such positions. It is their assertion that there is a difference between genders in terms of aspirations towards positions in senior management (Litzky and Greenhaus, 2007:638). Reasons for this include 'the relationships of gender with congruence and home involvement, 'gender stereotypes and gender role expectations', the perception of women of the 'glass-ceiling', lack of support and mentorship for women in the organization, and exclusion from 'informal networks',

commonly also referred to as the 'old boys' club' ((Litzky and Greenhaus, 2007: 639-642). In a study on women and leadership, Johnson (2014: 842) reports that women with successful careers cited that this was 'utterly contingent upon a powerful sense of personal agency'. This 'enabled them to overcome the obstacles that gender created for their upward trajectory in higher education'.

4. Aim of the research

The aim of the research was to test the hypothesis that in order for women to access leadership, intrinsic and extrinsic conditions have to be in place. This hypothesis was measured by determining whether the current position was one of leadership. This would imply that there was a binary relationship if it were true.

4.1 Hypothesis and variables identified

The main hypothesis was set out as:

In order for women to access leadership in Higher Education, enabling intrinsic and extrinsic conditions have to be place.

The controlled variable was identified as access to leadership and sub-hypotheses constructed are

> *H0: All the identified/observed intrinsic and extrinsic factors do not determine access to leadership position*
>
> *H1: At least one of the observed intrinsic and extrinsic factors statistically determine access to leadership position*

Variables were identified as the conditions as outlined in the literature study and were further broken down and included:

Intrinsic conditions:

- Aspirations of leadership
- Perceptions of leadership
- Research initiatives
- Attitude towards leadership
- Vision of leadership

Extrinsic conditions:

- Collaboration and network support
- Teaching focus
- Mentorship support
- Enabling leaders as support

4.2 Research approach

A quantitative approach was adopted as it lent itself to the aim of the study, and to ensure objectivity as well as to measure and analyse target concepts in terms of the hypothesis The collection of numerical data was a means of ensuring objective measuring of the data (Neuman, 2000; Maree, 2007).

4.3 Data collection instrument

A structured survey was developed and comprised of sections separated in terms of intrinsic and extrinsic conditions, with statements which focused on these conditions. The participants responded to statements on a Likert scale type measurement.

4.4 Pilot study

A pilot study was conducted by sending the survey to five identified female colleagues who held leadership positions and who did not form part of the survey. This pre-testing of the research instruments assisted in

refining questions so as to ensure an increased likelihood of the main aim of the study being addressed. Based on their input, the questionnaires within the survey were amended where misunderstandings were identified, as well as amongst others, ambiguities, redundancy and mechanical difficulties. The usefulness of the pilot study assisted in judging whether the chosen statements effectively assisted in the collecting of information towards the aim of the research.

4.5 Population and sample

The study targeted as its population all women in twenty-three South African public universities who were in academia, with the understanding that there are at least 500 women in academia. The sample was focused on at least 100 women responding (as in table 1 below), with the questionnaire administered using a census style approach, targeting women willing and available to respond. This sample was deemed suitable, as all South African public universities subscribe to the pillars of Higher Education, namely, teaching and learning, research and community engagement. These pillars set standards for both men and women academics in higher education, and the researchers were satisfied that a sample of at least 100 would adequately represent the targeted population.

4.6 Data collection strategy

In order to reach the targeted population, the researchers set up the survey on survey monkey that could easily be e-mailed to universities. Links to the survey monkey were sent via persons known or suggested to the researchers within faculties at the twenty-three universities, as well as via the Officers of the Registrars or Deputy Vice Chancellors, to ensure a broader access to the survey by the targeted population, namely women in higher education institutions, and within academia.

The response distribution is as in table 1 below with a total of 7 3 having responded with complete usable data.

Table 1: Number of respondents per South African public higher education institution

Name Of Institution	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Mangosuthu University of Technology	12	16,4	16,4	16,4
Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University	4	5,5	5,5	21,9
North-West University	4	5,5	5,5	27,4
Rhodes University	8	11,0	11,0	38,4
Stellenbosch University	4	5,5	5,5	43,8
University of Cape Town	4	5,5	5,5	49,3
University of Fort Hare	6	8,2	8,2	57,5
University of Johannesburg	1	1,4	1,4	58,9
University of KwaZulu-Natal	4	5,5	5,5	64,4
University of Limpopo	2	2,7	2,7	67,1
University of Mpumalanga	6	8,3	8,3	75,3
University of Pretoria	2	2,7	2,7	78,1
University of South Africa	8	11,0	11,0	89,0
University of the Free State	1	1,4	1,4	90,4
University of the Western Cape	1	1,4	1,4	91,8
University of the Witwatersrand	1	1,4	1,4	93,2
University of Zululand	1	1,4	1,4	94,5
Walter Sisulu University	4	5,5	5,5	100,0
Total	73	100,0	100,0	

All scales were tested for reliability. Given that the factors measured are abstract concepts, lists of items were used to measure each factor, and as a result there was need to ensure that all items in a set of scale measure the same thing, to ensure that items were reliable. Cronbach's alpha statistics was used to determine the reliability with a value of at least 0.70 preferred (Pallant, 2016).

5. Data analysis

The analysis of data was based on descriptive and inferential statistical analysis. Examples of the descriptive analyses undertaken include frequency tables and measures of central tendency like mean, and median. The form of inferential statistics used has been in the form of transition matrices and binary logistic regression analysis. A transition matrix is in the form of cross- tabulation where the researchers investigated whether or not one individual has moved (transitioned in or out of leadership) academic levels. To determine statistical significance of the transition matrices, Chi-square test of independence was utilised. Regarding binary logistic regression, the technique was chosen due to the nature of the dependent variable, which is whether one was in leadership versus not in leadership or whether one had moved up the leadership scale or remained at the same level as in the recent past. The results were log likelihood ratios, indicating the number of times one factor was likely to influence being in leadership. In the case of this study, as previously stated, the aim was to ascertain whether the respondent (woman) had moved into the position of leadership or not. All hypotheses were tested at P<0.05 level of significance.

The model in this regard is specified as binary logistic regression.

$\boldsymbol{Access\ to\ leadership_i} = \boldsymbol{\alpha_0} + \boldsymbol{\beta_1 X_{i,1}} \ldots\ldots \boldsymbol{\beta_n X_{i,n}} + \boldsymbol{\varepsilon_i}$ where X are the set of intrinsic and extrinsic factors.

The statistical significance of the beta coefficients were used to conclude on the hypotheses.

5.1 Reliability and validity

In this study the researchers used the Cronbach's alpha coefficient to measure internal reliability of the instruments. The different intrinsic and extrinsic sub-scales were tested for reliability and total scores computed. The researchers also made use of construct validity through factor and item analysis for standardisation (Maree 2007).

5.2 Ethical considerations

The researchers received ethical clearance through the research processes of their respective universities, and as part of their gathering of data, submitted this to persons who assisted in distributing the link to Survey monkey. The preamble of the survey on Survey Monkey also outlined issues of informed consent, voluntary participation and withdrawal, confidentiality and anonymity.

6. Findings

Table 2 below is a transition matrix, indicating the proportion of women who have moved in and out of leadership positions. The table shows that 56.9% of the 52 women who responded to this question remained in non-leadership positions, 23.1% were in a non-leadership position and moved into a leadership position, 7.7% were in leadership positions and thereafter moved to non-leadership positions, while 12.3% maintained leadership positions between the current employment and the previous one. Such transition (in and out of leadership) is found to be statistically significant, given the Chi-square value of 4.862 (p-value =0.027), albeit weak (Somers' d = 0.327; p-value = 0.042).

Table 2: Previous position level * Current position level Cross-tabulation

			Current position level		
			Non Leadership Position	Leadership Position	Total
Previous position level	Non Leadership Position	Count	37	15	52
		% within Previous position level	71.2%	28.8%	100.0%
		% within Current position level	88.1%	65.2%	80.0%
		% of Total	56.9%	23.1%	80.0%

			Current position level		
			Non Leadership Position	Leadership Position	Total
	Leadership Position	Count	5	8	13
		% within Previous position level	38.5%	61.5%	100.0%
		% within Current position level	11.9%	34.8%	20.0%
		% of Total	7.7%	12.3%	20.0%
Total		Count	42	23	65
		% within Previous position level	64.6%	35.4%	100.0%
		% within Current position level	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	64.6%	35.4%	100.0%

The test for means was done for each variable and investigated whether the means differ across different categories. Table 3 below reflects results from independent samples t-tests, testing whether the mean of each variable is the same between the leadership and non-leadership group. The results reflect that differences in means do exist between the two groups. The statistical significance of such difference was tested as reflected in tables 8 and 9 further below.

The findings as reflected in table 2 reflect higher means scores for women who moved into leadership who had aspirations in the areas of research (8.67 compared to 8.00), vision (7.27 compared to 5.84), collaboration (15.67 compared to 14.36) and leadership (10.27 compared to 9.40). Those with a focus on teaching (18.39 compared to 17.27), and mentorship (23.05 compared to 21.8) did not move into leadership.

Table 3: Group statistics

Variable	Leadership_assumption	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Total aspirational score	No change	47	31.66	3.497	.510
	Moved into leadership	15	31.53	4.734	1.222
Perceptions_score	No change	46	22.91	5.684	.838
	Moved into leadership	15	23.80	4.395	1.135
Research_score	No change	44	8.00	2.167	.327
	Moved into leadership	15	8.67	2.160	.558
Attitudinal_score	No change	46	25.63	6.079	.896
	Moved into leadership	15	26.93	4.284	1.106
Vision_score	No change	44	5.84	1.904	.287
	Moved into leadership	15	7.27	1.944	.502
Collaboration_score	No change	44	14.36	2.562	.386
	Moved into leadership	15	15.67	2.225	.575
Teachingfocus_score	No change	41	18.39	3.338	.521
	Moved into leadership	15	17.27	3.936	1.016
Leadership_score	No change	43	9.40	1.094	.167
	Moved into leadership	15	10.27	1.223	.316
Mentorship_score	No change	43	23.05	4.835	.737
	Moved into leadership	15	21.80	3.783	.977

Table 4 below presents the statistical significance test for the differences in means observed in table 2 above. It can be observed that vision and leadership scores have statistically significant differences, with those who assumed/accessed leadership having higher mean scores from the vision and leadership scores respectively. The results are statistically significant at 5%. This implies that those in leadership are visionary and have accommodative leadership styles. On the other hand, the collaborative scores also statistically differ between the two groups; however, the statistical significance is weak (only at 10%). Those who are in leadership are stronger in collaboration (15.67 versus 14.36 in table 2 above). It must be noted that these are not the only factors that influence women's access to leadership, but these are the factors that are significant in terms of the data.

Table 4: Independent samples test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
									95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper
Total aspirational score	Equal variances assumed	4.133	.046	.111	60	.912	.126	1.133	-2.141	2.393
	Equal variances not assumed			.095	19.125	.925	.126	1.324	-2.645	2.897
Perceptions score	Equal variances assumed	.142	.708	-.552	59	.583	-.887	1.607	-4.103	2.329
	Equal variances not assumed			-.629	30.603	.534	-.887	1.411	-3.765	1.992
Research_score	Equal variances assumed	.051	.822	-1.030	57	.308	-.667	.648	-1.963	.630
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.031	24.325	.313	-.667	.646	-2.000	.667
Attitudinal_score	Equal variances assumed	1.103	.298	-.768	59	.445	-1.303	1.696	-4.697	2.091
	Equal variances not assumed			-.915	33.874	.367	-1.303	1.424	-4.196	1.591
Vision_score	Equal variances assumed	.035	.853	-2.491	57	.016	-1.426	.572	-2.572	-.280
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.465	23.820	.021	-1.426	.578	-2.620	-.232
Collaboration_score	Equal variances assumed	.035	.852	-1.755	57	.085	-1.303	.742	-2.790	.184
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.882	27.667	.070	-1.303	.692	-2.722	.116
Teaching focus_score	Equal variances assumed	.616	.436	1.063	54	.293	1.124	1.057	-.996	3.243
	Equal variances not assumed			.984	21.808	.336	1.124	1.142	-1.247	3.494
Leadership_score	Equal variances assumed	.670	.416	-2.577	56	.013	-.871	.338	-1.549	-.194
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.440	22.331	.023	-.871	.357	-1.611	-.131
Mentorship_score	Equal variances assumed	1.159	.286	.905	56	.370	1.247	1.378	-1.514	4.007

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
									95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper
	Equal variances not assumed			1.018	31.129	.316	1.247	1.224	-1.249	3.742

Table 5 below reflects that women with higher qualifications have greater chances of getting into leadership. The relationship is statistically significant with chi-square value of 8 (p-value =0.046) and relationship is however weak (Somers' d= 0.320, p-value= 0.001). The table reflects that most women in leadership had a doctorate degree (86,7%) followed by a Master's qualification (13%).

Table 5: Cross-tabulation of qualifications and leadership

			Highest Professional Qualification				
			Bachelor's degree	Honours degree	Masters	Doctorate	Total
Leadership_assumption	No change	Count	2	6	20	24	52
		% within Leadership_assumption	3.8%	11.5%	38.5%	46.2%	100.0%
		% within Highest Professional Qualification	100.0%	100.0%	90.9%	64.9%	77.6%
		% of Total	3.0%	9.0%	29.9%	35.8%	77.6%
	Moved into leadership	Count	0	0	2	13	15
		% within Leadership_assumption	0.0%	0.0%	13.3%	86.7%	100.0%
		% within Highest Professional Qualification	0.0%	0.0%	9.1%	35.1%	22.4%
		% of Total	0.0%	0.0%	3.0%	19.4%	22.4%
Total		Count	2	6	22	37	67
		% within Leadership_assumption	3.0%	9.0%	32.8%	55.2%	100.0%
		% within Highest Professional Qualification	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	3.0%	9.0%	32.8%	55.2%	100.0%

The results in table 6 reflect that research strength, vision, and leadership aspiration increase, whereas a bachelor's qualification reduces the odds of accessing leadership with results statistically significant at 5%. Imperative to note is that there are other factors that are statistically significant at a weaker level (10% error); these are perceptions (negative), attitude, collaboration, teaching (negative), and mentorship.

Table 6: Variables in the equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
	Total aspirational score	-.140	.131	1.143	1	.285	.869
	Perceptions_score	-.764	.421	3.295	1	.070	.466
	Research_score	.993	.544	4.332	1	.031	3.370
	Attitudinal_score	.648	.387	2.802	1	.094	1.912
	Vision_score	.420	.242	4.300	1	.035	1.523
	Collaboration_score	.257	.150	2.910	1	.088	1.293
	Teaching focus_score	-.382	.225	2.881	1	.090	.682
	Leadership_score	.934	.455	4.208	1	.040	2.544

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
	Mentorship_score	.462	.271	2.907	1	.088	1.630
	Qual-doctoral (baseline)						
	Qual-masters	-20.590	28420.722	.000	1	.999	.000
	Qual-honours	-20.590	16408.711	.000	1	.999	.000
	Qual_bachelors	-1.689	.818	4.269	1	.039	.185
	Constant	-9.215	5.890	2.447	1	.118	.000

7. Discussion of findings

From the empirical research results it could be concluded that an important component in accessing leadership is intrinsic motivation, though as reflected in the literature extrinsic factors do facilitate leadership. It suggests that women who aspire to leadership are more likely to achieve leadership (not withstanding barriers and challenges) in comparison to women who have no aspirations towards leadership. Intrinsic motivation manifests in a vision and drive towards attaining the highest level of qualifications. These factors play a significant role in women attaining leadership. As reflected in the results, and also reflected in the literature outlined, intrinsic motivation manifests in increased research strength, vision, and leadership aspiration and improvement in qualifications, directly impacting on opportunities of accessing leadership. There are cultural and structural barriers to women's accessing leadership, but the influence of intrinsic factors as highlighted cannot be ignored. In addressing women's access to leadership, it is important therefore to ascertain whether there is intrinsic motivation and aspiration to such positions. Such motivation can be reflected in motivation towards higher levels of qualification and research motivation. It can also be reflected in the aspirations, collaboration and vision of such women towards leadership. The opposite may also be that remaining at a bachelor's qualification for example, may reduce the odds of one accessing leadership. The Moodly –Toni Framework as indicated, argues for a model particular to women in its support towards Higher Education leadership. The framework considers that women's career pathing is neither linear nor chronological but interspersed with significant life events. This in the context of gendered cultures and a lack of support systems, has been argued to have impacted negatively on women's accessing leadership. There has also been a view that women are themselves responsible for their dearth in leadership. This paper focuses on and brings into the spotlight women's responses to identified factors and how these may have impacted on their leadership/non-leadership positions within higher education. From the results it can be argued, that as reflected in literature, accessing leadership is both intrinsically driven and extrinsically influenced. It is not necessarily one or the other, or one in favour of the other. The intrinsic drive may initiate aspirations towards leadership, motiving the realizing of research and qualification levels that facilitate leadership attainment. Literature reflects that for a number of reasons, including perceptions of the glass-ceiling, gender-stereotyping and associated roles, it may be that women do not aspire as men do, towards leadership. At the same time, barriers within the organisation have to be addressed to support women towards and within leadership. Extrinsic factors such as networking, mentoring, collaboration and peer support cannot be neglected, but may not be effective if intrinsic drive is lacking.

8. Conclusion

In terms of the hypothesis as set; in order for women to access leadership in Higher Education, enabling intrinsic and extrinsic conditions have to be in place, the sub-hypothesis H0 was rejected as it was not found that all the identified intrinsic and extrinsic factors do not determine access to leadership. The sub-hypothesis (H1) was accepted as it was found that at least one of the observed intrinsic and extrinsic factors statistically determine access to leadership position. This in itself is not the only or conclusive factor, but may confirm that access to leadership is impacted on by intrinsic factors such as aspiration and vision towards leadership which directly motivates research, aspirations towards higher qualifications and collaboration. It can be argued that there is a binary relationship between the attaining of leadership and intrinsic factors of vision, aspiration, research and level of qualification, albeit that the relationship is weak.

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Management Controls and Gendering: The Case of eHealth Projects in Sweden

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Abstract: The paper reports a qualitative study regarding the possibilities and roles for men and women to participate in the project group when a county council develops and implements eHealth services for citizens in Sweden. We know from previous feminist studies that there are inequalities in the work place. We need to know more about the relationship between management controls and these inequalities. The present paper explores, on a foundation of feminist theory and the notion of the gendered workplace, through a lens of management controls (direct, indirect, and internalized controls), what happens with gender at work, and the inequalities between sexes, when the involvement of women increases in IT based implementation projects. Research questions: How are participants' activities and roles (re-) produced and explained as gendered practice, and how are organizational controls involved in these processes, in eHealth projects in healthcare? Eight interviews were performed with three men and five women coming from three separate eHealth project groups, each from its own county council in Sweden. The study uses qualitative content analysis to explore and interpret the processes. Findings show that since respondents regarded healthcare hierarchy to be the only source for inequalities, gender inequalities were deemed irrelevant. However, respondents experienced that men in search of challenges in healthcare become managers, but that this path was less open to women. Women instead can get involved in development projects, sometimes in the role of project leader. The high complexity of the projects made all three types of management controls unclear and fuzzy. Actors were mainly guided by their curiosity (internalized controls). Rules (direct controls) played less role than recruitment of appropriate project members (indirect controls). Women project members generally contributed with internal healthcare expertise. IT experts were foremost male recruits. To avoid conflicts, county councils adopted variations of a cooperative implementation strategy. Together with the mode of recruitment, this kept back individual female opposition. Despite a big number of participating women, the feminine identity, gendered practices and power relations were reproduced. To reduce gender inequalities, it is important to actively make use of management controls in support of women agency. More research is needed in this field.

Keywords: eHealth implementation, gender, healthcare, implementation projects, inequalities

1. Introduction

1.1 Information technology and the workplace

There are inequalities in society and in work life. Acker defines organizational inequality 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." (Acker, 2006: 443) To some extent, inequalities are built into the capitalist model (with the distribution of power between the owner, manager, and the worker), but they further derive from gender, and also from class and race. They occur for example as differences in opportunities (for example what role or job one can take on) or in rewards (such as level of salary). Generally, inequalities arise when we believe that there are the "others" as separated from "us".

In the workplace, both men and women perform gender in a process where social structures are (re-)produced (Acker, 1990; Carmona & Ezzamel, 2016). Inequalities are thus founded on institutions (such as structures and rules supported by management control systems), interactions between people (as prescribed within different work roles), and identities that are shaped and developed in practice and that are context specific (cf. Nentwich & Kelan, 2014). The present article takes as a starting point the wish to question inequalities in organizations and, preferably, to tear them down. In order to do that, we need to know more about the (re-) production of (expectations regarding) the behavior for men and women–the gendering of the workplace–as a dynamic process (Carmona & Ezzamel, 2016).

Today, we see an increasing number of women taking an interest in IT systems and IT based development projects. One example is the development of eHealth that is current on a global scale. A very interesting question is what happens in the work place, especially regarding issues connected to involvement, roles, and relationships between employees, when there are increasing numbers of women working in IT based projects. We need to

know more about the practical situation of, and ideas about, women that participate in such projects. In other situations, research has highlighted how the same activities were described differently depending on whether men or women performed the acts (Leidner, 1991; Nentwich & Kelan, 2014). Another example of the gendering of the workplace is how an employee, in order to do the job "properly", behave in a manner that is in accordance to expectations in relation to being a man or a woman ("gender identity"; Nentwich & Kelan, 2014). The present research investigates the gendering of the workplace, (re-) produced by project groups that implement eHealth systems for citizens.

There are different means to try to avoid or dismantle issues of inequality between men and women. The present article however rejects the individualized explanation (hereby supporting Rottenberg, 2014) and the biological explanation (see for example McCarthy et al, 2015) of inequalities between the sexes. The present article is a feminist study that regards social structures as the most important explanation to inequalities between the sexes. The gendering of the workplace and the (re-) production of gender is studied in a setting of social structures such as management controls.

Archer (2006) argues there are mechanisms within organizations that keep status quo intact. One such mechanism is the set of management controls that employees draw upon to perform tasks and duties. Many women are currently involved in IT based implementation projects regarding eHealth systems. We know little about how activities and roles are (re-) produced and explained as gendered practice in this setting–and how organizational controls are involved. The aim is foremost exploratory. The study is qualitative in its approach, and strives to identify and interpret the gendering processes in the projects.

1.2 Gender studies: Issues of inequality

The literature in gender studies is difficult to synthesize. The present article regards gender as a routine accomplishment (cf. West & Zimmerman, 1987). Nentwich and Kelan (2014) did a literature review that resulted in a framework of five themes of gender research. The present research is, by that framework, making use of structures and hierarchies as explanatory dimensions. Actors are embedded in structures that shape their possibilities in life, but at the same time, they are actively involved in processes that (re-) produce and resist structures. Since the individual is an autonomous actor with agency, there is always the possibility to act independently and to make a free choice. Thus, actors may reproduce stereotyped expectations or identities, or choose to act differently. History and precedence tend to legitimize inequalities, but changes are possible, even though they may be difficult to achieve. Work in the workplace may in fact be organized in a manner that sustain inequality ("inequality regimes"; Acker, 2006) by how the general requirements are set up, how the hierarchies of different jobs are arranged relative one another, how people are recruited, how wages are set, and by how informal interactions are carried out during daily work. The use of inequality regimes assures that processes and practices are fixed. They thus maintain the current inequalities, which may be bigger or smaller in different organizations (Acker, 2006).

Managers use controls to ensure that the employees work with the aim to realize the goals of the organization. Acker (2006) points out three types of organizational control: direct controls (rules, punishment, rewards, coercion, and violence), indirect (control through technology, information, recruitment), and internalized, often "invisible", controls (beliefs, values, pleasure, fear, self-interest; economic, status, and identity interests). She concludes that actors with a powerful position have the possibility to control others, and themselves, with the self-interest of preserving their position (Acker, 2006: 455). Institutions and structures become taken-for-granted truths that are invisible to actors, and by this, they restrict agency.

1.3 Women in a technological workplace

There is a debate over the strengths and limitations of equal employment opportunity policies within the broad industries of technology, to which Wajcman (2010) relates. She finds that the industries are marked by cultures of masculinity and stereotyping, due to the prevailing gender structures, such as the "geek culture" that is prominent within computer science (Wajcman, 2010: 145). She argues that women therefore are required to masculinize their gender identity, which can make young women select other careers or make older women leave the industry.

Furthermore, Wajcman (2010) synthesized the feminist theories of technology by conceptualizing the link between gender and technology. She argues that gender and technology are mutually shaping each other in

contextually situated processes; technology is both a source and an outcome of fluid gender relationships. Quite recent research suggests that men and women have a tendency to take on different, gendered, positions toward technology (Kelan, 2007). In that study, men generally described technology as a toy while women described it as a tool. While we cannot know what difference it would do to have women more active in the design phase, Wajcman (2010) argues that it is important that women have the equal economic and social circumstances as men in order to support the capacity of women within the sociotechnical configurations, and to avoid their exclusion. This is also supported by the argument that it is important that different voices, and multiple values, are communicated in organizations and society–when we give an account of what has happened, or "present a particular point of view, or argue a case" (Broadbent, 1998: 274). The present research similarly argue that the development and implementation of eHealth systems for citizens need to be a common, shared, process where both men and women are free to participate on equal terms.

2. Method

The internet service *Journalen* provides Swedish citizens with their patient accessible electronic health record (PAEHR) through a national patient portal (Inera, 2018a). The EHR information is accessed through a national health information exchange platform that is managed by Inera AB (Inera, 2018b). This national coordination implies that every citizen has the same PAEHR interface, regardless of where in Sweden he or she lives. However, since every county council or region is autonomous, each has decided on what information pieces should be accessible in that geographical area. Therefore, citizens will find different clinical contents in *Journalen*, depending on where in the country they live and have received health care. Examples of information pieces are medical notes from EHRs, lab results, prescribed medications, referrals, and vaccinations (Moll et al, 2018).

Semi structured interviews were carried out in three county councils in Sweden, each representing a project implementing *Journalen* and connecting to the national eHealth platform, *1177*. The county councils are listed (Table 1) by date of implementation (B was the first out of these three, and D was the last). A total number of eight respondents were interviewed between September 2017 and September 2018. The respondents are treated with confidentiality and are referred to by the use of a key (Table 1). Respondents signed an agreement to participate. Each respondent was reminded that participation was voluntary: she/he could choose to not answer a particular question or could choose to end the interview at any time, without any consequences.

Table 1: Respondents

County council	Respondent	Gender, age	Role in the project	Background/ expertise	IT degree	Length of interview
B	Beatrice	Female, 63	Project leader	Care-administrator/ Manager	No	62'
B	Bob	Male, 61	Sub-project leader	IT Engineer	Yes	46'
B	Barbara	Female, 60	Project member	Nurse/ Manager	No	26'
B	Bella	Female, 50	Project member	Care-administrator/ Computer Engineer	Yes	35'
C	Celia	Female, 49	Project leader	Nurse and Midwife/ Manager	No	57'
C	Carl	Male, 65	Sub-project leader	Physician	No	50'
D	David	Male, 58	Project leader	Nurse/ Manager	No	62'
D	Denise	Female, 50	Project member	Physician	No	43'

A team consisting of five researchers developed the interview questions. The interviews were set up through a contact person at each geographical region. We required at least one male and one female respondent that had been active in the implementation project. All interviews were recorded and transcribed.

The analysis was a qualitative, directed, content analysis (cf. Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The coding of the material was guided by theoretical concepts and previous research. Concepts were sorted by *management controls* (direct, indirect, and internalized), and *doing gender* (ongoing activities as stereotyped "male", "female", or as neutral). The interpretation involved comparisons between different respondents' answers in order to understand the (possible) importance of management controls in the construction of gender and the gendering of the workplace.

3. Results and discussion

The county council of Uppsala (today Region Uppsala) was an early starter in the area of eHealth (Scandurra et al, 2013). In Uppsala, the vision was to give the citizens access to "all information"–or at least to as many information pieces as was technologically possible. However, the process gave rise to negative attitudes, foremost among physicians and their unions (Erlingsdóttir & Lindholm, 2015). At least one respondent from each of the currently investigated county councils referred to the implementation process in Uppsala. It is clear that this first example of implementation process has gotten much attention, and has become somewhat of a benchmark to others. In the present study, there were both positive and negative remarks regarding the implementation process in Uppsala.

3.1.1 Inequalities are connected to the healthcare hierarchy

Respondents generally agreed that gender is not important. Rather, the healthcare hierarchy was considered the explanation to possible inequalities in the organization. Respondents experienced that men in healthcare, who are in search of challenges, can become a manager–but that this path is less open to women. Women, however, can get involved in development projects, possibly in the role of project leader. This illustrates a situation of inequality: women have fewer opportunities than men do in regards of finding a position that is personally rewarding, and regarding to take on authoritative positions in the organization. Bella says that women now dominates in IT work: "*Men disappears from our department. It is not the women who leaves, but the men. We don't have any men in our section right now.*" Here, men withdraw from participation in project work.

3.1.2 Few formalized project management controls

Organizational controls (direct, indirect, and internalized) are organizational mechanisms that can preserve inequalities in organizations (organizational regimes; Acker, 2006). The analysis identified surprisingly few examples of controls that respondents referred to as being important to their own involvement, activity, role and position in the project. One could expect a highly complex project to be managed with the help of clearly stated controls, related to project objectives (cf. Flamholtz et al, 1985; Liu et al, 2010).

The direct controls that respondents mentioned were "to be valuable": "*Every quarter, I need to prove that I deliver. Otherwise I'm out.*" (Bob, external IT expert), "*You need to show that you are willing. And that you are able.*" (Beatrice, project leader). David describes that he monitors the IT specialists to check that they do what is expected of them: "*Most of these specialist don't actually understand the context of what they are doing, but maybe that isn't their role, either.*" In a highly complex project, it may be difficult for management to design clearly defined direct controls. Due to the many different types of actors involved, it was difficult for each actor to have the complete overview and understanding of all the tasks and problems of the process.

Respondents' answers in relation to direct controls did not reveal any gendered patterns, but the indirect controls showed a somewhat different result. The most often mentioned indirect control was "recruitment". Men described more self-evident that they were suitable for the challenge. Carl (sub project leader) says the task came "natural" to him, due to his position in the organization and previous experience: "*I* wanted *to do this. It was obvious. No one else desired, or had the position to --- and I was quite convinced it would go well.*" Another male example is David, who was challenged by a manager: "*He asked me,* '*Do you* want *to, are you* able *to, do you* dare*?*'". On a direct question from the interviewer if he considers this was to "take a risk", he answers: "*Yes, but that is fun.*"

To contrast, the female project leader, Beatrice, tells her story of a convincing and forceful recruiter: "*I had seen the ad and made a printout; I was thinking about it… Then I got an e-mail from him [her current manager] saying 'I saw you, I have a job for you, why don't you apply for it?' Therefore, I did. I thought, 'If he says so, I will do it.' [Laughing] So I did.*" Denise (project member) points out the need of stability within the group, and that it is important that you can trust the project leader, his closest co-workers and managers, to establish a dialogue: "*It was the same people on these positions, the key-positions … There was no change in people. We had a, sort of, functioning communication.*" The gendered pattern is thus that while men consider themselves powerful players in their own right, women need to be coaxed into the project or consider themselves team players that foremost act together with other people.

Interestingly, the internalized controls dominated the respondents' narratives. Answers to the question "Why did you want to participate in the project?" reflect this. For example, Celia (project leader) was previously over-worked, due to poor scheduling, and wanted "*[t]o escape the bad organization and not have to work evening and night shifts. --- But then I found out that it was really fun, and it was a kick that I learnt something new, and I felt I was good at it too.*" That IT support, often considered a "geek" and male task, could be an interesting task for her, a woman in healthcare, was surprising. Barbara, on the other hand, is a female that describes herself as a combination of male and female interests and values: "*I'm a bit manly, kind of [laughing]. I am a mix, if you can, generally, be that*", and says she is driven by a technological interest, her restlessness, and that she likes a challenge. She explains this a result of being the mother of two boys, and having four brothers. Denise says she has an urge to give voice for those who will use the system, to someone that listens: "*The classical situation is that you just sit down --- and complain: but no one cares. Or else, you can pick a channel to bring about [your message].*" She is the mediator between people in power and the future users of the system; her own needs are less important.

3.1.3 Cooperative implementation strategies to avoid conflicts

All county councils expressed that they wanted to avoid conflicts among stakeholders. Therefore, they applied variations of a cooperative implementation strategy. David says, "*The condition was that we, together with the organization, would produce a foundation and suggestion for the implementation. --- We could go quite far in making compromises. --- Really, it was about cooperation.*", and Denise agrees, "*I have to say that this was carried out through dialogue and in consensus. It really was."* County council D thus showed a clear democratic stance for its processes.

In the case of county council C, however, there were signs of a slight discrepancy between what was said and done: "*I had a very clear strategy. --- The decision to implement was already made, it was not a question of whether to implement or not. --- We had [three workshops], and it stopped at that. --- What I learnt through the years, is to not give [participants] too many choices.*" (Carl, sub project leader) After the second workshop, he and the main project leader, Celia, "*put together a suggestion: 'This is how it will be'. We had a last meeting where we presented it to the group: 'We know you don't agree, but this will happen, it's our suggestion to the politicians.' So it was very easy, really, compared to our expectations.*" (Celia) The realized process was thus not especially democratic, despite three workshops. In the end, the politicians in this county council made further changes to the suggestion emanating from the project group: "*I did not argue against it … but it was not in accordance to what we, nearly, had agreed upon in the organization.*" (Carl)

In county council B, the strategy was not clearly expressed, but Beatrice, the project leader, mentions the problem of doctors not putting trust in someone that is not medically trained. Therefore, she finds it important to be able to *discuss* issues with members of the organization and to make sure they understand: "*I thought they had got it, well, that they were somewhat prepared --- We had to go in reverse. --- We had to start all over.*" (Beatrice) Her stance interprets as a sign of a cooperative effort aimed at avoiding conflict, but that her position as project leader was not quite as powerful as was needed. Common to all county councils was the wish to avoid the conflicts, articles in media, *etcetera*, which had happened to the first region.

3.1.4 Discussion

The implementation strategies to avoid conflict, together with the dominance of recruitment as a means to manage the respective project group, create situations where group members want to avoid "making trouble", such as raising any issues regarding inequalities between the sexes (cf. Mohanty, 2003) or breaking the gendered norms without doing remedial work (cf. Gherardi & Poggio, 2001). We also need to recognize that actors tend to defend status quo (Acker, 2006). Sometimes, people who themselves are unequal and are suppressed by others cannot see this. None of the respondents acknowledged that there were differences in power positions between men and women in the project. David (project leader) however states that men often are overconfident: "*We men, we always overestimate our ability, so it is easier for us to change track, as myself: I left child care and attacked IT without really having the competence for it*" (also, notice the forceful, masculinized, image for entering a new field). This is an individually based, rather than a structurally based, explanation to inequality between the sexes (cf. Rottenberg, 2014).

Furthermore, that a woman with IT education downplays her expertise and ability to grasp the job during several years of work, points to the need of remedial work to recover the break of gendered norms (cf. Gherardi &

Poggio, 2001): "*So, really, no one knew what this was about. So I have had to, it has taken some years [laughter] before one gets it.*" (Bella) The statement is a means to distance herself from the "geek" status connected to IT work (cf. Wajcman, 2010). Despite her formal IT training, she had to search, and to wait, for insights rather than to "attack" (cf. David, above) the field. It is important for women, also in this setting, to demonstrate that they are female, "showing meekness and humility" (Gherardi & Poggio, 2001: 254), such as *waiting* for insights. It is a valuable strategy for the individual woman to avoid making unnecessary trouble, and to make descriptions of herself that accord with expectations of "female" behavior. The implementation strategy in combination with the current management controls reproduced gender inequalities and kept back any individual female opposition.

4. Conclusion

The study supports previous research (Gherardi & Poggio, 2001) that argues that women who take on a role that is not in line with gendered expectations, or that break the rules that define "proper" behavior by women (and thus challenge gender norms and values), also need to take actions in order to repair the broken down order (ceremonial, remedial work). Otherwise, other members might not accept them (Gherardi & Poggio, 2001). Any change efforts (the "negative" project of tearing down inequalities) needs to be combined with the "positive" project of building up equality (the building and construction of equality; Mohanty, 2003). It is thus not surprising to find actors, also in the setting of projects that implement eHealth systems for citizens, that were reluctant to point out any inequalities between the sexes. The result of this was an overall reproduction of stereotyped expectations or identities (the doing of gender), rather than a breakdown of stereotypes.

This situation is parallel to how Acker (2006) states that we reconfigure segregation rather than reduce it. It is true that many women are involved in eHealth projects. This could be a reduction of inequalities; however, most women in this context maintain their position of being "health care experts that know nothing about IT". The role and position of a woman is still defined in comparison to the man (cf. Gherardi & Poggio, 2001). Women are *allowed* into IT projects. This could be a reduction of inequalities; *however*, the inequalities between men and women are maintained: men becomes managers and women who wants a challenge has to look for another path. *Men* allow women to get involved in IT projects: by persuasion and coaxing if necessary. There are also some signs that men already are leaving this area, to get involved in other tasks, and are "disappearing"–while women remain. The divisions between what is considered typically male and female roles or tasks are largely reproduced, and men sustain the privileged position.

Management controls also play a part in the setting of boundaries for agency and for doing gender, for men and women, in implementation projects regarding eHealth systems for citizens, which enriches previous ideas (Carmona & Ezzamel, 2016) regarding the gendering of the workplace. Actors need to show that they create value (direct control: following the norms), they are recruited based on previous behavior (indirect control: following expectations), and they are driven by interests to achieve a high quality eHealth system for citizens (internal controls: making use of their previous experiences and expertise). Management controls did not stimulate actors to try new behavior, to challenge current norms, or to question status quo. In a setting where actors are intent to avoid conflicts among the project stakeholders, individual project members' agency will be similarly restricted.

A practical implication is that the number of participating women is not a sole remedy against inequalities between the sexes. Gendered practices and power relations were, in the current study, reproduced despite female participants, and even female project leaders. To reduce gender inequalities, it is important to acknowledge the implications of management controls for doing gender and for the (re-) production of inequalities between the sexes. More research is needed in this field.

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Jessie White Mario: Between Female Emancipation, Social Question and Europeanism

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Abstract: The proposal aims to deep analyse both the multifaceted work and the numerous fields of research of the Anglo-Italian Journalist and Patriot Jessie White Mario. The research will focus on her engagement in women's emancipation and on her attention on social issues relating to weaker categories – in particular women and children – working life. This study also investigates White Mario's attempts to fulfil the ideal of a united Europe proposed by Giuseppe Mazzini. Following a path already tracked by Mazzini and Mill, Jessie White Mario considered the re-acknowledgement of equality between men and women a fundamental step in the history of humanity, to be joined to the full enjoyment of political rights and the improvement of degrading – when present – working conditions. White Mario's studies on social questions focused on the poorest realities of the South of Italy such as Naples and Sicily, and therefore on those realities that, immersed in illegality and away from government control, lived the daily need for a positive economic transformation. She was married with Alberto Mario, great name of the Italian Risorgimento. On a more ideal level and even though she understood, in a realistic way, the difficulties of Mazzini's project, she saw in the union of the European peoples the only hope for peace and progress. However, Italian politics did not have the necessary strength to guide the process of European unification: authoritarian centralism, unfinished unity according to the Mazzini's model and the lack of organization of the democratic forces represented, for Jessie White Mario, the major limits to the possibility of making Italian aims supranational. Through consultation of the main existing bibliographical sources on the subject, this research will attempt to contextualise, in the historical framework, all these important aspects.

Keywords: Jessie White Mario, female emancipation, female labour, social question, European unity

1. Introduction: A short biographical profile

"A woman with extreme sensitivity, a very lively temper and a unique personality, described by Giuseppe Mazzini as the *Italian Joan of Arc*" (Berardi, 2010, p. 26). This concise yet incisive description is how Silvio Berardi recalls Jessie White Mario in one of his latest essays: a journalist, a writer, a patriot and a philanthropist of great significance for the history of the Italian Risorgimento.

Jessie White – she took the surname Mario later from her husband – was born on 9th May 1832 into a family of ship owners of Gosport, in the South of England; her mother died when she was a young girl. She respected her father's authority but refused his strict puritan upbringing. A very first delineation of White's personality came to light during her studies at the Sorbonne in Paris. In cultural terms this was a fruitful period: she was introduced to the Italian patriotism, in particular to Garibaldi. She personally met him in Nice in 1854 thanks to Emma Roberts, a "wealthy British widow" (Riall, 2007, p. 112) met during her Parisian stay and who considered herself engaged to the French general.

Although there was a close connection between White and Garibaldi, the meeting that completely changed her life, thus introducing her in the political and cultural scenario of the Risorgimento, occurred in London in 1856: on this occasion, in fact, she met Giuseppe Mazzini for the very first time. The Genoese patriot had a disruptive effect on her strong and determined personality, the evidence of which was soon to be noticed.

In 1857 Jessie White supported the unsuccessful expedition of Carlo Pisacane to Sapri; in the same year she was arrested on espionage charges arising from her involvement in Mazzini's failed Genoese uprising and jailed in Sant'Andrea's prison in Genoa. In the unfortunate circumstance of the imprisonment, Mazzini himself introduced her to Alberto Mario, a remarkable patriot of Lendinara and, still in 1857, Jessie White married him and took his surname. According to what Fulvio Conti has recently written, love between the couple, not only blossomed and nourished "the tight correspondence that […] they exchanged while they were both imprisoned in Genoa" (Conti, 2010, p. 174), but also showed how deeply rooted was the bond between Jessie White and Mazzini, so much as to cause in "Alberto […] a sort of jealousy" (Conti, 2010, p. 175) immediately silenced by the sincere feeling of his wife. From this misunderstanding, "Alberto and Jessie reached a definitive clarification on the role that love, and politics should have in their relationship" (Conti, 2010, p. 175), paving the way for a relationship based on mutual love and trust.

Together with her husband, with whom she shared her life and her passion for politics and cultural issues, Jessie White Mario was a woman of action. In 1859 White Mario and her husband joined Garibaldi in Lombardy where they were – once again – arrested together. They thereafter went into exile in Lugano; in 1860 she worked as a field nurse for Garibaldi's *Redshirts* involved in the *Expedition of the Thousand*; in 1867 she supported Garibaldi on the battlefield in Monterotondo and Mentana; in 1871 she took again an active part in the Battle of Dijon. The result of these ventures along with her total commitment to the Unification of Italy deeply enriched her cultural baggage and expertise, so fundamental to understand her writings and her intense career as a journalist.

In addition to being a war correspondent, from the frontline, in the *Expedition of the Thousand*, Jessie White Mario was a writer, a teacher and a journalist of great professionalism (Certini, 1998). In 1856, she started writing for the Londoner newspaper *Daily News* giving life to the column *Italy for the Italians*. She also wrote for the American magazine *The Nation* (White Mario, 1999) publishing 143 articles over a period of forty years, and for the British periodical *Morning Star*. She chronicled and wrote about various issues of primary political and social importance in her time such as, for example, slavery in America and voting rights for women.

She wrote copiously both as a journalist and a biographer. Indeed, the works published by Jessie White Mario not only contributed to analyse the *Southern issue*, but also to publicize both Cattaneo and her husband's writings and ideas (Mario, 1984). These two patriots along with Mazzini and Garibaldi, were regarded as a cultural reference point of the Italian Unification and its subsequent unitary path. As a matter of fact, she was determined to dedicate her life to the Italian cause (Doni, 2011) even after Alberto Mario's death in 1883.

In 1897 Jessie White Mario obtained a Chair in English Literature at the Florence Normal School, thus enabling her to supplement her meagre income and live the remaining years of her life in tranquility. Her teaching at Florence University marked the last significant step in her long life. She died in Florence in 1906 and was buried in Lendinara. Strong willed and active throughout her life, she dedicated her last years to the drafting of a popular history on the Italian Unification *The Birth of Modern Italy* (White Mario, 1909) which was published posthumously in London in 1909 and which achieved resounding success.

Without being exhaustive, the analysis in the next paragraphs intends to extend the reflection on some specific aspects of the life and actions of Jessie White Mario, highlighting, in particular, some of the most important contents of the debate on the socio-economic aspects of the Italian 19th and early 20th centuries. This topic faces a complex reality, where political aspects jointed with socio-economic dynamics describe some of the fundamental conundrums of the Italian history: the problems of South Italy after the national unity, the problematic position of women in the social mosaic, the chronic drama of the unemployment, the child labour and its connections with the organized crime, and – last but not least – the Italian role in the construction of the European unity. Therefore, the "why now" of the paper lies in the current relevance of these issues and in the attempt to study the past to provide an updated, composite and thoughtful interpretation of the present.

2. Social concerns, the position of women and child labour: Experiences in Naples and Sicily

Topics like female emancipation (Pieroni Bortolotti, 1963), child labour and social issues are strictly linked to each other in Jessie White Mario's cultural works and human experiences.

When she visited the city of Naples, in 1876 she was very impressed. She was shocked by the sight of how those lands and places largely described in many writings were actually beaten by carelessness and inhuman conditions. Her well-known report *La miseria in Napoli* (*The misery in Naples*) was published in Florence in 1877, one year after her visit, and contains a great number of articles already published in the Neapolitan magazine *Il Pungolo* (Boero, 1980). She wrote that "[…] no foreigner imagines even for a moment what depths of misery and degradation exist in Italy, this "garden of Europe" where, according to a common saying, the land is scratched and sowed, and the air and the sun provide food for everybody […]" (White Mario, 1978, p. 7).

Pasquale Villari (1878) encouraged her to have a closer look at the matter and investigate the too many commonplaces on the Southern conditions. Jessie White Mario therefore analyzed the many problems of Naples starting from a grounded sociopolitical approach and scientific rigour driven in particular by the theories of Spencer and Engels. In 1892 she wrote in an article for *Scribner's Magazine* (Richardson, 2013): "The old saying Vedi Napoli poi morir may be translated "See misery in Naples to learn what misery means", to realize what

amount of hunger, nakedness, vice, ignorance, superstition, and oppression can be condensed in the caves, dens, and kennels, unfit for beasts, inhabited by the poor of Naples" (White Mario, 1892, p. 300).

These harsh statements clearly show two critical views. The first one related to the inequalities carried out by a Risorgimento that she believed to be incomplete and from a Republican perspective above all focused on the absolutism of the Savoy monarchy; the second view reflects the two pictures of Naples seared in Jessie White Mario's mind: on one side, the glorious city liberated by Garibaldi, on the other, the hidden city ignored by official writings, the inner-city districts of Naples, its slums.

Compared to the conditions of London and its people – a standard point of reference in such comparisons –, Naples experienced an even worse poverty that struck above all the weakest, children, young people of working age and women. In line with Villari's opinion, according to which despite "great, immense" the misery in London was less severe than that in Naples (White Mario, 1978, p. 18), Jessie White Mario noticed that absolute poverty had an effect on vice, spread of petty crimes on the streets and rise in more structured crimes. Social issues were not high on the agenda and most social problems were not even recognised by the new government thus completing a discouraging picture, where no solutions nor a future were to be found.

On this last point the Anglo-Italian patriot observed first of all that unlike Italy, "[…] the great efforts made by England and the individuals named by the society and the Government which by establishing a "local government" assumes the right to provide for health, education and necessities of life for its people, were not fruitless" (White Mario, 1978, p. 23). Secondly, she noted that one of the most complex evils to understand or rather decode, the *Camorra*, acted incisively on the political and institutional leadership in Naples, holding through its "*big shots* […] the reins of the elections" (White Mario, 1894, p. 123).

Her strong concern with regard to the *Camorra* issue, so present in Jessie White Mario's writings, was mainly due to her good friendly relationship with Giovanni Nicotera (White Mario, 1894; De Nicolò, 2001) – Minister of the Interior within the first Government of Depretis – in fact, as Berardi writes, "in some conversations [with Nicotera], she learned about this complex and at the same time dangerous reality, which devastated Naples" (Berardi, 2010, p. 54).

Given the need to raise political, economic and social awareness, Jessie White Mario also included a moral aspect, in the typical Mazzinian spirit: the moral restoration of Neapolitan people had to start from the root of the problem: from the weakest, those oppressed by poverty and indifference. In this respect, the acknowledgement of equality between men and women constituted a significant step, according to Mazzini's opinion, that is to say the Man who "before John Stuart Mill (1869) in England, the very first man, asserted the equality between the woman and the man, while Christianity denies it, rather it elevates her inferiority to dogma "(White Mario, 1886, p. 471).

However, the moral pressure and White Mario's interest in the crucial aspects of the Neapolitan area and its fabric of society, were not an unvoiced proclamation or an uncritical awareness raising project. The quality of these studies and researches was also acknowledged by the authoritative pages of *Storia d'Italia* (*History of Italy*) by Benedetto Croce who, in one of his passages, praised the work of the patriot since "[…] although she had family and friendship links with the opponents of all the governments since 1860, she could not bear the truth to be offended and wanted, in the light of good sense and elementary justice, to banish the evil spectres that others liked to evoke and entertain" (Croce, 1947, pp. 105-106).

This will, described by Croce in such a suggestive and incisive manner, was not limited to Naples, but did stretch to Sicily as well. White Mario's research into the Sicilian question was centred on the Sulphur mines and on the working conditions of the *carusi*, that is "mine-boys", labourers in a Sulphur. Her commitment to the cause along with her concern about providing clarity and suggesting solutions to a problem of such magnitude was recorded by the author herself when, in the first part of her report *Le miniere di zolfo in Sicilia* (*The Sulphur mines in Sicily*) she wrote: "returning to Palermo, I extricated myself from visiting the Sicilian sights, taking a trip to Tunis, or any other pleasure trips in order to study patiently "the ABC's" of the Sulphur mines" (White Mario, 1894, p. 11).

Also in the Sicilian case, in White Mario's opinion, one of the causes of the many problems was the short-sightedness of the political class and in particular in this given case Depretis' one who, even though he had the

regulatory tools of social importance, he misunderstood the real needs of the Island: "contrary to the law aimed at establishing special powers of public safety to the provinces – writes Berardi –, Depretis according to the British journalist, continued to embrace what was perhaps far too idealistic, a view far from the circumstances of the time" (Berardi, 2010, p. 56). The circumstances recalled by White Mario were in fact marked by local realities saturated with illegality, far from the Government control and, above all, in need of an improvement and a development in the economic and working fields. The heavy piecework of pickmen and *carusi* not only was exhausting and extremely underpaid, but also, they worked and lived in disastrous health conditions.

Child labour was an evident social scourge, a tear in a fabric of society already struck by the misfortunes of misery and exploitation of the poorest. The descriptions made by White Mario, sensitive to the issue and deeply moved by the discomfort of those young miners, indeed reminded us of the literary settings in *Rosso Malpelo* by Verga (1997) or in *Ciàula* by Pirandello (2007).

In the opinion of the Anglo-Italian patriot, radical changes were needed in the production field to solve the problem of child labour. In this specific case, it was necessary to introduce machines to replace manual work and so to foster a proper relocation of children within society. In this regard she wrote: "the *caruso* like the pickman were not day labourers but on piecework. Without him the pickman cannot work at all. And in those mines where there are no machines, raw ore is carried on their shoulders […]. Hence the hunt for boys, which is more intense when the work in the Sulphur mines is abundant" (White Mario, 1894, p. 30). Furthermore, the wage of both the *carusi* and the pickmen was strongly subjected to a controversial system since "the rich gentlemen, not to invest a fortune on machines, paid their pickmen on such a usury for the small capital they needed to recruit the *carusi*" (White Mario, 1894, p. 31). Towards the end of the 19th century, a growing awareness of these dramatic problems began to be recorded. Good evidence of this can be found in the social unrest at that time: in August 1892 the Congress of Italian Workers met (Lisanti, 1986; Galli, 2007), in October 1893 the Miners' Congress asked for the abolition of the "*death benefit*" (Ipsen, 2006, p. 93) and for putting an end to the conflicts of interest as far as the workshops run by the owners of the mines were concerned and the *Sicilian Fasci Movement* (Sicilian Workers Leagues) between 1891 and 1894 (Romano, 1959; Fedele, 1994) – in Messina since 1888 – attracted the attention of both the press and the institutions. On these occasions, the political question was strictly linked to the social issue. The Anglo-Italian journalist appreciated Crispi, considering the rigorous suppression of the *Fasci* as an unavoidable choice: as a matter of fact, according to White Mario, Crispi took on the responsibility avoided by Giolitti.

Always driven by a Mazzinian spirit, just like the case of Naples, Jessie White Mario believed in a moral emancipation long before a political and social one to go with practical solutions; as for the already mentioned abolition of the *death benefit* tool – on behalf of which families, in return of a meager profit, delegated to the pickman the education of the young *carusi* – and the health protection, primary necessity to eradicate some dangerous and deadly diseases and a more general improvement of living conditions.

3. The Europeanist political perspective

Although the centrality of the Mazzinian example in the work and action of Jessie White Mario has been stressed several times, the first fundamental influence on her political thought came from George Dawson, a Congregationalist preacher, whose message is based on "duty, self-help and social reform was very close to that of Mazzini" (Beales and Biagini, 2005, p. 196).

Mazzini's influence therefore was not the only one that worked on the formation of the Anglo-Italian journalist. As already seen, an interesting relief was also assumed by the positions of Pisacane (Mazzei, 1943), which indeed she supported on the occasion of Sapri's expedition, and the scientific theses of Spencer and Engels, points of reference with regard to her vocation for the analysis of socio-political contexts. A further example was that of Agostino Bertani (White Mario, 1888; Moos, 1988), doctor and strong supporter of Garibaldi's feats.

The resurgence of the Risorgimento culture, therefore, and given the previous examples, became an essential source for the constant inner enrichment and a point of reference: even the Europeanism of Jessie White Mario (Berardi, 2012) in fact sank its roots in this fruitful season.

Starting from the Mazzinian concept of a holy alliance of peoples and from the experience of *Giovine Europa* (Berardi, 2012, p. 12), the English journalist identified in the European union an important step towards a future

of peaceful development: "the Union of European Peoples was therefore a necessary and decisive event for White Mario in order to establish a true and lasting peace, but at the same time she felt all the difficulties for its realization" (Berardi, 2012, pp. 12-13).

In the European unification process, the Italian unity was meant to represent an intermediate step, a phase "of a universal unitary process, not based on the pre-eminence of a single nation but on equal contribution of them all" (Berardi, 2012, p. 17). This observation of Berardi shows once again how Jessie White Mario's work was, from her very first experiences, imbued with Mazzini's doctrine which enabled her to set both theoretical and practical goals, though not always reached or attainable, and to adequately define the correspondence, in the classic Mazzinian combination, between thought and action. In this sense she wanted to carry forward an idea of progress that did not only have strictly exogenous characteristics but that also was a peculiar fruit, harvested from the poorly exploited wealth of Italian political and social culture.

Given these premises, White Mario noted the inadequacy of Italian politics that, in the vision of the patriot and despite the universality of his perspective, did not have the necessary strength to guide the process of European unification: the authoritarian centralism constituted the basis for the Italian state, unity was not carried out according to the Mazzinian model and therefore proved incapable, beyond the results, of taking further steps. The persistent lack of organization and coordination among the democratic forces represented for Jessie White Mario the major limit on the tortuous road to Italian development and to European unification, already paved with resistance and difficulties. Although she had optimistic sentiments for the future of Italy and Europe, "undoubtedly – Berardi always points out – Italian politics, for White Mario, was still far from having really made a true Europeanist feeling and this caused her distress" (Berardi, 2012, pp. 19-20).

The arrival of Crispi to the government made a very significant example of these perceptions because, on the one hand, it seemed to revive, according to White Mario, the ambitions of those who firmly believed in the revolutionary scope of the Risorgimento process (Romani, 2018), but on another, it resized this perspective consistently. The authoritative and centralistic direction that characterized the political season of the Crispi's Left (Adorni, 1999; 2002) did not really reveal any Europeanist intent.

4. Conclusion

According to the observations made, it is possible to conclude by saying that Jessie White Mario's experiences and thinking on the social question, on women's emancipation and on Europe were important for at least two fundamental reasons: the first, related to the important awareness-raising activity, carried out through journalistic activity and research, on the problems related to these complex issues and on the political-social implications connected to them; the second, inherent instead to the contribution provided through the writings, the comparisons, and the direct contacts for the development of the Italian national and European conscience, too often distant in spirit and practical action from the perspectives indicated by Jessie White Mario.

On her legacy of scholar, journalist and patriot, it remains valid what was written about the cultural formation of the Anglo-Italian patriot by Rossella Certini: "[Jessie White Mario managed to] maintain and confirm a close link between politics and moral conscience, in the religious and civil liberty, in the aversion to royal absolutism, in utilitarianism in economics and in free exchange. Much of Mazzini's ideology follows [the] basic laws of Mill and Bentham's constructs and this fact explains why Mario enthusiastically appreciated Mazzini's republican programme, since it appeared to her as a natural continuation of the democratic teachings received in youth" (Certini, 1998, p. 51).

The political-cultural activity of Jessie White Mario was therefore continuous and full of will: she constantly tried to reconcile the English formation with the Italian spirit – which she supported with deep devotion and conviction –, without concessions to the detractors of the social question and women's conditions and those who wanted to betray the Risorgimento process and the unitary European project of Mazzini's matrix, considered key points for its educational, political and social ideal and placed as necessary for the achievement of any lasting and morally elevated result.

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The Impact of Gender Capital in the Music Industry

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Abstract: Purpose – In recent years, studies on gender capital (Ephraim A. I., 2018; Paoloni, P, 2016; Atkinson, C., 2009; Robinson et al., 2009) have shown considerable interest (Martìn-Santana et al., 2015; Pernille K. A., et al.,2012; Benschop, Y., 2011), especially when someone asks what the impact of diversity is from an economic point of view. In particular, some scholars refer to Gender capital as "*the knowledge, resources and aspects of identity available, within a given context, that permit access to specific regime gendered identities*" (Bridges, T. S., 2009).Hence, it is possible to consider gender as a dynamic product resulting from culture and the social context (Bruni A. et al., 2005), in which females and males identities insist. While sex refers to the biological differences between males and females, gender capital defines the differences between men and women considering: particular roles and relationships, personality traits, attitudes, behaviors and values that society attributes to them. In this way, this research work aims to investigate the existence of gender discrimination in the perception of copyright (Christoffel J., 2017; Guedes, M. G. et al., 2018; Kravchenko, L.A.), therefore, the impact of the "gender" factor on the number of plays. The choice of the entertainment sector and, in particular of the music sector, is due to the fact that, in recent years, the same has seen the emergence of new business models linked above all to technological developments of the pay-for-download and subscription services such as "Spotify "and Apple Music. Design/methodology/approach – The research proposes a quali-quantitative method with an empirical application based on the study of gender phenomenon in the panorama of Italian singers. In the first phase of the analysis, data concerning male and female singers were collected. In the second phase the factors linked to the individual characteristics are identified. Finally, in the last phase of the research, the impact of the capital of gender was assessed (Yin, R.K., 2013). Originality/value – The originality of this research is related to investigate the discrimination in the music sector through the collection of a data set from the Spotify's platform and social media. Practical implications – The outcomes of the application of this research contribute to expanding the existing literature on gender studies. The study proposes an analysis of the concept of gender capital in the field of musical entertainment, with the intention of bridging the emerging cultural and social gap in relations between men and women.

Keywords: gender capital, discrimination, remuneration, woman, music, digital

1. Introduction

During the last years, the topic of gender diversity is going to play an important role in the management's studies.

In particular, scholars and professionals tried to understand and explain the impact of this phenomena in any level of the organizations, maybe thinking that the diversity could be at the same time a discrimination aspect but also a potential factor.

From this approach to the diversity's topics born some recent empirical investigations in the field of corporate governance, female entrepreneurship, corporate behaviour, consumer behaviour etc., where the main goal is to support through some evidences any organization at all level and every dimension.

This work aims to investigate the gender diversity phenomena in the music sector, because it allows to determine singer's performance and correlate them with the artist's remuneration.

Moreover, music sector has been interested by several business model development transforming it in the knowledge - intensive context. Music is global and increasingly digital. This can almost totally attributed to the rise of streaming apps as Spotify.

The music streaming market is still growing exponentially, this is confirmed by the numbers of Global Music Report 2018, that has addressed an increase of:

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- 41,1 % growth in streaming revenue;
- 54 % digital share of global revenues;
- 8,1 % global revenue growth.

While registered a decrease of:

- 5,4 % phisycal revenue;
- 20,5 % download revenue.

Even if Spotify has a large amount of competitor, it plays a strong position within the digital music distribution market through to the high difficulties' access to digital music market linked in particular to the tech barriers.

Therefore, starting from the idea that the gender diversity's phenomena play an important role in management studies and the recent development in the music sector based on a digital approach we supposed that music sector could an interesting field for the study of a gender diversity.

In this view, we analysed the topic and in particular the impact of the gender phenomena through a population of Italian singers.

We try to understand if exists some interesting evidence between the following's independent variables and the numbers of plays on Spotify.

- age;
- geographical origin;
- a relationship with a famous partner;
- debut year;
- being part of a band;
- gender.

The data collection was carried out on Spotify, webpages, reports, news, journal articles in open sources, papers, scientific books and databases.

In particular the aim of this study is to investigate the impact of a gender discrimination in the music industry, in the view to fill the existing gap in literature and understand how the gender diversity origins differences in number of listeners on Spotify, and, consequently, in the amount of sales of music products and in the perception of the artist remuneration. We start from the hypothesis that the new business model of Spotify could be a good proxy of artist remuneration.

The paper follow this structure, after the introduction, we present a literature review based on recent management studies on gender diversity and the principals lines of the research; in the research approach we show the characteristics of the sample and the main steps of the empirical analysis; in the findings we will show the main results of the study and finally in the conclusion and discussion we will use a critical approach for the interpretation of the empirical evidences.

The research questions to be asked are the following:

RQ 1: which is the impact of a gender diversity in the field of Italian music sector?
RQ 2: using the number of plays on Spotify as a proxy of artist remuneration, does it exist a discrimination in the music sector?

2. Literature review

In recent years, gender diversity has been a relevant topic for many economic studies. Particularly, a recent study (Paoloni P., Demartini P., 2016) shows how current research topics in the field of gender diversity focus primarily on corporate governance, female entrepreneurship, conflicts of interest, differences between men and women, discrimination and a residual category. The analysis of many works shows how gender refers not only to the relations between women and men, but also to the institutions that manage these relationships, therefore

it represents an interdisciplinary concept (Farré, 2011), whereas diversity is the difference between an individual and his group and it can be defined as the ability to influence group growth or satisfaction (Granelli, Robotti, 2016). For Rosado (2006) managing diversity is a process that brings talents and capabilities to an organization, community or society. If managed, differences can be in a synergetic unity, where working together has a positive effect, especially on a firm.

Nowadays gender plays a significant role for companies and some scholars refer to gender capital as "*the knowledge, resources and aspects of identity available, within a given context, that permit access to specific regime gendered identities*" (Bridges, T. S., 2009). In literature, many recent studies have analysed the impact of gender in the economic world.

Several authors (Moreno-Gómez et al., 2018; Reguera-Alvarado et al., 2017) found that gender diversity in top management is positively associated with business performance and for Triki Damak (2018) women participation in power and decision-making positions has positive effects for the company, especially in case of outside female directors (González et al. 2018). In fact, this enables to reduce financial reporting mistakes and engage fraud (Wahid, 2018), increase the level of disclosure of intellectual capital information (Tejedo-Romero et al., 2017) and legitimize CSR reporting (Jizi, 2017). However, one of the most relevant problems is linked to the effective presence of women on boards of directors; in fact, authors such as Smith and Parrotta (2018) affirm that a board of directors with a female chairperson have significantly fewer other non-employee-elected female members. Among these studies about gender capital, only few studies refer directly to the music industry, although gender plays an important role in this sector, because "*the degree of approach behavior is moderated by gender*" (Andersson P. et al., 2012). In literature recent studies that have focused on gender capital into the music industry have shown males deal with digital piracy more than females (Tjiptono et al. 2016); gender has moderating effects on perceived likelihood of punishment, in case of music acquisition from illegal channels, and income-moderated attitude and intention from P2P platforms (Dilmperi et al., 2017). Furthermore, Mohammed-Baksh and Callison (2015) state that there are relevant differences in the number of products and brands mentioned by gender of the artists and males are overrepresented in hip-hop music. The analysis of literature shows how gender has an economic impact also in the music industry, but it is not clear if it directly affects musical plays.

In conclusion, from a socio-cultural point of view, Annenberg's study of the Annunciation Initiative (Smith et al., 2018) analyzes the proportion of people coming from different ethnic / racial groups in the field of entertainment (Annenberg Inclusion Initiatives). These gender reports for the period 2007 - 2017 show the evolution of ethnic presences in American entertainment productions.

In particular, the result based on 6 years analysis (2012 – 2017), shows that the 42% of 1239 artists come from underrepresented racial/ethnic groups.

Moreover, these reports demonstrate the low presence of women in the music industry. In fact, from a sample of 600 songs, only 22.4% of all artists are women, very few women take part in a band (8.7%) and even fewer women participate in duos (5.1%). Finally, from a sample of 2,767 songwriters the female percentage is only 12.3%, while out of 651 producers women represent only 2%.

3. Research methodology

The research approach used is a quali-quantitative one (Anderson et al., 2012; Myers, 2013; Waters, 2008; Yin, 2003), with two empirical levels of analysis, useful to understand how the gender diversity could impact on sales of music products. As we told previously, the focus of this research is to understand if the diversity could impact on the consumer behaviour, in this perspective, we think that the new business model of Spotify is a good proxy of artist remuneration. In the view to better identify which are the main aspects that could impact on the preferences of consumer, we made some hypothesis based on variable available data. The data collection was carried out on Spotify, webpages, reports, news, journal articles in open sources, papers, scientific books and databases. We used variables as age, geographical origin, the presence of a famous partner, debut year, being part of a band and gender, because usually some of these aspects are considered more relevant in the field of music sector. The research approach is exploratory (Hair et al, 2003), in order to fill the gap in literature. In fact, up to now, it is possible find few researches focused on the value of copyright in the music industry. The empirical research is developed on two-levels of analysis. The first step is characterized by an illustrative analysis, in which

the population of 618 Italian singers is analysed and It is shown a more interesting data, of 75% of men and 25% of women. In the second step, there is a quantitative analysis, based on the data available of 567 Italian singers, we estimated the average play respectively for 426 men and 141 women.

4. Findings and discussion

As previously stated, we based our analysis on quali-quantitative method to investigate the existence or not of a gender discrimination in the music industry. From a methodological standpoint, this approach originates, considering the number of listeners on Spotify as an expression of the artist remuneration, as, it is a variable representative of sales of music products and particularly, it is representative of a singer's revenue. In the following section we are going to represent the impact of the phenomena of a "gender discrimination" in the music sector through two levels of analysis:

- descriptive analysis;
- quantitative analysis.

4.1 First level: Descriptive analysis

In the first level of analysis is carried out a descriptive analysis of the data, regarding the structure of the population. The population analysed is composed by the total number of Italian singers. The data collected on the web site www.canzoni.it, in the section reserved for Italian's singers until the 30.11.2018, show a population of 618 singers.

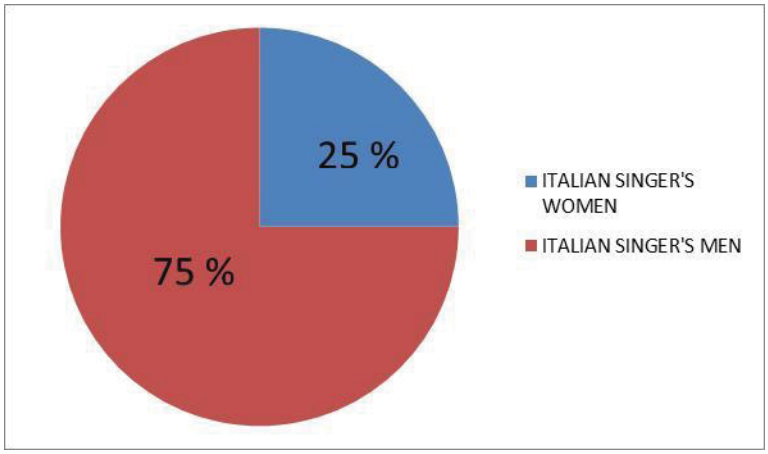


Figure 1: Italian singer's landscape

The results highlights a composition of Italian music field as follow shown:

- 25% women;
- 75% men.

In this assessment the number of Italian female singers is very low compared with the number of Italian male singers. This result reveals a difference with the Italian population which is made up of 51% women and 49% men. So, starting from this result we investigate the motivation of the differences between female and male singers. A reason could be related to the stereotypes endorsed and supported by cultural and family dynamics, which in turn influence the dynamics within the job landscape. In the modern society we often tend to delineate the image of the "unable" woman to perform certain roles considered purely male underestimating the ability to develop skills and know-how in the same way. It is the prejudice that allows to consider music only a "club for boys". The idea that the woman does not know how to play and for this reason need a man to explain how the instruments work is so deeply rooted in Italian culture that generates in the women a fear in being able to face work experiences. Other stereotypes in music industry could be related to. The recording industry, which purpose is to create and sell (in copies) musical compositions of any kind, develops a strategy that take in consideration at the same time many different aspects such as the artist's key role and the creative nature of the product that attract the music consumer. In this way, they consider it rather easy to visualize a band or an artist as a brand, trying to sell a "product" (the songs) with more or less consolidated marketing techniques. So, the female artist must pay more attention to physical aspect, and in this way could reach more fans. A man does not need to spend a time for his beauty. Anyway, the available data shows that woman's position is harder, and

they suffer more gender diversity than the men. In the western musical industry, the situation is therefore quite unbalanced where the role of women is still struggling to grow and is relegated to marginal tasks and roles. Artistic creation is not autonomous and free, but it is part of a network of social and economic relations, of individuals and institutions, in a specific historical and cultural context in which even gender asymmetries exert a certain weight.

The lack of recognition suffered by the artists does not therefore depend on individual characteristics, but on a series of institutional and social prejudices that have in fact hindered the artistic expression of women, and, subsequently, their memory in the years. In short, what comes out is that art is also a field in which gender social relations are measured and reflected and females are more considered in family or in other context like education.

4.2 Second level

In this level of analysis, the population of singers is modified. It has been identified by including all the singers who have recorded plays on the Spotify platform. In the first survey the population was filtered based on the existence of listening data on the emerging platform that allows to listen the music at any time. Therefore, the population is reduced, and is made up of a total of 567 singers that represent the entire population of Italian singers. Following this point of view, we have evaluated the phenomena by a statistical analysis; in particular the population of singers was divided in 6 groups in order to examine the average audience. The observed values are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Spotify listeners: Average of men and women

LISTENERS SPOTIFY				
GROUPS OF ANALYSIS		MEN	WOMEN	Δ%
1	0-10	5.100.708	3.182.027	23%
2	0-20	3.476.062	2.765.723	11%
3	0-50	2.132.371	1.532.660	16%
4	0-100	1.248.012	1.028.984	10%
5	0-200	727.010	521.007	17%
6	0-567	269.578	180.765	17%

Our elaboration based on SPSS software

The results of this analysis show that the average of listeners for Italian male singers and Italian woman singers is always higher for men in any single group of analysis (see Figure 2). For example, if we pay attention to the group number 1, this group is composed by 8 men and 2 women, the average of male singers reaches 23 % more listeners if we compared it to the average of women singers.The difference between the two average (men – woman) carry out is always smallest (see Figure 3). Extending the exam to the second group, the result is not more different from what emerges in the first group: the number of the population is mainly male, even if the difference between the two averages of listeners is moderate.

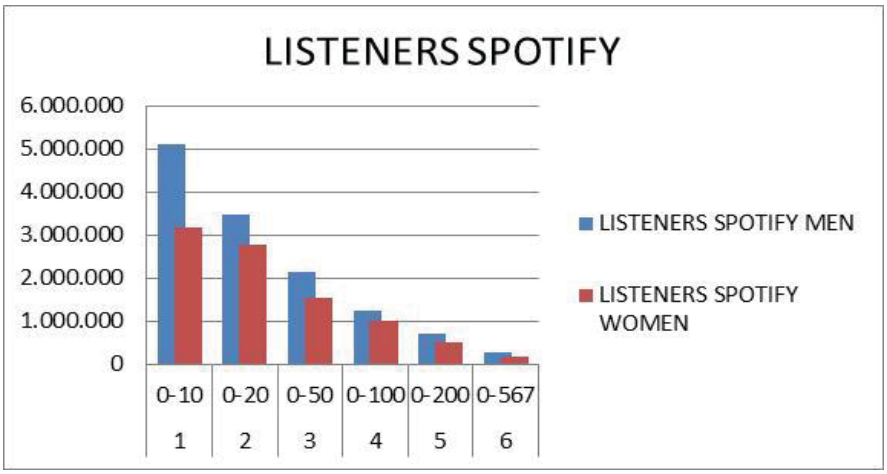


Figure 2: Average of Spotify listeners

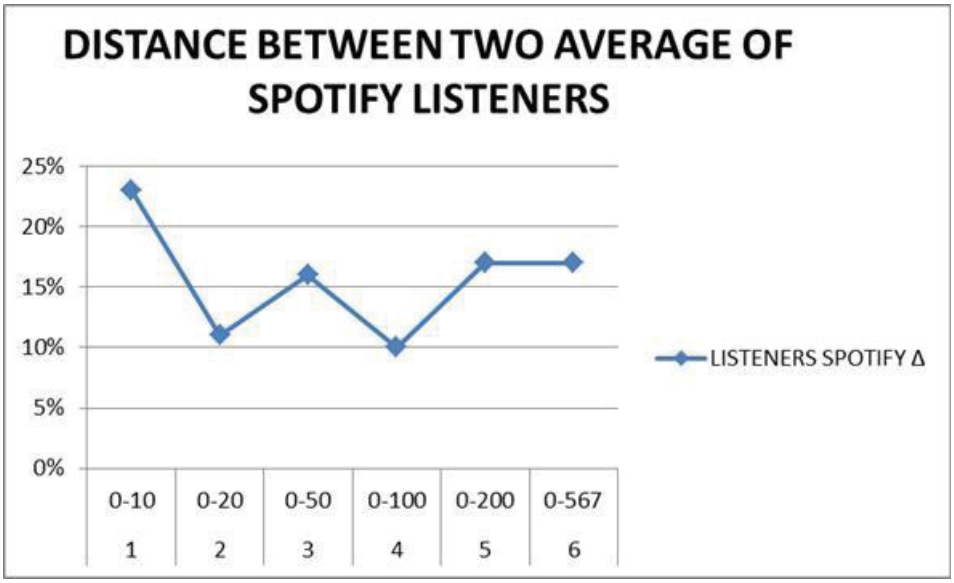


Figure 3: Distance between two average of Spotify listeners

4.3 Third level

The main level of analysis is conducted on the correlation between number of listeners and gender capital, in the way to investigate the characteristic of gender discrimination in Italian singers' scenery (567 Italian singers). The research in this step examine the population of Italian's listeners singers classified using Spotify. The data collected were analysed using the following variables:

- number of listeners (dependent variable);
- gender capital (independent variable).

In the case of non-quantitative variables, the independent variable was declined through a dichotomous variable, 0 for men and 1 for women. The Pearson's correlation coefficient, equal to 0,04, highlights a very weak linear relationship between number of plays and gender.

Table 2: Correlation between the number of listeners on Spotify and gender capital

R	R - squared	Standard deviation
0,041954	0,00176	0,433931

Our elaboration based on SPSS software

In order to check whether certain conditions could influence or not the audience volume (average of listeners) on Spotify, we try, in the second research step to build a linear correlation analysis between the number of listeners and gender capital, filtering the population of (567 singers) through the use of the following variables, representative of each singer:

- Age;
- Geographical origin;
- Famous partner;
- Debut year;
- Band member;
- Follower;
- Like number.

In the case of non-quantitative variables, the independent variable was declined through a dichotomous variable (YES= 1; NO = 0; NORTH=1; MIDDLE=2; SOUTH=3, ABOARD=0). The results are shown in the table 3.

Table 3: Pearson's correlation with independent variables

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	R^2
AGE	0,004312
GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGIN	0,013015
FAMOUS PARTNER	0,003546
DEBUT	0,004404
BAND MEMBER	0,001581
FOLLOWERS	0,242049
LIKE	0,234725

Our elaboration based on SPSS software

Our analysis based on the number of listeners for each singer's and the personal characteristics is set out below. The findings based on Pearson's correlation coefficient shows a weak positive linear correlation between listeners number and famous partner, debut and also compared to singer's age, geographical origin and band member.

The relationship between number of listeners and followers and, again, like of each singer, reveals a positive linear correlation, that is statically significant. Anyway, it is important to specify, that the nature of correlation made using this approach is non-statically significant, because it is close to 0. So, we can argue that the impact of gender discrimination does not exists in the music industry, accordingly from the others sectors like the professional football that show differences in job remunerations (Trequattrini et al., 2017).

5. Conclusions

The main goal of this research paper has been to analyse the impact of a gender diversity in the music sector and understand if it exists a discrimination in a consumer behaviour linked to some diversity variables.

The choice of a music sector is related to the new business models based on digital approach.

We start from the hypothesis that the numbers of listen it is a good proxy for the identification of a singers' remuneration.

In particular, we used the population of Italian music singers and collect data for a total of 567 singers.

The research approach used for the analyses is quali-quantitative in the view to understand and explain the changes in music favourites singers.

In particular the empirical analysis follows these steps:

- gender diversity identification in the music sector;
- impact of gender diversity in the music sector;
- analysis of correlation between number of listeners on Spotify platform and gender capital.

The content's digitalization and the development of the Internet have conducted to investigate gender diversity through emerging market, within new business models based on a digital approach, such as Spotify. The results highlight a composition of Italian music field as follow: 25% women and 75% men. For this reason, we theorize a gender diversity in Italian music sector.

The empirical findings consists in results related to the second level of analysis, where the average of listeners for men singers is always higher than the women. This is confirmed by a minor presence of women in Italian singer's panorama. Therefore, given this minor incidence it is clear a higher average of men. Anyway, the examination of data highlights a moderate difference, hence, only in the first range exceeds 20%.

And so, we can state that there is a gender discrimination for the following main aspects:

- "weak sex";
- Cultural dynamics;

- Beauty.

Additionally, we used the Pearson correlation assumptions to test the relationship between number of listeners and gender capital. The result shows a weak linear correlation and it is not statistically significant.

We can argue that the impact of gender discrimination does not exists in the music industry. These findings are consistent with is how widely confirmed in other business context where the measurement of performance is determinable objectively (Trequattrini et al. 2017). In this case, the singers' performances are directly linked to the volume of theirs sales/revenue. Also if we extend this investigation to individual characteristics of each singer, we can state that they don't influence the singer's listening trend. Thus, our results show that, in the music context, the variables we have used don't influence the music demand. The reason could be that people listen to the music independently of these factors.

Instead, we can argue that higher levels of popularity correspond to higher listeners number, and consequently, for assumptions, to high level of revenue of singers. Additionally, this independent variable which derive from social media metrics (Lardo et al., 2017) provide supplementary information about the value of sales in music products, thought to some sites that do not sell music but only serve musicians to create a profile, upload tracks and have a web presence. Thus, it is possible to validate that the number of followers and "number of like" has a direct impact on a listener's value and contributes to the development of sales music.

So, the social media networks are just new channels for brand's voice and content; this last aspect simultaneously makes the singers easier and more accessible for new customers, and makes more familiar and recognizable for existing customers, with a direct impact on singers' social media exposure.

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Gender Composition of Boards of Directors and Sensitivity to Gender Issues in Italian University Strategic Plans

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Abstract: In the recent Italian regulatory framework, planning is the main point in to the effective accomplishment of the mission of universities. Among the planning tools envisaged by the legislator there are the strategic plan, which outlines mission, strategic guidelines and objectives of the University, and the integrated plan, which includes shorter-term objectives and strategies. These documents, as provided for by the legislator and by university regulations, are prepared and approved by specific body. The objective of the paper is to verify if the board gender composition affects the sensitivity to gender issue in defining the University's strategies and therefore strategic plan. We measure the sensitivity to gender issue in defining university' strategies through a synthetic indicator calculated on the basis of the content analysis conducted on the strategic plans of the University.

Keywords: gender equality, Italian university, strategic plans, boards of directors

1. Introduction

The underrepresentation of women in research is a key issue which is being actively tackled in EU policies and actions. The concepts of the 'leaky pipeline', 'glass ceiling' and 'sticky floor' are well documented, and they are all used to describe the disproportionate decreasing of women as they approach the top of the ladder in the educational and professional hierarchy (European Commission, 2012). Moreover, while there has been a significant increase in the number of women with doctorates, women still remain underrepresented in research leadership positions and as chief investigators on funded research projects, and therefore they attract lower levels of research funding. Changes to gender equality in academia worldwide reflect wider societal changes, but are also directly affected by a series of influences including legislation, regulatory frameworks, action plans, university strategies, and committed individuals. Universities operate not only within the context of legislation, but also within a system of regulatory frameworks specific to higher education (Stolte-Heiskanen, 1988), and to institutional practices and power relations (Glover 2001). In the EU, support for structural and institutional change has been gradually rooted in R&I policies, starting from the implementation of the FP7 "Science in Society" calls and projects, and increasingly addressing programmes aiming at structural/institutional change, emphasing the need to combine organisational measures with efforts to overcome gender bias in knowledge production and enhance scientific excellence (Schiebinger, 2008). Since then, various projects have been launched to include gender equality aspects: some positive effects have been observed, as well as resistance to the implementation of the measures identified (Mergaert and Lombardo, 2014). In 2012, the European gender strategy in R&I identified the following aspects: inclusion of gender requirements in EU and member states' funding programs and creation of specific programs to promote institutional changes through measures such as gender training, best practice identification, adoption of equality plans, and incorporation of a gender perspective in international mobility of researchers. Also, the ERA Roadmap (2015–2020), establishing the European Research Area, defines some gender priorities, addressed mainly to the effective implementation of measures in national environments.

However, focusing on the organizational context, previous research (Willemsen, 2002; Broadbridge and Hearn, 2008) show that management in organizations is not gender neutral, but it involves a subtle discrimination still exists, and Heilman (2001) argues that gender bias in evaluations is one of the causes of the scarcity of women at the upper levels of organizations. Universities worldwide, and likewise in Italy, are working to ensure diversity and have made substantial progress towards gender balance in recent years. The sector has made a commitment to aim for gender-balanced governing bodies at every institution. Universities, like other institutions, are committed to equity, diversity and inclusion and formalize their commitment and activities in their strategic plans.

The University Strategic Plans are the outcome of an iterative and participatory process (Paris, 2003) that broadly involves all the stakeholders within the cultural processes of the university institution/community. These documents outline the University's vision and mission (Luxton 2005, p.23), they promote governance transparency by formalising a set of strategic objectives, the relevant implementing actions to achieve them and the indicators for monitoring and evaluation process (Agasisti et al, 2008), and help top management to align its resources in the

most efficient manner necessary for the attainment of strategic milestones and stay competitive (Ofori and Atiogbe, 2012:67).

In line with current literature on strategic planning and the application of the *New Public Management* (NPM) approach (Hood 1995; European University Association 2007), and with analogous processes carried out by other institutions internationally, Italian Public Universities assume a specific responsibility in developing planning and control processes (Italian State Law n. 59/1997; Law Decree n. 43/2005) drawing up a three-year strategic plan (DM n. 506/2007 and DM n. 362/2007), as well as they have to develop functions to perform evaluation in all their activities (Cugini et al, 2011; Bronzetti et al, 2012). The strategic planning process in the Italian universities is carried out according both to the principle of a greater autonomy of the university system (Law 168/1989; Law 421/1992) and to the general guidelines for public university planning laid down by MIUR, the Italian Ministry of Education and with current regulation (Law 43/2005, Law 15/2009, Legislative Decree 150/2009 and n. 74/2017, Law 240/2010).

While it is beyond the scope of this document to describe tools, contents and actors involved in the strategic planning process of Italian universities (Hinton 2012), the purpose of this research is to verify whether a relationship between the board of director (board) composition and the sensitivity to gender issue in strategic document exists.

The paper proceeds as follows: Section 2 presents the theoretical framework, section 3 presents the research objectives and methodology, section 4 shows the research results by interpreting the findings. Section 5 presents the conclusions.

2. Gender equality and university governance: Framework

The principle of equal opportunity is grounded in the Italian Constitution (Articles 3, 37, 51). In the 1990s and 2000s, progress in gender equality originated mainly from the need to adopt EU Directives and the use of European funds. Pulejo (2011) highlights that while many legislative initiatives have been initiated, measures to ensure their implementation remain weak. The Italian legal framework on gender equality is provided by the National Code of Equal Opportunities between Women and Men established in 2006 (D.L.198/2006). It organizes and harmonizes 11 laws on equal opportunities in a single text, with the view of regulating the promotion of equal opportunities between women and men in all areas of society. While Italian legislation has made much progress in enshrining formal gender equality (equal opportunities and anti-discrimination approach), Italy is still falling short of achieving substantial results. Due to the weakness of the gender equality machinery at the level of central and local administration, the gender mainstreaming approach (often defined as 'gender policies' in Italian –*politiche di genere*) is very rarely adopted to assess the impact of new laws and measures on gender equality (Rosselli, 2014).

Although women dominate among graduates, and their share grows among university staff (even in the highest rank) (European Commission, 2012), career development is very much dependent upon the field of research, so that both horizontal and vertical segregation are present. The academic career of women in the EU is characterized by strong vertical segregation: their share at grade A is only 21% and the glass ceiling index is still high - 1.78. These issues are identified in the design of the She Figures reports, which have been published every three years since 2003. The most recent version (2015), presents data related to the pool of graduate talent, participation in S&T occupations, labour market participation as researchers, working conditions of researchers, career advancement, participation in decision-making, and R&I outputs. Women are underrepresented in all key decision-making roles and men still dominate in corporate decision-making bodies, while women's marginal participation persists (Desivilya Syna and Palgi, 2014), showing often subtle and implicit gendered processes at the top management sphere (Nielsen, 2010; Sheridan et al, 2010).

Universities, as organizations, are changing (Pinheiro and Trondal, 2014; Karlsen and Pritchard, 2013), and this change pertains also the institutional governance (Engwall, 2014). The European higher education system has been undergoing regular reforms since the beginning of the 1990s, with a core on re-structuring of the university landscape according to the principles of *New Public Management* (Slaughter and Leslie, 1997).

The literature on *NPM* and gender equality shows an ambivalent picture. On the one hand, the new organizational principles did not address the persistent phenomenon of gender inequality in academia, despite well-

established gender equality agendas: numbers indicate an increase in women's participation, but in higher positions along the steps of the academic career, numbers are still far off parity. Studies on the impact of NPM on gender equality do not conclude by offering generalized estimations (Riegraf et al, 2015).

When analysing governance structures in universities, some studies lead to the conclusions that reforms can be beneficial for the equality agenda under certain conditions, such as the shifting of power relations within universities, and the relevance of knowledge and innovation in societies, specific organizational elements of universities, and the role of individual academics (Kreissl et al, 2015). While there has been a great deal of research on the sources of gender inequality -and a growing body of literature examines the impact of diversity management on organizational performance (Pitts, 2006)- there is still limited information available about the variation in implementation and efficacy of equality policy measures for countering it (Kalev et al, 2006; Timmers et al, 2010). An European meta-study on the issue of gender equality policy in science (covering the period 1980–2008), identifies literature on: (1) the importance of promoting gender equality in academia, (2) conceptual clarifications on the different approaches to gender equality approaches (equal treatment, positive action and gender mainstreaming), and (3) recommendations for concrete actions and best practices collections. However, fewer literature scrutinize the impact and efficiency of different types of gender equality policies and measures in obtaining more balanced gender compositions in the academy (Castano et al, 2010). This literature focus on the organizational commitment (an organization's adoption and implementation of diversity programmes strongly depends on the commitment and support from upper-management levels) (Kellough and Naff, 2004). As observed by the researchers, when gender equality/diversity policies do not fit into the everyday organizational practices, they are rarely be efficient in countering inequalities. As noted by Pitts (2007: 1583) "diversity initiatives should come from the top of the organization in order to be perceived as credible and worthwhile". Some evidence points to the positive impact of women's presence in the governance of organizational innovation and performance, although these effects seem also to depend on other factors: the nature of women's involvement, women's constituting a critical mass in top forums, and the strength of corporate governance (Desivilya and Costea 2015). In addition, research provides clear evidence on the gendered facet of the organizations throughout all the ranks, including top management. Empirical research on the representativeness in the managerial structures of public universities show that in Norway half of all senior positions at universities are being occupied by a female leader. Sweden and Finland follow, where in Denmark only about one fifth of all senior leadership positions are held by a female. The picture is similar at board level, showing that addressing gender inequality in academia requires leadership and action at all organizational levels, supported by adequate governmental policy mechanisms and incentives.

3. Research objectives and methods

After decades of legislation towards equality, data continue to show that management is a male's field (Singh and Vinnicombe, 2006). Despite this, several studies have shown that gender composition is not indifferent in the board's decision (Singh et al, 2008; Terjesen et al, 2009). We hypothesize that a board in which are present women director, strategic plans are more sensitive to gender issues. Following EIGE taxonomy, we define gender sensitivity as the "*Aim of understanding and taking account of the societal and cultural factors involved in gender-based exclusion and discrimination in the most diverse spheres of public and private life*" (EIGE, Gender Equality Glossary and Thesaurus available at https://eige.europa.eu/rdc/thesaurus). The purpose of this research is to analyse the gender composition of the boards of directors in the Italian public universities and to verify whether a relationship between the board composition and the sensitivity to gender issue in strategic document exists, then we posit the following research question:

H1: Does diversity board more sensitive to gender issues in strategic plan?

Sample

We have chosen to analyse all Italian state universities. The list of state universities was found on the website Universitaly (http://ustat.miur.it/dati/didattica/italia/atenei-statali). The reference population is made up of 68 Universities. From this population, 7 universities have been excluded, because their main activity is related to research doctorates. The final sample is therefore made up of 61 universities (see table 1). In keeping with the generally accepted subdivisions (Censis, Centro Studi Investimenti Sociali), according to their geographical location, we have divided the universities into small ones (less than 10,000 students); medium (between 10,000 and 20,000 students); big (between 20,000 and 40,000 students) and mega (over 40,000 students).

Table 1: Sample

Region	Denominazione	Enrolled	Size
Abruzzo	Università degli Studi di Teramo	6.052	Small
	Università degli studi di L'Aquila	16.919	Medium
	Università degli studi Gabriele D'Annunzio di Chieti e Pescara	24.947	Big
Basilicata	Università degli studi della Basilicata	6.475	Small
Calabria	Università degli studi Mediterranea di Reggio Calabria	5.824	Small
	Università degli studi di Catanzaro - Magna Grecia	10.008	Medium
	Università della Calabria	25.487	Big
Campania	Università degli Studi del Sannio	5.128	Small
	Università degli studi L'Orientale di Napoli	10.805	Medium
	Università degli Studi di Napoli - Parthenope	12.799	Medium
	Seconda Università degli Studi di Napoli	25.285	Big
	Università degli Studi di Salerno	35.152	Big
	Università degli studi di Napoli Federico II	74.037	Mega
Emilia-Romagna	Università degli Studi di Ferrara	15.488	Medium
	Università degli Studi di Modena e Reggio Emilia	22.065	Big
	Università degli Studi di Parma	23.851	Big
	Università degli Studi di Bologna	78.657	Mega
Friuli-Venezia Giulia	Università degli Studi di Trieste	14.750	Medium
	Università degli Studi di Udine	14.982	Medium
Lazio	Università degli studi di Roma "Foro Italico"	2.200	Small
	Università degli Studi di Cassino e del Lazio Meridionale	7.561	Small
	Università degli Studi della Tuscia	7.865	Small
	Università degli Studi di Roma Tor Vergata	29.222	Big
	Università degli Studi Roma Tre	32.214	Big
	Sapienza - Università di Roma	100.020	Mega
Liguria	Università degli studi di Genova	31.496	Big
Lombardia	Università degli Studi dell' Insubria	9.391	Small
	Università degli Studi di Brescia	13.862	Medium
	Università degli Studi di Bergamo	16.715	Medium
	Università degli Studi di Pavia	21.194	Big
	Università degli Studi di Milano - Bicocca	32.683	Big
	Politecnico di Milano	42.665	Mega
	Università degli Studi di Milano	59.596	Mega
Marche	Università degli Studi di Camerino	6.895	Small
	Università degli Studi di Macerata	10.061	Medium
	Università degli studi "Carlo Bo" di Urbino	13.418	Medium
	Università Politecnica delle Marche - Ancona	15.336	Medium
Molise	Università degli Studi del Molise	6.935	Small
Piemonte	Università degli studi del Piemonte orientale	11.623	Medium
	Politecnico di Torino	30.839	Big
	Università degli studi di Torino	67.958	Mega
Puglia	Università degli Studi di Foggia	9.444	Small
	Politecnico di Bari	9.621	Small
	Università del Salento	16.585	Medium
	Università degli Studi di Bari	44.278	Mega
Sardegna	Università degli Studi di Sassari	12.893	Medium
	Università degli Studi di Cagliari	25.379	Big
Sicilia	Università degli Studi di Messina	22.762	Big
	Università degli Studi di Palermo	39.726	Big
	Università degli Studi di Catania	43.346	Mega
Toscana	Università per stranieri di Siena	1.864	Small
	Università degli Studi di Siena	15.277	Medium
	Università degli Studi di Pisa	44.846	Mega
	Università degli Studi di Firenze	49.917	Mega
Trentino-Alto Adige	Università degli Studi di Trento	16.180	Medium
Umbria	Università per stranieri di Perugia	875	Small
	Università degli Studi di Perugia	23.037	Big
Veneto	Università Iuav di Venezia	4.060	Small
	Università degli studi Ca' Foscari di Venezia	19.603	Medium
	Università degli Studi di Verona	22.997	Big
	Università degli Studi di Padova	57.272	Mega

Source: our processing

Methods of analysis

Our hypothesis is that gender composition of the board (GBC) directly impacts on the gender sensitivity of the approved strategic plans (gender approach -GAI). Following EIGE taxonomy, we define gender sensitivity as the "Aim of understanding and taking account of the societal and cultural factors involved in gender-based exclusion and discrimination in the most diverse spheres of public and private life".
Therefore, the general model used in the research is the following:

$$GAI_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 GBC + \beta_2 CV_i + \xi_i$$

Where:

GAI_i is the dependent variable ''gender approach index''; GBC is a vector who refer to independent variable ''gender board composition'' and CV are the control variable.

Dependent variable

The dependent variable is the GAI. GAI is determined on the basis of content analysis, a methodology applied to many areas of inquiry (Nuendorf, 2017). Content analysis is a systematic coding and categorizing approach used for exploring large amounts of textual information to determine (among other) trends and patterns of words used and their frequency. The purpose of content analysis is to describe the characteristics of the document's content by examining who says what, to whom, and with what effect (Bloor and Wood, 2006). The goal of

content analysis is to produce counts of key categories and measurement of the amounts of variables (Fink, 2009). Count and amounts are numerical process, a quantitative content analysis has as its goal a numerically be summary of a chosen item set. We identify 3 key aspect and 15 item, summarized in table 2.

Table 2: Item used in content analysis

Characteristics	Policy
1. woman professor	8. conciliation
2. gender	9. equality
3. woman/women workers	10. differences enhancement
4. researcher(s)	11. diversity
5. sex – sexual	12. exclusion
Tools	13. equal opportunity policies
6. Positive Action Plan	14. gender policy
7. Guarantee Committee	15. equity

The analysis is conducted by keyword and by sentence. For each occurrence a score of 1 and 0 is assigned otherwise. For each University, the scores obtained have been added, considering all the equally important items. In order to determine the GAI, the scores obtained by the single university were normalized taking as reference the highest recorded value.

Independent variables

Independent variable is the vector related to gender board composition. We consider the board composition at 31/12/2017: we choose this date because is this board that approve the 2018 strategic plan, i.e. the document that we analyse. Gender composition takes into account three variables: board heterogeneity, 'external' female members and token members.

Board heterogeneity (or board diversity) is becoming an important factor in the modern world (Rao & Tilt, 2016). Board generally work in group and "variation in group composition leads to an increase in the skills, abilities, knowledge and information of the team as whole" (Nielsen and Huse, 2010, p. 17) which enhances group performance and discussion (Van Knippenberg et al, 2004). Moreover homogeneity at the senior level results in a "more myopic perspective" (Robinson and Dechant, 1997). Homogeneous board are more likely to have a similar perspective/opinions which ultimately weakens the quality and variety of boardroom debate (Grady, 1999). Board diversity, instead, has the potential to increase board effectiveness (Bonn et al, 2004) and, in our understanding, the level of gender sensitivity.

We measure board heterogeneity by the Herfindal-Hirschman Index (HHI). This index is used to differentiate diversity in board that had the same number of female member, and the formula is:

$$HHI = \sum_{i=1}^{N} s_i^2$$

An HHI of 1.0 indicates a board where everyone has the same gender. Increases in the HHI indicates a decrease in board gender diversity. Decreases in the index indicate an increase of board gender diversity.

Another variable that we consider is if the female board member is external to university. We define 'external members' the female directors appointed from outside the university community. Also in this case we use a dummy variable (DExternal) that assume value 1 if there are at least one external female member. We hypothesize, in line with the literature on board diversity, that external female members increase the independence of the board and therefore the board diversity.

The last variable is related to the number of female members on the board. Tokenism is defined as the presence of just one woman on a board (Kanter, 1977) or when female incidence is little with respect to board size. In this situation, an unconventional background can be easily socialized to the ideas of the majority, which entails a positive effect on firm performance (Rose, 2007). It should be noted that female capacity to influence board decisions increases with their numbers, particularly boards with more than one woman (Fondas and Sassalos,

2000) or three women (Konrad et al, 2008; Torchia et al, 2011). We use the variable "token" as a dummy variable that assume value 1 if on the board there are at least three women, and 0 otherwise.

Control variables

Considering the existing literature on board composition, we use two control variables that could influence the gender sensitivity in the strategic plan: university size and recommendation in the statute. University size (USize) was measured according to the number of enrolled students. To define the size of the universities (table 1) we used the data available on the Miur (Ministry of Education and University) web site (http://an-agrafe.miur.it/php5/home.php). Explicit references to equal opportunities in the statutes (EqOp) are measured with a dummy variable equal to 1 (if there are recalls of equal opportunities in the statute) or zero otherwise.

4. Results

Descriptive statistics

Regarding the board composition, we analysed our sample considering the board at the 31 December 2017, i.e the board that approves the 2018 strategic plan. The average size of the boards of Italian Universities is 10 directors. The average number of male directors is 7, while the average number of female directors is 3 (table 3).

Table 3: Board composition of Italian Universities

	M	F	Tot	IF	EF	SF	% F	FR	HHI	GAI
IUAV Venezia	5	1	6	0	1	0	17%	0	0,722	0,044776
Piemonte-Orientale	8	2	10	1	1	0	20%	0	0,680	0,014925
Politecnico di Bari	8	1	9	0	1	0	11%	0	0,802	0,19403
Politecnico di Milano	10	1	11	1	0	0	9%	0	0,835	0,044776
Politecnico di Torino	8	3	11	1	2	0	27%	0	0,603	0,238806
Università de L'Aquila	7	3	10	2	1	0	30%	1	0,580	0,253731
Università del Molise	9	2	11	1	1	0	18%	0	0,702	0,044776
Università del Salento	9	1	10	1	0	0	10%	0	0,820	0,014925
Università del Sannio	7	2	9	2	0	0	22%	0	0,654	0,044776
Università dell'Insubria	7	2	9	2	0	0	22%	0	0,654	0
Università della Basilicata	8	3	11	2	0	1	27%	1	0,603	0,104478
Università della Calabria	10	2	12	1	1	0	17%	0	0,722	0,164179
Università della Campania – Vanvitelli	8	3	11	1	2	0	27%	0	0,603	0
Università della Tuscia	5	2	7	1	1	0	29%	0	0,592	0,164179
Università di Bari – Aldo Moro	6	2	8	2	0	0	25%	0	0,625	0,447761
Università di Bergamo	7	4	11	2	1	1	36%	0	0,537	0,238806
Università di Bologna	8	3	11	1	2	0	27%	0	0,603	0,119403
Università di Brescia	6	3	9	2	1	0	33%	0	0,556	0,164179
Università di Cagliari	5	5	10	4	0	1	50%	1	0,500	0,358209
Università di Camerino	4	3	7	1	1	1	43%	0	0,510	0,029851
Università di Cassino	9	1	10	1	0	0	10%	0	0,820	0,014925
Università di Catania	8	3	11	2	1	0	27%	0	0,603	0,313433
Università di Catanzaro – Magna Graecia	8	2	10	2	0	0	20%	0	0,680	0,134328
Università di Chieti-Pescara	9	3	12	2	0	1	25%	0	0,625	0,119403
Università di Ferrara	6	4	10	2	1	1	40%	0	0,520	0,373134
Università di Firenze	8	3	11	1	1	1	27%	0	0,603	0
Università di Foggia	7	5	12	4	1	0	42%	0	0,514	0,134328
Università di Genova	10	1	11	1	0	0	9%	0	0,835	0,074627
Università di Macerata	6	3	9	3	0	0	33%	0	0,556	0,074627
Università di Messina	8	1	9	1	0	0	11%	0	0,802	0,014925
Università di Modena e Reggio E.	7	4	11	3	0	1	36%	0	0,537	0,029851
Università di Napoli – Federico II	8	3	11	0	3	0	27%	0	0,603	0
Università di Napoli – Orientale	3	7	10	5	2	0	70%	1	0,580	0,119403
Università di Napoli Parthenope	7	3	10	3	0	0	30%	0	0,580	0,014925
Università di Padova	8	3	11	2	2	0	27%	0	0,603	0,253731
Università di Palermo	9	1	10	1	0	0	10%	0	0,820	0
Università di Parma	9	2	11	2	0	0	18%	0	0,702	0,029851
Università di Pavia	7	3	10	0	1	2	30%	0	0,580	0,029851
Università di Perugia	9	1	10	1	0	0	10%	0	0,820	0,014925
Università di Pisa	8	2	10	1	1	0	20%	0	0,680	0,044776
Università di Reggio Calabria - Mediterranea	8	2	10	2	0	0	20%	0	0,680	1
Università di Roma – Foro Italico	7	2	9	1	0	1	22%	0	0,654	0,134328
Università di Roma – Sapienza	8	2	10	2	0	0	20%	0	0,680	0,059701
Università di Roma – Tor Vergata	7	4	11	2	0	2	36%	0	0,537	0,19403
Università di Roma 3	9	1	10	0	1	0	10%	0	0,820	0,014925
Università di Salerno	8	2	10	2	0	0	20%	0	0,680	0,044776
Università di Sassari	7	4	11	2	2	0	36%	0	0,537	0,089552
Università di Siena	7	2	9	2	0	0	22%	0	0,654	0,089552
Università di Teramo	7	3	10	3	0	0	30%	0	0,580	0,014925
Università di Torino	7	4	11	2	1	1	36%	0	0,537	0,104478
Università di Trento	5	4	9	2	2	0	44%	0	0,506	0,343284
Università di Trieste	6	4	10	1	2	1	40%	0	0,520	0,014925
Università di Udine	7	3	10	0	1	2	30%	0	0,580	0,014925
Università di Urbino	8	3	11	2	1	0	27%	0	0,603	0,014925
Università di Venezia Ca' Foscari	6	5	11	2	2	1	45%	0	0,504	0,104478
Università di Verona	8	3	11	3	0	0	27%	0	0,603	0,044776
Università Milano Bicocca	7	5	12	3	2	0	42%	1	0,514	0
Università Milano Statale	7	4	11	2	2	0	36%	0	0,537	0,029851
Università per Stranieri di Siena	1	7	8	3	2	2	88%	0	0,781	0,044776
Università per Stranieri Perugia	10	1	11	1	0	0	9%	0	0,835	0,19403
Università Politecnica delle Marche	7	4	11	2	0	2	36%	0	0,537	0,014925
Total (media)	7,31	2,82	10,13				28%	5	0,598	

Legend: M=male; F= Female; IF= Internal Female; EF= external female; SW= student female; FR = Female Rector; HHI= Hirschman-Herfindal Index; GAI= gender approach index -- Source: our elaboration

The number of women varies from a minimum of 1 (in 18% of cases) to a maximum of 7 (3% of cases).

The relative lack of women in higher positions is the result of multiple barriers and although explicit gender discrimination has been outlawed, in line with other studies (Heilman, 2001; Metcalfe and Slaughter, 2008) we

can observe that subtle discrimination still exists. The data show that the boards are dominated by men, with the exception of the board of the University of Cagliari, perfectly heterogeneous, counting the same number of directors of both sexes (HHI equal to 0.5). In five Universities the Rector is a woman, one in the North of Italy (University of Milan -Bicocca), two in the Center (University of L'Aquila and University of Naples - Eastern) and one in the South (University of Basilicata). 60% of the women present in the board of the surveyed universities are women who work within the university (professors and staff) and about 13% are students.

Table 3 shows the GAI for surveyed universities. GAI has a variability between zero and one, where 1 is the value recalling the best gender approach in defining university strategies and zero as the worst approach.

Quantitative analysis

Descriptive analysis shows that there is a lack of attention to gender issue, confirmed by a relatively low GAI (on average in the 87% to cases with an GAI of less than 0.25). This result could depend on the lack of presence of women in the boards (on average approximately three in a board of 10 members). In order to understand whether there is a relationship between sensitivity to gender issues and the composition of the board, a quantitative analysis was also conducted.

Pairwise analysis was performed and the results are reported in table 4. Possible collinearity among the variable was tested by estimating variance inflation factor (VIF test) (all < 1.79) which passed the recommended standard (Hair et al, 1998). The VIF test suggest that multicollinearity does not affect results. This result ensure that collinearity was not a problem for estimation of regression model. The analysis shows that there is no relationship between the gender approach index and the heterogeneity of the board (GAI-HHI p-value 0.264). There is a positive relationship between GAI and DExternal (p-value 0.093) and the statute indications (GAI-EqOp p-value 0.059). The analysis shows that a larger size of the board means that more men are likely to be (p-value 0,000). In addition, there is no relationship between gender approach index and heterogeneity of the board (GAI-HHI p-value 0.264). However, there is a positive relationship between GAI and DExternal (p-value 0.093) and the statute specific references to equal opportunities (GAI-EqOp p-value 0.059).

Table 4: Pairwise correlation

	GAI	Male	Female	USize	Female%	BSize	HHI	DExternal	EqOp	Token
GAI	1.00									
Male	-0.096 0.463	1.00								
Female	0.067 0.606	-0.691* 0.000	1.00							
USize	-0.076 0.576	0.312* 0.014	-0.008 0.953	1.00						
Female%	0.076 0.559	-0.849* 0.000	0.956* 0.000	-0.119 0.357	1.00					
BSize	-0.053 0.685	0.569* 0.000	0.202 0.118	0.414* 0.000	-0.063 0.629	1.00				
HHI	-0.145 0.264	0.492* 0.000	-0.709* 0.000	-0.041 0.756	-0.628* 0.000	-0.131 0.315	1.00			
DExternal	0.217* 0.093	-0.359* 0.004	0.456* 0.000	0.046 0.723	0.440* 0.000	0.032 0.807	-0.435* 0.000	1.00		
EqOp	0.243* 0.059	0.074 0.573	-0.028* 0.828	0.199 0.123	-0.074 0.573	0.067 0.605	-0.184 0.156	0.173 0.182	1.00	
Token	-0.009 0.946	-0.424* 0.000	0.780* 0.000	0.134 0.302	0.695* 0.000	0.313* 0.014	-0.781* 0.000	0.459* 0.000	0.129 0.319	1.00

Legend: GAI = gender approach index; Male= number of male directors; Female= number of female directors, Usize = dummy university dimension; Female%= number of female director/board size; BSize = number of member of board of directors; HHI = Herfindal-Hirschman Index; DExternal = dummy for external female directors; EqOp= equal opportunity in Statute; Token= dummy for at least three women on the board
* Significance level 5% ** significance level 10%

Table 5 summarizes the results from the hypothesis testing. Our hypothesis is supported, suggesting that if the board has a certain level of heterogeneity (and therefore a certain number of women) measured by HHI, strategic plans are more oriented towards gender issues (measured by GAI). The relationship is statistically significant (p-value 0.082) at a confidence level of 10%. The explicit presence in the statute of the call for equal opportunities (p-value 0.02, at a confidence level of 5%) has a positive and significant impact on the gender approach in

the strategic plans. This result has a double reading: the presence of women within the boards of Italian state universities could be the result of a legal fulfilment only, as a compliance with the statute.

Table 5: Regression analysis

Variable	Coefficient	Robust std err	t	P	(90% Conf. Interval)	
HHI	-0.4388	0.2478	-1.77	0.082	-0.853	-0.024
Token	-0.1106	0.0791	-1.40	0.168	-0.243	0.021
DExternal	0.0703	0.0502	1.40	0.167	-0.014	0.154
EqOp	0.0751	0.0324	2.32	0.024	0.021	0.129
USize	-0.0136	0.0228	-0.60	0.554	-0.052	0.024
cons	0.3806	0.1904	2.00	0.051	0.062	0.699

The other variables considered are not significant. However, there is a positive relationship with the presence of women external to university and a negative relationship with the size, indicating that the sensitivity to gender issue decreases in larger universities. An unexpected coefficient is the negative coefficient (albeit not significant) for the token variable, indicating that the presence of at least three women in the board does not always lead to a more gender sensitive strategic plan. This confirms the result of the HHI variable: in other words, the heterogeneity of the board is more important than the presence of at least three women. A positive contribution, though not statistically significant, comes from female external directors. Finally, the larger is the size of the university, less attention is devoted to gender issues in the strategic plans.

5. Conclusions

The analysis was carried out by analysing the 2018 Italian University strategic plan through a content analysis. Based on this analysis, the Gender Approach Index (GAI) was determined for each university, and it has been related to the composition of the board of directors. The analysis of our data shows that there is a lack of attention to gender issue and that the boards are dominated by men. The data show too that the gender sensitivity decreases with the larger size of the university. However, according to the general results, the geographic location of Universities has no influence on sensitivity to gender issue. According to our data, universities which presents the best values in defining university gender sensitive strategies are: Università di Bari – Aldo Moro; Università di Cagliari; Università di Catanzaro – Magna Graecia; Università di Catania; Università di Ferrara; Università di Reggio Calabria – Mediterranea; Università di Trento.

The analysis shows that the lack of attention to gender issues (and therefore to gender policies) in strategic plans could be related to the lack of heterogeneity in the board of directors. Results show that in order to be able to take due account of gender issues, the board should be heterogeneous. This result appears to be in line with other studies which state that heterogeneity results in a broader perspective which allows groups to be involved in in-depth conversations and generate different alternatives (Watson et al, 1998).This is possible because different team members perceive problems from a variety of perspectives and, in order to reconcile the different opinion, groups are forced to process the alternatives and the relevant task information (Van Knippenberg et al, 2004).

The results suggesting that if the board has a certain level of heterogeneity strategic plans are more oriented towards gender issues. The explicit presence in the statute of the call for equal opportunities has a positive impact on the gender approach in the strategic plans. The presence the gender issues in the state universities' of Italian plans could be the result as a compliance with the statute.

The study has some limitations. Firstly, the analysis only include the 2018 Strategic plan; second, it does not include non-state universities. This risk opens the door to a further possible development of this study, i.e the analysis of strategic plans of several years and / or inclusion of non-state universities, this could also be useful in order to understand if there are differences in approach depending on whether they are State or non-state universities. A third limitation is that we have considered the mere presence of women within the board, and not their actual role and their position in the university hierarchy (box ticking risk). This risk opens the door to a further possible development of this study, i.e examining how and if the gender-related opportunities or the difference between women director's values from those of male directors influence decision-making.

This paper provides a contribution to the literature on strategies to improve gender equality in institutional decision-making processes, as well as to raise gender awareness within universities.

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Gender and Media: Under the men Management: The Case of Northern Cyprus

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Abstract: The most obvious gender inequality around the world is at the ownership of the land. Women's only own 20% of the land in the world. If we look at gender differences on key decision-making levels such as business ownerships, senior management positions, national and international administrative positions, in most of the cases in order to take place in the decision-making positions people tempt to be in a high income level. In other words, it's very difficult to take part in the decision making mechanisms if a person is financially weak. Especially in this point, like many other areas, gender differences in the field of media ownership and management are striking. In the twenty first sentry media is the most important source of information for people. Media is a kind of social power in domain of power sphere. The mass communication tools that have evolved over time continue to function as information transportation tools. As in all societies, there is a growing media usage in the Turkish Cypriot community in line with the growing need for information. In this study, ownership of newspapers and executive positions who has decision making power have been analyzed by the consideration of gender equality. Newspaper tags have examined by content analysis method. The interviews have conducted by using semi-structured interview method with the executives of top two newspapers which have the most circulation in Northern Cyprus. (Yenidüzen's General Director; Kıbrıs's Editor-in-Chief; Yenidüzen's News Manager) Other two interviews have been conducted with the President of Cyprus Turkish Journalists Association and with the BRTK's first women general manager. In this study, it is claimed that the Northern Cyprus newspapers have a male-dominated structure and this is consciously protected. Women would be expected to assigned tasks in more passive areas in newspapers because of gender issues. Advertising department is thought to be the area where women works in newspapers are more visible.

Keywords: gender, media, management, Northern Cyprus, newspaper

1. Introduction

Media is an important tool to transform information to communities and it is a kind of social power in domain of power sphere. Burton believes that the main power of the media lies in its ability to shape our world view and to be the main source of our thoughts and ideas. Gender equality in media information distribution process has a potential to let people informed in unity not gendered diversified. According to Althusser (1971) man-dominated capitalist system uses the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) to make the ideology in the superstructure functional. Leitch (2001) wrote that, the ISA belong to the private domain of society according to Althusser. Althusser (1971) determined that religion, politics, education, media and family are examples of ISAs. These ISA's creates invisible norms for society through social repression with principles of dominated ideology. Öze (2018) believes that people are shaped within the framework of social rules as from infancy till death. "This awareness-based consent and acceptance, rises within the family environment; in religious teachings; in educational institutions (through course content); with the publication contents of the media organs; artistic activities and cultural expectations in the direction of the male and female roles are shaped by" (2018).

This study aims to investigate how being a men or a women affects to be positioned in higher decision-making levels at newspapers in Northern Cyprus. Northern Cyprus within the unique political and economic structure since decleration of Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in 1983. "Cyprus is an island in the middle of the Mediterranean Sea which has been divided into two parts as south and north after the war in 1974. In the south side, Greek Cypriots and in the north side Turkish Cypriots are living. Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus was declared in 1983. However Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is not recognized by any authority except Turkey. This results in the economic and political isolation of Northern Cyprus" (Öze, 2017a). Political and economic isolation of Northern Cyprus caused an unbalanced development of media in Northern Cyprus. Newspapers became widen mass media instruments than TV and radio. The reason behind this is the limitless access of Turkish Cypriots to Turkeys' TV channels. This fact has blocked the preference of local channels. Underdeveloped TV Channels of Northern Cyprus could not compete with the Turkish TVs. With the highly developed infrastructure TV channels of Turkey is always preferable. Lack of private sector interest to TV channels in Northern Cyprus brought low demand to advertisements through Cyprus TVs. Without maximisation of advertisement income, Cyprus TVs convicted be underdeveloped. Newspapers with left view are considered as

a kind of 'public journalism' by the public and this is the other reason why newspapers are preferred by most of the people among the mass media in Northern Cyprus. That's why man dominancy and gender equality in decision-making have been discussed upon the newspapers in Northern Cyprus in this study.

2. Complexity between 'sex - gender' and 'biology - psycho-sociology'

Many scholars (Bem, 1981; Bem, 1983; Biddle, 1986; Fausto-Sterling, 1993; Fausto-Sterling, 2005; Samp, Wittenberg and Gillett, 2009) have carried out researches on gender and sex topics and there are different findings on these issues. Most of the scholars express that gender is created by the society and sex is what we brought from the birth. Öze explains the difference between gender and sex with two dimensions; psychosocially and biologically. According to Öze, gender is a psychosocial characteristic that is the way of considering individuals as masculine or feminine. However the main differences come from the birth, they are not learned, they are not changeable and they are permanent differences; these are called biological characteristics (chromosome differences, hormonal differences, differences in reproductive functions, differences in body structure, voice differentiation). The gender differences are not real differences (women are perceived as more sensitive, caring, concerned; men are perceived as more independent, strong, reasonable), these differences created by society. While the debates about whether gender differences are social or biological, gender differences have begun to be used to show that these differences are more related to social processes than the biological processes. Expectations about these differences tend to shift to gender stereotypes and are widely accepted in society as beliefs and norms. Gender stereotypes give a great deal of direction to social behaviour. The behavioural characteristics that the society expects to be obeyed as a group of women and men are the gender stereotypes. Commonly accepted stereotype expectations may cause to prejudices and discrimination among different sexes; can exaggerate distinctions between different sexes; sometimes lead to being treated as 'self-fulfilling prophecies'. This may cause an increase in subjectivity and it can lead to the placement of business sense according to sex as well (2018). In order to get more detailed information about gender, psychologically improved theories can be helpful. Initially social learning theory has been created by Bandura (Bandura, 1977; McLeod, 2016). He believes that people learn behavioural patterns by observing, then coded behavioural patterns become normalised for people and gender is socially learned from infancy. Learning by observation is the key point of this theory. The second theory of Bandura is called social cognitive theory (Bandura 1986; Bandura 2001; Bandura, 2002). In this theory he claims that "people are self-organizing, proactive, self-reflecting, and self-regulating, not just reactive organisms shaped and shepherded by environmental factors or inner forces. Human self-development, adaptation, and change are embedded in social systems. Therefore, personal agency operates within a broad network of socio-structural influences. In these agentic transactions, people are producers as well as products of social systems. Personal agency and social structure operate as co-determinants in an integrated causal structure rather than as a disembodied duality (Bandura, 2001). He believes that "because of the influential role the mass media play in society, understanding the psychosocial mechanisms through which symbolic communication influences human thought, affect, and action is of considerable import" (Bandura 2001, p. 265) as well.

In addition to this, Bem (1981; 1983) created gender schema theory. Bem believes that society expected boys and girls to have or gained sex-oriented concept, behaviours and personalities. She believes that "developing child is learning content-specific information, the particular behaviours and attributes that are to be linked with sex. In most societies, this is a diverse and sprawling network of associations encompassing not only those features directly related to male and female persons such as anatomy, reproductive function, division of labour, and personality attributes, but also features more remotely or metaphorically related to sex, such as the angularity or roundedness of an abstract shape and the periodicity of the moon. Indeed, there appears to be no other dichotomy in human experience with as many entities assimilated to it as the distinction between male and female" (1981, p. 354). In parallel with these findings, same topics have been discussed in social learning, social cognitive and gender schema theory, Eagly's (1997) social role theory focuses on stereotyping on gender differences. Eagly (1997) examined why women are perceived as communal and men as agentic and considered about two major differences in the distribution of males and females into social roles. "The first is that women are more likely than man to hold positions at low levels in hierarchies of status and authority and are less likely to hold higher level positions. The second difference is that women are more likely than men to be homemakers and are less likely to be employed in the paid work force. However second difference has changed as time passed. Still women has more responsibility at home comparing to men but they take part in the workforce much more that the past. Indeed natural settings of gender stereotypes let women to hold lower status, positions authority and roles than men (Eagly, 1997).

3. Emergency call on positive discrimination for gender equality

Many platforms and commissions on gender issues have been in action in recent decades; Gender Equality Commission (GEC); The Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP); The European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE); UNESCO drives a research on Gender-Sensitive Indicators for Media Gender (GSIM). These platforms or commisions has researches on gender equality debate. Equality Commission is belong to European Commision and it focuses on balanced participation of women and men in decision making. According to Analytical report-2016 data of GEC executive summary, "The governments of the member states committed themselves to report regularly to the Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers on the measures taken and the progress made in achieving a balanced participation of women and men in political and public life, defined as a minimum representation of 40% of each sex" (2016). At the end of the report "bearing in mind that, in spite of the existence of de jure equality, the distribution of power, responsibilities and access to economic, social and cultural resources between women and men is still very unequal due to the persistence of prevailing traditional gender roles" has been expressed. GMMP "is the world's longest-running and most extensive research on gender in the news media" (Who Makes the News, 2015). It began in 1995 and the research has been conducting within every five year. GMMP data's are important for this research. According to Langbakk the director of EIGE, "for a strong and democratic Europe, gender equality must go hand in hand with policy initiatives. (…)The Index gives more visibility to areas that need improvement and ultimately supports policymakers to design more effective gender equality measures. (…) Since EIGE started producing the Gender Equality Index, there has been an update every 2 years." (2017). Grizzle (2012) explains the aim of the GSIM as, "to contribute to gender equality and women's empowerment in and through media of all forms, irrespective of the technology used". And GSIM "seek to address this intersection of women's empowerment and media development. Its main focus is on the equality and gender dimensions of social diversity in the media".

4. Purposes and hypothesis

Despite of the unique political and economic environment in Northern Cyprus since declaration of Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in 1983, male dominancy in in the community is the case. The purpose of the study is to investigate how being men or being women affects to be positioned in higher decision-making levels at newspapers in Northern Cyprus. Based on the research debated above and the nature of being a woman at press in Northern Cyprus are examined and the following hypotheses have been developed.

H1: It would be expected that the Northern Cyprus press has a male-dominated structure and this is consciously protected.

H2: Women would be expected to assign with tasks in much more passive areas in press because of gender issues.

H3: Because of the importance of appearance, advertising department would expect to be the area where women working in newspapers are more visible.

H4: Because of technical matters, web page and new media responsibilities would expect to be the area where men working in newspapers are more visible.

5. Methodology

5.1 Sample and measure

Cyprus is an island in the eastern Mediterranean Sea. Northern Cyprus is only one part of this small island that takes 33% of the land. Island has very small population and socio-political and cultural characteristic enables sincere community structure. For these reasons, it's easy to get in contact with the people who are in high positions in media sector in Northern Cyprus. In addition to that, circulation of daily newspapers can be easily observed by people live in Northern Cyprus. TAK (Türk Ajansı Kıbrıs- Turkish Agency Cyprus) has a position as the main source for news in Northern Cyprus; TAK is a public news agency which provides 80% of news sources for media in Northern Cyprus. Publicly positioned reporter goes to all news related with protocols and centrally serves the news to all newspapers from TAK based mail system. Most of the newspapers does not hire specialist reporters or journalists as full time. This may be because of the size of their company budgets. The differentiation amongst newspapers is based on their aim of foundation. Only few newspapers have special reporters or full time journalists. Kıbrıs Gazetesi and Yenidüzen Gazetesi have larger human resources.

Based on a one month-long study (October 2018), the face-to-face field research by using semi-structured interview method have been conducted; with the Yenidüzen's General Director, Kıbrıs's Editor-in-Chief and Yenidüzen's News Manager of the top two newspaper (Kıbrıs and Yenidüzen) with the most circulation in Northern Cyprus; with the President of Cyprus Turkish Journalists Association; and with the first women general manager of BRTKs' (National TV Channel of TRNC). This research method had been chosen to gather detailed information by asking open-ended questions to interviewees. According to Miles and Gilbert, (2005) it is possible to finding out 'Why' rather than 'How Many or How Much' with semi-structured interviews. In order to get participants experiences predetermined standard questions were used however open-ended questions let them to answer questions with person experiences. Quantitative research method have used while searching newspapers tags. Online research has been carried out to find out all newspaper tags categorization according to decision-making levels by men and women.

5.2 Findings and discussions

In this research, firstly TRNC State Planning Organization, Macroeconomic and Sectorial Developments have been discussed to understand gender issue in Northern Cyprus. Then the press card holders and membership data's provided by Cyprus Turkish Journalists Association has been analysed in the basis of gender distribution; and in the last part this study tries to explain interview results in order to understand management issue on behalf of gender in media in the basis of Northern Cyprus.

5.2.1 Women in workforce and top level managers at public sectors in Northern Cyprus

In the Table 1, distribution of employment by gender according to household labour force has been analysed from 1996 till 2016 with ten year intervals.

Table 1: Distribution of employment by gender according to household labour force survey results

Household Labour Force						
	1996		2006		2016	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Women	18,634	27.1	26,760	29.1	42,897	36.2
Man	50,033	72.9	65,328	70.9	75,490	63.8
Total	68,667	100.0	92,088	100.0	118,387	100.0

(Source: TRNC State Planning Organization, Macroeconomic and Sectorial Developments 2010 and 2016)

In Table 1 percentage of women labour force has increased approximately 10% within total labour force within 1996 till 2016 (thirty years). The percentage of women in total work force still is not equal with men work force percentage; however it should be taken to consideration that according to 2011 census reports women are 47% of total population in Northern Cyprus. Men have +6% more population than women in Northern Cyprus. Still women are not represented in desired levels in workforce in Northern Cyprus. The lower population of women compare to men in workforce can cause women dis-representation in decision-making levels.

Table 2: Distribution of top level managers in the public sector by gender (2010 - 2016)

Top Level Managers in the Public Sector						
	Women		Men		Total	
Years	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
2010	34	23.0	114	77.0	148	100.0
2011	43	27.7	112	72.3	155	100.0
2012	44	29.1	107	70.9	151	100.0
2013	35	24.0	111	76.0	146	100.0
2014	40	26.3	112	73.7	152	100.0
2015	44	28.9	108	71.1	152	100.0
2016	49	30.4	112	69.6	161	100.0

(Source: TRNC State Planning Organization, Macroeconomic and Sectorial Developments 2010 and 2016)

In fact, according to Gender Equality Commission (2016), public sector known as having positive discrimination for women at decision-making positions in media sector. Is it true? Table 2 says that, no, it's not. If it is true, why has no female general manager been appointed to BRTK until 2016? Why not even the president of one of the twenty-eight municipalities is female? Because of psychosocial side which means that gender is much more

important than being a human in Northern Cyprus. Man-dominancy shows itself in the distribution of top level managers in the public sector.

5.3 Women in press and gender balance in decision-making in first five newspaper in Northern Cyprus

President of Cyprus Turkish Journalist Association- Özuslu (2018) thinks that *"gender issue has to be evaluated in general terms. It would not be right to just index it in newspapers. Female representation in the politics is in low percentages. No female head in any of the political party, no female mayor. Due to the positive discrimination in the parliament, the number of women deputies was tried to be increased and it was achieved to some extent. Women's participation in social life is still not at the desired level. The difficulties of the profession of journalism are known in general; such as newspaper managers has very long working hours. I'm not saying that women can't do it, would they prefer it? If she is married and has a child and if she has the idea of taking on such responsibility, would they prefer it? This will change".* Invisible boundaries which called norms (gender) cause women to felt under societal pressure. These pressures cause to men domination in all aspects of life in the subject of decision-making. Ex General Manager of BRTK- Özkurt (2018) said that "I have never been stopped by men during my work life. On the other hand most important thing in getting better positions professionally requires to have balanced relationship in your private life. Otherwise you have to leave the job. I have never faced with positive or negative discrimination in my work life. I have gained the positions that I have deserved with my own effort. I have never been stopped by my family too". Sonay (2018) has same opinion with Özkurt however she believes that after having a child, all the balances are changing "*If I don't have balanced relationship with my husband it wouldn't possible for me to continue this job"* she says*. "After I have my child, everything has changed. Balanced in my relationship has broken down. I would like to spend more time with my child and my husband want me to be in the home as past! I feel that I have to make a selection between with my child and with my job. If I choose, I would choose my child and change my career. I feel the responsibility of being a good mother and I think my child needs me*". Özkurt became manager in BRTK's after her fifties. In that time of her life, she was grown her children and her husband was passed away too. On the other hand Sonay has two years old child nowadays. Expectations and needs from mother at two years old child cannot be compared with an adult child!

Table 3: Press card holder journalists and member of Cyprus Turkish Journalists Association (CTJA) According to gender

Number of Press Card Holder Journalists and Member of CTJA						
	Yellow Press Card Journalists		Continuous Press Card Journalists		Members of CTJA	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Women	173	49.57	70	31.25	160	50.0
Men	176	50.43	154	68.75	160	50.0
Total	349	100.0	224	100.0	320	100.0

Source: CTJA

Table 3 shows that, women with Yellow Press Card are approximately 1% lower than men. Members of CTJA are fifty-fifty in compare men and women. The main gap among men and women is to have a Continuous Press Card. Only, one third of women have Continuous Press Card in total. It means that women are leaving this sector quicker than men. Editor-in-Chief of Kıbrıs, Akkor (2018) explained this situation by comparing public sector with private sector in the sense of media's working conditions. *"There are many women working in the public media. And women who are members of the media working in public office are not obstructed. However, the situation in the private sector is not the same. The working conditions in the private sector are much harder. In journalism firstly length of working hours are higher than public sector. Secondly, wages are lower than public sector wages. If I work in such difficult conditions, I get a lower salary than an unqualified person, even if I love this job I leave the job. And we're missing out on journalists who might be very good at it, and it's very sad for us. Today a reporter is working with a salary that is little more than the minimum waged".* People work to earn their life. If you couldn't earn enough, somehow you have to leave it and try to build another career even if you love your job. All of the interviewers are in the same opinion with Akkor.

Özuslu (2018) has explained the situation of Turkish Cypriot journalism in recent 7-8 years. *"When we look at the property structure of today's newspapers, there is a serious transformation in the last 7-8 years. Firstly, we see that Turkey's originated capital slowly found it place in the Northern Cyprus media. Secondly, the*

dissemination of various interest groups in media is in question (the owner or ownership of the media returned with some of the illegal businesses and issued his own publication or somehow controlling its content). There is serious pollution in the media. Although our conditions seems to be a little backward according to the international standards and the data according to the press in the south, there are some positive aspects we have developments.. For these reasons you don't have to check all nineteen newspapers which are published daily in Northern Cyprus. First five newspapers with higher sales rates are enough to tell you the current situation". This opinion is common view of all interviewers. It is possible to comprehend main opinion behind gender issues at decision-making levels in media by looking main newspapers in Northern Cyprus.

Table 4: The gender balance in decision-making in first five newspaper in Northern Cyprus

The Gender Balance in Decision-Making								
Name of Journal	Level 1 Chief Executive Officer, Chairperson, President, Director		Level 2 Director-General, Executive Director, Editor-in-Chief		Level 3 Heads of Departments, Acting Directors, Management Team Member		Level 4 Digital Services, Advertising	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Kıbrıs	1	-	2	1	1	2	1	-
Yenidüzen	1	-	1	-	2	1	1	2
Havadis	1	-	1	-	2	1	3	-
Diyalog	1	-	1	-	1	-	3	1
Afrika	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Total Number	5	0	6	1	6	4	8	3
Total %	100.0	0.0	86.7	14.3	60.0	40.0	72.7	27.3

Table 4, shows that,, women were under-represented in professional categories as decision-makers. There is no women representation in Level 1; the ownership in the newspapers is under the men dominancy. Only Kıbrıs has women stockholder in the ownership at the level of 17%. She is the main stock holders' sister. So it is related with kinship. Almost one-seventh (14.3%) women are in Level 2, she is again wife of owner. Two-fifth (40%) of women are in Level 3. These women's are news director. They are not Editor-in-Chief. Editorial jobs are under the man dominancy. Akkor explained the levels of women by two ways. Once is related with relationships and second is related with effort and experience. And a little more than one-fifth (27.3%) women are in the level 4. Women's in this level are especially at the advertising manager position. Most of the advertising managers are women's in the newspapers (Özuslu, 2018; Akkor, 2018, Mutluyakalı, 2018). Women's under-representation and near lack of voice remained.

5.4 Gears of mechanisms'

All of the interviewers have the same idea of, mostly men are positioned in the decision-making levels and this is a kind of norm in the Northern Cyprus. Patriarchal structure of society is the main cause to that. Sonay (2018) said that "*in our society, the opinion of men is more accepted in compared to women's. Journalism is recognized as the male profession. Especially flexible working hours don't let women to get in higher decision-making positions in newspapers".* On the other hand Mutluyakalı focused on women biology and maternal status. *"Mothers with children have to be at their children's home and at a certain time. Although this role and responsibility should be shared with this gender equality perspective, biologically, the child needs a mother. Most of the time decision making process happens in the late working hours in the newspapers. This is not very practical for women because of her maternal role. This traditional role could not be overcome and would not be. New media is more amazing than traditional media for me. Because the new media is internet media and home offices can be worked in this field. Working conditions in the field of new media is much more flexible than the traditional media. New media does not require office, there are no specific working hours, there is no printing, there is a much more flexible structure however it is again in the male dominance. Why? Who is stopping women to participate to New Media? Men or themselves"* (Mutluyakalı, 2018).

Women point of view is important here. Sonay (2018) believes that "*technical jobs are much more appropriate for men, advertising is good for women because of appearance*". Özuslu (2018) mentioned that, *"there are women who work as night editors, but usually men are employed at night reporting. We should eliminate a case of risk for women. It is in the naturalness of work. When you say sports in North Cyprus, only football comes to*

our mind. Generally, women have responsiblity in the advertising works. The main idea here is that women can more easily attract advertise because business owners are generally men, the logic comes from here. Once, I've suggested advertising management for a man in the first place, but he didn't accept, may be not because he didn't feel fit himself in this position. Web publishing is a new area and obviously men have ran far ahead of than women in this field. However, I do not think that women are very much behind. There are women who do well". Accepted norms cause to works distributed inequally between genders. Jobs can be seperated as men jobs and women jobs at all. Newspapers are working in flexible hours with low wages compared to other sectors and this sector has some normative boundaries for women at decision-making levels. *"Comparing with the past, management positions have been improved in the means of gender balance. These developments are the developments of the last decade. The fact that there is no female manager in high-level decision-making mechanisms is the reflection of the bad picture in the past. Although far from ideal, it will come to a better point than yesterday. At some point I am unable to say that I have reached such a finding in the answer to the question whether the women are clogging and the mechanism does not take them higher up. Somehow, women cannot hold on to the profession until they rise to the position of decision-making and they shift to other professions. Because of the patriarchal structure of the society, the woman is also assigned different tasks and functions at home and therefore she does not want to take more responsibility than trying to fulfill her duties. Meals, dishes, laundry, caring children, takes care of the housework. This situation is changing but this change is still slow. I think, there is difference between a woman who is married or who is single. The once we have shown that made a career in media are single. It's no coincidence that they're all single but there is a clear understanding that the news manager is working much stable hours than editor-in-chief. The editors of the night were men, but Senem worked as a night editor for many years. Night editors goes home like two in the morning"* (Akkor, 2018). Sonay (2018) has added very important information to Akkor's opinion*"main thing is not the marriage. The breakpoint is to have a child in this sector. Job loses its magic after a women have child".* Each interviewer accept that married women, especially women with children has two shift in their daily life. One is at job, the other one is at home. It's a prove for Eagly's Social *Role Theory for this study.*

6. Conclusion

In refers to Eagly's Social Role Theory, stereotyping on gender differences are still on the job. Women are responsible with double major role. They are responsible with home duties but they are in the workforce at the same time. Still natural settings of gender stereotypes are an obstacle for women to hold higher status roles than men in the Northern Cyprus. In workforce and top level managers at public sectors in Northern Cyprus women are either low in representation percentage. Women's participation in decision-making levels are still not at the desired level in Northern Cyprus. On the other hand the society is slowly transforming in Northern Cyprus. *"The issue of gender and decision-making balance is a matter of development and related to civilization level. There are serious problems with decision making mechanisms. There is a need to have researches about the couses of this issue specifically to Northern Cyprus. In a traditional and Muslim society, we must not forget that we live in a conflicting geography. I think we are not in a very poor condition in the media except for the decision-making mechanism."* (Mutluyakalı, 2018). Akkor (2018) believes that rise in professions are related with devotional to your job despite of patriarchy.

Jobs are differentiated within the society as masculine and feminine workspaces. When the newspaper tags are examined in Northern Cyprus, the technical fields (web and social media coordination, new media newspapers, etc.) are seen to be men dominated and visual areas (such as advertising, public relations customer relations) are seen to be women dominated workspaces. At this point, Bem's Gender Schema Theory as well as Eagly's Social Role Theory comes to mind. The separation of the jobs according to gender as the feminine and the masculine ones remind us both the concept of androgenic and the gender stereotyping concepts at the same time. Northern Cyprus newspapers have a male-dominated structure and this is reflecting to the decision-making levels. Women only promoted until level 3 by their own effort. It means that, women have been assigning with tasks in much more passive areas in press because of gender issues. Because of the importance of appearance and the men dominancy in employer positions let advertising department to belong under women dominancy.

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Women's Businesses Around Europe and Extra-Europe Countries: Emerging Issues

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Abstract: This paper aims at analysing women's business around Europe and Extra-Europe countries to draw the current scenario and to create a theoretical background to investigate in our future research which is the contribution of relational dimension as intangible asset to the born of small and medium women's businesses. Building similarities, differences and changes, this analysis has been conducted in Southern European Country (Italy), Nordic country (Finland) and Southern-eastern Balkan country (Serbia) and in a relevant country not included in the European Union. Theoretical and practical implications of this paper derive from the central rule of female entrepreneurship in developing welfare and economies.

Keywords: women enterprises, business strategy, relational dimension, entrepreneurship, Italy, Finland, Serbia

1. Introduction

This paper is directed to discover which is the current scenario on women's business to draw in the future the influence of relational dimension as strategic intangible asset (Lombardi et al., 2019; Cuozzo et al., 2017; Edvinsson, Malone; 1997; Petty, Guthrie, 2000; Roos et al., 1997; Stewart, 1997) on the born of women's businesses in Europe and Extra-Europe countries in the light of small and medium enterprises (SMEs) (Paoloni, Dumay, 2015) analysis. Thus, this paper started from the assumption that micro-enterprises are both key drivers of economic growth in Europe and Extra-Europe and woman entrepreneurs are key developers of these businesses.

Theoretical and practical implications of this study derive from the central rule of female entrepreneurship in developing welfare and economies. In this way, the deepening of knowledge of how women entrepreneurs manage the business start-up phase can contribute in improving the participation of female entrepreneurs in the economy (Ntseane, 2004).

This paper is structured as follows. In the following section 2, the literature review is developed. Next, comparison among countries is shown in the sections 3, 4 and 5. Conclusions, limitations and implications for future research are presented in section 6.

2. Literature analysis

The main literature is developed around women enterprises and relational capital as result of our previous researches in the field. Starting from the women enterprises issues, it is possible to recall mainly women entrepreneurs and their characteristics. For example, Roy and Lahiri-Roy (2010) analyse a case in women's empowerment and a successful business enterprise through some solutions in the third and fourth world context to fight poverty and restore dignity. Following the same stream of research, O'Carroll and Millne (2010) propose the analysis of the work of the Women's International Centre for Economic Development in order to show how the rates of self-employment, business ownership and economic participation can be changed. Roomi and Harrison (2010) show the gender challenges of Pakistani women entrepreneurs reviewing theoretical contexts and directed to women entrepreneurs living in an Islamic society and to policy makers. In the same stream of the research, Carter et al. (2015) analyse the enterprise diversity in the ethnic minorities and women in enterprise. These authors present also policy recommendations related to the increasing women's business ownership. Torri (2012) explores the gender empowerment proposing the impact of women enterprises in the traditional herbal sector in Indonesia. Braidford et al. (2013) investigate the support measures in the USA, Canada and Sweden directed to encourage women to start a business, analysing the role of women's business centres.

Following the research stream on Relational Capital, Pérez-Astray and Babío (2011) show the relationship promoter as professional profile as catalyst for university/industry relations at transregional and transnational

level. Zaragoza-Sáez and Claver-Corté (2011) present activities by relational capital of six multinationals proposing relational activities faciliting knowledge flows between units of a multinational. Peng, T.J.A. et al. (2011) analyse the input resources and transformation in a dyadic inter-firm partnership through a multiple case study approach deriving from intellectual capital navigator.

Hormiga et al. (2011) investigate relational capital in new business start-ups discussing the impact of intangible relational assets on the success of new business start-ups. Delgado-Verde et al. (2011) investigates relations-based knowledge distinguishes social capital and relational capital. Dicu et al. (2011) investigates relational capital of pharmaceutical companies through a timely analysis of seven multinational companies, interpreting their reports and results from Romania's emerging economy.

Sussan (2012) analyses customer-to-customer interaction as a sub-component of relational capital explaining the connection with business-to-customer relational capital. Sharma et al. (2012) investigate the implementation of CSR initiatives in family businesses, proposing two cases of Asian family business across emerging economies - Indonesia and India. Delgado-Verde et al. (2014) present a model to analyse four vertical collaboration supplier and customer relationship effects on product innovation outputs. Ghane and Akhavan (2014) introduce a framework to determine relational capitals within service and non-service industries in Iran through the application of a questionnaire on 243 business managers.

3. Female enterprises in the Italian scenario (Southern Europe)

Since the second half of the previous century, the women affirmation in the labour market is exponentially increased in Italy and in other developed countries also in the light of polarization process as maintenance driver. Thus, women's employment is increased especially in the tertiary sector and in flexible sectors in which autonomous labour is affirmed. However, in a context characterized by women's emancipation as well as decreasing birth and transformation of women population models, the increasing trend to create businesses by women represents an interesting economic and social phenomenon. Such trend is not without critical transversal aspects in Italy owing to the twice women rule (job and family). During the 1990s the female unemployment rate was almost twice of male unemployment rate, investing women of southern Italy and with low education.

During the time, many studies, investigations and legislation have established a vibrant debate (Ipazia literature). Particularly, in 1992 the introduction of the Law 215/1992 on female entrepreneurship represents a deep innovation belonging to female labour market although the presence of some limitations such as the scarce financial founds, incentives for other sectors and so on (Paoloni, 2011). Thus, the openness of new century has been fundamental also to map the female entrepreneurship phenomenon in the light of some censuses. Additionally, another interesting intervention derives from the activities of Italian Chamber of Commerce through the institution of specific committee promoting female entrepreneurship ("Comitati per la promozione dell'imprenditoria femminile") (Paoloni, 2011).

The major number of female entreprises are of small and medium size, without internationalization processes and especially located in the tertiary sector. Motivations supporting women in starting a business are the changing of work for adult women with previous skills and ability. Particularly, motivations depends on the following status:

- Women that acquired competence from previous labour experience and that decide to start new independent businesses. Motivations come from the wish to affirm their skills, to acquire autonomy and to increase income;
- Young Women that choose at an early stage to start a business affirming themselves in the labour market and on the autonomy level;
- Returned Women. They are women that have stopped their jobs during their life owing to some events such as personal reasons (e.g. wedding or birth of children).

Main motivations (Hirstric, Brush, 1984; Birley, 1989; Masters, Meier, 1988; Sexton Bow-Manupton, 1990) supporting women in starting a new autonomous business are recognized as follow:

- weak conditions of women on the labour market;
- flexibility needs owing to their twice role;

- ideological factors connected to the female culture and to the need of Independence and self-fulfilment;
- psycho-sociological motivations.

However, the main relevant issue of female entrepreneurship is connected to the relational aspects and to the RC supporting their business network. Female entrepreneurs choose a cooperative approach, integrating their work and the personal life. Female entrepreneurs adopt a good governance model involving employee and sharing knowledge. They adopt a learning action assuming new competitive tools (Di Bernardo, Rullani, 1994) and new style of relational leadership (Migale, 1999; Paoloni, 2011).

3.1 The current scenario

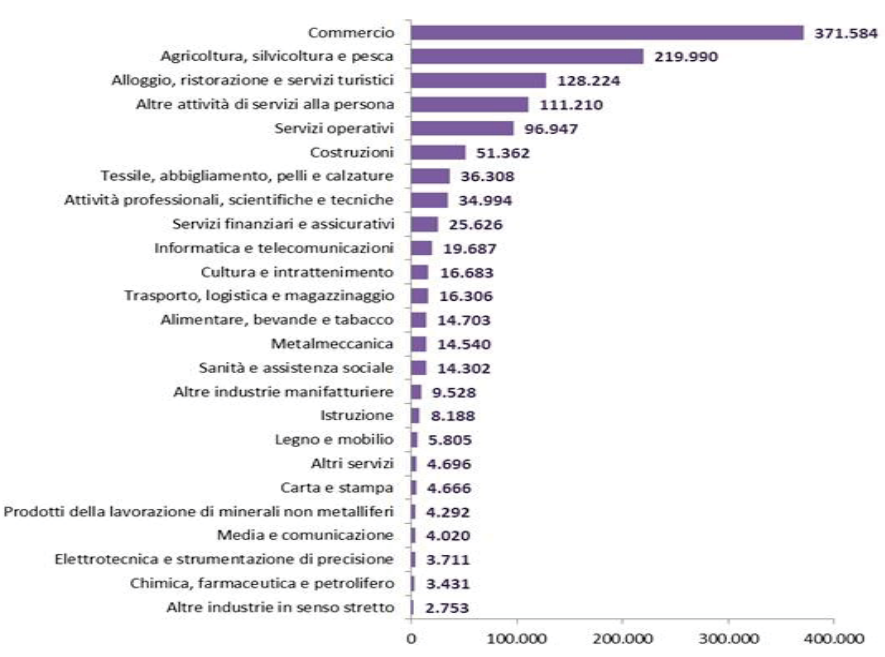
In the years 2010-2015, female entrepreneurs are more than 35,000 (Unioncamere, 2015). Their growth represents the 65% of the general growth of Italian industrial entrepreneurs (+ 53,000 enterprises) in the same period. Female enterprises appear as highly dynamic with a growth rate of 3.1% compared to the male enterprises growth rate of 0.5%. Additionally, they are more and more digital and innovative, younger and multicultural enterprises (). In 2015, female enterprises are more than 1,300 millions (21.7% of total) offering job opportunities to almost 3 millions of people. The code word is "innovate" for female enterprises. In this direction, between 2010 and 2015 female enterprises operating in the digital sector are increased of 9.5% (on a total growth of 3%). Particularly, the sector of information and *communication technology* in the female perspective is increased of more or less 1,800 units affirming totally 20,500 enterprises in 2015. Additionally in the world of innovative start up there are real advances (Lombardi et al., 2016). In fact, if in 2010 female start up enterprises are 9.1% of total enterprises, in 2014 such enterprises are 15.4% of total enterprises. In this way, major activities are retrieved in the software production and IT consulting (24.3% of female start up enterprises), R&D (17.4%), ICT services providers (13.7%) (Unioncamere, 2015).

The amount of female enterprises reflects the same amount of tertiary process of national productive system. Female enterprises in the services sectors increased during 2010-2015 (+6.2%) and decreased in the primary sector (-13.4%) and manufacturing sector (-1%). For instance, in the tertiary sector the increasing number of female enterprises is connected to all area such as tourism (17.9%), healthcare (12.8%). The Central part of Italy is the location in which female enterprises better expand their business (+6.3%). Additionally, almost 14 on 100 female foreign enterprises are guided by under 35 years. In 2014 female enterprises are more than 121,000. China, Romania and Morocco are main foreign communities in the female economy of Italy. Chinese female entrepreneurs are involved in the fashion and services sectors. Rumanian and Moroccan female entrepreneurs are involved in the building sector. However, female enterprises involve almost 3 millions of employee. Between 2010 and 2014, female employment increased of 1.7% (Istat, 2015). Female entrepreneurs with high education increased (15.8%). However, figures 1 and 2 represent some relevant data on female enterprises in Italy



Source: Unioncamere-Infocamere, available at www.unioncamere.it

Figure 1: Stock dynamic of female enterprise, male enterprises and all enterprises (% variation 2010-15).



Source: Elaboration su Camera on data Osservatorio dell'imprenditoria femminile, Unioncamere-Infocamere, year 2014.

Figure 2: Number of female enterprises on economic sectors distribution

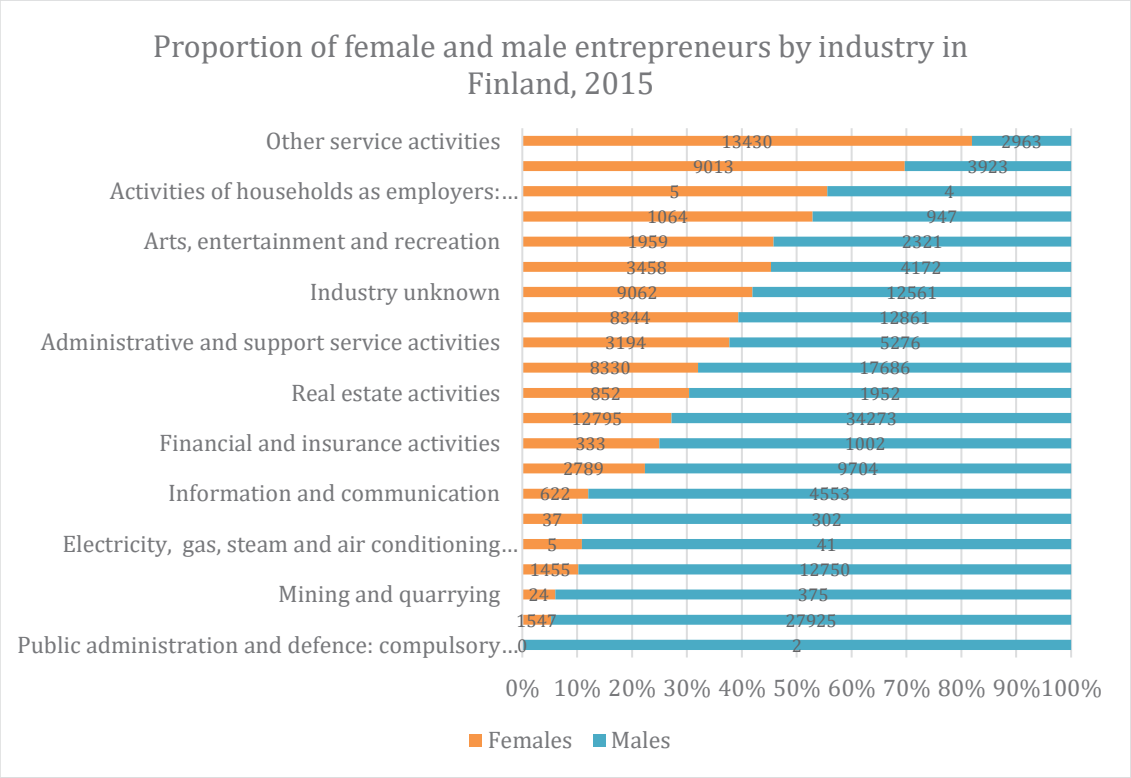
4. Female enterprises in the Finland Scenario (Northern Europe)

Women have strong participating in self-employment in Finland. It has linking on women strong participating in labor markets, which has seen partially due of Second World War, during which woman started to work outside of homes. (Logrén & Löfgren, 2005; Aaltio-Marjosola, 2001) According to Global Entrepreneur Monitor (GEM) the proportion of female entrepreneurs of female population in Finland was 6.1%, which is higher than average in northern Europe and EU-countries (Suomalainen et al, 2015). Despite the high level of female entrepreneurs, there are still a lot of entrepreneurial potential (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland, 2010). Women are quite timid to start new venture, they use a lot of time to make a decision to start own business and spend more time to move on from entrepreneurial intention to the real acts to starting up the business (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland, 2005).

Motivations for entrepreneurship can classify to push and pull factors. Pushing factors are external negative things, for example unemployment and unsatisfying to existing employment. Pulling factors are intrinsic urge to entrepreneurship, for example independency, self-fulfillment and being own boss. (Gilad & Devine, 1986; Watson et al, 1998) According to Logrén & Löfgren (2005), Finnish female entrepreneur's main motivations to start new business are mainly pushing factors, for example entrepreneurial spirit. The new venture creation is result from getting tired at previous work and it based on own education and working experience, hobby or interests or it is contribution of social networks. However, according to Global Entrepreneur Monitor (GEM) report, present or upcoming female entrepreneurs in Finland start their business more often (21%) for necessity-reasons (for example, unemployment) than their counterparts in Nordic countries (14%), but the average of EU-countries is higher (23%) than Finland's number. The corresponding proportions of men entrepreneurs are in Finland only 12%, in Nordic countries 11% and in EU-countries 21%. (Suomalainen, et al, 2015)

Most commonly woman with education from service sector, for example in health care sector, starts own business. The nature of typical enterprises by woman is small and starting up does not need a lot of financial capital. Female entrepreneurs operates mainly in B2B sector in domestic markets. (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland, 2010) In Finland the industries are strongly distributed by gender in labor markets and also among entrepreneurs. The biggest proportion of female entrepreneurs work with service activities, human health and social services, activities of household as employers and education, during male dominated industries like construction and transportation and storage in which the share of female entrepreneurs are minor. (Statistic Finland A) The nature of industries, which are dominated by woman, are not so propitious to get employees and to seek growth. Woman has also different orientations to entrepreneurship compared to male

counterparts, because women appreciate more locality and social community, minimizing risks and combining their work and personal life. (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland, 2010; Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland 2005)



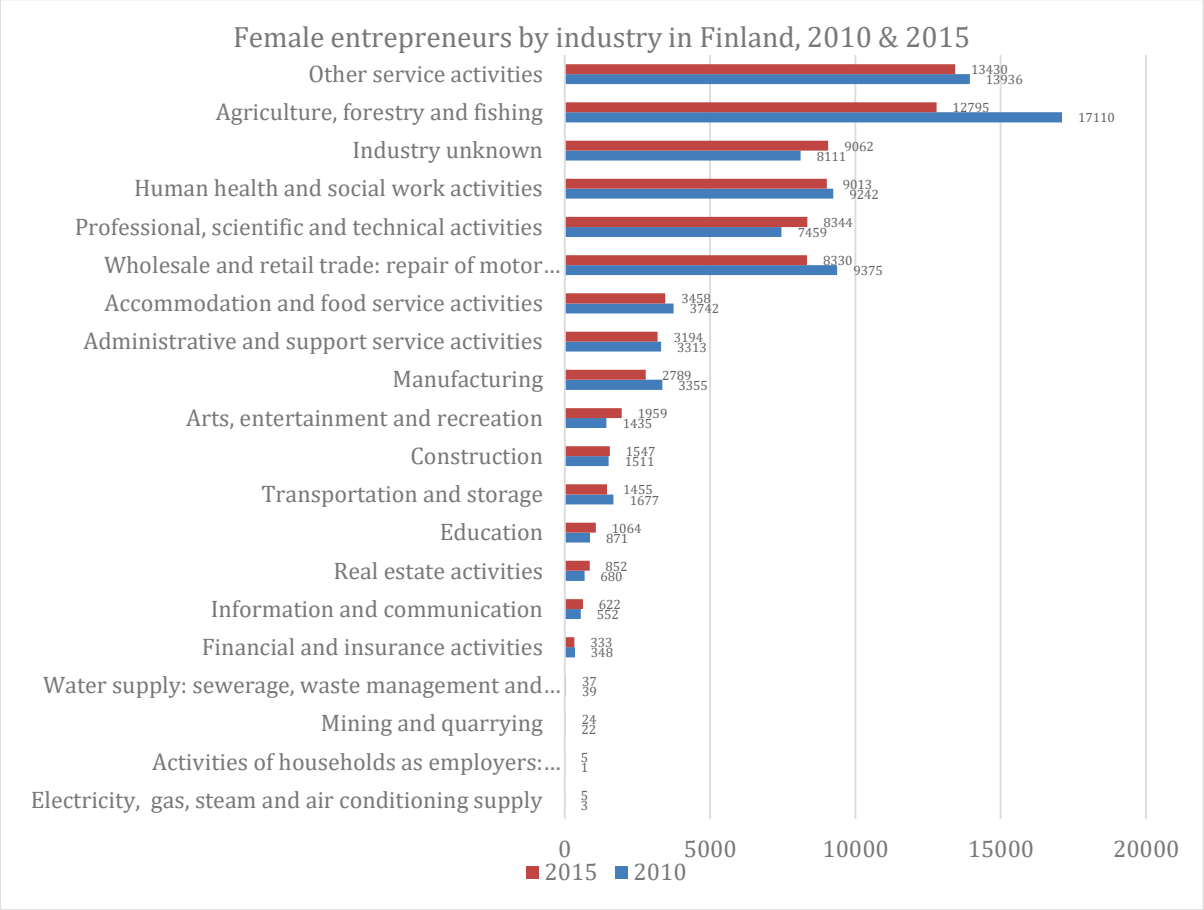
(Statistic Finland A)

4.1 The current scenario

In year 2015 it was 78,300 female entrepreneurs in Finland, which was a third of all entrepreneurs in Finland. The share of female entrepreneurs of all entrepreneurs in Finland have been about a third from 90's century. (Statistic Finland B) To contrast in 1986 the proportion of female entrepreneurs of all entrepreneurs was 22.5% and in year 1960 it was 18% (Kovalainen, 1995). Female entrepreneurs are typically solo entrepreneurs. Only a quarter of female entrepreneurs has employees. (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland, 2012)

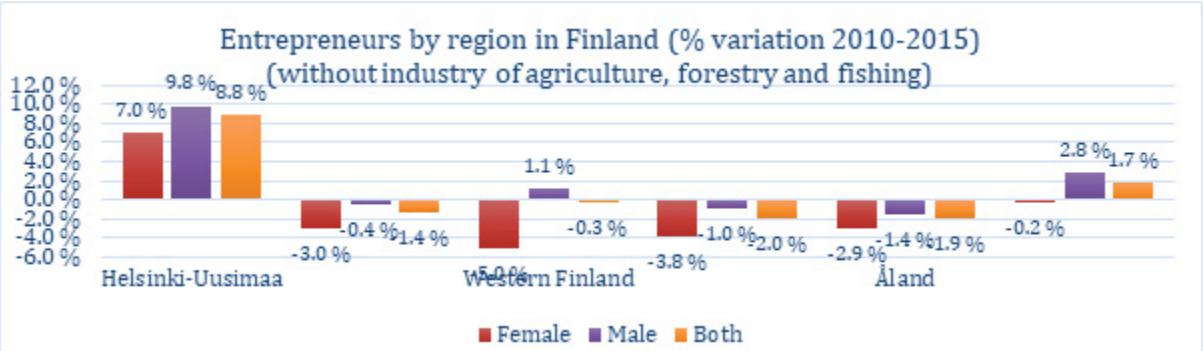
Between years 2010-2015 the number of female entrepreneurs in Finland has decreased 5.4% (4464 entrepreneurs, in which 4315 in industry of agriculture, forestry and fishing). If ignoring agriculture, forestry and fishing, the decreasing was only 0.2%. (Statistic Finland A) Agricultural entrepreneurship has long traditions in Finland, but structural changes in agriculture has due to that production is increasingly concentrate to large units (Rauhala, 2004). In 2015 female entrepreneurs in industry of agriculture, forestry and fishing were 16.3% of all entrepreneurs in Finland (Statistic Finland A). By contrast at 1960-century more than half of female entrepreneurs worked in agricultural industry (Kovalainen, 1995).

The most increasing industries by amount of female entrepreneurs in Finland between years 2010-2015 were industry unknow (+951 entrepreneurs, +11.7%), professional, scientific and technical activities (+885 entrepreneurs, +11.9%) and arts, entertainment and recreation (+524 entrepreneurs, +36.5%). In addition to agriculture, forestry and fishing, the most decreasing industries were wholesale and retail trade (1054 entrepreneurs, -11.1%), manufacturing (566 entrepreneurs, -16.1%) and other service activities (506 entrepreneurs, -3.6%). (Statistic Finland A) Statistic shows that entrepreneurship is shifting from primary sector, manufacturing and traditional service sector more to the tertiary sector. New woman entrepreneurs have higher education compared to long-time entrepreneurs (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland, 2010). Woman entrepreneurs has also higher education level compared to their male counterparts. (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland, 2012)



(Statistic Finland A)

The age distribution of female entrepreneurs shows that nearly 60% of female entrepreneurs are over 45-year old and less than fifth are younger than 35-year-old. Entrepreneurs has typically a long career as paid employment before starting own business and the business idea of own venture based on previous work experience and education. (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland, 2010) People with more intellectual capital, which has been acquired through work experience and education, are more likely to start new business (Davidsson & Honig, 2003). Between years 2010-2015 the number of both female and male entrepreneurs has increased only in Helsinki-Uusimaa area (+9.8%) and male entrepreneurs in western Finland (+1.1%) (Statistics ignore the industry of agriculture, forestry and fishing). Helsinki-Uusimaa area were the only region, where number of female entrepreneurs were increased. The most increasing industries in Helsinki-Uusimaa area were professional, scientific and technical activities (+573 entrepreneurs, increase +18%), arts, entertainment and recreation (+292 entrepreneurs, increase +47%) and industry unknown (+247 entrepreneurs, increase +10%). Almost third of female entrepreneurs in Finland are located in Helsinki-Uusimaa area. (Statistic Finland A)



(Statistic Finland A)

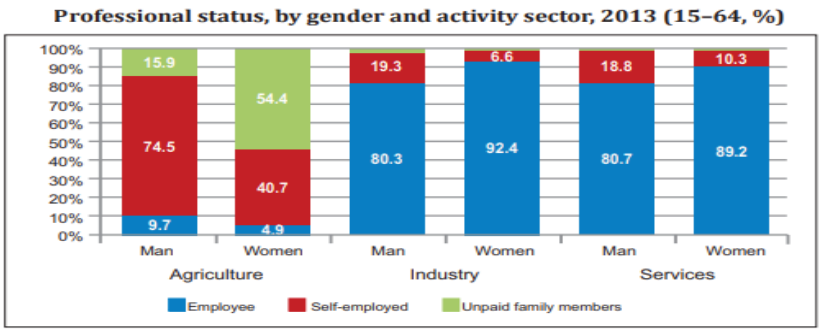
5. Female enterprises in Serbia

From historical perspective, entrepreneurship has not been very well rooted in Serbia. Initial societal development of entrepreneurial spirit on a larger scale, seen during the first phases of industrialization in the second half of 19th and in the beginning of the 20th century was swiftly disrupted by the two world wars, whose consequences were especially heavy for Serbia in terms of both casualties and material damage, and subsequently, by the communist takeover in 1945. During the socialist era, free market was curtailed, with entrepreneurship, private innovation and economic risk discouraged by the state. Although Yugoslav version of communism, especially since the 1970's, tend to be assessed as more liberal than the rest of the Eastern bloc (Uvalić, 2018), and some varieties of self-employment were made possible, true entrepreneurial culture never fully developed. Breakdown of socialist system was characterized by ethnic conflict and followed by a decade of economic isolation, causing the real transition to market economy to start notably later in comparison with the rest of Central and Eastern Europe: in the year 2000. However, some authors note that in the last decade of Yugoslav civil wars, citizens of Serbia developed informal entrepreneurial skills as a sort of necessity, since they have been massively driven out of formal employment and needed to make ends meet on what was then a chaotic, rudimentary market (Bolčić, 2006; Bolčić, 2008).

Almost two decades later, Serbia is still stuck in what seems to be a perpetual transition towards market economy, and entrepreneurial sector is still struggling to find its place in that particular setting. Out of total number of enterprises in Serbia, more than 96 percent are micro companies, employing 2.4 persons on average (Dokmanovic, 2016). Female entrepreneurship remains largely unutilized, despite an ever increasing understanding that small and medium companies are backbone of stable economy.

Indicators of general position of women in Serbian economy are ambiguous. According to national Statistical Office 2017 gender report, employment rate among women is 14.7 percent lower in comparison with men: 38.1 to 52.8 percent (RZS, 2017). Difference in wages stands at 8.7 percent, surprisingly placing Serbia below European average when comes to gender pay gap. Furthermore, educational background of women is notably better: among enrolled students at Serbian universities, 56 percent are female. Women also account for 58 percent of graduates and 57 percent of Ph.D.'s. However, 20 percent of female students leave tertiary education because of marriage or pregnancy, which almost never occur with men. There are gender-based differences when comes to vocation: women more often enroll to education sciences, healthcare, medicine, social care, arts and economy – in contrast with men who dominate in areas such as IT and engineering (Marjanović, 2016). That is further transferred to the job market and also to the public image of gender-based roles. According to one study of gender stereotypes (RRA, 2014), women in media are virtually invisible as politicians (14 percent of occupation-related content), academia (8 percent), entrepreneurs (4 percent), and engineers (close to 0 percent). Number of companies owned and managed by women make only a quarter of active companies in Serbia (Babović, 2012). Women in economy are also faced with lack of property and collateral, with unlawful terminations of contracts and employment discrimination in case of pregnancy, and with different societal prejudice regarding their role in business and society as a whole, all together painting an image of unfavorable surroundings for females to prosper in self-employment.

Table 1: Serbia. Serbian workforce by professional status, gender, and activity sector (World Bank, 2016)



5.1 Current scenario

Percentage of self-employed among male is more than twice larger than among female population: 28 percent of men and 13 percent of women ages 15 to 64 are self-employed (RZS, 2017). Data spanning from 2013 to 2015

indicate that, while total number of self-employed persons is shrinking, the pace of this demise is much higher with female businesses.

Table 2: Serbia: Employment structure by working status (Dokmanovic, 2016)

EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE BY WORKING STATUS, %						
Time Period	Employees Female	Employees Male	Self-employed Female	Self-employed Male	Unpaid family workers Female	Unpaid family workers Male
2013	71.7	64.5	15.4	31.6	13	3.8
2014	72.9	64.9	13.6	30.6	13.6	4.5
2015	75.4	65.7	11.6	29.9	13	4.4

Women entrepreneurs operate mainly in service sector, with trade being the top category among all age and educational groups. This is followed by the so-called classic services, and economy and finance, while the presence of women with higher education is growing in the branches of knowledge economy. Men, on the other hand, prevail in manufacturing, transport, agriculture, construction, technology, and engineering (Babović, 2012).

One research (Dokmanovic, 2016) suggests that average female Serbian entrepreneur is middle-aged (43.7 years old), married (71 percent) with children (75.8 percent), with at least secondary school education (55.9 percent) and residing in urban area (82.2 percent). Close to 99 percent of them run a micro business employing less than 10 people, with majority of employees also being women (73.4 percent). More than 80 percent are locally oriented in terms of target market. In geographical terms, 3 of 4 NUTS-2 regions are almost equally represented among self-employed women, with more than a quarter of Serbian entrepreneurs residing in Belgrade; Vojvodina; and Šumadija and Western Serbia respectively. On the other hand, Southern and Eastern Serbia is somewhat behind with only around 20 percent of female businesses originating in that region (Babović, 2012), which is expected considering the fact that SE Serbia has traditionally been less developed.

Table 3: Serbia: Gender ratio by industry (Babović, 2012)

INDUSTRY	FEMALE ENTREPRENEURS	MALE ENTREPRENEUR
AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY, FISHERIES	21,4	78,6
MANUFACTURING	28,7	71,3
CONSTRUCTION	13,4	86,6
TRADE	28,7	61,3
TRANSPORT	6,0	94,0
HOSPITALITY INDUSTRY	33,8	66,2
IT, FINANCES, SCIENCE, INNOVATION	38,8	61,2
ADMINISTRATIVE AND SOCIAL SERVICES	44,4	55,6
CLASSIC SERVICES	51,2	48,8
OTHER	14,4	84,6

5.2 Motivations and obstacles

Push factors, or negative motivations for starting business, prevail with Serbian female entrepreneurs. Most of them come as a consequence of prolonged transition, faulty privatization process characterized with massive layoffs – especially in manufacturing, and economic crises. In total, 68 percent of female entrepreneurs started their company because they could not find employment otherwise (Babović, 2012). Situation is slightly better within population under the age of 30, where only 51.3 percent cite negative effects of job market as a main factor that pushed them in entrepreneurial waters. Positive, or pull factors, include strive for independency, business opportunity and business ideas, desire to increase income, or strive for a new challenge, and better work-life balance. Second study (Dokmanovic, 2016) cites work-life balance as the most important pull factor.

Table 4: Serbia. Motivation for female entrepreneurship (Babović, 2012)

MOTIVATION	%
BUSINESS IDEA OR BUSINESS OPPORTUNITY	38,2
STRIVE TOWARD INTERNATIONAL MARKET	2,5
BECOMING A SUBCONTRACTOR FOR PREVIOUS EMPLOYER	3,1
NEW CHALLENGE	20,0
INDEPENDENCE	54,8
TURNING HOBBY INTO A JOB	10,4
CONTINUING THE FAMILY TRADITION	5,6
WORK – LIFE BALANCE	17,5
RETURN TO JOB AFTER RAISING CHILDREN	12,8
EARNING MORE MONEY	34,5
LONG TERM UNEMPLOYMENT	34,0
BAD CONDITIONS AT PREVIOUS EMPLOYER	13,5
ONLY CHANCE TO WORK IN THEIR PROFESSION	5,6

Female entrepreneurs seldom have similar background in the family: only 24 percent of them come from entrepreneurial surroundings, which is consistent with the fact that economic urgency is the strongest push factor. However, more than 80 percent of self-employed women had previous experience in the same branch of industry (Babović, 2012), so this type of professional association with business is also an important motivator. Moreover, social capital tends to be significant in terms of support for initial entrepreneurial action: 59 percent of beginners gathered business information from their social contacts, and female entrepreneurs are more likely to be part of business network, partly because sharing information and experience is more common in comparison with their male counterparts (Dokmanovic, 2016). However, more than 90 percent of female businesses or their owners are not part of any formal association.

One of the main obstacles to female entrepreneurship is limited access to financing. Almost third of female business owners invested family money in their startup projects, with another third investing their own savings. Only 3.5 percent of them attempted and managed to get a bank loan in order to start their business. Close to 59 percent of women in self-employment cite limited access to initial financing as a main obstacle in starting new business, with unstable market and complicated regulations also being in the top three (Babović, 2012). Discrimination is another challenge: in general, women are faced with different societal prejudice regarding their role in economy (Pantović, Bradaš, Petrovar, 2017). While 20.6 percent of female entrepreneurs say they have experienced gender-based discrimination, more than three quarters states that they feel they are not accepted in business community as seriously as their male colleagues (Dokmanovic, 2016).

Other obstacles include legal provisions concerning maternity leave, with female entrepreneurs being obliged to either close their business or renounce managing rights if they seek for social benefits during pregnancy. Furthermore, female entrepreneurship in underdeveloped rural areas is heavily burdened by limited land ownership. Traditionally, inherited land is transferred to male members of the family, which prevents women from starting independent business in agriculture, or from raising a bank loan because they lack a collateral (World Bank, 2016). Rural areas are also characterized by a large number of unpaid family members working in agriculture, most of them being women who do not receive wages for their labor and are formally considered unemployed. This in turn results with limited access to health and social security, and moreover, represents one of the main reasons of a striking gap in pension coverage among older population. Namely, in 2011, 20.7 of women were not receiving any retirement compensation, in comparison with only 6.7 percent of male pensioners (World Bank, 2016).

Survival rate of female enterprises in Serbia is just above 50 percent. This number is conditioned by primary incentive for entrepreneurial action, which is mostly negative: women are being pushed into entrepreneurship as the only mean to find employment. Moreover, half of women companies admits they are in stagnation or face business problems that could jeopardize company's existence (Popović-Pantić, 2014). Along with identified gender gaps, obstacles such as uneasy access to financing, struggle with traditionally assigned role of women in society, and general economic situation which is not favorable to any kind of entrepreneurial venture regardless of gender, the situation for female business owners cannot be assessed as satisfactory. Many improvements are needed, mostly in institutional and legal framework regulating not just entrepreneurship itself but also aiming to achieve truly equal role for women – both in national economy and society in general. Positive trends, such

as strong educational background of women and one of the smallest gender pay gaps in Europe, indicate that this outcome is very much possible.

6. Conclusions

Female entrepreneurship is a growing trend in all countries we analysed in this study. While main motivators are a combination of push and pull factors, female new venture creations are more often results of weak labour market positions of women (e.g. unemployment or unsatisfying working environment) than intrinsic urge to entrepreneurship (e.g. independency, self-fulfilment). Employment rates among women have been traditionally lower in comparison with men with differences in wages in most of countries. Therefore, women have tried to use their own education and previous working experience, hobby or interests to start their own businesses.

Number of companies owned by women counts from 22-33% of all active companies in observed countries. Women entrepreneurs operate mainly in service sector (tourism; healthcare and social services; educational, scientific, and technical activities; art, entertainment and recreation) with growing female ventures in digital and ICT industry. Their companies are mainly SMEs, but highly dynamic and innovative. Although female enterprises have higher growth rate than male enterprises, female entrepreneurs often do not have strong ambitious to grow internationally.

We have found that average female entrepreneur is middle-aged (around 45-years old) and have higher education level compared to their male counterparts. They have also different orientation to entrepreneurship. They appreciate more locality and social community, trying to combine their work and personal life. In general, there is a great potential in female entrepreneurship, but many improvements are needed, particularly in institutional and legal frameworks regulating the role of women in economy and society.

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Crowdfunding and SME's: A Gender Analysis

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Abstract: The aim of this paper is to analyze the phenomenon of crowdfunding and specifically focus is the SME's dimension, typical in female entrepreneurship. The main questions research are: what are the main thematic areas in the scientific literature on the phenomenon of crowdfunding? (RQ1); how is crowdfunding treated in the SME's dimension? (RQ2); is there a specific treatment of crowdfunding in female entrepreneurship? (RQ3). To analyze the literature, we uses the SLR. For the development the (RQ1), the articles in the SCOPUS database on the theme of crowdfunding were surveyed. To develop the (RQ2) the analysis focused on the combined theme between the crowdfunding phenomenon and the SME's dimension. Finally, for the (RQ3) we have combined the research between what emerged from the results of the RQ2 and the specific focus on female businesses. The finding show that from the scientific point of view the treatment of the crowdfunding phenomenon is strongly developing in many research areas. The most recurrent are those that deal with context studies linked to socio-geographical, institutional, and those that analyze individual behavior of investors and crowdfunders. Residual area remains the one dedicated to SME's where our research has led to poor results. Totally non-existent is the treatment of the crowdfunding phenomenon in women's businesses. This work implements the studies on crowdfunding, a phenomenon that is rapidly expanding worldwide. Particular attention is paid to the gender context. Furthermore, the study of the business dimension for which it was initially conceived was further investigated: the SME's. Our next work will try, through a case study, to fill the gap in literature between the crowdfunding phenomenon and women's businesses, found in our current research.

Keywords: crowdfunding, SME, female entrepreneurship, literature

1. Introduction

Many studies show that the under-use of women "labour force" (both as employees and entrepreneurs) is a high cost for the productive system. Over the past few years, the positive economic effects of the women labour force have been demonstrated. Therefore, actions to enhance the development of women enterprises are important mainly in the current period of crisis. In fact, woman entrepreneurs are important for both the family, because they can contribute to the family income, and the economic development. Even if appear that women don't do an accurate analysis of the risks when they want to start a business. For these reasons we decided to focus on start-up businesses of women in order to understand the factors which facilitate and/or hinder this phase and in particular on one of the greatest difficulties for a woman in to make enterprise (Brush,1992; Caputo and Dolinsky,1998; Donati and Prandini,2009). The harvest of funds and on a particular and innovative form: the crowdfunding. Its origins in US and has developed internationally over the last two decades and actually this financing mode has taken many forms. By crowdfunding the company can directly find resources from the "crowd".

Our main implication is to observe the connection between the crowdfunding financing methodology, in its various forms, and the SME's with specific attention to gender studies. To develop this theme, the methodology used will be that of the structure literature review (SLR) classifying the scientific works on the phenomenon of crowdfunding on the basis of:

- *Article focus:* category/topics such as Investor's Behaviour; Framework of crowdfunding; Value driver that drive crowdfunding projects to success (value driver of crowdfunding); Crowdfunding as an alternative finance tool to companies; Crowdfunding directly on the SME's structure, Methods and models for evaluation of crowdfunding projects and finally all those works that deal with crowdfunding within context studies such as sociological, political and institutional;
- *Research Area*: such as Management or econometric studies etc...;
- *Geographic Area of the origin of* the authors;

- *Research Method* distinguishing the type of analysis between LR, qualitative and/or quantitative.

In the following paragraphs, after debating and examining the phenomenon of crowdfunding and the main results obtained on each specific theme(RQ1), this important alternative form of business financing will be observed with specific reference to SME-s(RQ2) and female companies(RQ3). Precisely on this aspect, underlining the lack of contribution to the phenomenon of crowdfunding and women's businesses, our work is part of a larger context of gender issues that, with an unjustified delay, shows an important gap on the use of innovative forms of financing by women entrepreneurs.

In order to better outline the RQ and the result achieved, the present work is structured as follows: in the following paragraph the research methodology is detailed with a specific identification and description of the taxonomy used for each field of our SLR. Afterwards the accomplished results and the related analyses will be exposed. Finally, a special discussion will be dedicated to each theme of our work; data on crowdfunding (RQ1), crowdfunding and SME's (RQ2) and finally on the presence of crowdfunding in women's businesses (RQ3).

2. Literature framework

The start point literature streams considered for the research are women and work labour are a Women entrepreneurship issues and carried out by Paoloni and Demartini (2016) we can highlight how the main issues addressed by the literature on gender are:

- Corporate governance (Pesonen et al.,2009; Healy et al.,2011; Tlaiss and Kauser,2011; Guillaume and Pochic,2009; Grisoni and Beeby,2007; Durbin and Tomlinson,2014; Powell,2012);
- Female entrepreneurship (Paoloni,2011; Lewis and Simpson,2010; Kirkwood,2009; Hancock,2012; Tyler and Cohen,2008; Broadbridge et al.,2006; Lee-Gosselin and Grise,1990);
- Conflicts of interest (Emslie and Hunt,2009; Kelan,2010; Wood and Newton,2006; McDonald et al., 2005; Ezzedeen and Ritchey,2009; Atkhinson and Hall,2009; Smithson and Stokoe,2005; Crompton et al., 2011; Neider,1987; Brown and Segal,1989);
- Differences between men and women (Joshi et al.,2007; Swan,2010; Holvino,2008; Aziz and Cunningham,2008; Van den Brink and Stobbe,2009; Powell et al.,2009; Booysen and Nkomo, 2010; Crump et al.,2007; Tienari et al.,2009; Jamali,2009; Coleman and Robb,2009; IFC & GPFI,2011);
- Discrimination (Czarniawska et al.,2013; Dick and Hide,2006; Davey,2008; Bird,2011).

This analysis does not contemplate the forms of financing adopted so we have decided therefore to deepen the various forms of crowdfounding existing as an alternative source of finance and widely used in start-ups for then to verify what forms adopt the women entrepreneurs and if this topic has already been dealt with in the literature and how.

3. Methodology

In the present work, 188 articles on crowdfunding were analyzed, used as an alternative funding tool for companies, published between 2010[1] and 2018. The articles were all identified through SCOPUS.

The theme of crowdfunding is very recent both in terms of use of the tool by companies and with reference to research scientific.

3.1 Defining the analytical framework

In this paper, through the SLR process, we first examined the framework developed by P. Paoloni and P. Demartini (2016) and then modified the categories or their characteristics making them more compliant and relevant to our sample and our RQ, this process are presented as in Tab.1.

[1]For this analysis the time interval identified is not given by a particular choice, the first articles written on the topic chosen date back to 2010

Table 1: Analytical framework

A - Article Focus	**C - Geographycal Area**
A1 - Investor's Behiavor	*C1 - Comparative Study*
A2 - Framework of Crowdfunding	*C2 - America*
A3 - Value Drivers of Crowdfunding	*C3 - Europe*
A4 - Alternative Forms of Financing	*C4 - Asia*
A5 - Crowdfunding Into SME's Structure	*C5 - Africa & Oceania*
A6 - Evaluation Crowdfunding's Project	**D - Research Methods**
A7 - Context Analysis of Crowdfunding	*D1 - Literature Analysis*
B - Research Area	*D2 - Qualitative*
B1 - Business, Management and Accounting	*D3 - Quantitative*
B2 - Economics, Econometrics and Finance	*D4 - Mixed Method*

3.2 Academic Impact of the articles analyzed

We measured the scientific impact of the analyzed articles through the use of SCOPUS. By evaluating the number of mentions, we measured the impact of each article on the scientific community and the major topics that guide the prevailing thinking in gender studies (Dumay, Cai 2014). To deepen and delineate the path of literature and in order to grasp the latest emerging issues, we have also subsequently considered the Special Issues of each Journal.

3.3 Article focus

In this section, we defined the taxonomy of each class that allowed us to observe the theme of crowdfunding. We developed seven classes (Tab.2) that deal with the main topics covered by the academics:

Table 2: Crowdfunding topics classes

Classes		
Nr.	Name	Description
A1	*Investor's Behaviour*	includes those contributions that deal with subjective elements of individuals, such as investor behaviour in the choice of the project on which to invest
A2	*Framework of crowdfunding*	includes the contributions that deal with the general framework of crowdfunding, for example, the various types of crowdfunding and its nature, the the peculiarities and functioning of the individual platforms that host the projects etc.
A3	*Value Drivers of crowdfunding*	includes the contributions that deal with value drivers for and in the presentation of crowdfunding projects, regardless of the type of collection chosen
A4	*Alternative Forms Of Financing*	includes all those contributions that deal with crowdfunding as an alternative form of financing for businesses. It includes, for example, works that highlight the difference between the crowdfunding system (market oriented) and the banking system (bank oriented)
A5	*Crowdfunding Into SME's Structure*	includes those contributions whose focus is on crowdfunding within SME's. For example, the structure of the sources of financing and evaluate their importance in consideration of the small size of the SME's are part of this category.
A6	*Evaluation crowdfunding's Projects*	this category includes all those works that develop, implement and / or describe methodologies or models for evaluating crowdfunding projects
A7	*Context Analysis of crowdfunding*	In this category, all the contributions describing, analyzing and/or treating the crowdfunding phenomenon in socio-economic, socio-cultural, demographic, legislative and/or institutional contexts have been merged

3.3.1 Research area

With reference to the Research Area, two main research fields have been identified directly linked to the research on the Scopus database: Business, Management and accounting (B1); Economics, Econometrics and Finance (B2). This category aims to classify the articles analyzed according to the area in which the research was carried out. In this research, we decided to directly examine the areas identified by applying the filters on the database on which the research was carried out.

3.3.2 Geographical area

This variable identifies the geographical area of origin of the author and in which the research was carried out. Starting from the taxonomy quoted by P.Paoloni and P. Demartini (2016) and finding the identification of a smaller number of results and that the greatest concentration refers to two macro territories, it was decided to consider a smaller number of geographic areas concerned[2]

[2]Which in detail are as follows:
-C1 Comparative study (Comparative research between two or more countries);
-C2 America (Canada, USA, Brazil, Argentine);
-C3 Europe (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Iceland, Ireland, Finland, France, Germany, Netherland, Norway, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom);

3.3.3 Research methods

In order to analyze how the use of the different methodologies changes over time, we have chosen the following categories: Literature Analysis (D1); Qualitative Research (D2); Quantitative Research (D3); Research Mix (D4)[3];

4. Results

Reading the Tab.3 we must make a general comment on the number of articles. In particular, data up to 2018 almost equalled the total of the previous year's articles, already a record of the historical series.

From the point of view of the issues, we note a preference by the authors to write on topics falling into the A7 category with 45 results, A1 with 32 results, A2 with 29 results, A4 with 25 results, A6 with 24 results and A3 with 23. The analysis of the A5 crowdfunding into SME's Structure category is completely residual with only 10 results for the entire period 2010-2018 and which will be further explored in the remainder of this contribution.

Table 3: Article focus

Year	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6	A7	**Total**
2010	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	**1**
2011	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
2012	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	**1**
2013	1	1	1	0	0	2	3	**8**
2014	3	2	4	2	0	4	1	**16**
2015	4	3	2	7	0	1	3	**20**
2016	8	5	3	7	7	6	9	**45**
2017	7	13	6	4	0	6	14	**50**
2018	9	5	7	4	3	5	14	**47**
Totale	**32**	**29**	**23**	**25**	**10**	**24**	**45**	**188**

4.1 Research area

As can be seen in Tab.4, the two research areas identified are divided equally, 95 results for Business, Management and Accounting and 93 elements for Economics, Econometrics and Finance. The greatest concentration is between 2014 and 2018, with particular reference to the years 2016, 2017 and 2018.

Table 4: Research area

Year	Business, Management and Accounting (B1)	Economics, Econometrics and Finance (B2)	Totale
2010	1	0	1
2011	0	0	0
2012	0	1	1
2013	3	5	8
2014	7	9	16
2015	7	13	20
2016	26	19	45
2017	26	24	50
2018	25	22	47
Totale	95	93	188

4.2 Geographical area

From the Tab.5, there are many crowdfunding researches from Europe followed by America and Asia. Articles related to the issue under consideration from Oceania, Africa those made hastily are much less numerous if not rare in some areas such as Africa.

-C4 Asia (China, Japan, Korea, Singapore, India, Russia);
-C5 Africa and Oceania (South Africa, Australia, New Zealand);
Category C1 includes comparative research done by comparing multiple states. As it is not right to insert them in one and / or the other state, it seemed useful to create a category in its own right. The territories of Africa and Oceania have been merged into a single area because they refer to a small number of articles.

[3] Encompasses both quantitative and qualitative research

The number of certain areas, such as Europe and America, is certainly due to the greater knowledge and use of the crowdfunding tool as an alternative source of financing, but it is of little interest in the other areas. At this level of our analysis we can hypothesize that in these countries the research under examination is not particularly interesting for the macroeconomic context in which they are located and for the little or no knowledge of the financing instrument.

Table 5: Geographical area

Year	Comparative Study	America	Europe	Asia	Africa & Oceania	Totale
2010	0	0	1	0	0	1
2011	0	0	0	0	0	0
2012	0	0	1	0	0	1
2013	1	1	6	0	0	8
2014	2	4	10	0	0	16
2015	2	8	9	1	0	20
2016	1	9	27	7	1	45
2017	1	13	23	10	3	50
2018	1	8	29	9	0	47
Totale	8	43	106	27	4	188

4.3 Research method

The prevailing methodology is qualitative (No.149) and is adopted by about 80% of authors with a trend that shows increasing in recent years. The papers that make use of quantitative research are published more in the last 3 years (No.27 out of 33). On the other hand, the articles concerning the LR and those made with mixed methods (only 3 for each category) are of little relevance. (Tab.6)

Table 6: Research method

Year	Qualitative	Quantitative	Mixed Method	Literature review
2010	1	0	0	0
2011	0	0	0	0
2012	1	0	0	0
2013	6	2	0	0
2014	12	4	0	0
2015	20	0	0	0
2016	35	7	1	2
2017	39	10	0	0
2018	35	10	2	1
Totale	149	33	3	3

4.4 The most cited articles

In order to provide clear evidence we have selected for each category articles with an index citation higher than 30, and it has emerged that:

Table 7: The most quoted articles

Year	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6	A7	**Total**
2010	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
2011	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
2012	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
2013	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	**3**
2014	2	0	2	1	0	0	1	**6**
2015	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	**1**
2016	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	**2**
2017	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
2018	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Totale	**4**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**12**

The highest number of articles with a high mention index was recorded in 2014 with a total of 6 most quoted articles. This data may be due to the fact that before 2014 the topic of crowdfunding was still little known and affirmed in corporate practice, in 2014 there was a consolidation of the academic's thinking at least for some issues, while for the most recent years there are no records articles with a high mention index due to their recent drafting.

Articles with an index citation of more than 30 recurring by theme are instead: with 4 articles those contained in category A1 dealing with individual behaviour of investors and with 3 articles those contained in category A3 dealing with value drivers in crowdfunding projects. The other categories (A2,A4,A5,A6,A7) have a single quote with an index greater than 30.

4.5 Analysis

In this section we show the results obtained in response to RQ1. In order to understand the evolution over the years, we have examined how over time the characteristics of the items considered have changed and how they have evolved, their provenance, the methodology used and the major research topics involved. The first conclusions we can draw are the following: - Regarding the research topic, the most numerous category is the A7 which deals with crowdfunding in specific contexts with broad themes such as socio-economic and socio-cultural contexts; breakdown of results is almost equivalent between Business, Management and Accounting and Economics, Econometrics and Finance;

- The countries of origin from which the highest level of research is registered are European countries and America; -The most used methodology is the qualitative one.

5. Discussion

5.1 The main topics dealt with in the Crowdfunding literature (RQ1)

This section aims to define the main issues faced by academics on the topic of crowdfunding. To do this we have selected and treated the topics of the articles with index citation above 30. The results of our analysis are shown below with the exception of the category A5, exclusively reserved for SME's, which will be fully covered in the next section in response to our RQ2.

Therefore:

- *A1:* (Zheng H et al.,2014), is cited 68 times, carried out a comparative study between China and the United States. The results show how the network of contacts, the (moral) obligation to finance the projects of other entrepreneurs, the sharing of the project to be funded through crowdfunding together with the entrepreneur and the sponsors has significant effects in the performance (success) of crowdfunding. (Burtch G. et al.,2013) is cited 69 times, extrapolates information from the Kiva platform on individual countries, which aggregate the behaviour of individuals, for volumes of loan transactions exceeding 3 million. The analysis considers the dual role of geographical distance and cultural differences of individual "*lenders*". The results show a different effect a substitution effect of 50% between cultural differences and geographical distance. (Burtch G. et al.,2015) is cited 53 times, studies the impact that the privacy of information (privacy) that pass from crowdfunding platforms have on the behaviour of the investor. The results show that greater control of information leads to an increase in the platform's financial allocation. (Lin M. Viswanarhan S.,2016) is cited 43 times, it deals with the individual's attachment to invest in "domestic" projects. The results show how the investor still suffers from a "prejudice" domestic tied to the possible projects on which to invest. Add to this that the theories on rational behaviour of individuals cannot explain why the investor's domestic attachment also occurs in an alternative financial market such as crowdfunding.
- *A2:* (Burtch G. et al.,2013) is cited 159 times, examine the US crowdfunding regulation structure since the American Jobs Act. Through the application of two evaluation models, the authors show a direct relationship between large active marketing campaigns and the success of the project to raise capital among the "crowd".
- *A3:* (Belleflamme P. et al.,2013) is quoted 77 times, show that collections in the form of donations are the least used while they are more successful than collections of equity or in the form of debt. (Mollick E.,2014) is cited 527 times, observes how crowdfunding allows founders of for-profit, without passing through financial intermediary standards. The most important success factors are personal networks (networks) and the quality of the project, to which are associated geographical factors that are combined with the type of project to be financed. (Frydrych D. et al.,2014) is cited 60 times, observe how the crowdfunding processes and drivers require careful study to identify similarities and differences with traditional forms of funding. The demonstration of a project is extremely interesting because online crowdfunding limits access to the company and the organization to the investor. The results show numerous links between the characteristics of the project and the success of crowdfunding.

- *A4:* (Belleflamme P. et al.,2014) is cited 337 times, show through a system model, and comparing two different types of crowdfunding including that in equity, that the entrepreneur especially when the initial capital requirements of the company are "weak" prefers to the pre-order phase of the collection. Combining this phase, an investor's remuneration that takes into account the size of the market. The conclusions to the application of the model are very important for managerial decisions in the start or business development phase.
- *A5: crowdfunding Into SME's Structure*: refer to the next section where all the results found are treated.
- *A6:* (Tomczak A., Brem A.,2013), is cited 42 times, observe how the crowdfunding helps companies in their early stage through business angel investments. In deepening the argument, they try to define the investment model that binds crowd funders and target company.
- *A7:* (Lehner O.M., Nicholls A.,2014) is cited 33 times, work closely with governmental organizations in the UK and abroad to develop innovative schemes for social impact investments. These presuppose public - private collaborative schemes, legislative actions and, in particular, to use the lever of public and philanthropic funds in crowdfunding. The crowdfunding can provide funds to social enterprises but also bring greater transparency to participation in companies. In addition, state tax benefits and guarantees from venture philanthropic funds provide additional incentives for investments.

5.2 Crowdfunding with particular reference to SMEs (RQ2)

This section is dedicated to providing an answer to our RQ2 "In all crowdfunding results, how many people deal with the theme in the SME?". The articles related to this topic and catalogued in the dedicated category A5 are 8. These articles were also found by inserting the word "SME" in the search engine Scopus in addition to the keyword "crowdfunding". (Block J.H. et al.,2018) identify the new forms of financing[4] and concludes with the indication that half of the papers analyzed concern crowdfunding and the remaining part is divided between the other types of funding. (Maier E.,2016) deals with the development in the financial sector of new services that offer opportunities to customers. Under the common denominator "fintech", these new companies aim to challenge existing financial institutions by using technology to deliver value to the customer in an alternative way. One of these models is crowdlending. (Donald D.C. et al., 2016) deals with the crowdfunding topic only to the Hong Kong market. The authors discuss what are the possible impacts of this instrument can be on the business fabric of Hong Kong and finally it presents a series of considerations and proposals. (Fatoki O.,2015) talks about the crowdfunding only marginally, the main topic of the document concerns the effect that human capital has on the understanding of the new financial alternatives in South Africa by SMEs managed by young entrepreneurs. (Abdullah S., Oseni U.A.,2017) analyze how to use crowdfunding platforms in Malaysia and what are the specific aspects for SME financing, also analyzing the new legal framework. (Fasshauer I.,2016), analyze the growing phenomenon of crowdfunding, identifying it as an alternative for SMEs in order to find funds using the community, specifically analyze which can be the levers to attract investors. (Schenk A.,2015) presents a theoretical comparative study of current financial alternatives with particular regard to innovative forms. The results show that crowdfunding brings benefits to the company that create value by the lenders. (Tech R.,2018) analyze how external financing plays an essential role in the success of most start-ups, the paper exposes what are the main forms of financing and the most successful for start-ups in Berlin.

5.3 Crowdfunding in female SMEs (RQ3)

While women-owned ventures represent an increasing proportion of new businesses in most western countries, most of them have particular financing patterns and encounter barriers in their access to financing. Recent research on the question argues that barriers to financing are mainly dependent on factors other than gender, such as owner- and firm-related characteristics. (Constantinidis et al.,2006)

In the literature on female entrepreneurship, the attention to the access to credit, has been the subject of many studies and empirical investigations (Cesaroni and Sentuti,2014) some research provides clear cut evidence in which female businesses exhibit various peculiar financial patterns. For instance, women entrepreneurs use lower ratios of debt finance (Haines et al.,1999) and are more likely than men to use personal loans (Coleman and Robb,2009). Reasons for gender differences within business financing are still unclear. In fact, despite the

4 The authors refer to Accelerators, Angel networks, crowds, Corporate Venture Capital, Family Offices, Governmental Venture Capital, IP-Based Investment Funds, IP-Backed Debt Funding, Mini-Bonds, Social Venture Funds or Social Venture Capital, University-Managed or University based Funds, Venture Debt Lenders or Funds

great amount of available data, there are still no unequivocal or widely accepted explanations, and recent studies present different interpretations to explain the reasons for weaker financial patterns within female owned businesses and their lower ratios of debt finance.

Our attention within this theme has been on the form of financing of the Crowdfunding for the female start up but in the literature there are no job that they face.

With specific reference to women's businesses and their use of the crowdfunding tool, our combined research has not led to any results. This is a significant gap in the literature that shows a lack of attention by scholars in dealing with the effect of innovative and alternative forms of funding, such as crowdfunding, in women's businesses.

6. Conclusion

This paper contributes to literature in several ways. Firstly, it provides a complete analysis in the international context of the common phenomenon of crowdfunding, which however finds different legal disciplines, or even absent, in the various countries of observation. Regardless of this initial divergence, our work presents the overall observation of the various topics dealt with on the topic by academics in the international context. The classification used for Article Focus observes a prevalence, in the 2010-2018 period, of articles in the A1 category that deals with the individual behaviour of investors in the preference for investments in crowdfunding and again in the A7 category (Lehner O.M., Nicholls A. (2014)) contributions on the analysis of the phenomenon of crowdfunding in specific socioeconomic and political contexts. Most cited articles are always prevalent in the A1 category (Zheng H et al.,2014;Burtch G. et al.,2013; Burtch G. et al.,2015; Lin M. Viswanarhan S.,2016) and in the A3 category (Belleflamme P. et al.,2013; Mollick E.,2014; Frydrych D. et al.,2014) which includes the academic contributions on the value drivers in the presentation of the crowdfunding projects. The trend of the most written articles with the most cited ones can be explained by the fact that the most cited ones, contained in the categories A1 and A3, serve as a starting point for all those studies that are finalized on the analysis of specific economic contexts and socio-politicians like those in the A7 category. The individual behaviours of the investors observed in the A1 category and the main successes in the presentation of crowdfunding projects observed in the A3 category are the starting point on which to develop insights on context studies such as those observed in the A7 category. Our study also shows that there is not a clear prevalence among the research area of the articles dealing with crowdfunding. Scholars in the period 2010-2018 have produced a number of almost equal articles among the macro-categories of Business, Management and Accounting (B1) and Economics, Econometrics and Finance (B2). The type of research most used by scholars to carry out the research on crowdfunding is qualitative. The geographical area from which the academic contributions come are mainly from Europe and later from America, residual relevance have all the others. With regard to crowdfunding within the SME's (RQ2), the results show how this important form of financing is treated as an alternative financing instrument following the financial crisis that has hit the economic environment for years 2007/2009 (Block, JH, et al 2018), as an opportunity to offer to those who want to invest in the economic activity of SME's both in the form of crowd lending and in the form of crowdfunding (Maier, E., 2016), as an opportunity to financing in specific economic contexts such as the Asian ones in Hong Kong (Donals DC et al., 2016) or in Malaysia (Abdullah S., Oseni UA, 2017). Finally, crowdfunding in SME's is analyzed as a possible tool for the development of the intangible of human capital, especially in women's businesses (Fatoki O., 2015).

In deepening, the analysis between crowdfunding and the special topic of female companies there is an important gap in the literature with the total absence of academic results. The limits to our research are of two types. The first one, which concerns only the females of crowdfunding, can be traced in different regulatory legal contexts between countries that undermine the homogeneous comparability of data on financial funding. Crowdfunding often involves small entrepreneurs with a scarce strength to attract large capital to take advantage of their research and also to conclude crowdfunding campaigns there is often a need for a strong corporate social communication towards the stakeholders that the small entrepreneur often does not It owns. The second type of limitation that our research has encountered specifically concerns women's businesses. This refers to the small size of female companies that do not allow traceability in the data and also the limited number of observations, completely absent in the literature, which do not allow to have a starting point and in-depth analysis on specific topics on the topic of crowdfunding. Precisely this important gap in literature and delay in innovation of funding sources with regard to gender studies will be the starting point for our future research. In the next contribution, in the course of editing, will be dedicated a special starting point for reflection on

alternative forms of funding for female businesses with the treatment of a case study in the Italia national context.

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Gender Inequalities in the Workplace: The Effects on Wages in European Member States

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Abstract: In the last century, gender inequalities have decreased in most of the developed countries, but gender inequalities still persist in the XXI century. Once the stereotypes related to gender gap are hard to break in societies and especially in the labour market, many efforts have been done in recent years by governments (through laws, incentives, public and organizational policies, and others), national and international institutions to decrease the gender gap in the workplace, but much more has to continue to be done. This paper has as the main goal to investigate the effects of gender inequalities in the workplace at the level of the specific outcome, based on the study of the effects on wages and gender pay gap in European member states. The analysed outcome effects of gender inequalities at the workplace, based on wages and on the gender pay gap in European member states, allow to conclude that, besides the positive evolution in the last decades of women labour force participation rate, the inequalities still persist. The differences traduced in average wage gap differences can be based, according to several analyzed authors, on specific factors, which reflect on the labour outcomes. These differences in gender wage gap vary across countries, being in 2016 the women's gross hourly earnings, on average, 16.3 % below those of men; and varying by 20 percentage points, ranging from 5.2 % in Romania to 25.3 % in Estonia. According to the working profile, the gender pay gap for part-time workers ranges from -0.5 % in Germany to 26.7 % in Portugal and for full-time workers ranging from 0.1 % in Italy to 18.7 % in Latvia. For the gender pay gap in public versus private sector, most of the EU countries verify a higher gender pay gap in the private sector than in the public sector, varied in the private sector from 6.8 % in Romania to 24.0 % in Germany, and in the public sector from -6.6 % in Cyprus to 24.4 % in the United Kingdom, which may be justified by the fact that within the public sector, in most European Union member states, employees are protected by collective pay agreements and other similar contracts.

Keywords: gender inequalities, gender gap, workplace, wages, education, work performance, productivity, gender pay gap

1. Introduction

Over the last century, and mainly the last five decades, the gender inequalities have decreased in most of the developed countries. The relevance of women in the labour market verified huge changes in developed economies, but the gender inequalities, in particular in wages, promotion and employment opportunities, still persist.

The evolution observed through the last decades had changed the cultural structure considered as the conventional place of women in society and, consequently, in labour markets. After the second Great War, the common way to see gender stratification and the stereotypes in society start to change (Bobbitt-Zeher, 2011). The cultural changes were mostly operated by the mobility of persons and ideas in an international sphere, created a new conscience of a gender equality rights and affirmation to start a convergence between the two genders' equality – which nevertheless did not prevent the bravest of fighting for the desired equality and for their dreams. These cultural changes were seedbeds that flourished in many different fields: in the way of thinking, in the way of women dressing (clothes, mini-skirt, bathing suit ...), in the way of being in society and fight for their rights, and, as stated Fiske (2012), as well as for the right to education. Till then most women's education was at a basic level and related to the family of female proper education, usually in the field of youth education, house labour's and health[1]. After these changes, women started to study in secondary schools and to want to ascend and allow themselves to dream with go to study at superior levels at colleges and universities, which until then it was very rare or quite impossible[2].

[1] Women who opted for certain jobs were conditioned to whom they could marry or could not even marry, that was the case of teachers and nurses.

[2] Even in many developed countries, in Europe and around the world, women were not allowed to study in some institutions, colleagues or universities, as well as some courses and degrees, were denied to the frequency of women, as women well as were not allowed to vote in the elections.

These changes did not happen from one day to another, it went through a progressive path and verified a gradual change of the way of being in society, with reflexes on the labour market and with changes at the typical women's versus men's jobs. Women graduated in science, in medicine, in law, in engineering, in philosophy, in economics, in management, in political science, in the army, but in all the fields they are gaining their place in a job that previously were only designated to men. Although, there is a growing trend, there are still few women distinguished with the Nobel Prize, distinguished by international organizations, and with careers at the top management of large companies. Notwithstanding, nowadays women represent, in most of the countries, the gender majority in universities, with better grades than men. The cultural professions are not anymore the same, women are not just in education and nursery fields like one six decades ago, and they are in the knowledge fields of society with active participation and a good performance. But statistics show that even the work performance of women is better, women are not at an equal level in the labour market: the gender inequalities still persist and are reflected in wages, promotion, employment opportunities, and mobility.

The most of researchers in this field agree that the most widely kind of gender inequalities is concerning with the field of the labour market (Bettio, 2008; Bettio et al., 2013; Blau & Kahn, 2000; Chichilnisky, 2008; Goldin, 2006; Georgiadis & Christopoulos, 2017; Oaxaca, 1973). The convergence to gender equality will have positive social contributions at different levels: social inclusion and poverty reduction, development of living standards and economic growth (Pereira, 2018). It is important to study the occurred biases and quantify inequality, so that we can understand how to effects were changing over time. So, this justifies the relevance to study this topic contributing to increase the scientific knowledge and social welfare, as well to a better and fairer society today and in the future.

This paper has as main goal study the effects of gender inequalities at the workplace at the level of outcome measured and analysed by wages. It is structured as follows: after this introduction, a second section reviews the literature achieved by the review of seminal works combined with state-of-the-art articles about the research topic and focused on the main concepts. A third section describes and analyses the evolution of the gender inequalities at the workplace and its effects on wages, work performance and productivity, promotion, and mobility, and presents the discussion of the observed data evolution and explain the observed effects of gender inequalities in the workplace on wages in European member states and its relation with the literature reviewed and the main trends. Finally, section 4 concludes.

2. Literature review

The first studies on empirical literature about gender inequalities were published on the 1970s (for example, Blinder, 1973; Oaxaca, 1973; Mincer, 1974), however, the great interest devoted to the subject and to the development of academic and institutional research about gender inequalities is very recent. The interest for the topic was accompanied for many political interventions of governmental and international institutions in the way to decrease the gap between men and women in the labour market and to decrease inequalities (Pereira, 2018). The developed countries, at the level of G20[3], have agreed, in 2015, to develop efforts to achieve gender equality and empower women labour, as part of its sustainable development goals. They based their political decisions on the importance of women contribution to an inclusive and sustainable economic growth (G20, 2012), through the commitment to reduce the gender gap in 25 percent by 2025 and to bring more than 100 million women into the labour force (G20, 2014a; Klugman, 2015; Pereira, 2018).

The gender inequalities at the workplace and in the labour markets, at an international level, decrease significantly during the 1980s and 1990s, but it was in the last decade that women participation in labour force had a huge increase due to a set of cultural, institutional and economic factors (Georgiadis & Christopoulos, 2017). These factors have contributed to many of the changes that increased economic opportunities to women in the labour market (Castellano & Rocca, 2017). Stamarshi and Son Hing (2015:6) describe the gender inequalities at the workplace based on the few opportunities women receive at work compared with men, in result of their under-representation at higher levels of management and leadership in organizations, once men give them fewer challenging roles and fewer training opportunities, which have repercussion in fewer promotion levels for women. For other side, these authors in their study refer that women are underpaid with lower wages

[3] The Group of Twenty (G20) is an international forum that brings together the world's 20 leading industrialized economies. The twenty countries that make up the G20 are Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Republic of Korea, Mexico, Russia, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the European Union. These countries represent the world's most advanced economies, accounting for roughly 85 percent of global GDP and more than 75 percent of world trade.

than men, which in the case of United States (US) of America, for the period between 1983 and 2000, women were paid 22% less than men[4]. Concluding that there is discrimination against women in human resources related to decision making by organizational decision makers, which contribute to women being paid lower wages when compared to men.

Although, women have made great strides in the workplace, however, gender inequality still persists. The first laws about the *Equal Pay Act* were established on the US in 1963 as a law amending the *Fair Labor Standards Act*, which aimed at abolishing wage disparity based on sex. Other countries followed the example of the US with the promulgation of similar laws. However, the gender equal pay is still an issue that highlights discrepancies, which according to the US Census Bureau report, for 2018, illustrate that in US women earn 80 percent of what men are paid. These represent, in accordance with the same report, that on average, women employed at full time, in the US, lose more than 900 billion dollars in 2017. This percentage increases with the age of female workers. Furthermore, women have to work on average an additional 44 days to earn the same annual salary as their male counterparts. In the European Union (EU), according to the Eurostat, in 2016, women's gross hourly earnings were on average 16.2 % below those of men in the EU, and the highest gender pay gap in the EU was recorded in Estonia (25.3 %) and the lowest in Romania (5.2 %). In the EU, the gender pay gap is much lower for new labour market entrants and tends to widen with age. However, those differences over age groups can have different patterns across European countries. The gender pay gap might increase with age, as a result of the career interruptions that women experience during their working life, particularly older women unable to benefit from specific equality measures which did not yet exist when they started to work (Eurostat, 2018). The gender pay gap is higher in the private sector (Eurostat, 2018).

According to the International Labour Organisation (ILO) (2016: xi) "*women continue to face significant obstacles in gaining access to decent work. Only marginal improvements have been achieved since the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, leaving large gaps to be covered in the implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, adopted by the United Nations in 2015*". Gender inequalities at workplace persist even in developed economies (Anker 1998; Heintz et al., 1997; Kreimer, 2004), consisting of a current concern by governmental institutions in these countries. Although the decreasing in gender inequalities verified in the last two decades, and the significant progress on the levels of women education, reaching higher qualification levels (ILO, 2016; Kreimer, 2004; Pereira, 2018), for Castellano and Rocca (2017) still exists a gender gap which influences the choices on the field of study and the levels of education attained by women, based on its correlation with the incentives and available policies for reconciling work with family and home care. The gender inequalities tend to be larger in countries characterized by higher unemployment rates and less developed welfare systems (Castellano & Rocca, 2017).

Many countries, in great part developed countries, with the purpose to decrease gender inequalities, have been implementing working-time regulations and public policies of systems of incentives to support the costs and the availability of maternity based on elder care services, human resource management practices for companies' workers, policies of taxes and national benefit systems to support welfare (Anxol *et al*., 2007; Castellano & Rocca, 2017; Mandel & Shalev, 2009; Pereira, 2018). According to Pereira (2018), in the last decade, some actions were taken by national and international policy makers and world organizations with the purpose to decrease the existing gender inequalities and promote equal gender opportunities, between men and women at the workplace.

The G20 leaders created, in 2015, the engagement group designed 'Women 20' (W20), to promote the gender-inclusive economic growth focused on the promotion of gender equality as a key challenge, at the strategic level, for progress (Klugman, 2015). The promotion of gender equality in the labour market has been also one of the stated priorities of the United Nations, in agenda of the Millennium Development Goals, with the objective of promoting economic growth, related to the specific target of education and with additional target indicators on women's employment and political representation (Castellano & Rocca, 2017; OECD et al., 2014; United Nations Development Group, 2010; World Economic Forum, 2014). With the same propose, the EU has implemented, in the last decade, several legislative and non-legislative initiatives to decrease gender inequalities (COM, 2010; Council of the European Union, 2011; Geargiadis & Christopoulos, 2015; Yeandle & Booth, 1999) as one of the imperative main flagships of the Europe Strategy 2020.

[4] This data was based on the results of a study of the U.S. Government Accountability Office (2003) which controlled the human capital factors that could affect wages like education level and work experience.

The decrease of gender inequalities is relevant in social and humanitarian ways, once promotes the equality of human rights between the two genders. For another side, the increasing women's participation in the labour force become a key policy issue, particularly in developed economies, based on the support that the rise of female employment can significantly boost growth and per capita income (ILO, 2016). This economic argumentation supported by the results of the McKinsey study (McKinsey Global Institute, 2015), cited by ILO (2016:5), which is based on 15 gender equality indicators, tracked for 95 countries, which led to the conclusion that "*if women participated in the economy at a level identical to that of men, it would add up to US$ 28 trillion or 26 percent of annual global GDP in 2025, assuming a business-as-usual scenario*". This impact can be compared to the one that would be achieved for the current economic size of the United States and Chinese economies together (ILO, 2016). So, the rise of women participation in the labour market will contribute to increasing economic growth in a sustainable way, and the competitiveness of a nation, in the long run. This issue only will represent a sustainable factor if the gender inequalities in the workplace decrease as well as its effects on main workplace characterizing variables: wages, work performance and productivity, promotion, and mobility.

3. The effects of gender inequalities at the workplace: The wages gap in the EU member states

In this section, it will be described and analysed the effects of gender inequalities in the workplace, based on the existing wages gap in European member state variables wages. The data was retrieved from the OECD data base on Gender Statistics and from the Eurostat Statistics - Gender Pay Gap Statistics.

The evolution of the men and women labour force participation rate in the OECD countries (except for China and India), presented in Appendix 1, shows that for most of the OECD countries considered, the female participation rate increased between 2000 and 2017, except for the cases of South Africa and Norway.

Concerning the gender wages gap, a huge decrease has been occurred in the last two decades, in the majority of the EU and OECD countries (Pereira, 2018). Perez-Villadoniga and Rodriguez-Alvarez (2017) found, in their study, empirical evidence to support that the gender wage gap, i.e. the difference in average wages between men and women; are based into three components:

- i) the existing differences in the characteristics of men and women;
- ii) differences in returns to these characteristics, attributed to discrimination- because using different databases and methodologies, all studies of the gender gaps attribute this differences to observable characteristics that favour men; and
- iii) to the overall wage structure, based in Blau and Kahn (1999, 2003), i.e. the array of prices for various labour market skills and the income received for employment in certain industrial sectors.

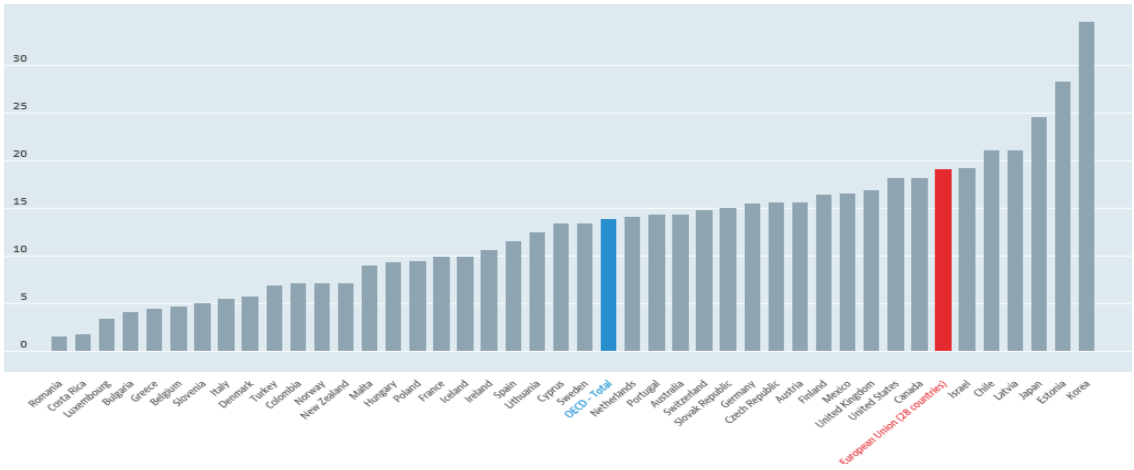
For their side, Stamarshi and Son Hing (2015) support the gender wage gap in gender inequalities in the workplace resulting from discrimination against women in human resources related decision making by organizational decision makers. These results allow to conclude for less opportunities for women at workplace compared with men, in result of women under-representation at higher levels of management and leadership in organizations, which imply fewer challenging roles and promotion opportunities contributing to women being paid with lower wages when compared to men.

In Figure 1, it is possible to observe the gender wage gap in the OECD and EU28 countries. The gender gap average is bigger in the EU28 then for the average of OECD countries. The countries with a small gender wage gap, in 2018, was Romania followed by Costa Rica, and the country with a higher value is Korea preceding by Estonia.

According to Eurostat (2018), for the European economy, in 2016, women's gross hourly earnings were on average 16.2 % below those of men in the EU28 and 16.3% in the Euro Area. Across EU member states, the gender pay gap varied by 20 percentage points, ranging from 5.2 % in Romania to 25.3 % in Estonia (Figure 2).

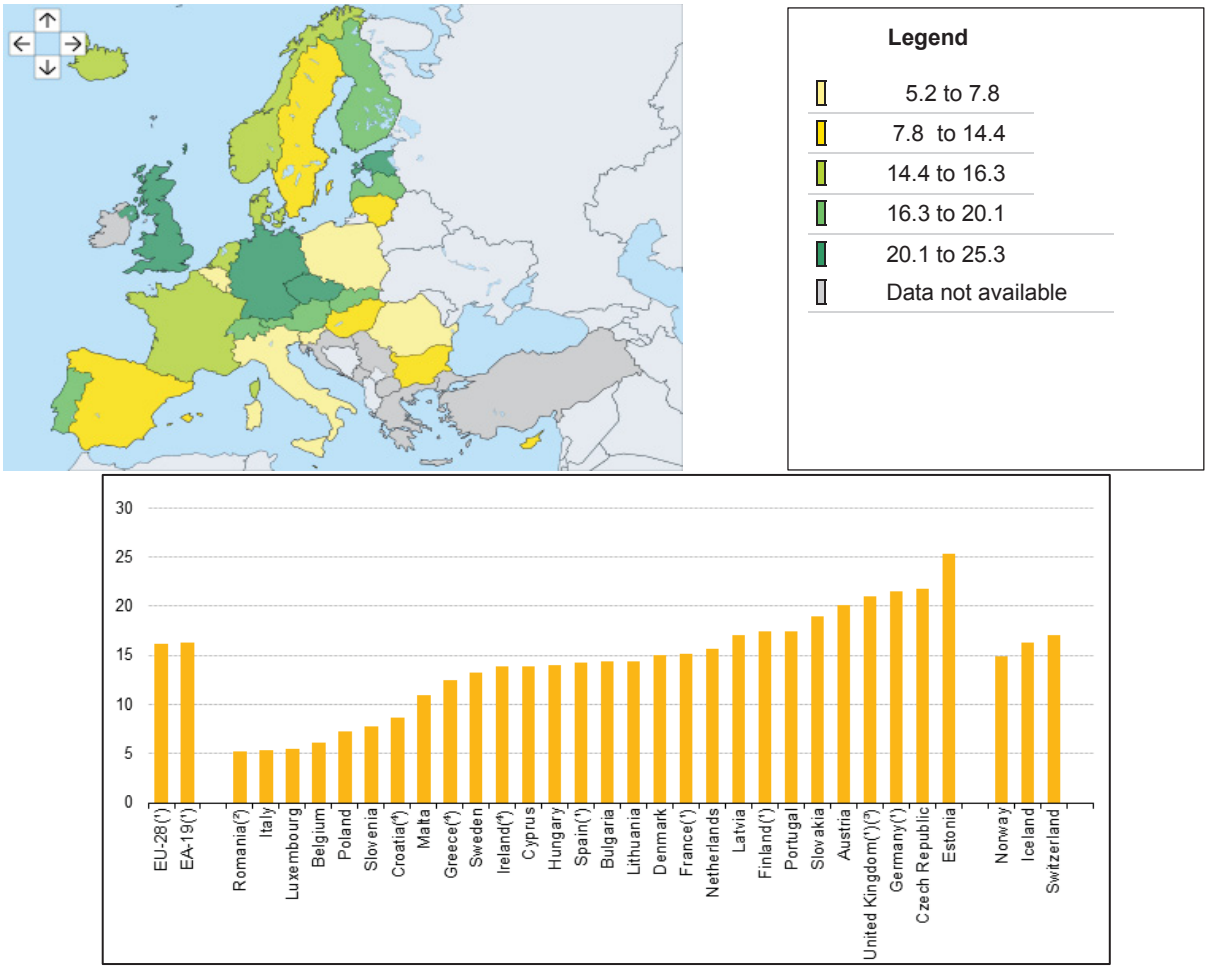
Gender inequalities on the pay gaps can also be analysed based on the different types of work, in the perspectives of part-time or full-time employment. Although information at this perspective levels is not available for all the EU Member States, in Figure 3, in 2016 (currently the last available year on Eurostat), the gender pay gap for part-time workers varied from -0.5 % in Germany to 26.7 % in Portugal and for full-time

workers, pay gaps varied also widely in the EU Member States, ranging from 0.1 % in Italy to 18.7 % in Latvia. A negative gender pay gap means that on average women's gross hourly earnings are higher than those of men.



(Source: OECD, Gender Statistics, 2018)

Figure 1: Gender wage gap (in % of male median wage), in the OECD and EU28 countries

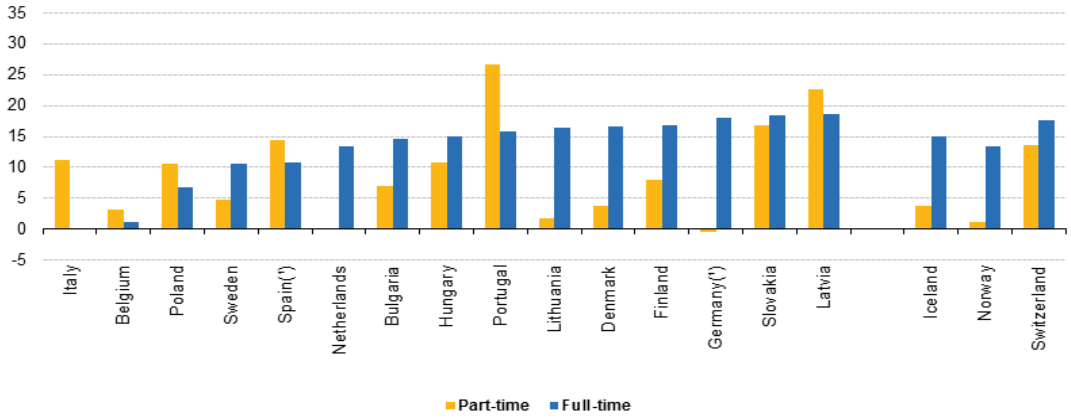


(Source: Eurostat (tsdsc340) in https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Gender_pay_gap_statistics#Gender_pay_gap_much_lower_for_young_employees)

Figure 2: The unadjusted gender pay gap, 2016 (the difference between average gross hourly earnings of male and female employees as % of male gross earnings)

Also based on the Eurostat (2018) statistics, the gender pay gap is generally much lower for new labour market entrants and tends to increase with age. However, these differences over age groups can have different patterns

across the countries. The gender pay gap explanation given by Eurostat (2018) may be due to the increase with age as a result of the career interruptions women experience during their working life, and particularly due to the fact that older women are unable to benefit from specific equality measures which did not yet exist when they started to work.



Note: Enterprises employing 10 or more employees; NACE Rev. 2 B to S (-O); data not available for the Czech Republic, Estonia, Ireland, Greece, France, Croatia, Cyprus, Luxembourg, Malta, Austria, Romania, Slovenia and the United Kingdom.
(*) Provisional data

Source: Eurostat (2018) (earn_gr_gpgr2wt);

Figure 3: The gender pay gap by working profile (%), 2016

When analysing European statistics (Eurostat, 2018) about the gender wage inequalities in economic activities (NACE Rev. 2 section K), is observed a highest gender pay gap in financial and insurance activities than in the business economy as a whole. A breakdown for the different economic sectors reveals interesting patterns: in all EU member states, with exception of Spain, the gender pay gap in the financial and insurance activities is higher than in the business economy as a whole. In 2016, the gender pay gap in financial and insurance activities varied from 18.1 % in Italy to 39.8 % in the Czech Republic. Within the business economy as a whole, the highest gender pay gap was recorded in Estonia (25.6 %) and the lowest in Romania (7.0 %). About the ten economic sectors for which a significant number of EU member states recorded negative gender gaps, they were: water supply, sewerage, waste management and remediation activities (NACE Rev. 2 section E) and eleven in the construction industry (NACE Rev. 2 section F). When compared the gender wage inequalities in public versus private sector, in 2016, the majority of the EU countries (for which data are available) recorded a higher gender pay gap (in absolute terms) in the private sector than in the public sector (Figure 4). According to Eurostat (2018), this might be due to the fact that within the public sector, in most EU countries, employees are protected by collective pay agreements and other similar contracts establishing pay. The gender pay gap varied in the private sector from 6.8 % in Romania to 24.0 % in Germany, and in the public sector from -6.6 % in Cyprus to 24.4 % in the United Kingdom. As an unadjusted indicator, the gender pay gap[5] gives an overall picture of the differences between men and women in terms of earnings and measures a concept which is broader than the concept of "equal pay for work of equal value" (Eurostat, 2018). As possible causes of the unadjusted gender pay gap can be pointed to the differences in the average characteristics of male and female employees (Eurostat, 2018).

From the Gender Statistic (OECD, 2018) it is possible also to take information about the existing gap in the women promotion and employment opportunities. The women career promotion and employment opportunities increased in the last decade, but its quantification is still above of male opportunities for career promotion and employment. In great part, the family factors are in the base of the explanation of these two last factors, once they are strictly and significantly related. Once gender inequalities at work may result in gender gaps reflecting in the wage gap between men and women, the improvement in the access to social protection is very important, in particular maternity and old-age benefits (Pereira, 2018). So, work-family public policies can improve the gender equality if these policies real support women's employment opportunities, which may

[5] From the reference year 2006 onwards, the unadjusted gender pay gap is based on the methodology of the Structure of earnings survey (SES) according to Regulation (EC) No 530/1999. The SES is carried out with a four-yearly periodicity. The most recent reference years available for the SES are 2010 and 2014. Eurostat computed the gender pay gap for these years on this basis. For the intermediate years (2011-2013) countries provide to Eurostat gender pay gap estimates benchmarked on the SES results.

differ across countries, having the European Commission a relevant role to decrease gender inequalities between the EU member states promoting equality between gender and countries, once the work mobility is a key factor for the EU competitiveness.

	Public	Private
Belgium	0.1	9.2
Bulgaria	20.6	12.3
Czech Republic	20.5	22.8
Denmark	11.6	15.6
Germany	13.0	24.0
Spain	13.0	19.0
Italy	4.4	17.9
Cyprus	-6.6	23.0
Latvia	16.9	14.1
Lithuania	13.7	17.6
Hungary	11.8	15.0
Netherlands	12.7	21.6
Poland	2.8	16.1
Portugal	13.4	22.6
Romania	9.9	6.8
Slovenia	11.3	7.9
Slovakia	12.7	20.4
Finland	17.7	17.2
Sweden	10.2	11.8
United Kingdom	24.4	22.2
Iceland	12.2	16.4
Norway	8.5	17.8
Switzerland	17.5	17.7

Note: For all countries except the Czech Republic: data for enterprises employing 10 or more employees, NACE Rev. 2 B to S (-O); for the Czech Republic: enterprises employing 1 or more employees, NACE Rev. B to S; data not available for Estonia Ireland, Greece, France Croatia, Luxembourg, Malta and Austria.
(*) Provisional data
(e) Estimated
(e*) Estimated by Eurostat

Source: Eurostat (2018) (earn_gr_gpgr2ct)

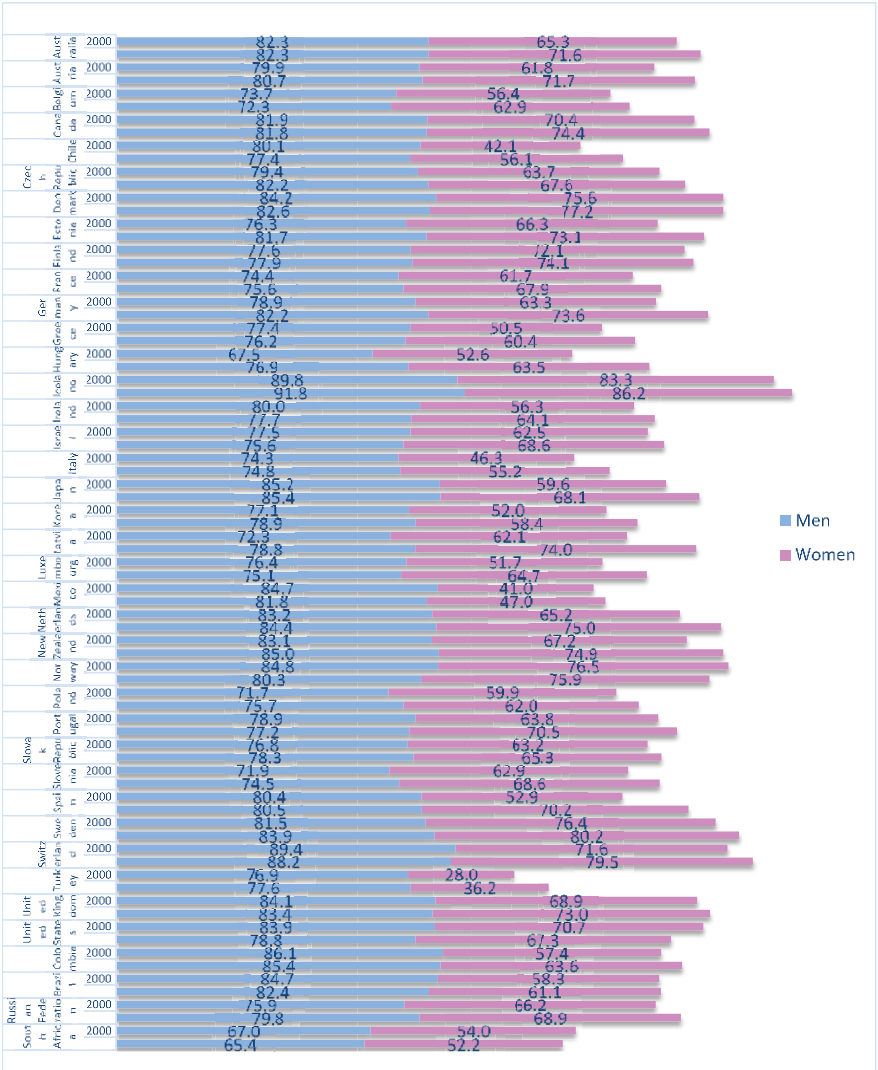
Figure 4: The gender pay gap by economic control (%), 2016

4. Conclusions

According to the Women at Work Trends Report (ILO, 2017), throughout their working lives, women continue to face significant obstacles in gaining access to decent jobs in fair conditions. In the last two decades some improvements have been done, but however women's significant progress in educational achievements and competencies, huge cultural changes, and the efforts by world private and public institutions, like OEDC, Union Nations, EU, ILO, and others, contributed to generating marginal effects, even on developed countries. Gender inequalities in the marketplace still persist and particularly reflects on outcomes, wages, and promotions. Once women have more qualifications, contribute to higher productivity levels, so nowadays it is important to study and quantify gender inequalities at the market place, to allow to understand how to effect change. In both Japan and the United States, public policy is an important part of increasing gender equality in the workplace and at home. In Europe, many disparities between countries, economic sectors, and working profiles are observed, which supports citizens may to continue to encourage people to go beyond all stereotypes and contribute to a better equality level between male and female rights, with repercussions in the workplace and in the relationships at home. This paper has as main goal to study the effects of gender inequalities at the workplace based on the level of outcomes given by wages. The present study started describing the evolution in the last decades of the gender inequalities and women in the labour market through evolutionary statistics vision and a review of literature of the seminal and state of art articles, books and reports about the topic under analysis. After this, a sample of countries belonging to OECD and EU28 were analysed at the gender gap and its effects in the workplace highlighting the variable of gender pay gap and wages. The analysis quantified and compared the evolution of these variables through countries, to allow conclude how these variables are characterized in relation to the gender pay gap. The analysed outcome effects of gender inequalities at the workplace, based on the gender pay gap in European member states, allow to conclude that, besides the positive evolution of women labour force participation rate, there exist differences in average wages between men and women based in the enunciated factors by Perez-Villadoniga and Rodriguez-Alvarez (2017), Blau and Kahn (1999, 2003), and Stamarshi and Son Hing (2015), with different gender wage gap according to different countries (ranging from approximately 2% in Romania and Costa Rica to forty percent in Korea. For the European member states, in 2016, women's gross hourly earnings were on average 16.3 % below those of men. Across EU member states, the gender pay gap varied by 20 percentage points, ranging from 5.2 % in Romania to 25.3 % in Estonia. The gender pay gap, according to the working profile, vary a lot across the EU countries, for part-time workers varied from -0.5 % in Germany to 26.7 % in Portugal and for full-time workers pay gaps varied also widely in the EU member states, ranging from 0.1 % in Italy to 18.7 % in Latvia. Considering the gender pay gap in public versus private sector, most of the EU countries verify a higher gender pay gap in the private sector than in the public sector, which is justified by Eurostat (2018) based on the fact that within the public sector, in most EU countries, employees are protected by collective pay agreements and other similar contracts establishing pay. The gender pay gap varied in the private sector from 6.8 % in Romania to 24.0 % in Germany, and in the public sector from

-6.6 % in Cyprus to 24.4 % in the United Kingdom. The workplaces need to adapt to the "whole person," both women and men. Women have improved a lot their education in last decades, verifying that in many developed countries, women currently surpass men in educational achievement. However, some problems arise when young adult women try to balance work and family putting many more hours into these household activities than men. This fact brings great disadvantages to women in the workplace. Which allow to find that countries with high female labour force participation rates tend to have higher birth rates. According to the study "Gender Inequality and Women in the Workplace" of the Harvard Business School[6], "*the post-industrial countries that have made it possible for women (and men) to balance work and family typically have replacement-level birth rates. Increased gender equality—both in the workplace and at home—is an important part of the solution to declining birth rates*". Reducing the gender pay gap is one of the key priorities of gender policies at both EU and national levels. At EU level, the European Commission prioritised "reducing the gender pay, earnings and pension gaps and thus fighting poverty among women" as one of the key areas in the framework of the Strategic engagement for gender equality 2016-2019. The present study pretends to contribute to improving the scientific knowledge under the topic of gender inequalities at marketplace and its effects on specific outcomes, in this case, wages, as well as to discuss and debate on the subject in question, to open some windows to allow to reduce the inequalities between men and women in society and in the marketplace, contributing to gender equality and to a fairer future society.

Appendix 1: Comparison of female and male labour force participation rates across 38 OEDC countries, between 2000 and 2017



(Source: Own elaboration with data from OECD Data Statistics)

[6] In https://www.summer.harvard.edu/inside-summer/gender-inequality-women-workplace. Accessed on 2 November 2018

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Female Entrepreneurial Networks in a Historical Perspective: The Case of *Industrie Femminili Italiane* (I.F.I.) at the Beginning of 20th Century

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Abstract: Studies on female businesses in a historical perspective has developed in recent times, but, with some exceptions, the international panorama of studies on businesswomen in non-Anglo-Saxon nations remains hidden. Moreover, in the analysis of the history of businesswomen, emerges the necessity of understanding the historical context within which the phenomenon developed. Recent studies has highlighted that to measure the success of a female entrepreneurship initiative it is central the influence of personal perceptions. This is not only required to get over "self-imposed barriers" or recognize opportunities, but also to model rules. So, developing skills and knowledge seems to be essential to support female businesses and to increase women's personal awareness, and the presence of a network could significantly affect the success of female business experiences. This paper has the aim to analyse the role of a network in the development of female business experiences through the study of the Industrie Femminili Italiane (I.F.I.) (Italian Women's Cooperative Enterprise), founded in 1903 in Rome to promote women's work and their economic conditions. It was established as a cooperative enterprise, operating in the lace-manufacturing sector. At the beginning of twentieth century, I.F.I. included 24 Italian enterprises located in different regions. Manufactured products were delivered to Rome headquarters and then distributed all over the world. This paper is based on social capital theory and on the role of knowledge of network in facilitating female entrepreneurship. This study focuses on the impact that social relationship between the cooperatives belonging to I.F.I. has on the acquisition of an awareness of entrepreneurial talent for Italian businesswomen at the beginning of the twentieth century. This study is based on the historical analysis of collected data and sources. The analysis of the context also adopts a historicist approach, which suggests that every treatment accounts for culture, events and practices of the period under examination.

Keywords: historical approach, female network, Italy, 20th century, gender entrepreneurship

1. Introduction

Studies on female businesses in a historical perspective has developed in recent times both in terms of methodology (Menzani, 2010; Mandell, 2014) and of research fields (Scranton, 1998). Particularly, since "*business has always been gendered*" (Gamber, 1998: 216), and the number and shape of past female enterprises are the direct consequences of the institutional, social and cultural environment, this new attention to women and business have thus been accompanied by the study of the wider context and circumstances in which female entrepreneurial experiences appeared (Vickery, 1993; Doe, 2017).

However, despite "*an enormous corpus of writing, an imposing institutional presence, a substantial list of journals, and a foothold in popular consciousness*" (Scott, 2004: 11), these researches are generally focused on UK and US experiences and on the period between the 18th and early 20th centuries.

Moreover, in the analysis of the history of businesswomen, emerges the necessity of understanding the historical context within which the phenomenon developed, and some researchers (Doe, 2017; Picciaia, 2017) started to introduce institutional, social and cultural environments in the studies of historical female experiences. Studying the impact of contextual factors is, of course, central in the investigation of every entrepreneurial experience (Bowden, 2016). But, in the case of female-directed and female-owned businesses, this becomes essential, because of the additional constraints and restrictions that every woman experienced in her business, especially in some countries. To this sense, developing skills and knowledge seems to be essential to support female business and women's personal awareness, also for the centrality of personal perceptions to measure the success of any female entrepreneurship initiative. So, the presence of a network, and the consequent possibility to empower individuals involved in it, could significantly affect the realization of female business experiences (Farr-Wharton and Brunetto, 2006; de Bruin *et al*., 2007).

In light of these considerations, aim of the paper is to analyse the role of a network in the development of female business experiences through the study of *Industrie Femminili Italiane* (I.F.I.) (Italian Women's Cooperative

Enterprise), founded on 22 of May 1903 in Rome to promote women's work and their economic conditions (Cooperativa nazionale Industrie Femminili Italiane, 1906; Aracne, 1907; Porpora, 2002). The company was established as a cooperative enterprise operating in the lace-manufacturing sector. At the beginning of 20th century, I.F.I. included 24 Italian enterprises located in different regions (Pantini, 1905; U.N.D., 1912). Manufactured products were delivered to Rome headquarters and then distributed all over the world, especially to the United States (Aracne, 1909). The significant growth and the important position acquired in the market did not prevent I.F.I., however, from an equally rapid downsizing until the bankruptcy in 1935, after a fire that had completely destroyed its headquarters in Rome.

This paper is based on social capital theory (Woolcock, 1998; Lin, 2001; Taylor *et al*., 2004) and on previous literature investigating the role of networks in facilitating female entrepreneurship. Starting from this framework, this study focuses on the impact of I.F.I. network on the development of female entrepreneurial initiatives and on the acquisition of an awareness of entrepreneurial talent. This analysis is based on the historical approach of collected data and sources. As Previts *et al*. (1990) and Carnegie and Napier (1996) have noted, this reflects the tradition of the interpretive historical method, which offers the possibility to criticize the subject under study (Safari and Parker, 2017). The analysis of the context also adopts a historicist approach (Budd, 2008; Tosh and Lang, 2006), which suggests that every treatment accounts for the structures, culture, events and practices of the period under examination. This examination, moreover, emphasizes the links among the personal, cultural, social and institutional domains (Frogget and Chamberlayne, 2004).

The paper is structured as follows. In section two a literature review has been presented, in order to underline the main topics about female entrepreneurship experiences in a historical perspective and the presence of studies on networks in the past. Section three is related to the description of the creation and development of I.F.I. and its role as a support of Italian women's entrepreneurial initiatives. To this sense, in the same section, social, cultural, and political situation in Italy at the beginning of 20th century has been illustrated. Following this, in section four the role of I.F.I. network in the development of female entrepreneurship experiences has been discussed, focusing particularly on its contribute to empower women's personal perceptions, and, therefore, their abilities to overcome environmental barriers and constraints. Finally, in section five, conclusive remarks and future strands of research have been illustrated.

2. Literature review

The growing attention to gender and entrepreneurial initiatives affected various topics, as the historical one. Particularly, from 1990s, publications on female business initiatives in a historical perspective started to appear, albeit the focus has been primarily related to history of accounting (Hammond, 2003; Ikin *et al*., 2012; Kirkham and Loft, 1993; Komori, 2007; Spruill and Wootton, 1995; Wootton and Spruill, 1994), finance (Carlos *et al*., 2006; Johns, 2006; Newton and Cottrell, 2006; Rutterford and Maltby, 2007) and business (Clark, 2013; Gamber, 1998; Honeyman, 2007; Kwolek-Folland, 1998; Mandell, 2014). Besides, the international literature on gender entrepreneurship in the past is typically focused on US and UK experiences (Doe, 2017; Gamber, 1998; Walker, 2008), with some exceptions (Beachy, 2006; Castagnoli, 2007; Curli, 2002; Muoz and Prez, 2007; Picciaia, 2017; Ulianova, 2009), that underline the marginality of studies on gender within the wider boundaries of accounting, management and business history (Sharpe, 1995; Schwarz, 2015; Walker, 2008). As Gamber (1994) argued, "*women rarely appear in business history*" (p. 129).

However, it has to be noted that one thing that emerges from the analysis of history of businesswomen is the necessity of understanding the historical context within which the phenomenon developed, and the role of institutional, social and cultural background in the development of women's entrepreneurial initiatives (Gamber, 1998; Vickery, 1993; Doe, 2017). These elements are obviously central in every business experiences (Bowden, 2016), but, in case of female-centred initiatives, they become essential since the presence of additional constraints and barriers that women are experienced in their business, especially in the past. Studies on this topic have also emphasized the capabilities of businesswomen to overcome external constraints using personal characteristics in addition to aptitude and executive abilities (Beachy, 2006; Clark, 2013; Doe, 2017; Mandell, 2014; Picciaia, 2017). This is true not only to get over "*self-imposed barriers*" (de Bruin *et al*., 2007: 330) or recognize opportunities, but also to model rules, in other words to create the preconditions necessary to become an entrepreneur and to fruitfully remain in the marketplace (Gamber, 1994).

Traditionally, networks are considered as a central tool to enhance and empower business possibilities, also in relation to female entrepreneurship. In recent times, various studies on gender networks have been published. Some scholars focused their attention to gender differences, in terms of expectancies (Manolova *et al.*, 2007), or business performances and success (Weiler and Bernasek, 2001), also in relation of enterprise's dimension (Watson, 2011), or the role of entrepreneurship networks to facilitate female businesses in developing countries (Maas *et al.*, 2014). Gender differences have been also investigated in terms of the influence of network composition. Klyver (2011) has found that female focal entrepreneurs tend to involve female alters and family members who are not partners, while Martin (2001) underlined that female entrepreneurs concentrate on building collaborative, inclusive relationships. The Government involvement, and the way it could affect the dynamics – mostly relational ones – related to women's business network are other elements that have been investigated by scholars (Farr-Wharton and Brunetto, 2006), while Hanson and Blake (2009), in a critical survey on gender and entrepreneurial networks, argued the necessity to value and emphasize social, political, and cultural structure which shape entrepreneurs' identity and affect access to resources, and underlined the dearth of papers on this topic.

This paucity of studies on gender and entrepreneurship networks is present also in a historical perspective. A recent study (Buchnea, 2017) summarizes the presence and use of network themes within business history. Her analysis, starting from a generic definition of network as a "*complex structure containing a multitude of actors and linkages*" (p. 259), deepens some of the contexts in which this topic has been explored: family business, local business communities, industrial districts and international trade, but all these areas are related to "generic" networks: no mention of studies about the relationship among networks, business and gender matters in the past.

What however seems to be central in most of the analyses on gender and business networks is the presence and the role of social capital and, more generally, social relations. Social capital can be defined as a productive value that affects the access to essential resources (Lin, 2001; Anderson and Jack, 2002; Taylor *et al.*, 2004), so a resource itself for a social action (Coleman, 1988; Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998). Historically, its development is related to the works of Putnam, Bourdieu, Coleman, Lin (for a historical analysis, see Woolcock, 1998). It is considered a broad term, "*encompassing the norms and networks facilitating collective actions for mutual benefits*" (Woolcock, 1998: 155) and, for some scholars, "*almost self-explanatory*" (Kreuter and Lezin, 2002: 228). So, starting from these considerations, it is possible to underline two different dimensions of this concept: social network and resources. In other words, one core element of social capital is trust dimension and the possibility to create benefits, both economic and non-economic (White, 2002). To this sense, it becomes a strategic asset that could improve strength and development of business network, intended as a nexus of relationships (De Carolis and Saparito, 2006).

3. The situation in Italy at the beginning of 20th century and the creation of "Industrie Femminili Italiane"

At the beginning of 20th century, Italy was one of European countries in which economic and social condition of women was dramatically different from male counterparts (Valsangiacomo and Lorenzetti, 2010); for example, Italian women were banned from holding public office, did not have any rights to their children, and, until 1919, were under "marital authorization", that precluded any married woman from running commercial and entrepreneurial activities without the permission of her husband (Curli, 2005). So, this social and legal background underlines the vision of female economic independence as a threat, which could undermine the stability of the family and, more generally, of society itself. Even as employees, women suffered discriminations: their salaries were generally lower than men's, and they were banned from some works (considered ideologically incompatible with women's status). Female workers were accepted in just few sectors (Zanuso, 1984), or, simply, tied to the role of housewives.

The Industrie Femminili Italiane (I.F.I.) (Italian Women's Cooperative Enterprise) was established on 22 of May 1903 in Rome as a cooperative enterprise operating in the lace-manufacturing sector (Cooperativa nazionale Industrie Femminili Italiane, 1906; Aracne, 1907; Porpora, 2002). During the second part of the 19th century, many lace schools sprang up and flourished not only in Italy but also in other European countries. In France, for example, over two hundred thousand women were employed in the lace industry (Porpora, 2002). This phenomenon was a reaction to the process of industrialization that took place during the previous century. The bourgeoisie started to reevaluate the exclusivity of female hand-craftsmanship when compared to industrial,

mass-produced products, and an increasing number of vocational schools were set up to teach women traditional manufacturing techniques and pass on their expertise. Lace schools offered women the opportunity to emancipate themselves from the household by becoming financially independent. For this reason, in a predominantly male-oriented society, these institutions were sometimes believed to undermine women's primary role as housewives.

I.F.I. was founded by a group of noble, bourgeois women who established the Cooperative with the aim of improving women's financial conditions by encouraging them to engage in an activity which required both entrepreneurial and artistic skills. Over the years, I.F.I. was joined by other important and notable shareholders, including the Queen of Italy, the Duchess of Aosta, the National Bank of Italy, the Saving Bank of Rome and the Ministries of Agriculture, Industry and Trade. I.F.I.'s corporate structure consisted of a board of directors, a Technical Committee, and a "Comitato di Patronato". The board of directors was chaired by the Countess Cora di Brazzà Sarvognan, and included six other noble, bourgeois women and two prominent men, Sir Lorenzo Ponti and Lawyer Cesare Vivante. The presence of these notable male figures, though of little relevance in terms of representation, solidified the legitimacy of this entrepreneurial venture in a business world that was still dominated by men. The Technical Committee was only responsible for product quality while the "Comitato di Patronato" had an important role in connecting the activity of local lace enterprises and the I.F.I. headquarter in Rome.

The manufactured lace goods, which were produced throughout the Italian territory by companies like Industria Merletti in Burano, Aemilia Ars in Bologna and Scuole di Merletti in Florence (Pantini, 1905; U.N.D., 1912), were sent to the nearest local subquarter (I.F.I. comprised 24 of them) where they were stored before being sent to the central headquarter in Rome for distribution. Each "local subquarter" was chaired by a so called "Patroness" who was also a member of the central "Comitato di Patronato." The central headquarter, which was established in the capital city in order to increase visibility and facilitate trade operations, distributed Italian lace products all over the world. USA was a major importer of Italian lace (Aracne, 1909).

Through this cooperative, member companies were able to reach new markets, including foreign ones. This was possible thanks to the ability of the chair, Countess Cora di Brazzà Sarvognan, who already in 1893 was able to ensure the presence of laces of her company at the Universal Exhibition in Chicago. Thanks to the previous work of the Countess, in the year of their establishment (1903) the I.F.I. already had five warehouses in the United States (New York, St. Louis, Baltimore, Washington and New Orleans) able to assure the participating companies with sales volumes unthinkable in Italy. Becoming a member of the cooperative was a great advantage for local lace companies. Through I.F.I. became possible for regional entities selling big quantities of products, thus succeeding in employing a higher number of women. This ensured employment and empowerment for a greater number of young women. Furthermore, the presence of the cooperative with its foreign markets allowed to sell lace products at higher prices guaranteeing a fair reward to the workers.

I.F.I. saw a rapid growth (sales more than doubled in the second year from 56,000£ to 128,000£ and continued to growth also in the following years) but, despite the successes, many were the difficulties of raising capital to carry out the initiative. For this purpose, resources were mainly collected through the charity of wealthy ladies interested in promoting women's work and through the traditional funding channels ensured by the presence within the board of two notable men. The significant growth and the important position acquired in the market did not prevent it, however, from an equally rapid downsizing until the bankruptcy in 1935 after a fire that had completely destroyed it's headquarter in Rome.

4. Female entrepreneurship network: when an art becomes a tool to improve women's situations

I.F.I. network represents one of the first attempts to unify women's capabilities in a territorial and entrepreneurial way. Its structure was simple: local entrepreneurs produced lace-manufactured product (following local traditions and cultures) and everyone could organise the internal structure in relation to different factors, as the number of employees and of local lace schools, or the typology of product they made. Then, products were collected by a local sub-quarter and sent to Rome for selling activities. The central headquarter had the role of "supervisor" and "products catalyst". The first function was realised through the presence of the Technical Committee, which was responsible of product quality and, to this sense, guaranteed an adequate artistic and artisanal level of lace products, contributing to the empowering of network brand. The

second characteristic was mainly related to the presence and the active role of I.F.I. president, Countess Cora di Brazzà Sarvognan. I.F.I. was primarily a distribution network, since all products were delivered from local companies to Rome headquarter and then shipped to other countries (especially USA). But, the real "booster" of this reality was precisely the president, who, with her personal networks and relational abilities, assured to I.F.I. a great presence in strategic cities and a lot of foreign markets.

The subsequent growth of I.F.I. network and the possibility to achieve a "critical" productive dimension to overcome single enterprise's constraints, allowed women to emancipate themselves and their economic and social position. The more the I.F.I. grew, the more women involved in local companies became autonomous from male domination. Particularly, this emancipation could be represented both as a cause and as a consequence. As a cause, since it worked as an enhancer and accumulator of female personal perceptions: what was apparently impossible for just one woman became a reality when a group of women worked together. To this sense, female interactive relationship could create the preconditions to face and overcome entrepreneurial barriers and restrictions. As a consequence, because the involvement in this "cumulative" entrepreneurial initiative made women economically independent by men, or however allow them to come out of the condition of mere housewives. This could represent the "real" impact of a gender network: the possibility, for a social relation among individuals, to allow women to acquire awareness of entrepreneurial talent and autonomy (Gori, 2003; Cutrufelli and Nicolini, 1998). This is, in part, consistent with previous literature which underline the presence, in female networks, of collaborative and inclusive relationships (Martin, 2001), but, in the case of I.F.I. experience, network is also a tool to spread personal capabilities also in women naturally less pushing and audacious.

Another interesting trait is related to the financing aspects of I.F.I., which were essentially determined by two different ways. The first one was through the activity of the board of directors, where two men were included. Their presence had a sort of reassuring function: in a male-dominated world, in fact, men "*received credit for more often and in far greater amounts than did the female counterparts [and] … whenever capital was the basis for credit, men won and women lost*" (Gamber, 1994: 132). So, aim of their involvement was to guarantee current and potential creditors and lenders about the solidity and solvency of the reality, but in the case of I.F.I. this strategy did not worked as hoped. On the other side, however, a central role was related to the charity of noble and wealthy ladies, interested in the support and promotions of women's work. This dynamic underlined what Gamber (1998) called "female subculture" or, in other words, a sort of "sisterhood" (Hewitt, 1985), in which women from different social classes and different roles unified together to face unfavorable environment.

5. Conclusive remarks and future strands of research

In this paper we analysed the role of a network in the development of female business experiences through the study of *Industrie Femminili Italiane* (I.F.I.) (Italian Women's Cooperative Enterprise), casting new light on the impact of network in the development of female enterprises in a historical perspective.

In its historical context, I.F.I. network empowered women by giving them a job and, by eliminating male intermediaries who exploited female work, increased female awareness of their entrepreneurial talent (Gori, 2003; Cutrufelli and Nicolini, 1998). I.F.I. also represented a tangible way for rich people, especially for rich women who contributed with their work and their money to this initiative, to do charity without dissipate money but, at the contrary, contributing at the empowerment of women at that time. Furthermore, I.F.I. initiative helped women of isolated villages to have a sustenance in a historical period in which many Italian men were obliged to migrate and women remained in Italy and had also the merit of passing on a highly appreciated artisan tradition and of giving international visibility to a work with almost artistic characteristics.

In closing, I.F.I. network represents one of the first attempts to unify women's capabilities in a territorial and entrepreneurial way and it confirms the importance of social capital in creating economic and non-economic benefits for the community (White, 2002).

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Add the Woman and Stir: Abstract Masculinity in Case Study Research

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Abstract: Case study research has a practical versatility in its agnostic approach (Rosenberg and Yates, 2007). Philosophically, it can be orientated from a realist or positivist perspective where the researcher holds the view that there is one single reality, which is independent of the individual and can be apprehended, studied and measured, through to a relativist or interpretivist perspective. Such philosophical versatility provides the researcher with the opportunity to decide the methodological orientation used in the conduct of the case study. Yet within such versatility, the assumption of objectivity, defined as the separation between knower and known, speaks of an "abstract masculinity". Case study research, this contribution contends, even when about women, obviates the experience of women, an experience that is always situated, relational, and engaged. In other words, ontologically, it is argued here, the lived reality of women's lives is absent from the domain of case study research because the language adopted when framing case study research is still very much a language that talks about women, but it does not allow women to speak. This contribution emphasises the multiplicity of female expressions and preoccupations so that from the intersection of these differences is possible to discover a standpoint for women that does not collapse the differences among women into the "Universal Woman" (Kristeva, 1981). Of course, any such program of action will not get very far unless the differences among women are fully explored. And, as Tong (1992) put it, because feminist thought is kaleidoscopic, a closer inspection will always reveal new visions, new structures, new relationships for personal and political life, all of which will be different tomorrow than today. These are the strengths and the value of challenging the 'add the woman and stir' approach in case study research. Feminist's contribution to case study research goes further than highlighting the woman's perspective as it helps to promote case study research as a distinctive form of empirical enquiry by challenging the common claim that case study research provides little basis for scientific research (Simons, 2009).

Keywords: feminist scholarship, generalization, research strategy, research design

1. Introduction

Feminist standpoint challenges a privileged social identity and makes a claim that it is unfair to generalize from a single case by contending that each singularity has its own value and merit (Brooks, 2007): a woman's story is not any woman's story. Making knowledge claims across differences (Griffin, 1994) allows for the reproduction and co-production of hidden power relations and for such relations to surface. However, the power to produce authoritative knowledge is not equally open to all. Feminists, therefore, question who has the power to know what and how power is implicated in the process of producing knowledge. The same can be held, and it is contended in this contribution, with reference to case study research. Facing the challenge of having to defend itself from generalisation (Yin, 2014), case study research calls into question the power relations in the research encounter. The power to decide what difference is measured against and how the "different" is constructed, lead to the problem of claiming epistemological privilege. Additionally, such indistinctness opens up a space for a conditional release of objectivity, because the ultimate goal of case study methodology remains to provide a "generalizing" and not a "particularizing" analysis (Lipset, Trow, and Coleman, 1956). It is such objectivity that this contribution wishes to challenge. In order to do so, I will first focus on the conditional release of objectivity in case study research, both in terms of meanings and outcomes. I will then move on to talk about the notion of abstract masculinity, embedded in the "add the woman and stir" approach which rests on assumptions of universal humanity and is a direct consequence of the conditional release of objectivity. Finally, I will offer a road map which could support future research.

2. Against generalization

Researchers (Stake,1995; Merriam, 2009 and Yin, 2014), to neutralise the claim that case study research carries little scientific *gravitas*, because of its generalization, often consider the fact that the same accusation has been made against a single scientific experiment. The argument being that scientific facts are rarely based on single experiments; they are usually based on a multiple set of experiments, which have replicated the same phenomenon under different conditions. The same approach can be used with multiple case studies but requires a different concept of the appropriate research designs. In search of appropriateness, the adoption of a feminist standpoint is not merely an exercise in ideological reassurance, but rather the opportunity to maintain that a feminist standpoint epistemology in all its nuances (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2002), offers a credible and

valuable contribution to support strategies for using case study research as a method of enquiry equipped to defend the claim that leaving differences out of research without acknowledgment has implications for what knowledge researchers produce, what power relations they consider, and whom they constitute as absent. Case studies, like experiments, are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes. In this sense, the case study, like the experiment, does not represent a "sample," and the investigator's goal, as Yin (2014) reminds us, is to expand and generalize theories thus focussing on analytic generalization, and not to enumerate frequencies as it is the case in statistical generalization.

The numerous definitions and descriptions of case study research and methodology present across the relevant academic literature, at the outset allow for some considerations when reflecting on generalization. Stemming from the most common definitions borrowed from the work of Stake (1995), Merriam (2009) and Yin (2014), we have that Stake (1995) takes a more flexible stance and, while concerned with rigor in the processes, he maintains a focus on what is studied (the case) rather than how it is studied (the method). For Stake, case study research is the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances. On the other hand, Merriam (2009) includes what is studied and the products of the research when defining case study as an in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system. Yin's (2014) two-part definition focuses on the scope, process, and methodological characteristics of case study research, emphasizing the nature of inquiry as being empirical, and the importance of context to the case. From this brief overview, it is already noticeable that what is emphasized here is that the defining feature of case study research often takes central stage over the content of any research endeavour where case study research is employed. In discussing the proliferation of definitions (and subsequent confusion), Flyvbjerg (2011) is particularly valuable here as he contends that using a simple definition, almost borrowed from the dictionary, might be a more useful approach. Whatever the description preferred, these varied definitions stem from the researchers' differing approaches to developing case study methodology and often reflect the elements they emphasize as central to their designs. The diversity of approaches subsequently adds diversity to definition and description.

Furthermore, the ambiguity about case study being either or both a methodology and method should be highlighted here. Across the literature, case study is referred to as a methodology and a method, an approach, research and research design, research strategy, and/or a form of inquiry (Anthony and Jack, 2009; Brown, 2008; Creswell, 2014; Gerring, 2004; Merriam, 2009; Simons, 2009, Stake, 2006; Stewart, 2014; Yin, 2014). Often these terms are used interchangeably without definitional clarity. For example, Yin (2014) discusses case study research and in the context of presenting case study, refers to it as a research method while emphasizing the procedures used. He does not use the terms methodology or strategy. Creswell (2014) refers to case studies as a qualitative design, while others use the term case study (Flyvbjerg, 2011; Stake, 1995, 2006; Stewart, 2014), qualitative case study (Merriam, 2009), or describe case study as an approach (Simons, 2009). This mixed use of terminology is puzzling given the definitional separations between methodology and methods and the varied application of case study in research endeavours. Notwithstanding the definitional disconnections, both method and methodology are committed to objectivity, aiming to produce valid knowledge, in a sort of a ‘no-nonsense commitment to faithful accounts of a real world’ (Harding, 1993:50). The need to be critically conscious of the research process and their place in it, but still tell "truer" stories about a "real" social world – here debts to Haraway (1991) are evident – is an effort that case study research and feminism have in common.

3. The "conditional release" of objectivity

Case study research has a practical versatility in its agnostic approach (Rosenberg and Yates, 2007). Philosophically, it can be orientated from a realist or positivist perspective (Robson, 1993) where the researcher holds the view that there is one single reality, which is independent of the individual and can be apprehended, studied and measured, through to a relativist or interpretivist perspective (Hancock and Algozzine, 2006). Such philosophical versatility provides the researcher with the opportunity to decide the methodological orientation used in the conduct of the case study. Yet within such versatility, the assumption of objectivity, defined as the separation between knower and known, speaks of an "abstract masculinity", a sort of strong objectivity, which in Harding’s (1993) terms is not an accommodation of Hammersley and Gomm’s (1997) control of bias. Rather, it is an attempt to contextualise a Cartesian opposition between subject and object with the aim to abandon false claims to value-freedom.

Theoretical justifications cannot avoid questions of significance and this is particularly relevant when seeking to challenge abstract masculinity in case study research, as I will discuss later. In the relevant literature (Creswell,

2014; Gerring, 2004; Merriam, 2009; Simons, 2009, Stake, 2006; Stewart, 2014) is well established that not every set of true statements about a given phenomenon constitutes an acceptable theory of that phenomenon: some sets offer a distorted, biased representation of the whole. This can make them unworthy representations of a phenomenon even if they contain no falsehoods. Therefore, what constitutes an adequate, unbiased representation of the event or even the trend we wish to evaluate is relative to our values, interests, and aims. Consequently, we have that we face a conditional release of objectivity in case study research because even the project of defining the boundaries of significant phenomena may involve contextual value judgments (Brown, 2008). Most noticeably, when critically evaluating the relevant academic literature (Flyvbjerg, 2011; Gerring, 2004), it appears that case study research, even when about women, obviates the experience of women, an experience that is always situated, relational, and engaged. In other words, ontologically, the lived reality of women's lives is absent from the domain of case study research because the language adopted when framing case study research is still very much a language that talks about women, but it does not allow women to speak. Feminists (Cameron, 1998) have come up with novel theories and perspectives on language as a social and cultural institution, questioning, for instance, the assumption that the male and the female share a common language, thus reviving an old debate about linguistic determinism – the question being how far language underpins as opposed to just reflecting our perception as scholars of the social world. The question can be partially answered by reviewing the narratives employed by scholars who utilise case study research to support their claims (see e.g. Brown, 2008; Anthony and Jack, 2009), where their claims to objectivity is equated to abstract masculinity. It is worth reiterating here that experience as a source of knowledge is that any one person's experience is limited, partial and socially located and so cannot be taken as general knowledge of how social phenomena are organised as social relations.

When "asking the woman question" in case study research, is fundamentally important to acknowledge with Kristeva (1981) that time has perhaps come to emphasise the multiplicity of female expressions and preoccupations. From the intersection of these differences is possible to discover a standpoint for women that does not collapse the differences among women into the "Universal Woman" (Kristeva, 1981). Of course, any such program of action will not get very far unless the differences among women are fully explored. And, as Tong (1992) put it, because feminist thought is kaleidoscopic, a closer inspection will always reveal new visions, new structures, new relationships for personal and political life, all of which will be different tomorrow than today. These are the strengths and the value of ensuring that the "woman question" is asked in case study research. Such questioning allows the acknowledgment that feminist thought, although it has a beginning, it has no end, and because it has no predetermined end, feminist thought, permits each woman, both as researcher and as research participant, to think her own thoughts. Feminist's contribution to case study research goes further than highlighting the woman's perspective as it helps to promote case study research as a distinctive form of empirical enquiry by challenging the common claim that case study research provides little basis for scientific research (Simons, 2009).

4. Toward objectivity

We are now in a position to draw out of this discussion of the innovative grounds and subject of knowledge for feminist standpoint theories the stronger standards for maximizing objectivity that such theories both require and generate. Strong objectivity requires that the subject of knowledge be placed on the same critical, causal plane as the objects of knowledge. Thus, strong objectivity requires what we can think of as "strong reflexivity." This is because culturewide beliefs (Spivak, 1988) function as evidence at every stage in scientific inquiry: in the selection of problems, the formation of hypotheses, the design of research (including the organization of research communities), the collection of data, the interpretation and sorting of data, decisions about when to stop research, the way results of research are reported, and so on. The subject of knowledge – the individual and the historically located social community whose unexamined beliefs its members are likely to hold "unknowingly" – must be considered as part of the object of knowledge from the perspective of scientific method.

Strong objectivity requires that researchers and their communities be integrated into democracy-advancing projects for scientific and epistemological reasons as well as moral and political ones (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2002). From the perspective of such standpoint arguments, empiricism's standards appear weak; empiricism advances only the "objectivism" that has been so widely criticized from many quarters (Smith, 1988). Objectivism impoverishes its attempts at maximizing objectivity when it turns away from the task of critically identifying all of those broad, historical social desires, interests, and values that have shaped our societies. It is

worth highlighting here that the conception of value-free, impartial, dispassionate research is supposed to direct the identification of all social values and their elimination from the results of research, yet it has been operationalized to identify and eliminate only the social values and interests that differ among the researchers and critics who are regarded by the scientific community as competent to make such judgments. However, objectivism also conceptualizes the desired value-neutrality of objectivity too broadly. Objectivists claim that objectivity requires the elimination of all social values and interests from the research process and the results of research. It is clear, however, that not all social values and interests have the same bad effects upon the results of research.

5. Abstract masculinity

Some feminists (Spivak, 1988) argue that the very notion of objectivity should be abandoned. They say that it is hopelessly tainted by its use in racist imperialist, bourgeois, homophobic, and androcentric scientific projects (Spivak, 1988). Moreover, it is tied to a theory of representation and concept of the self or subject that insists on a rigid barrier between subject and object of knowledge between self and Other which feminisms label as distinctively androcentric, thus currying the weight of abstract masculinity. Indeed, various concepts of otherness as constituting a structural relationship of inequalities have been widely taken up within feminism (Kitzinger and Wilkinson, 1996; Butler, 1991).

Leading case study researchers do however emphasize that an overarching methodology shapes a case study design and that multiple sources of data and methods can be used (Merriam, 2009; Stake, 2006; Yin, 2014), thus providing the distinction between the two. This distinction accentuates the need for researchers to describe the particular underpinning methodology adopted and to clarify the alignment of chosen methods used with their philosophical assumptions and their chosen approach.

Exploring the philosophical orientation of case study research and variations in different case study approaches can help to clarify these differences, thus promoting a better understanding of how to apply these principles in practice. This contribution therefore, reiterates the belief that feminism, while necessarily political, at the same time must be centrally concerned with method, truth, and epistemology: such point now well documented in the literature dealing with methodologies of social sciences. This is because, to paraphrase Hartsock (1990), feminism is about truth claims and how scholars, who defined them as feminists, justify them. At the very outset it should be noted that the search for truth in a feminist mode, leads to respect experience and differences. Activity is epistemology: women and men create their own realities through their different activities and experiences. If this were the whole story, however, then both truth and reality would be multiple, even "relative".

From the beginning (Brooks,2007), feminist standpoint theorists have recognized that feminist politics demand a justification for the truth claims of feminist theory, that is, that feminist politics are necessarily epistemological. In this way, the challenge to any abstract masculinity which is characterised by the "add the woman and stir" approach, is evident. More specifically, when challenging abstract masculinity, feminist standpoint theorists' quest for truth and politics has been shaped by two central understandings: that knowledge is situated and perspectival (Tong, 1992) and that there are multiple standpoints from which knowledge is produced (Harding, 1993; 1995). As the theory has developed, feminist standpoint theorists have explored, first, how knowledge can be situated yet "true," and, second, how we can acknowledge difference without obviating the possibility of critique and thus a viable feminist politics (Ermath, 2000). Feminist standpoint theorists have answered these questions in a variety of ways; many of these answers have been unsatisfactory; the theory has been frequently reformulated (Smith, 1988). In the course of their arguments, however, these theorists have made an indispensable contribution to feminist theory. Feminist standpoint theory, it is contended here, represents the beginning of a paradigm shift in the concept of knowledge, a shift that is transforming not only feminist theory but also epistemology itself. What Code (1991) calls a "new mapping of the epistemic domain" that characterizes feminist theory owes much to the articulation and development of feminist standpoint theory.

6. A roadmap for future directions

A balanced assessment of the contribution of feminist epistemology to case study research as presented in this contribution leads us to a roadmap for future directions. While the framework proposed provides new features and benefits to gender-inclusivity in research, this contribution presents a research plan with an overarching goal to help ensure that case study research is developed systematically with scientific validation principles. The

result of this plan will be a set of tools to improve approaches made available to a wider community of scholars seeking to address the issue of an "unbiased" representation of reality whilst challenging abstract masculinity as an assumption of academic rigour. One might try to offer a value-neutral account of significance and bias, arguing that an unbiased theory, doing justice to the whole truth is one that disregards all contextual values in deciding which facts to represent or how to represent them. The question still remains as what would such an account look like? The whole truth cannot be an account that literally represents every fact about the phenomenon being studied. No theory offers anything close to that. Nor should any theory try. Such a representation would end up burying the significant truths in a mass of irrelevant and trivial detail.

Two sets of problems seem to take shape. The first revolves around the role of the researcher in the research encounter, the second around the nature of power relations in research. If we agree that case study research is a dialogical process in which the research situation is structured by both the researcher and the person being researched, two issues flow from this point. The first is that the dialogical nature of research increases the probability that the research may be transformed by the input of the researched. The second is that dialogism means that the researcher is a visible and integral part of the research setting. Indeed, research is never complete until it includes an understanding of the active role of the researcher's self which is exercised throughout the research process. In other words, we do not parachute into the field with empty heads ready to record the facts. As Stanley and Wise (1993) point out, researchers remain human beings. This is to say that the researcher is an instrument in her/his research and furthermore researchers are not part of some universal monolith. Indeed, we are differently positioned subjects with different biographies; we are not dematerialized, disembodied entities. This subjectivity does influence our research as is illustrated by, for example, the extensive literature on how the gender of the researcher and those being researched influences the nature of fieldwork (Geiger, 1990; Herod, 1993; Oakley, 1981; Warren, 1988). Moreover, we have different personal histories and lived experiences, and so, as Warren (1988) makes clear, the researcher as any person, without gender, who would objectively produce the same findings as any other person, is completely mythical.

The biography of the researcher directly affects case study research in two ways. First, different personal characteristics allow for certain insights, and as a consequence some researchers grasp some phenomena more easily and better than others. Furthermore, the everyday lives of the researched are doubly mediated by our presence and their response to our presence. No researcher can conveniently tuck away the personal behind the professional, because case study research is personal. A researcher is positioned by her/his gender, age, race/ethnicity, sexual identity, and so on, as well as by her/his biography, all of which may inhibit or enable certain research method insights in the field (Hastrup, 1992).

The second set of problems derives from the nature of power relations in the research encounter when thinking about case study research. The argument being that such research approach is inherently confrontational in that it is the purposeful disruption of other people's lives, where we can even argue for exploitation and possibly betrayal as endemic to case study research. This is not to say that the research experience is always a negative one for the researched. I am merely arguing here that case study research might actually expose the researched to greater risk and might be more intrusive and potentially more exploitative than more traditional methods (Finch, 1984; Oakley, 1981; Okely, 1992; Stacey, 1988, 1991).

To be concerned about abstract masculinity in case study research brings me to the final and concluding point about appropriation (even if it is only textual appropriation) as an inevitable consequence of case study research. This possibility is distressing for those of us who want to engage in truly critical social science by translating our academic endeavours into political action. Yet, as researchers we cannot escape the contradictory position in which we find ourselves, in that we are locating ourselves in a position of power. At the same time, I am not convinced of the viability of some of the popular solutions for dealing with this (textual) appropriation, such as sharing the prepublication text with the researched for feedback and writing "multivocal" texts that "give voice" to the researched. Indeed, some feminists argue that these practices are vital parts of the research process. The intent is to minimize appropriation by avoiding misrepresentation and extending the idea of a reciprocal research alliance between the researcher and the researched. While we can revise our work in response to the reactions of the researched, surely the published text is the final construct and responsibility of the researcher. For example, it is the researcher who ultimately chooses whose voices to include.

Possibly, to address some of the issues raised is important to recognise that the research relationship is inherently hierarchical; this is simply part and parcel of the (conflictual) role of the researcher. I am not saying

that we should not adopt strategies to counterbalance this inevitability, but reflexivity alone cannot dissolve this tension. Reflexivity can make us more aware of asymmetrical or exploitative relationships, but it cannot remove them. The research encounter is structured by both the researcher and the research participants, and the research, researched, and researcher might be transformed by the case study research experience. I therefore suggest that we approach the unequal power relations in the research encounter by exposing the partiality of our perspective. Nonetheless, there exists a continuum between the researcher and the researched: such "betweenness" is shaped by the researcher's biography, which filters the data and our perceptions and interpretations of the case study research. It is important to be more open and honest about research and the limitations and partial nature of that research. We need to locate ourselves in our work and to reflect on how our location influences the case study we choose, how we conduct our research, and how we write our research.

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Roma Socio-Economic Development and Inclusion: The Gender Perspective

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Abstract: This paper focuses on the cultural and socio-economic inclusion of the Romani population, with particular attention to the Roma women conditions. The Romani population is the largest European minority – it is estimated to be of about 12 millions - and the most vulnerable ethnic group in Europe. Refused by all the European societies, Roma have suffered historical persecutions, ostracism and violence and still today they live at the margins of societies. Roma women experience of double exclusion, being marginal both respect to the mainstream societies and respect to their group. Nevertheless, as we will argue, women can play a key role in the development and inclusion of Romani population.

Keywords: Roma women, Romani communities, Roma women inclusion

1. Introduction

This essay focuses on the economic, social and cultural inclusion of Roma and Sinti in Europe, with particular reference to the gender inclusion.

The interest for the Romani[1] world stems from the fact that Roma are, as it will be argued in the next paragraphs, the largest European minority group: their number is estimated[2] to be of about 12 million people.

The inclusion of Roma is a priority of the inclusive growth, as part of the Europe 2020 Strategy, in the context of the European anti-poverty platform. As it will be pointed out in the following pages, the development and inclusion of Roma cannot ignore the issue of the condition in which the women of this population live; both this peculiar aspect, and more generally, any discourse on the inclusion of the Roma, is closely linked to the very particular cultural and social aspects that characterise this minority group.

With respect to this, the essay intends to dwell on the analysis of these factors, precisely cultural and social ones, analysing the impact on the role and condition of women in Romani society, which can be considered as an indicator and, at the same time, a vector to promote Roma social development and promotion within European societies.

2. The Roma in Europe: Life conditions and levels of integration

Roma are an ethnic[3] group living mostly in the Balkans, in Central Europe as well as in Eastern Europe. The Council of Europe (2012) estimated their number as comprised between a minimum of 6 million and a maximum of 16 million; so, with an average number of about 12 million of people living in Europe[4], Roma are the most numerous ethno-cultural minority in this region of the world.
The high number of Roma in Europe is due to the increase of migration flows from East to West, together with the progressive enlargement of the European Union that led millions of Roma to become communitarian citizens.

[1] The term "Romani" is used, in this paper, in a generic way, as it includes, as it will be shortly argumented, different realities having heterogeneous denominations (Spinelli, 2012). Another term commonly used to define this population is "Gypsy"; the Italian term "zingaro" is also referred to this population, but it has a negative connotation.
[2] Evaluation made by the Council of Europe (2012).
[3] The conceptual category of *ethnos* was used since the Nineteenth Century by the anthropologists to indicate populations that shared a feeling of belonging to the same "race", language and culture. Today, numerous scholars consider this term as negative, since it connotes defective identities. Amselle and M'Bokolo (1985) underline that the term was used in classical Greece in antithesis to that of Polis, where it connoted all those who did not belong to the City-State system and were, in fact, outside social life. Hence, the term ethnicity and ethnos have retained a meaning that alludes to the lack of something; mainly, the lack of socio-political organization and structuring (Pompeo, 2012).
[4] Although almost 80% of the Roma (Council of Europe, 2012) are sedentary, it is very difficult to carry out statistic researches on the real number of Roma in Europe. This population, in fact, escapes the surveys for several reasons: many Roma, being of ancient immigration, have acquired the citizenship of the countries that have welcomed them centuries earlier (as in the Italian case); in many cases, moreover, Roma have shame of declaring themselves as such. Hence, statistics on their presence must be considered as defective.

As written in the 2011 Communication if the European Commission[5], today

> *"Many of the estimated 10-12 million Roma in Europe face prejudice, intolerance, discrimination and social exclusion in their daily lives. They are marginalized and live in very poor socio-economic conditions. This is not acceptable in the European Union (EU) at the beginning of the 21st century. The EU's Europe 2020 strategy for a new growth path – smart, sustainable and inclusive growth – leaves no room for the persistent economic and social marginalization of what constitutes Europe's largest minority. Determined action, in active dialogue with the Roma, is needed both at national and EU level. While primary responsibility for that action rests with public authorities, it remains a challenge given that the social and economic integration of Roma is a two-way process which requires a change of mind sets of the majority of the people as well as of members of the Roma communities".*

As the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2014: 24) stressed, furthermore,

> *Only a small minority of Roma in all countries is in education or training, confirming analyses showing that overall a minority of Roma attend upper secondary school. The share of Roma aged 16 and above who are in education or training is higher in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland. The share of retired persons is comparatively low in all countries surveyed, which partly reflects the on average younger age structure of the Roma population surveyed.*

To answer and to find possible solutions to the critical life conditions of the European Romani population, in 2011 the European Council endorsed the European Commission's proposal for an EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020, delegating to the Member States to ensure to Roma equal access to all fundamental human rights as enshrined in the European Charter of Fundamental Rights. Furthermore, the Strategies have been meant to find out policies and practices to break the vicious cycle of poverty faced by Roma from generation to generation.

According to the European Commission, Romani communities' development objectives can be reached only providing that Member States have a clear and strong commitment to develop adequate and integrate multi-level strategies, pointed out in cooperation with national, regional and local authorities, as well as with the active involvement of Roma civil society organisations. Following the communication, Member States prepared and adopted their respective National Roma[6] Integration Strategies or sets of policy measures.

Following this trend, in December 2013 the European Employment, Social Policy, Health and Consumer Affairs Council adopted a Recommendation on effective Roma integration measures in the Member States, known as the "2013 Council Recommendation", which provided guidance on how to effectively implement Roma integration measures and monitoring (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2018).

The 2013 Council Recommendation asked, as for first, Member States to "*take effective policy measures to ensure their equal treatment and the respect of their fundamental rights, including equal access to education, employment, healthcare and housing […] paying special attention to the gender dimension*".

On October 2017, the European Parliament adopted a resolution focused on the fundamental rights respect to the Roma integration. The resolution committed Europe, the European Commission as well as the Member States to develop strategies to fight anti-Gypsyism.

In order to bring Romani populations out of poverty by starting from the children inclusion, it is mandatory to promote, as many scholars highlighted, women labour market participation.[7]

[5] Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European economic and social Committee and the Committee of the Regions an EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020.

[6] It has to be stressed that the Council of Europe used the term 'Roma and Travellers' to encompass the wide diversity of the groups covered by the Council of Europe's work in this field: on the one hand a) Roma, Sinti/Manush, Calé, Kaale, Romanichals, Boyash/ Rudari; b) Balkan Egyptians (Egyptians and Ashkali); c) Eastern groups (Dom, Lom and Abdal); and, on the other hand, groups such as Travellers, Yenish, and the populations designated under the administrative term 'Gens du voyage', as well as persons who identify themselves as Gypsies (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2018).

[7] European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2014: 43).

3. Roma women: A focus on gender problems

3.1 A double marginality

Roma population's history has been characterised by cultural and physical violence, and by a life made of poverty and social exclusion.

Focusing on the Romani women conditions, it has to be stressed that Roma women suffer a double marginality as they just are economically, socially and culturally marginal in mainstream Roma communities; furthermore, the integration and improvement of Romani women participation to economy and society is a *conditio sine qua non* to allow the development of Romani communities.

As stressed by the Council of Europe (2016b: 1)

> *"Romani women across Europe face the additional burden of racism as well as gender discrimination, which push them to the margins of their societies. Low educational achievement, high rates of irregular attendance and school dropouts, high unemployment rates and poor employment opportunities deprive Romani women and girls of realistic possibilities for integration and full participation in society. Lack of personal documents hinders the possibility for many Romani women and/or girls to access education, health care, employment and other related services. Increased racism and anti-Gypsyism in the context of a global economic crisis and international mobility of Romani families affects the safety of Romani women and girls, making them increasingly vulnerable to social exclusion, exploitation, trafficking and violence."*

To properly understand the exclusion of Roma women it is necessary to know its cultural premises and to have a clear picture of its historical and social premises.

Gender-based inequality is culturally, socially and historically shaped in almost all the world communities affected by such problem. What makes so peculiar and difficult to fight, in the Roma community case, is the absolutely unique history of spatial segregation, strong deprivation and exclusion, social ostracism, cultural and physical violence suffered by these people, deeply linked to the creation of the Roma counter-cultural features. These peculiar conditions make the role of women particularly important; more and more deeply that to other societies and cultures, women play a key-role in the maintenance of the group identity; we just underlined that in the case of Roma communities, the construction of a group identity based on thick ethnic boundaries, it has been the survival choice that allowed these populations not to lose their humanity.

Creating groups so closed, so different, so "against" the *others*, the mainstream societies of the countries they passed through during their diaspora, was the cultural choice that allowed them to survive as cultural and human beings.

Women have always had - and continue to have today- the social mandate to protect and transmit this precious and fragile identity.

3.2 Gender-related problems in Romani communities: Labour market participation, education, health care

Roma communities are characterised by low educational levels, with a high rate of illiteracy and poor school attendance by the children (Corsi *et al*., 2010); this is particularly true when speaking about women and young girls.

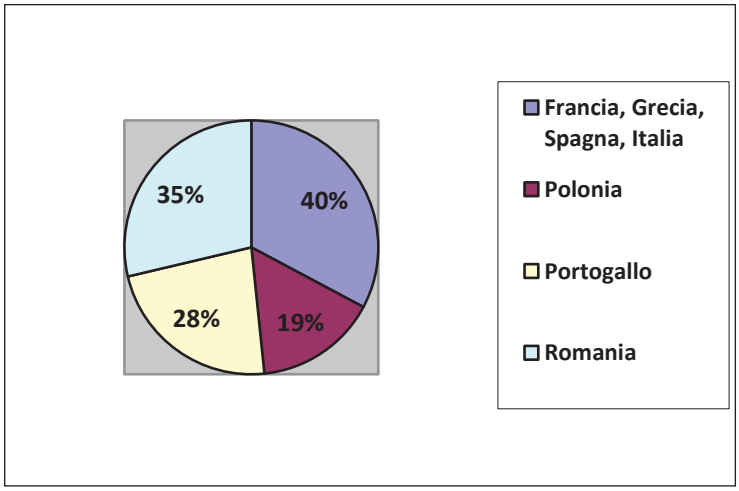
Respect to the rest of the community, Romani young women leave school earlier than the boys, due to the tradition and culture conditioning; in fact, as already stressed, Roma culture tends to avoid girls being exposed to the outside culture, due to the specific role of women as guardians of traditional values.

It has been noticed that the more a Roma community is placed in segregated areas, the stronger is the maintenance of the traditional role imposed by Roma society and accordingly, girls and women educational levels will be lower than the ones of the boys (Corsi *et al*., 2010).

As highlighted (European Parliament, 2006), the lack of education is a key factor to the social exclusion and poverty of Roma women and it represents a strong risk factor for the future generations, that can have lower chance to be educated and to have better social integration levels.

Inevitably, the lack of education and training leads Roma women to be excluded from the labour market. According to the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2014: 24), in many European countries Roma women conditions are, from the point of view of the participation to labour market, the same as all the women in other Member States; more in details, a destiny of marginality joins them, accordingly to historical and political diverse background of the countries concerned:

> *The EU Member States surveyed differ notably in regard to women's participation in the labour market. In post-communist societies women have a long tradition of participating equally in the labour market, which seems to hold true for Roma. In Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic, for example, women have the same share in paid work as men, and the Bulgarian situation is quite similar. In these countries, Roma women also have comparable unemployment rates. Higher gender equality is also reflected in the percentage of women who see themselves as full-time housekeepers. In the four countries mentioned, only about 2 %–6 % of the Roma women surveyed were reported as full-time homemakers. The biggest employment gap between Roma men and Roma women can be found in Greece and France. In the latter only non-resident Roma (gens de voyage) were included in the survey. […] In France, Greece, Spain and Italy more than 40 % of Roma women surveyed were categorised as full-time homemakers. Poland (19 %), Portugal (28 %) and Romania (35 %) still have high proportions of women 'at home'. The higher percentage of self-declared full-time housekeeping for women may partly reflect traditional gender roles but it can also indicate women's resignation and withdrawal from the labour market.*[8]



Percentage of unemployed Roma Women in some EU countries (elaboration on data provided by the FRA survey, 2014)

Promoting school and labour inclusion of women is therefore an unavoidable step for the development of the entire Romani population.

Another relevant problem affecting Roma women lives is the poor health care. If according to a European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights report (2018) the proportion of Roma assessing their health as "very good" or "good" increased significantly between 2011 and 2016 in most EU Member States - on average similar to the general population - throughout Europe Roma women and men average life expectancy at birth is considerably lower than the rest of the population.

[8] European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2014: 24).

Between 2004 and 2011 the UNDP carried out a survey[9] on Roma health conditions; according to the results of the survey, one third of the Roma sample, aged 35 to 54, reported health problems having impact on their daily activities; 66% of the Roma surveyed said they could not afford prescription drugs; 15% of Roma children under the age of 14 were not vaccinated compared to 4% of children from non-Roma households.

On the whole, compared with the non-Roma population in Europe, Roma have poorer health. It has been underlined (European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, 2003) that accessing to the healthcare system is a prerequisite for good health without which full participation in the social, economic and political life cannot be enjoyed. It is inseparable from access to public services such as education, housing and social protection, and a precondition to accessing and maintaining employment. Therefore, ensuring access to healthcare for Roma women is a key element to allow their social engagement and social inclusion.

According to the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (2003), Romani women are subjected to bad health conditions respect to the Romani population and to the mainstream population. This fragility is the result of the complex and inevitable effects of poverty, discrimination, and of social and cultural variables.

The Romani population has a very young demographic structure, since 70% are established by people under 21 years; children under 15 years represent 50% of the communities; the age pyramid characterising the Romani communities is the result of a high natality, which produce an annual reproduction of 3-5%, and high child mortality (Save the Children, 2008).

The most critical factors were identified in a general lower life expectancy, accompanied by major health risks due to socio-economic conditions; frequent pregnancies and abortions, malnutrition and bad alimentary habits, difficulty to access to healthcare services (European Commission, 2014).

Still today, Roma face huge barriers in accessing health services, due to cultural conditioning, to the fear of discriminatory attitudes but also due to practical factors, such as lack of personal identification documents.

Roma women are the most exposed to health problems; for that reason, all the Roma inclusion national strategies recommend to plan concrete action in order to ensure all Roma women the access to basic, urgent and preventive healthcare, and to initiatives to ensure access to social services.

In Italy, for example, the National Strategy recommends monitoring the living conditions, levels and factors of morbidity and risk behaviours of the Roma, Sinti and Travellers communities; special focus is on women, children, elderly people and the disabled. It is stressed the importance to promote a better access to social services and preventive medicine, with particular reference to sexual, reproductive health as well as maternal and child health.

In order to reach this goal, it is recommended to promote an active participation of the female component of the Roma, Sinti and Travellers population in local social services and health prevention and protection processes, also in cooperation with cultural mediators.

In recent times, specific researches on the theme of the maternal-child health of foreign women living in Italy were carried out.

In 2008, *Save the Children* carried out an original research on maternal-child health inside the Romani communities; it is a rare example of this kind of study conducted in Italy, where it has to be stressed the lack of studies on this topic, due to the lack of official statistics on the population, that makes it impossible to measure some of the maternal infantile health "classical indicators".

Numerous are, again, the obstacles to socio-sanitary research: the Romani communities are characterised by a high mobile rate, on the municipal scale that on the national scale, therefore the censors are particularly complex. Furthermore, Roma are not identifiable as an ethnic group in the correct statistics, but they can be identified as Roma only indirectly, by crossing information as nationality, place of birth and the residence.

[9] UNDP (2012). Roma Data, http://www.eurasia.undp.org/content/rbec/en/home/ourwork/sustainable-development/development-planning-and-inclusive-sustainable-growth/roma-in-central-and-southeast-europe/roma-data.html.

Hence, it is particularly difficult to draw an epidemiological profile of the Roma communities, due to the mentioned lack of knowledge and studies. More often, case studies have been realized, referred to very specific situations.

As they have been carried out inside the most troubling communities due to particular conditions of social degrades, the data collected by the majority of such surveys are difficulty generalisable.

However, these investigations, even if with limitations, represent an important source of knowledge of some aspects related to the health and life conditions of Roma communities.

There are limited data on the health status of Roma in Italy, and available information mainly derive from a European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights /UNDP study and small sample epidemiological surveys. In particular, the research team was unable to find data on maternal mortality, tuberculosis, hepatitis, diabetes, cancer or cancer screening. Health status Data on life expectancy is inconsistent.

A 2009 study estimates life expectancy of approximately 40-45 years. Another study (made in 2011) reports life expectancy for Roma as 20 years lower than the national average. Neither study provides indication of how the data were obtained or calculated. A regional study of infant mortality from 2008 reports infant mortality at 6.5 per 1,000, compared to 3.5 per 1,000 for the non-Roma population. An earlier study (2002) uses the same dataset, but calculates an infant mortality rate of 9 per 1,000.

The case study carried on in Italy by save the Children (2008) showed a greater frequency of baby low weight at the birth, and a greater incidence of bronchus diseases like asthma, and diarrea in children with respect to Italian coetaneous. Also, a little vaccine coverage was recorded: the research showed that in Rome, in 2002, the percentage of vaccinated children decreased from about 70% in the first year of life, to little more than 35% above 6 years.

The reproductive health of Romani women is another topic of concern. A topic difficult to deal with the Roma women; about this, the research conducted by Save the Children (2008), as an example, highlighted a cultural attitude of taboo in dealing with the issue of sexuality, not only with people outside the community they belonged to, but also with their friends: more than the half of the interviewed women stated not to have ever talked with anyone about the topic. A very small group of women admitted to have the habit to talk with the friends about it, while a more consistent group, instead, has declared to have had information about the topic of sexual and reproductive health by their mother, or by an aunt. Again, very low was the number of women declared to practice birth planning: about 20% of the interviewed women, against 39% of the Italian women aged 15-49 years, married or cohabitant.

Considering the maternity aspect, Roma women generally do not follow any course to childbirth preparation. As well, they rarely make controls during the pregnancy, mainly due to traditional and cultural reasons; in fact, it is strong the conditioning of a culture in which the Gagi doctors are seen as dangerous and obscure figures, and the concepts of fortune or destiny are believed to be more real and important than medical care and prevention. Furthermore, medical treatment may conflict with the Roma traditional rules of hygiene and modesty.

According to the European Roma Rights Centre (2006), usually pregnant Roma women go for medical check-ups only when there is a problem; this situation is due to both lack of information and cultural barriers, including lack of trust in professional care, and the difficulties for Roma women to discuss their health problems with strangers, in particular if they are men.

In addition to what is rationally and consciously perceived and elaborated by the Roma cultural thought, it should be noted that undoubtedly, one of the strongest factors that cause the distance of Roma women from the official medicine of mainstream societies during pregnancy, is the conception of the woman's body as an "ethnic border", to take up, once again, the important concept outlined by Barthes (1969).

The body of the woman, more than any other body, must be defended, preserved and kept away from the contamination from the non-Roma world, considered impure by the Roma themselves, as women make it possible the birth of a new human being, who will also be a social being.

Subsequently, women are responsible for the perpetration and the transmission of cultural values at the base of the Romani identity.

Due to this articulated mix of practical barriers and cultural influences, Roma women experience greater health risks respect to non-Roma women, because of early and multiple pregnancies and abortions, the heavy workload at home, poor housing, malnutrition. This leads to the situation according to which

> *"The rate of infant and child illness and disabilities is much higher than that of the majority population, due also to the widespread phenomenon of marriage among close relatives. Most Roma women are not aware of the need to change nutrition habits during pregnancies. The bad housing conditions also contribute to the bad health conditions of Roma women, who are obliged to spend more hours in the house due to their role within the Roma community. Bad housing conditions lead to a more stressful life, which affects the general health of Roma women. Roma women use healthcare services less than the rest of the population. […] Moreover, social disorganization and poverty are often underlying causes for reduced access to information, especially in isolated Roma communities"*[10].

Finally, it has to be stressed that another barrier to the access to health services is language, as the Roma lack many specific words in the fields of medicine, health and social care.

4. Conclusions

Population of very ancient origin, the Roma, as it has been pointed out, have been forced to migrate from their land of origin, to undertake a long way in search of better life conditions that would allow their physical survival. The persecutions suffered in all the countries where they landed in their diaspora have not allowed this people to put an end to their incessant journey. Left without land, persecuted and subjected to practices of ostracism and physical violence, they have largely weighed their historical and cultural memory, and they have had to face the risk of social and cultural disintegration.

Always placed on the margins of the economies of the societies that did not want to welcome them, the Roma inherited a destiny of human, social, and economic exclusion that today makes them one of the most vulnerable minorities in Europe.

In this scenario, women conditions are of particular interest, to the extent that Roma women experience a strong exclusion. Such exclusion is parallel to the equally strong cultural conditioning that while makes women the guardians of traditional values, at the same time isolates them from the rest of the world.

Nevertheless, women can play a key-role in the prospects for development and inclusion of the Roma minority, but the challenge is huge, as cultural conditioning is, in this case, very strong. The Roma, as we have stressed, have developed a culture extremely closed to the outside, in reaction to the refusal suffered by the European societies.

All traditional societies have developed cultural and symbolic models capable of "containing", "harnessing" the female part of them, trying to control cultural change, basically trying to prevent it, and preserving an ideal of immobile cultural model, almost fearing the empty of the loss of an identity. Unfortunately, this has had dramatic outcomes that impact on women's lives.

This makes it urgent the development of practices and policies of inclusion, developed with the cooperation of women, to promote a deep change. It is important to encourage the birth of a new culture that finally considers woman a subject capable of maintaining the values of their culture, but at the same time, able to affirm the right to her own existence and her fulfilment as a human, social and cultural being.

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The Gendered Nature of Academic Institutions: Gender-Analysis of Italian Universities

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Abstract. The academic fields are highly gendered, with men being overrepresented in the highest academic positions, while women tend to occupy the lower and more precarious positions, which indicates the existence of an academic 'glass ceiling'. Most Italian academic institutions have policies on gender equality and/or diversity, but a common problem is a lack of transparency and gender-disaggregated data. Information such as sex-disaggregated data is essential to carry out gender-equality analysis and to analyse important decision-making processes from a gender perspective. In this paper, we assess the gendered nature of Italian universities by investigating the structure of academic positions by gender at both public and private universities from 2011 to 2017, with the help of gender-disaggregated statistics. Furthermore, we also analyse the gender segregation patterns in the data by geographical area. We document the persistence of a gender gap in a typical Italian academic career. Indeed, the empirical investigation finds that in 2017, while the proportion of women academic staff was 40.2%, women made up only 37.5% of associate professors and 23% of full professors. The results indicate that gender segregation in Italian universities has been reduced over time but is far from eliminated. Despite positive changes achieved in recent years, the study reveals a prevailing vertical segregation in Italian universities, i.e., a significant under-representation of women in the higher ranks of academia.

Keywords: gender equality, gender segregation, university, Italy

1. Introduction

Over the past several decades, the international community of nations has publicly committed itself to promoting gender equity with the awareness that the equality of men and women is essential for sustainable economic growth and full social development (Hewitt and Mukhopadhyay, 2002). Gender equality became one of the European Union's public policy principles. Following the strategy of gender mainstreaming, gender equality shall be incorporated in all policies at all levels and at all stages (Council of Europe, 2010), including all fields of academia and research. While Europe has made step-by-step progress over recent years, thanks to hard work at local, national and European levels, gender equality still remains unfinished business. We are far from reaching equality, particularly in areas such as participation in the labour market, economic independence, pay and pensions, equality in leadership positions, fighting gender-based violence and gender equality in our external actions (EIGE, 2017).

In academia gendered power relations are visible in horizontal and vertical gender segregation patterns. Women are more likely to occupy the most precarious academic positions, while men dominate the more senior and secure ones (European Commission, 2016). The under-representation of women in high-ranking academic positions is a pattern that occurs all over the world (Kouta, Parmaxi and Smoleski, 2017). Overall, European women excel in higher education, and yet women represent only a third of researchers and around a fifth of full professors (European Commission, 2016). Thus, fewer women move from a postdoctoral position to the higher ranks of academia compared to their male counterparts in many European countries. Research frequently highlights the barriers or obstacles hindering the advancement of women's academic careers, known as the 'glass ceiling' (Folke and Rickne, 2016; Pingleton et al., 2016).

In this paper, the emphasis is on the gendered nature of academic institutions, where we acknowledge the hierarchies of power within academic institutions that privilege men and the masculine yet devalue women and the feminine. Our work contributes to the literature by empirically investigating the gendered nature of Italian universities. We conducted a gender analysis in order to assess the level of gender segregation through a typical Italian academic career by investigating the structure of academic positions by gender at both public and private universities from 2011 to 2017. Furthermore, we disaggregated the data to show the gender segregation distribution within the three geographical areas into which Italy is subdivided: northern (8 regions), central (4 regions), and southern Italy, including islands (8 regions).

2. Literature review

The term 'gendered institutions' was introduced by Acker (1992) as an indicator that bureaucratic organisations are not gender-neutral, despite their initial appearance as such. Following Acker, other scholars have developed this concept (e.g. Halford and Leonard, 2001), and recently Menéndez, Fagan and Ansón (2012) summarized the meaning of the term 'gendered institution' as follows: "job design, career ladders, work practices, recruitment and selection methods, and the culture of organizations are invested with assumptions and expectations about gender appropriate roles; organisational structures and processes are thus 'gendered' rather than gender neutral."

According to Acker (2006), gender inequality within organizations is both a question of visibility, which is defined as "the degree of awareness of inequalities", rather than one of legitimacy. The author explains that the lack of awareness of gender inequality can be both intentional and unintentional. Those who are advantaged hardly grasp inequality when it occurs because they perceive matters from their privileged situation, which they assume to be the normative standard. Moreover, she argued that in rigid bureaucracies, since the privileged perceive their situation as one to which they are entitled, inequality is considered legitimate.

Academic institutions are no exception to the previous description (Steinþórsdóttir, Heijstra and Einarsdóttir, 2017). Indeed, the academic system, with its ideology of meritocracy and notion of excellence, further underlines these feelings of entitlement.

There has been a long-held view that academic institutions might discriminate against women and that conscious or unconscious bias might contribute to discrimination (Salinas and Bagni, 2017). Despite the high presence of women at universities (Saeeda, 2017; Wright, Cooper and Luff, 2017), many studies on gender equity between women and men in universities conclude that there is still considerable inequity (Molla and Cuthbert, 2014; Pingleton et al, 2016; Ramírez and Matarranz, 2015; Redmond et al.,2016). Women occupy proportionally fewer positions of responsibility in the university in relation to the number of women qualified for the job (Sánchez de Madariaga, 2014). Furthermore, this phenomenon is intensified in some academic fields, particularly science, technology, engineering and mathematics (Caprile et al., 2012; European Commission, 2012; EIGE, 2017). The under-representation of women in high-ranking academic positions is a pattern that occurs all over the world (Kouta, Parmaxi and Smoleski, 2017). Overall, European women excel in higher education, and yet women represent only a third of researchers and around a fifth of 'grade A' top-level academics (European Commission, 2016). Thus, fewer women move from a postdoctoral position to the higher ranks of academia compared to their male counterparts in many European countries. Research frequently highlights the barriers or obstacles hindering the advancement of women's academic careers, known as the 'glass ceiling' (Almansoura and Kempnerb, 2016; Folke and Rickne, 2016; Pingleton et al., 2016).

While part of the reason for this phenomenon could be that fewer women put themselves forward (Díez Gutiérrez, Terrón Bañuelos and Anguita, 2009; Done, Murphy and Knowler, 2016), the current approach to women's position in academia speaks about institutional culture and organizational barriers to women's participation and advancement, and about the need to change the cultures of research in order to support and encourage women's inclusion (Žalėnienė et al., 2016). Additionally, many countries do not have any gender equality policies to ensure that the recruitment and promotion are unbiased (Van den Brink and Benschop, 2012).

Various authors have provided examples about the different manifestations of gendering within academic institutions (O'Connor and O'Hagan, 2016). Gender discriminations has been found in hiring and promotion processes within academia (Van den Brink and Benschop, 2012). De Paola and Scoppa (2013) conducted a natural experiment consisting of 130 competitions for promotion to associate and full professor in Italian universities by February 2011, in order to analyse whether gender discrimination was affected by the gender of evaluators. They found that female candidates were less likely to be promoted when the committee was composed exclusively of males, while the gender gap disappeared when the candidates were evaluated by a mixed-sex committee. Other works examining promotions and pay in the academic labour market have shown that women suffer a disadvantage in academic recruitment processes and a within-rank pay gap (Blackaby, Booth and Frank, 2005; Ginther and Kahn, 2004). Knobloch-Westerwick, Glynn and Huge (2013) argue that there is a systematic underestimation and minimization of women's qualifications in academia, the so-called 'Matilda effect'. Van den Brink (2015) highlighted how, in academia, feminist knowledge is considered in a structure

where this is not seen as 'proper knowledge'. Both men and women give higher scores to male than to female candidates when evaluating very similar CVs. Additionally, gender bias is also observed in the use of words describing candidates in reference letters. While men are described as intelligent, creative, outstanding, assertive, decisive, or passionate, women are described as nice, organized, helpful, and diligent (Van der Lee and Ellemers, 2015).

Heijstra, O'Connor and Rafnsdóttir (2013) examined the perceptions of academics in Iceland with regard to the lower proportion of women in full professor positions. The majority of male academics legitimised the situation by arguing that the proportion of female professors would surely rise in the future, and that it was merely a matter of time rather than of indirect discriminatory practices. Furthermore, extensive literature is available showing lower publication rates of women and various explanations for this trend, such as fewer co-authoring possibilities for women (Lee and Bozeman, 2005); extensive teaching responsibilities (Suitor, Mecom and Feld, 2001); unequal resource distributions of space, equipment and time; and differences in level of research specialisation (Leahey, 2006).

Another topic related to why inequalities persist in academia is how meritocratic principles permeate academic cultures. Studies suggest that norms of meritocracy are an important reason that gender discrimination prevails in academia (Powell, 2016; Bagilhole and Goode, 2001) and that evaluations of merit and excellence are not value-neutral practices but influence opportunities for women and men in academia depending on skin colour and class (Gutiérrez y Muhs et al., 2012). The norms of the excellent researcher are influenced by essentialist ideas. For example, when studying recruitment processes in Denmark, Wullum Nielsen (2015) found that some heads of department expressed views indicating that women were not suited to academia due to its competitive nature, individualism and long working hours. Similar findings have been reported by, for example, Van den Brink, Brouns and Waslander (2006). Powell, Ah-King and Hussénius (2018) considered these types of essentialist ideas a form of resistance to achieving gender equality aims. If these essentialist ideas exist in an organization, they are likely to contribute to inequality. And, as Wullum Nielsen (2015) showed, the criteria for judging merit were established by existing power groups, resulting in dominant perspectives being perpetuated and patterns of inequality being maintained.

Some authors have identified in the so-called 'new managerialism' one of the causes of the systemic gender discrimination and inequality in academia. Researchers have underlined that, in order to participate in the competition of 'global excellence', academic institutions are increasingly managed and financed in the spirit of an efficient organisation (Peterson, 2014) and therefore increasingly run like corporations (Välimaa, 2012). Indeed, this emphasis on 'academic excellence' within the international academic community has led to the introduction of New Public Management (NPM) techniques and ideologies that entail private sector management techniques, performance standards, quantitative performance indicators and measurements that are represented as objective and gender-neutral. Because of this 'new managerialism' (Deem and Brehony, 2007), academic institutions are increasingly required to monitor their efficiency, productivity and rankings (Barry, Berg and Chandler, 2012; Butler and Spoelstra, 2014; Deem, 2003), and a gender-blind financial system reinforces structural inequalities (Steinþórsdóttir et al. 2016). According to Steinþórsdóttir et al. (2018), this phenomenon encourages precarity and increases indirect gender discrimination and inequality in academia. Also, Thomas and Davies (2002) have addressed the gendered nature of NPM and the way in which women respond to what they call the 'managerialist challenge' within the British higher education system. In line with some of the work on gendered institutions (e.g., Halford and Leonard, 2001), Thomas and Davies (2002) suggested that NPM reforms are carriers of a masculine discourse – which emphasizes competition, instrumentality and individuality – that strengthens the gendered institution and does not benefit women. Thus, in academic institutions, particularly European ones, vertical and horizontal gender segregation are still prevalent. There is evidence that hierarchies of power exist within academic institutions, which tend to privilege men and the 'masculine' and devalue women and the 'feminine', and manifest themselves in the financial system and organizational practices of academic institutions (Steinþórsdóttir et al., 2016).

3. The gender segregation in Italian academic positions structure by geographical area

In sections 3 and 4, we examine the gender equality situation at Italian universities. Gender equality in this study was measured by gender distribution within the structure of academic positions at both public and private universities from 2011 to 2017. The focus is on the presence of women at the different levels of an academic career, especially at the highest academic level (i.e., the highest post at which research is normally conducted).

We also collected academic staff data for the three geographical areas into which Italy is subdivided: northern Italy (8 regions), central Italy (4 regions), and southern Italy, including islands (8 regions). The main objectives were to determine, with the calculation of gender-disaggregated statistics, whether vertical segregation prevails in the structure of academic positions throughout the country; to evaluate situation changes, comparing data from 2011 to 2017; and to show the vertical segregation distribution within geographical areas. Statistics disaggregated by gender are considered one of the tools for gender mainstreaming and allow the evaluation of the steps taken towards equality in academia and the measurement of the imbalances still present. "In the absence of the gender related data statistics . it would not be possible to measure the changes in gender equality and empowerment of women. Statistics are necessary in order to be able to identify the weak and not always visible areas related to certain research policy objectives for evolution of gender equality" (LYMOS, 2012).

Our sample includes all Italian universities (98): 68 state and 30 non-state universities. Universities are also broken down by geographical area: north (34.7%), center (33.7%), and south (31.6%). Data were collected from the Dataset Catalogue on the website of the Italian Ministry of Education, University and Research (http://dati.ustat.miur.it). All data refer to 31 December of each year. Furthermore, we classified the academic staff by qualification according to the 'Grade' of the Frascati Manual published by the Organization for the Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 2015) as follows:

- Grade A (full professors): this level corresponds to the rank of full professor in the majority of the countries, or otherwise represents the highest post at which research is normally conducted;
- Grade B (associate professors): researchers working in positions not as senior as top position (A) but more senior than newly qualified doctoral graduates;
- Grade C (academic researchers): the single highest post at which research is normally conducted;
- Grade D (fellowship researchers): the first post into which a newly qualified doctoral graduate would normally be recruited.

Figure 1 displays the actual year-on-year changes in the representation of women academic staff by proportion, grade and geographical area. The trend of women's representation in grades A, B and C has been growing throughout the country; only for women in grade D has the trend remained constant for the whole series analysed. However, the percentage incidence in each geographical area is significantly different depending on the level of academic career. The lowest presence of women in grade A is in southern Italy, where female full professors made up only 19.9% of academic staff in 2011 and 22% of academic staff in 2017.

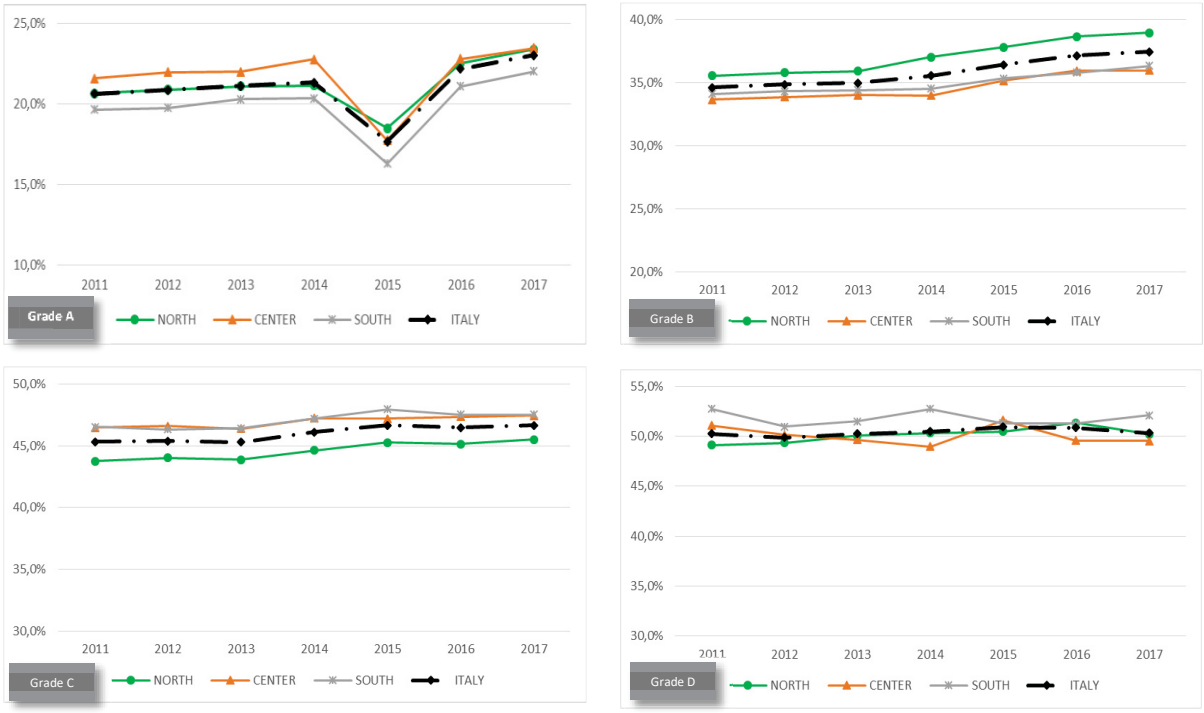


Figure 1: Proportion of women academic staff by grade, year and geographic area

Northern Italy has the highest representation of women in grade B but the lowest in grade C. In this area, the proportion of women in grade B was 35.6% in 2011 and grew to 39% in 2017, while in southern Italy, the same proportion was 34.1% in 2011 and grew to 36.4% in 2017. Furthermore, in central Italy, the proportion of women in grade B was 33.7% in 2011, growing to 36% in 2017. Figure 1 also shows that women in grade D are approaching gender parity in the representation of researchers. Indeed, in southern Italy, the proportion of women in grade D was 52.7% in 2011, though it decreased to 52.1% in 2017, while in central Italy, women in grade D made up 51.1% in 2011, decreasing to 49.6% in 2017. In northern Italy, the proportion of women in grade D rose from 49.1% in 2011 to 50.2% in 2017.

4. A gender analysis of a typical Italian academic career

Table 1 shows the number of academic staff at Italian universities by grade from 2011 to 2017 and the absolute and relative percentage variation. In 2017, 12,890 grade A units, 20,144 grade B units, 20,759 grade C units and 14,124 grade D units were employed at Italian universities.

Table 1: Number of academic staff at Italian universities, by grade, 2011–2017

ITALY	Academic staff	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	Δ	Δ %
Grade A	*Full professors*	15242	14522	13890	13263	12878	12973	12890	*-2352*	*-15,43*
Grade B	*Associate professors*	16611	16143	15810	17541	20043	19923	20144	*3533*	*21,27*
Grade C	*Permanent researchers*	24596	24264	23746	21035	17432	15986	14555	*-10041*	*-40,82*
	Temporary researchers	1485	2395	3034	3564	4118	5309	6204	*4719*	*317,78*
Grade D	*Fellowship researchers*	13173	16157	16280	15943	14042	13946	14124	*951*	*7,22*
TOTAL		71107	73481	72760	71346	68513	68137	67917	*-3190*	*-4,49*

Table 2 presents the number of women academic staff for the whole time series analysed and by grade. Furthermore, table 3 illustrates the proportion of women in a typical Italian academic career, from 2011 to 2017. During the period of 2011–2017, the overall number of academic staff in universities decreased by approximately 4.5% (from 71,107 in 2011 to 67,917 in 2017) and also the overall number of female staff decreased compared to 2011 (table 2). The numbers and proportions shown in tables 2 and 3 mostly indicate an increase in women's participation along all steps of the academic career, but in higher positions, these numbers are still far off parity. The highest proportions of women in academic staff were found in grade D and C positions.

Table 2: Number of women academic staff in Italian universities, by grade, 2011–2017

ITALY	Women	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	Δ	Δ %
Grade A	*Full professors*	3145	3030	2935	2832	2276	2879	2970	*-175*	*-5,56*
Grade B	*Associate professors*	5754	5628	5532	6239	7307	7405	7551	*1797*	*31,23*
Grade C	*Permanent researchers*	11131	11025	10823	9757	8289	7653	7042	*-4089*	*-36,74*
	Temporary researchers	687	1073	1307	1587	1761	2243	2641	*1954*	*284,43*
Grade D	*Fellowship researchers*	6620	8060	8183	8048	7151	7096	7110	*490*	*7,40*
TOTAL		27337	28816	28780	28463	26784	27276	27314	*-23*	*-0,08*

Table 3: Proportion of women in a typical Italian academic career, 2011-2017

ITALY	% Women	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Grade A	*Full professors*	20,6%	20,9%	21,1%	21,4%	17,7%	22,2%	23,0%
Grade B	*Associate professors*	34,6%	34,9%	35,0%	35,6%	36,5%	37,2%	37,5%
Grade C	*Permanent researchers*	45,3%	45,4%	45,6%	46,4%	47,6%	47,9%	48,4%
	Temporary researchers	46,3%	44,8%	43,1%	44,5%	42,8%	42,2%	42,6%
Grade D	*Fellowship researchers*	50,3%	49,9%	50,3%	50,5%	50,9%	50,9%	50,3%
TOTAL		38,4%	39,2%	39,6%	39,9%	39,1%	40,0%	40,2%

There are signs of greater gender balance within grade D position, where women made up 50.3% in 2017. Between 2011 and 2017, the share of women in grade D remained almost constant, and the share of women in grade C rose from 43.5% to 48.4% for permanent researchers and decreased from 46.3% to 42.6% for temporary researchers. Despite this, the Italian researcher population has continued to be dominated by men.

Unfortunately, the passage from grade D or C to an academic career signals a bottleneck with a major inversion of gender, as the number of positions held by women at the top levels is small. Indeed, the proportion of women in grade A academic positions between 2011 (20.6%) and 2017 (23%) confirms that women continue to be vastly under-represented in top positions within the Italian university system. Furthermore, despite the increase registered in the proportion of women in grade B between 2011 and 2017, in 2017, women still represented just over a third (37.5%) of associate professors. What is concerning is the almost total lack of improvement, with small percentages of reduction of the gap between 2011 and 2017. These low increase rates will not allow gender parity to be achieved in the near future.

Thus, the data collected in tables 2 and 3 show that, despite a substantial overall numerical parity between the two sexes in grades C and D, gender inequality exists, and it gets worse during a career. Figure 2 displays an overview of academic staff distribution by gender in 2017. It shows a kind of inverted pyramid, through which as women progress through a typical academic career path, they become increasingly under-represented compared to men.

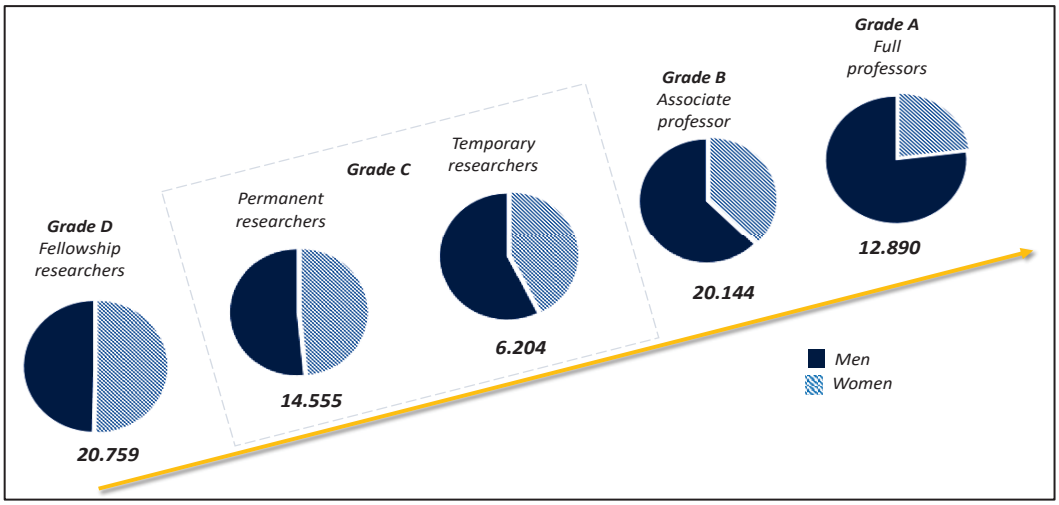


Figure 2: Academic staff distribution by gender, 2017

Thus, the academic careers of women remain markedly characterized by strong vertical segregation. In 2017, women represented only 46.6% of grade C academic staff, 37.5% of grade B and 23% of grade A.

The situation worsens especially as regards university leadership. As evidenced in Figure 3, women continue to be severely under-represented in top leadership positions despite having made some progress. In 2017, only 7 out of 96 Italian rectors were women: only one in northern Italy, two in central, and four in southern.

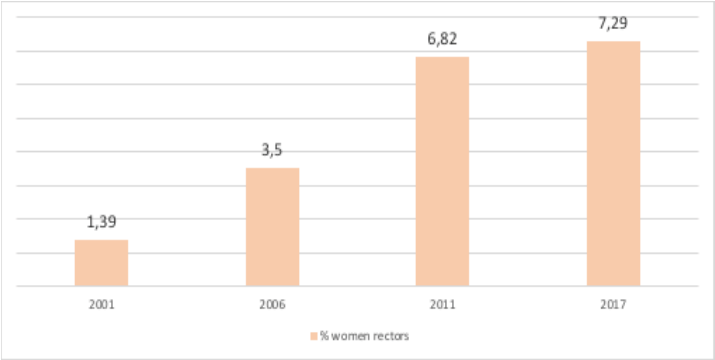


Figure 3: Proportion of women rectors at Italian universities, 2001 – 2017

In order to measure the chances of women vs. men attaining a full professor position, a glass ceiling index (GCI) can be calculated. The GCI is a relative index comparing the proportion of women in academia (grades A, B and C) with the proportion of women in top academic positions (grade A positions). The GCI can range from 0 to infinity. A GCI of 1 indicates that there is no difference between women and men in terms of their chances of being promoted. A score of less than 1 means that women are more represented at the grade A level than in academia generally (grades A, B, and C) and a GCI score of more than 1 indicates the presence of a glass ceiling

effect, meaning that women are less represented in grade A positions than in academia generally (grades A, B and C). In other words, the interpretation of the GCI is that the higher the value, the stronger the glass ceiling effect and the more difficult it is for women to move into a higher position (European Commission, 2016). Table 4 illustrates the difficulties women face in gaining access to the highest levels of Italian academia, by geographic area and year. Within northern Italy, the GCI stood at 1.60 in 2017 compared to 1.71 in 2010; also in central Italy, the GCI decreased over time from 1.67 in 2011 to 1.6 in 2017, and the same trend appeared in southern Italy, where the GCI was 1.84 in 2011 and decreased to 1.71 in 2017. These data indicate that there has been some progress towards reducing the glass ceiling effect; however, it's still higher in southern Italy than in the other geographical areas. Figure 4 is focused on the overall country and reveals that the GCI has decreased between 2011 and 2017 in Italy. Within Italy, the GCI stood at 1.63 in 2017 compared to 1.73 in 2011, indicating that some progress has been made towards achieving gender equality in the Italian academic staff, although women remain less represented in grade A positions than in academia generally (grades A, B and C).

Table 4: GCI by geographical area, 2011- 2017

Glass Ceiling Index	NORTH	CENTRE	SOUTH
2011	1,71	1,67	1,84
2012	1,71	1,66	1,84
2013	1,71	1,67	1,82
2014	1,72	1,63	1,83
2015	1,94	2,02	2,23
2016	1,65	1,64	1,77
2017	1,60	1,60	1,71

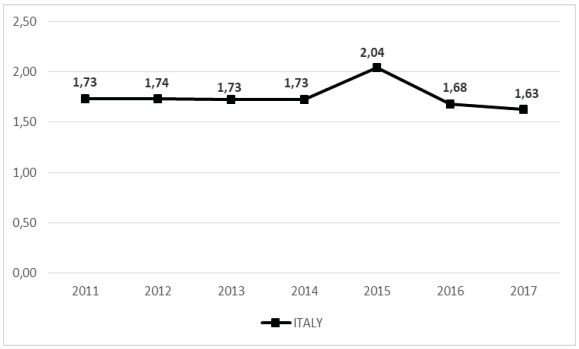


Figure 4: GCI in Italy, 2011-2017

5. Conclusions

The gender analysis conducted indicates that there is a way forward, and that women are making progress. The finding implies that the gender segregation at Italian universities has been reduced but is far from eliminated. Indeed, gender inequality is evident at different stages in the careers of women, and full inclusion of women in academia remains a daunting challenge in Italy. Women are overrepresented in entry-level positions in academia, reversing to a male-dominated gender gap at the highest levels that widens as one advances through an academic career. Despite significant progress in their level of education relative to men over the last few decades (European Commission, 2016), in Italy, women are increasingly under-represented as they move up the stages of an academic career. The underrepresentation of women faculty evidences that striking gender inequalities persist in career advancement and academic leadership; thus, women advance slower and with more difficulties. At the level of academic staff, the gender gap widens as the grade increases. In fact, in 2017, the proportion of women academic staff was 40.2%, but the same proportion in grade A was less than a quarter (23%). The strikingly low presence of women noted in the highest academic positions in Italian universities indicates the existence of a glass ceiling, that is, invisible barriers based on prejudices, which stand in the way of women accessing positions of responsibility. There is no single answer to why fewer women move from a postdoctoral position to a full professor one. While part of the reason for this phenomenon could be due to fewer women putting themselves forward (Llorent-Bedmar, Llorent-Vaquero and Navarro-Granados, 2017), the current approach to women's position in academia speaks about institutional culture and organizational barriers

to women's participation and advancement, and about the need to change the cultures of science and research in order to support and encourage women's inclusion (Žalėnienė et al., 2016). Achieving gender equality in academia will require devising and implementing strategies to overcome the political, administrative, financial and cultural challenges that exist in the current environment. These conclusions lead to the need for further scientific research in this field in order to provide validated recommendations to promote gender equality at Italian universities and stimulate future efforts to level the field.

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Does Gender Matter When Defining Higher Education Student Success? Evidence From Portugal

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Abstract: There is, in the literature, a considerable array of studies on academic engagement and success. Several studies have explored the factors predicting students' success, mostly using performance indicators such as assessment scores and persistence, some of them considering the gender variable. However, little attention has been paid so far to the students' subjective views of academic success. Moreover, little is known about the different meanings ascribed by male and female students to this concept. Thus, the aim of this paper is to uncover the differences in the perceptions of the success of male and female higher education students and institutional leaders. Given the purpose of the investigation, a qualitative approach was adopted, involving in-depth interviews with 40 higher education students enrolled in Portuguese public higher education. Using qualitative content analysis, the study explores the categories of meaning that compose the male and female students' perceptions and definitions of success at this educational level. The paper complements these perceptions with the ones of the 18 institutional leaders also interviewed, that is, institutional actors with some degree of influence in the decision-making process. Results allow concluding that, although "grades and completion of the study programme" are also present in the perceived definition of success for both male and female students, male students tend to emphasise this measure more than their female counterparts. Additionally, other indicators are considered constituents of academic success, such as "obtaining a job" and "happiness and well-being", which are equally perceived as important by male and female students. However, the "effective preparation for professional practice" is valued by more male than female students, whereas "personal enhancement and overall human development" are valued by more female than male students. These results may suggest that male students are more focused on becoming future excellent professionals, while female students perceive the overall preparation for life as a whole as the ultimate indicator that a student attained success in higher education.

Keywords: student success, higher education, students, gender, success perceptions, success definition

1. Introduction

School dropout, persistence, academic success and failure in higher education (HE) have been profusely studied in the literature. Currently, higher education institutions (HEIs) are, more than ever, concerned with their students' persistence and success, especially with the increasing levels of failure and dropout that have occurred in recent years. This concern is portrayed in the numerous studies on HE persistence, dropout and success found in the literature (Nora and Crisp 2012; Burkholder *et al* 2013; Kahu 2013; Krumrei *et al* 2013; Tomul and Polat 2013; Paulsen 2015; Whannell and Whannell 2015; Chun and Evans 2016). These studies, in turn, are based on the seminal works by Spady (1970), Tinto (1975, 1993, 1998), Bean (1982, 1983), Astin (1975, 1985, 1999), Terenzini and Pascarella (1980), and Pascarella and Terenzini (1980, 2005), among others.

However, as York, Gibson and Rankin (2015) note, although academic success is one of the most widely used terms in research in HE, researchers hesitate to define the construct, due to the fact that it may encompass several different student outcomes. In their literature review, the authors identify six categories that may compose the definition of success: academic achievement, persistence, attainment of learning outcomes, acquisition of skills and competencies, satisfaction, and career success. However, their research shows that grades and the grade point average (GPA) are the most often used measures of success. Studies exploring the predictors of academic success indeed pose particular emphasis on these easier to measure indicators, which sometimes include persistence. Lizzio, Wilson and Simons (2002) divide the academic outcomes that they used in their study into 'hard' measures, referring to the students' academic achievement or grades, and 'soft' measures, consisting of satisfaction and development of key competencies. The evidence of a gender gap in academic achievement that favours female students (Voyer and Voyer 2014) could suggest that these 'hard' output variables would be appropriate to assess differences between male and female academic success. However, some studies have compared these measures between male and female students and did not find

significant gender differences in the influence that predictor variables have on them (Snyder *et al* 2002; Zajacova, Lynch and Espenshade 2005). These results may suggest that other definitions of success can be sought to better understand the gender differences in HE students.

Although studies on student success are, as previously mentioned, abundant in the literature, the students' own definitions of success are less studied, particularly considering their gender. Thus, this paper seeks to add to this topic by presenting the results of a study carried out in four Portuguese HEIs on the HE students and institutional leaders' perceptions of which features a student of this educational level should exhibit so that it can be ascertained that he/she has attained success. Thus, the paper looks into the students' subjective perceptions of success, compares them with the institutional perspective, and analyses the difference in these perceptions according to the variable gender. The paper is structured as follows: firstly, the theoretical underpinnings concerning the definition of HE student success are put forward. Afterwards, the methodology used in the study is described, followed by the results presentation and discussion. Finally, some concluding remarks are offered.

2. Theoretical underpinnings

In broad terms, the definitions of the concept of success are quite similar across numerous sources. The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2018) defines success as 1) the achievement of a goal or a purpose; and 2) the attainment of wealth, fame or a high social position. The Collins Dictionary (2018) defines success as 1) the achievement of something that the individual has been trying to do; and 2) the achievement of a high position in a particular field. In turn, the Cambridge Dictionary (2018) defines success as 1) the achieving of the results wanted or hoped for; and 2) something that achieves positive results. Thus, success is unanimously defined by these sources as the attainment of a desired goal.

The literature review on this concept reveals that its definitions are plentiful. Most empirical studies have emphasised on external measures of success, such as the individual's salary or material possessions. However, the scientific community has increasingly acknowledged that these measures are not the only means to define success, and it is also important to understand internal or subjective success (Enke and Ropers-Huilman, 2010). This subjective success refers to the feelings of individuals regarding their personal achievements. The concept of subjective success implies, therefore, that individuals self-assess their degree of success according to personal criteria (Dyke and Murphy 2006).

Similarly, the literature on HE student success offers a large number of definitions of this concept, reflecting its semantic polysemy. Hence, it is not surprising that researchers in this area hesitate to present a description of student success (York *et al* 2015). Student success may be understood, from the institutional standpoint, as the successful completion of a study programme or, from the students' perspective, as the successful completion of a programme encompassing a set of components that they want to conclude so as to satisfy personal ambitions (Yorke 2004). Kuh *et al* (2006) sustain that the elements most commonly incorporated in the definition of this concept are quantifiable indicators of student attainment, i.e., enrolment rates in HE, grades, persistence in the transition from the first to the sophomore year, number of years students take to complete their study programme, and finally the achievement of the academic degree (Kuh *et al* 2006).

Thus, student success can be defined using traditional measures of academic attainment, such as the grades in the enrolment exams and those obtained along the study programme, both of which translate into progress toward gaining the academic degree. Going even further, other indicators that can be used to measure academic success relate, on the one hand, to the students' enrolment in Master's and PhD programmes and their respective grades, and, on the other hand, to the subsequent professional success and to the income in monetary terms (Kuh *et al* 2006).

Given the above, assessing student success only on the basis of quantifiable indicators can be reductive and exclude important aspects of the student's life that are not quantifiable. Relevant information in terms of the student's intellectual, social, emotional and cultural development is included within this scope (Cheng 2001). Hence, and according to Kuh *et al* (2006), there are many other qualitative and more subjective indicators that can support the issue of whether or not a HE student attained success. These indicators are rooted mainly in the desired results, which bring benefits to the student and also to society (Kuh *et al* 2006). New dimensions of student success have also emerged in recent years, highlighting, among many possible, the respect for human differences, the commitment to democratic values, the ability to work and interact with people that have

different ways of life, and a clear sense of identity (Kuh *et al* 2006). Likewise, Tavares (2000) argues that it is reductionist to understand academic success as synonymous only with the successful performance of academic tasks and activities. The author advocates student success as the acquisition of a set of competencies and know-how to enable the student to face and overcome future professional and personal challenges.

Academic success is, thus, a comprehensive concept that, in a first analysis, involves the student's commitment to obtain grades that allow him/her to evolve throughout the study programme. However, it also implies a sense of achievement of important personal and/or collective goals, i.e., it involves the student as a whole (Hunter 2006). Furthermore, success can also mean the student's ability to demonstrate his/her understanding and internalisation of competencies and knowledge that he/she will later use in the professional field (Airini *et al* 2007).

Broadening the concept of academic success to encompass a multitude of dimensions also opens new possibilities in studying the differences in the perceptions of success among genders. Past research has shown that women have lower expectations of success than men in different areas of achievement (Beyer 1990). However, more recent literature, specifically regarding perceptions of success in the profession, do not show a clear gender divide, although women tend to rate themselves less effective (Ely, Stone and Stone 2014; Paustian-Underdahl, Walker and Woehr 2014). In fact, supposedly due to sex role attitudes and gender stereotypes, there is evidence that being a woman is negatively related to career success, measured in terms of salary and promotion, but not in terms of career satisfaction (Ng *et al* 2005), and gender stereotypes persist even in the academic field (Leslie *et al* 2015). Whether or not such gender bias is present in the representations of academic success is the question to be answered.

3. Methodology

The methodology chosen is qualitative, given that the main purpose of the study is to grasp male and female students' and institutional leaders' perceptions of success in HE. Hence, qualitative methods are more suited to apprehend and interpret the meanings (Denzin and Lincoln 1994, 2011; Savenye and Robinson 1996; Willig 2001; Merriam 2009), that is, specifically in this study, how male and female students perceive and define their academic experience in terms of success.

3.1 Sample

The sample of this study is composed of 58 academic actors; 40 interviews were conducted to students and 18 interviews to institutional leaders from four Portuguese HEIs.

Concerning students, the study sample is, thus, composed of 40 students enrolled in Portuguese HEIs. Interviewees are 19 male and 21 female students. It was intended that the gender of the students surveyed mirrored the national panorama in terms of the students' gender.

As for institutional leaders, the sample is composed of 18 institutional actors who, somehow, influence the institutional decision-making process. In the case of these leaders, although there was not a purposive selection taking gender into account, since the main criterion for selection was the function they perform in the HEI, it may be assumed that the sample is also balanced, insofar that the institutional leaders surveyed are eight men and 10 women.

3.2 Data collection methods and data analysis

The data collection instruments used are threefold: (1) semi-structured interview with students; (2) semi-structured interview with institutional leaders; and (3) document analysis. The election of these three concomitant instruments sought to allow for data triangulation and, thus, establish a platform of greater confidence, credibility and validity regarding the results obtained (Ghrayeb, Damodaran and Vohra 2011; Fielding 2012).

The research technique used in the analysis of the data collected consisted of content analysis, which enables the compression of a high amount of words and text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding (Bardin 2003; Mayring 2014; Krippendorff 2018).

The interview was the unit of analysis, following the suggestion of Graneheim and Lundman (2004). The data were coded by paragraph and sentence, as proposed by Corbin and Strauss (1998).

4. Findings

As previously mentioned, the purpose of this paper is to understand how the different institutional actors, i.e., students and institutional leaders, perceive and define the success of a HE student and explore differences in these perceptions among genders. From the analysis of the narratives, two categories and three sub-categories have emerged: 1) objective measures of success: 1.1) grades and completion of the study programme; and 1.2) obtaining a job. 2) Subjective perceptions of success: 2.1) effective preparation for professional practice; 2.2) personal enhancement and overall human development; and happiness and well-being. Thus, success is defined through its objective measure, embodied in measurable results obtained by students, but also including subjective perceptions of success. The results will present the perceptions of student success expressed by male and female students, complemented with the leaders' stances on this topic. Each of the objective measures of success and subjective representations of success is depicted in a figure, according to the number of times respondents referred to them.

4.1 Objective measures of success

4.1.1 Grades and completion of the study programme

The grades obtained by students both throughout the academic path and at the end of the programme may be seen as a tangible measure of success, given that it is a quantitative indicator of achievement. Some students advocate that concluding the programme with a high grade is synonymous with academic success, inasmuch that "*if a student reaches the end of the programme with a good grade, he/she was successful because he/she had curricular merit*" (male university student), and "*a student who had good grades and graduated with distinction has achieved success*" (female university student). Furthermore, students perceive the attainment of good grades as a lever for successfully getting a job: "*I think a person has to always end up with a good grade because that is what the director of a company wants to know, it will be a key point*" (female university student) This perception of success is somewhat balanced between male and female students, albeit more male students tend to value this quantitative dimension of success than their female counterparts.

The leaders interviewed refer to the grade obtained by a student as being a "*necessary but not sufficient indicator to consider that the student has successfully completed HE*" (male polytechnic institute leader). This is just a quantitative indicator: "*I totally disagree that the success rate is considered the rate of achievement and that this is the measure of success because it is not; it is an indicator of success*" (male polytechnic institute leader). Thus, from the formal point of view, "*success has to do with the student's* […] *grade. A student who has a top grade is better succeeded than another who is not, in the sense of a more quantitative definition of success*" (male university leader) (Figure 1).

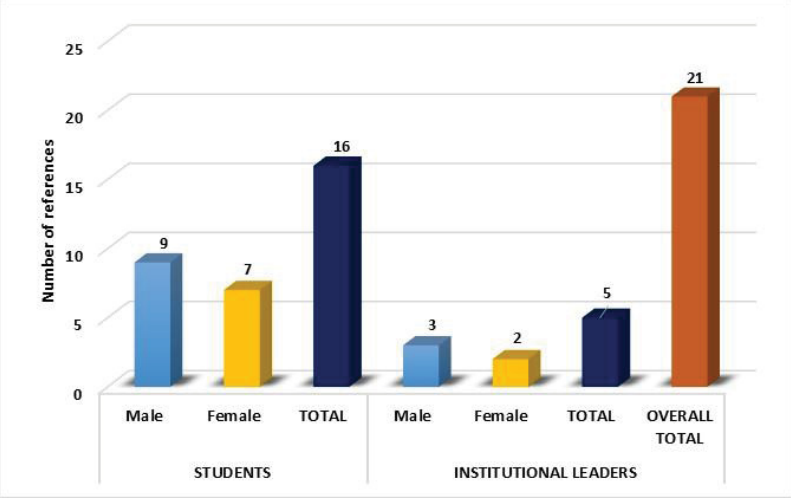


Figure 1: Perceptions of students and leaders on the objective measures of success "Grades and completion of the study programme"

4.1.2 Obtaining a Job

The effective placement of a graduate in the labour market is, for some of the students interviewed, the ultimate measure of HE student success. From the respondents' standpoint, grades have little relevance if the new graduate is not successful in integrating the labour market. For the respondents, obtaining a good grade should be a central goal in the life of a HE student, but it will only be synonymous with success if it translates into a place in the labour market: "[…] *a student can only achieve success when he/she actually gets a job*" (female university student) This achievement is seen as allowing graduates to apply, in professional practice, all the investment they have made throughout their academic path, insofar as "*success ends up being the completion of the degree with a good grade, and then getting the opportunities that allow me to apply the knowledge*" (male university student). This definition of student success is referred in an equal number by male and female students; yet, it is not valued by leaders, as only one mentions it as a good indicator of student success (Figure 2).

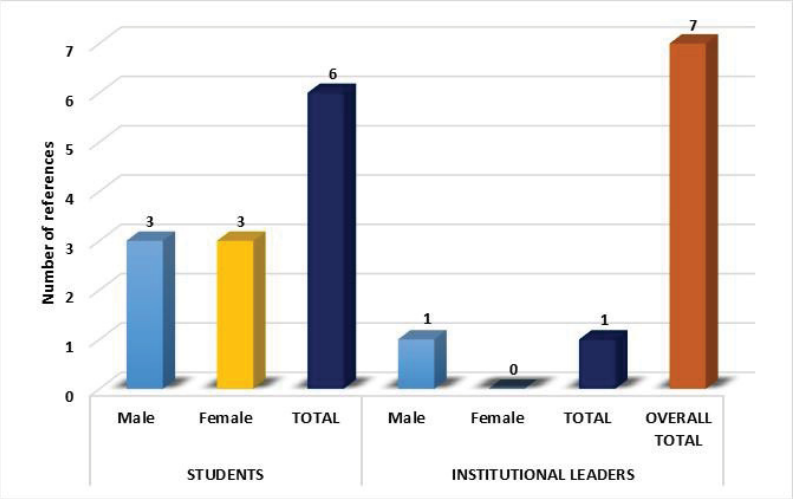


Figure 2: Perceptions of students and leaders on the objective measures of success "Obtaining a job"

4.2 Subjective representations of success

4.2.1 Effective preparation for professional practice

The students interviewed ascribe high relevance to the fact that their academic training should equip them with technical tools and competencies for professional practice. However, acquiring scientific and technical knowledge in HE is not, *per se*, an indicator of success if, later on, as professionals, they will not be able to use the knowledge and competencies attained during their training. Student success "*is when you feel you are fulfilled, when you feel that you have acquired the competencies that allow you to go to the job market, to perform your job well*" (male polytechnic institute student).

The perception of these students is that this capital will allow them responding with quality to the challenges of the labour market. This definition of student success is valued by more female than male students. This idea is also highlighted by leaders, who stress the importance of the "*capacity to accept challenges, to solve problems, to deal with setbacks*" (female university leader), as an indicator of success.

Besides the learning obtained in the curricular context, other types of activities – such as extra-curricular activities – are mentioned as also playing an important role in obtaining the abilities that facilitate the achievement of an effective preparation for professional practice as synonymous with success, by providing the desired complementarity between theoretical and practical knowledge (Figure 3).

4.2.2 Personal enhancement and overall human development

The issue of the enhancement and personal growth that academic training should provide is central in students' perceptions. For these actors, training should not be restricted to the scientific, technical, theoretical and/or practical dimensions. On the contrary, students ascribe value, above all, to what they call indirect learning – the transversal competencies that, for them, are equally important in their overall education. As they state, "*more*

than grades, having success means enhancing the person that I am, in several ways. It is to be able to manage expectations, frustrations and it is, in the end, getting richer, bringing more, not only bigger theoretical knowledge but also practical one, that is, be prepared to develop other activities in my work, but also to better relate to people" (female polytechnic institute student). It is interesting to note that this dimension of personal enhancement and overall human development is far more valued by female students than by their male colleagues. While only three male students mentioned this dimension, it was highlighted by 10 female interviewees.

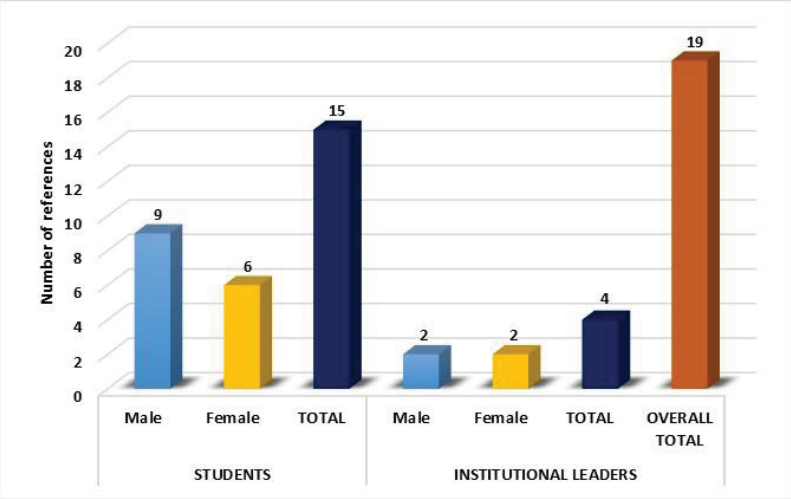


Figure 3: Perceptions of students and leaders on the subjective representation of success "Effective preparation for professional practice"

Success as a booster of the growth and enhancement of the person as a human being is also perceived as relevant by some leaders. According to them, a student achieves success when he/she has had contact with a set of experiences that add to "*the overall education of an individual, that is, the general knowledge that one has*" (male university leader), and that "*enhances you as a person*" (male university leader), in a logic of integral development and "*learning as a human being, not only in academic terms, but also from a social point of view*" (female polytechnic institute leader). The perception that the involvement in extra-curricular activities contributes, to a large extent, to the students' overall education is shared by students and leaders. The participation of students in the academic life, especially concerning their involvement in decision-making bodies, such as Pedagogical Councils, or in academic movements, such as Student Unions, is understood as a privileged vehicle for students to acquire skills that they can later use in the labour market (Figure 4).

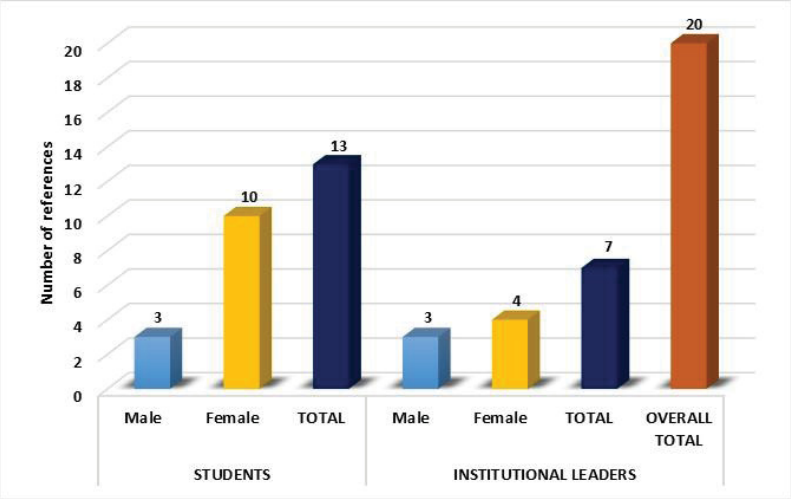


Figure 4: Perceptions of students and leaders on the subjective representation of success "Personal enhancement and overall human development"

4.2.3 Happiness and well-being

Students also link the definition of success to feelings of personal fulfilment, happiness, and well-being. For them, the well-being and the pleasure in the student craft, and, later, their happiness as professionals are key elements. Students perceive the future profession as a dimension of life that must be geared by satisfaction. This definition of success is almost equally shared by male and female students. As one student puts it, "*success is to do what you enjoy doing, to keep evolving*" (female polytechnic institute student).

This concern about fulfilment and personal well-being is also mentioned by some leaders, for whom "*student success is attained when the student feels good as a student, when he/she enjoys studying* […]*, when he/she knows how to challenge him/herself, develop his/her knowledge and continuously seek improvement*" (female university leader). These leaders connect success to the satisfaction that students can take from their experience in HE. Then, it is up to the HEI to create the conditions so that students feel motivated to continually seek their enhancement and personal development: "*success is the institution giving us space, opportunity, for us to find our niche and establish the development of a personal project*" (female polytechnic institute leader). Similarly to the results regarding students' perceptions, this definition of success is equally shared by male (two) and female leaders (two) (Figure 5).

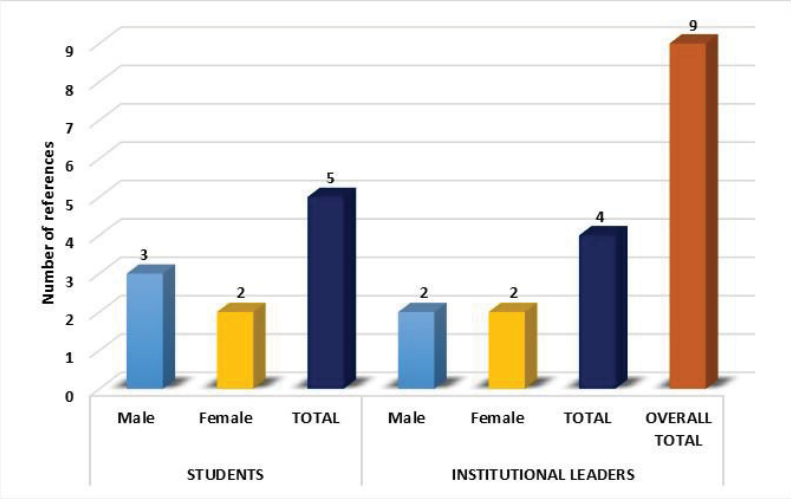


Figure 5: Perceptions of students and leaders on the subjective representation of success "Happiness and well-being"

Table 1 provides an overall picture of the references of sub-categories of HE student success made by both students and leaders.

Table 1: Number of references of sub-categories of success by gender

CATEGORIES AND SUB-CATEGORIES	STUDENTS		INSTITUTIONAL LEADERS		TOTAL
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	
1. Objective measures of success					
1.1. Grades and completion of the study programme	9	7	3	2	21
1.2. Obtaining a job	3	3	1	0	7
2. Subjective representations of success					
2.1. Effective preparation for professional practice	9	6	2	2	19
2.2. Personal enhancement and overall human development	3	10	3	4	20
2.3. Happiness and well-being	3	2	2	2	9

Source: Own production.

The analysis of the table suggests that, although grades and the completion of the study programme are perceived by the respondents as an important dimension of student success, which corroborates the results of previous research (York *et al* 2015), the narratives show that this measure cannot be considered alone in assessing whether a HE student attained success. Indeed, the subjective perceptions of success, i.e., effective preparation for professional practice, personal enhancement and overall human development, and feelings of happiness and well-being take on a leading role in the definition of HE student success.

5. Final remarks

Following what the literature advocates as the definition of HE student success, this paper assumed that this is a multifaceted concept that is difficult to define, and has sought to explore the perceptions of several institutional actors regarding HE student success.

Results allow concluding that defining success based solely on academic performance (number of years of programme enrolment and grades obtained) is reductive and bounds this concept to only one sphere of students' overall experience. Although the result of academic performance has to be considered as one of the (quantitative) indicators of success, this perspective has to be complemented with other indicators so that it can be established that a student attained success. The participants in the study refer, as some of these factors, getting a job, an effective preparation for professional practice, personal enhancement and overall human development, and happiness and well-being. Furthermore, even those students who take the grade as the main way to measure success acknowledge that this cannot be the only way to do it. Other factors, such as the acquisition of transferable competencies, are perceived as important, as they will be key dimensions in the students' future professional and social performance.

In short, results reveal a strong link between students' experiences during their academic path and their perceptions of success. Their overall experience in HE thus plays a fundamental role in their perception of the features and competencies students need to possess to be considered successful students. While grades are objective indicators of success, they are not considered the most important measure of success. Students refer as extremely relevant the experience and competencies they attain through their involvement in extracurricular activities, and this involvement is perceived as an added value for them.

In terms of perceptions of success by gender, some studies on this topic found no significant differences between the perception of student success by men and women (e.g., Snyder *et al* 2002; Zajacova *et al* 2005; Lizzio *et al* 2002). However, on the basis of the analysis of the narratives collected in this study, it may be ascertained that, while "obtaining a job" and "happiness and well-being" are mentioned by both male and female students as important indicators of success, the "effective preparation for professional practice" is more valued by male than by female students. Conversely, "personal enhancement and overall human development" are more valued by female than by male students. These results may suggest that male students are mainly focused on becoming future excellent professionals and investing on their professional careers, whereas female students perceive the overall preparation for life (including but not restricting to professional preparation) as the ultimate indicator that a student attained success in HE.

These results are somehow in line with previous studies on men and women perceptions of success in the business arena. These studies conclude that women definitions of success tend to be more intrinsically based than those of men, which rely more on extrinsic measures. Furthermore, women tend to ascribe less relevance to the financial reward and more to the achievement of personal goals, receiving recognition from others and enjoying their job (Dann 1995). Furthermore, according to these studies, women define success as a balance between professional and personal life, and that career success is not enough to define a successful person, albeit it is an important indicator. Women value feelings of happiness, well-being and personal growth, rather than performing an important function or having a high wage, i.e., they link success to personal fulfilment. In addition, for men, career and personal domains were not inseparably linked, and other goals could be pursued only when they have achieved a certain level of financial success (Dyke and Murphy 2006; Sturges 1999). On the basis of the results of this study, it could be maintained that these different perceptions of success by male and female working adults are already found upstream of adulthood, i.e., during the EH educational path.

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Women Leadership Style, The Type of Projects They Manage and Their Success

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Abstract As women increasingly enter leadership roles that traditionally have been occupied mainly by men, the possibility that the leadership styles of women and men differ continues to attract attention (Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001). The paper analyses the effect of the Leadership Style of women who manage projects on the Success of projects they manage. We use the framework of the Five Big Factors of Leadership to determine the leadership style of each woman project manager. To evaluate the success of various types of projects, the Diamond Model (Shenhar and Dvir, 2007) is used to classify the various projects into three types of projects, simple projects, moderately complex projects and complex projects. Women managers who achieve higher levels on the first four leadership factors (i.e. assertive managers) are inclined to choose to manage more complex projects and are achieving better results in managing projects, no matter what kind of project they manage. Women managers with lower leadership qualifications have no preference about the type of project they prefer to manage. The findings show that, Openness and Conscientiousness have a much stronger effect on the success of projects, especially on complex projects. Extraversion and Agreeableness have an impact on the success of moderately complex projects, and Openness has an impact on the creation of new infrastructure (technological and organizational) of simple projects. Similar to Judge et al. (2002), the study also shows that Neuroticism is negatively related to leadership, except in two cases were the correlations between Neuroticism and Creating a New Technological Infrastructure and Creating a New Organizational Infrastructure, in moderately complex projects are high and significant. The paper is based on data collected on 90 woman project managers from various fields, construction, technological innovation, information systems, acquisition and logistics, marketing and military aviation. All projects were managed by women.

Keywords: big five factors model of leadership, women leadership styles, project manager, complexity level of projects, project success measures

1. Literature review

Cleland and Kerzner (1985) define a project as: A combination of human and non-human resources pulled together into a temporary organization to achieve a specified purpose. As a temporary organization, the project is an agency established by a parent organization (the principal) to achieve specific objectives.

The two elements from PMI's Body of Knowledge which lead to superior project performance are Managing Communication and Managing Risk (Muller and Turner, 2001: Cooke Davies, 2001).

As women increasingly enter leadership roles that traditionally have been occupied mainly by men, the possibility that the leadership styles of women and men differ continues to attract attention (Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001).

Many writers have claimed that the leadership styles of women and men are different, mainly along the lines of women being less hierarchical, more cooperative and collaborative, and more oriented to enhancing others' self-worth (Book, 2000; Helgesen, 1990; Rosener, 1995).

Research findings show that women adopt democratic and participative leadership styles in the corporate world and in education. Transformational leadership is the preferred leadership style used by women. The characteristics of transformational leadership relate to female values developed through socialization processes that include building relationships, communication, consensus building, power as influence, and working together for a common purpose. The feminine leadership styles are not better or worse than the traditional male-oriented ones, they are just different. "The point of examining these differences is not to say one approach is right and one is wrong, but rather to help us understand that males and females may be coming from very

different perspectives, and that unless we understand these differences, we are not likely to work well together", (Trinidad and Normore, 2005.)

Most common was a distinction between two approaches to leadership: task-oriented style, defined as a concern with accomplishing assigned tasks by organizing task-relevant activities, and interpersonally oriented style, defined as a concern with maintaining interpersonal relationships by tending to others' morale and welfare (Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001).

Eagly and Johnson (1990) reviewed studies that compared men and women on task and interpersonal styles and democratic and autocratic styles.

The most widely cited definition of shared leadership is that of Pearce and Conger (2003): "a dynamic, interactive influence process among individuals in groups for which the objective is to lead one another to the achievement of group or organizational goals or both. This influence process often involves peer, or lateral, influence and at other times involves upward or downward hierarchical influence.

Applying the concepts of complexity theory to the study of leadership has resulted in what has been referred to as complexity leadership (Uhl-Bien and Marion 2008). Based on this framework, leadership is viewed as an interactive system of dynamic, unpredictable agents that interact with each other in complex feedback networks, which can then produce adaptive outcomes such as knowledge dissemination, learning, innovation, and further adaptation to change (Uhl-Bien et al. 2007).

Although men and women did not differ on task-oriented style, the very small tendency for women to be more inter personally oriented than men was significant. On measures that assessed tendencies to be democratic versus autocratic (or participative versus directive), men were more autocratic or directive than women, and women were more democratic or participative than men (Hoyt and Simon, 2011).

Although empirical work indicates there are a few gender differences in leadership style and effectiveness, these differences do not disadvantage women and, if anything, may offer a slight advantage (Hoyt, 2010a, 2010b). For example, women's leadership tends to be somewhat more transformational than men's. An effect that is driven primarily by women engaging more in the supportive and mentoring aspects of this style, and transformational leadership is associated with contemporary notions of effective leadership (Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, and van Engen, 2003; van Engen and Willemsen, 2004).

More likely, as situational theories of leadership contend (Chemers, 1997), the effectiveness of leader behaviours depends on contextual variables, such as the nature of the task and the characteristics of the followers.

Therefore, contemporary views of good leadership encourage teamwork and collaboration and emphasize the ability to empower, support, and engage workers (Hammer and Champy, 1994; Senge, 1994).

In general, Eagly et al. (2003) meta-analysis revealed that, compared with male leaders, female leaders were (a) more transformational (significant in general and on all but one subscale) and (b) engaged in more of the contingent reward behaviours (i.e., exchanging rewards for followers' satisfactory performance) that are one component of transactional leadership.

Judge et al. (2002) assessed the links between the Big Five Model and leadership on the basis of 78 leadership and personality studies published between 1967 and 1998. They found a strong relationship between the Big Five traits and leadership. Extraversion was in their study the factor which was most strongly associated with leadership and therefore the most important trait for effective leaders.

The second factor conscientiousness and openness followed. Neuroticism was actually the third factor closely related to leadership, but it was negatively related to leadership. Agreeableness was only weakly associated with leadership (Northouse, 2007, p.22).

Research has shown that women possess both advantages and disadvantages as leaders, with the disadvantages arising primarily in roles that are male-dominated or otherwise defined in masculine ways (Eagly and Carli, 2003).

2. Methodology

90 women project managers from various disciplines, but mainly from the high-tech industry in Israel, filled out a questionnaire developed specifically for this study.

They were asked to describe the characteristics of their projects with respect to the level of novelty, complexity, technological uncertainty and pace of the project using the Diamond Model (Shenhar and Dvir, 2007). Shenhar and Dvir's (2007) project uncertainty model which is used here to classify projects has four dimensions labeled: Novelty, Technology, Complexity and Pace:

Novelty: This dimension represents the uncertainty of the project's goal, the uncertainty in the market or both. It measures how new the project's product is to customers, users or to the market in general and thus how clear and well defined the initial product requirements are.

There are three levels of novelty: Derivative, Platform and Breakthrough. Understanding novelty helps us make decisions about: The time required to freeze product requirements and how much we trust the accuracy and reliability of marketing data.

Technology: This dimension represents the project's level of technological uncertainty (or risk). It is determined by how much new technology is required. There are four levels of technology: Low-tech, Medium-tech, High-tech and Super-high-tech.

Understanding technology helps to decide: The time required freezing design; the intensity of the technical activities; and the technical skills required by the project manager and team.

Complexity: This dimension measures the complexity of the product, the task and the project organization. There are three levels of complexity: Assembly; System; Array (or system of systems).

Understanding complexity helps to decide: The structure of the project organization, how best to manage it (i.e., finding the right level of bureaucracy and formalities).

Pace: This dimension represents the urgency of the project, namely, how much time there is to complete the job. There are four levels of pace: Regular; Fast/competitive; Time-critical and Blitz.

Understanding Pace helps us decide: How to do the planning, how and when to do reviews, the most useful degree of autonomy for the project team and the most useful level of involvement of top management (i.e., particularly in the most urgent projects).

The success of each project was measured by 15 success measures, (Sadeh et. al., 2007).

The questionnaire also included 16 questions about their personality traits, adopted from Malach-Pines et al. (2006).

Additional data about the background of each woman manager was collected, such as age, experience, and education.

2.1 Data analysis

A two-step statistical clustering method was applied on the four dimensions of projects' characteristics. The 90 projects were classified into three categories: simple projects (26), moderately complex projects (29) and complex projects (35).

The 16 personality traits were reduced to five factors according to the Big Five Model of Leadership to determine the leadership style of each woman project manager: Openness (Intellect); Conscientiousness (Dependability); Extraversion (Surgency); Agreeableness; and Neuroticism (Emotional Stability). These factors are marked as O, C, E, A and N, accordingly.

A two-step statistical clustering method was also applied on the Five Big factors and the 90 women project managers were classified into two categories: "Assertive" (35) and "Regular" (55). The term assertive is used to describe the cluster of women managers having higher grades according to the first four factors of the Big Five Model of Leadership. The term regular denotes the second cluster of women managers with lower grades.

3. Findings

The levels of each leadership factor along with the mean and standard deviation of each factor, with respect to the project's type (simple. moderately complex and complex) are provided in Table 1. As can be seen, the mean grades of the women managers are rising in all first four factors of leadership (except Neuroticism), as the level of complexity of the projects is rising. We can assert from this finding that women with higher qualifications, according to the Big Five Model prefer to manage the more complex projects.

Table 1: Leadership factors and types of projects

Leadership Factors	Project Type	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Openness	1.00	4.3154	1.29760	26
	2.00	5.1172	0.99070	29
	3.00	**5.1543**	1.08907	35
Conscientiousness	1.00	5.4167	0.93363	26
	2.00	6.0115	0.59750	29
	3.00	**6.1048**	0.63669	35
Extraversion	1.00	5.3269	1.11303	26
	2.00	5.5517	0.91948	29
	3.00	5.6714	1.04981	35
Agreeableness	1.00	5.4808	1.09069	26
	2.00	6.0517	0.71145	29
	3.00	**6.1571**	0.84689	35
Neuroticism	1.00	2.4615	1.63048	26
	2.00	**3.2759**	2.01595	29
	3.00	3.0286	1.79026	35

The highest value of each factor is marked by Bold Face characters; 1 -Simple project, 2- moderately Complex project, 3- Complex project

It seems that women managers with higher leadership qualifications are inclined to take on themselves more complicated projects.

As explained above, the 90 women mangers were classified into two categories: Assertive (35) and Regular (55) according to their scores on the leadership factors. 18 women managers out of the 55 managed simple projects, 18 managed moderately complex projects and 19 managed complex projects. This means that the regular type managers have no preferences what project to manage. On the other hand, 8 Assertive type managers managed simple projects, 11 managed moderately complex projects and 16 managed complicated projects. It can be inferred that assertive type women managers prefer to manage more complicated projects.

In order to explore how well the impact of leadership factors of female mangers have on success of their project, correlations among personality traits and success measures by project type are also analysed.

Table 2 provides data abbot the level of success of the 90 projects, according to the project type and presented in two groups, the first one (denoted by 1) is the cluster of projects managed by assertive project managers, and the second group (denoted by 2) is the cluster of projects managed by regular project managers. The success of the projects is measured here by the six most important success measures. As can be seen in Table 2, assertive women managers achieve higher levels of success according to all six success measures.

Table 2: Projects success levels for two clusters of women managers

Project Success Measures	Clusters	Project Type	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Met Planned Specifications	1	1.00	5.88	0.991	8
		2.00	**6.27**	1.009	11
		3.00	5.69	1.580	16
	2	1.00	5.33	1.328	18
		2.00	**5.56**	1.723	18
		3.00	4.63	1.535	19
Client Satisfaction	1	1.00	5.63	1.685	8
		2.00	6.18	0.982	11
		3.00	**6.19**	1.223	16
	2	1.00	5.50	1.383	18
		2.00	**5.78**	1.166	18
		3.00	5.58	1.216	19
Created a New Market	1	1.00	2.63	2.446	8
		2.00	3.09	2.071	11
		3.00	**4.31**	1.922	16
	2	1.00	2.33	2.249	18
		2.00	3.44	2.007	18
		3.00	**3.74**	2.182	19
Created a New Technological Infrastructure	1	1.00	2.63	2.200	8
		2.00	3.27	2.453	11
		3.00	**5.00**	1.461	16
	2	1.00	2.11	1.906	18
		2.00	2.67	1.414	18
		3.00	**4.16**	1.893	19
Created a New Organizational Infrastructure	1	1.00	3.50	2.673	8
		2.00	3.00	2.324	11
		3.00	**4.81**	1.642	16
	2	1.00	2.28	1.994	18
		2.00	2.72	1.364	18
		3.00	**3.47**	1.712	19
General success of the Project	1	1.00	5.38	0.916	8
		2.00	**5.64**	1.027	11
		3.00	5.31	1.195	16
	2	1.00	4.50	1.249	18
		2.00	**5.50**	0.786	18
		3.00	5.26	1.147	19

Bold face figures denote the highest success levels**;** (Cluster1 denotes the women managers with Higher Scores on the first four Leadership Factors, and Cluster 2 denotes the women managers with Lower Scores on the first four Leadership Factors)

Table 3 presents the correlations between the Big Five Leadership Factors and the success measures of the projects. It can clearly be seen that Conscientiousness has the strongest impact on success, especially in Complex projects. The second factor that has a considerable impact on success of the projects is Openness, which also has an impact on Complex projects, but also on the other two types of projects (simple projects and moderately complex projects). Extraversion has only a moderate impact on moderately complex projects, while Agreeableness, has a moderate impact on moderately complex and complex projects. Neuroticism has an impact

only on simple and moderately complex projects. In most cases that impact is negative; however, in two cases it has a strong positive impact on Creating a New Technological Infrastructure and Creating a New Organizational Infrastructure of moderately complex projects.

Table 3: Correlations between the leadership factors and projects' success measures

Project Type	Leadership Factors	Met Planned Specs.	Satisfied Client's Needs	Created a New Market	Created a New Tech. Infra-structure	Created a New Org. Infra-structure	Economic Success	Project's General Success
1	**Openness**	0.325	0.360	0.317	**.403***	**.470***	-0.030	0.323
	Conscien-tiousness	0.268	0.216	-0.172	-0.005	0.075	0.071	0.254
	Extraversion	0.167	0.162	-0.128	0.113	0.167	-0.113	0.132
	Agreeableness	0.259	0.245	-0.029	0.244	0.349	-0.017	0.148
	Neuroticism	-0.059	0.041	0.042	-0.053	-0.031	**-0.301**	**-0.248**
2	**Openness**	0.062	0.130	0.017	**.383***	0.275	0.280	0.105
	Conscien-tiousness	0.252	0.341	-0.267	-0.026	-0.026	0.276	0.159
	Extraversion	0.045	0.036	0.166	**.421***	0.249	**.450***	0.164
	Agreeableness	**.390***	**.437***	-0.187	0.180	-0.007	**.370***	0.241
	Neuroticism	-0.113	0.023	0.093	**.532****	**.539****	**-0.321**	**-.375***
3	**Openness**	**.449****	**.673****	0.228	0.278	**.455****	**.352***	0.198
	Conscien-tiousness	0.296	**.388***	**.340***	**.403***	**.521****	**.439****	0.125
	Extraversion	0.299	0.310	0.095	0.036	0.203	0.319	0.031
	Agreeableness	0.265	0.274	0.101	0.120	0.107	**.385***	0.149
	Neuroticism	-0.082	0.208	0.000	0.231	0.220	-0.247	-0.232

Significant correlations are in bold face, (*) significant at 0.1 level, (**) significant at 0.05 level

4. Discussion

The motivation to manage complex projects is usually correlated with better rewards. On the other hand, complex projects are hard to manage and achieve the planned results. The study also shows that the leadership qualifications, as was previously described in the literature, are valid for management of projects conducted by women. The assertive women managers do have a preference about the type of project they prefer to manage. This implies that women project managers with high qualifications are willing to manage more complex projects and can lead their projects to success. While this might be considered as a straight forward finding, it should be confronted with other managers that have no preference, and their ability to lead more complex projects to the required level of success is not well established.

5. Conclusions

As we have seen in Table 1 above, assertive women managers, or in other words, women managers who achieve higher levels on the first four leadership factors (Openness, Conscientiousness, Extraversion and Agreeableness) are inclined to choose to manage complex projects. Their mean values on all four factors are increasing when moving from simple projects to complex projects. This phenomenon does not hold for the Neuroticism factor. The mean values on this factor are significantly lower than on the other four factors, which may show that women, who are not Emotional Stable, usually don't serve as managers.

Another interesting finding is that more assertive women managers are achieving better results in managing projects according to all important success factors, as is shown in Table 2, no matter what kind of project they manage (simple, moderately complex or complex project).

The findings, especially those shown in Table 1, support Chemers (1997) view that the effectiveness of leader behaviour depends on contextual variables, such as the nature of the task.

However, the correlations between the Leadership Factors and Success Measures (Table3) do not support the findings of Judge et al. (2002) in their meta-analysis of 78 studies published between 1967 and 1998, which found that Extraversion was in their study the factor which was most strongly associated with leadership, followed by the factors conscientiousness and openness. According to our findings Conscientiousness is the factor most strongly associated with leadership, followed by Openness, Agreeableness and Extraversion.

Similar to Judge et al. (2002), our study also shows that Neuroticism is negatively related to leadership, except in two cases were the correlations between Neuroticism and Creating a New Technological Infrastructure and Creating a New Organizational Infrastructure, in moderately complex projects are high and significant.

5.1 Main findings

Women managers who achieve higher levels on the first four leadership factors (assertive managers) are inclined to choose to manage more complex projects and are achieving better results in managing projects according to all important success factors, no matter what kind of project they manage.

Women managers with moderate leadership qualifications have no preference about the type of project they prefer to manage.

The correlations between the Leadership Factors and Success Measures do not support earlier findings, which found that Extraversion is the factor which is most strongly associated with leadership.

According to this study, Openness and Conscientiousness have a much stronger effect on the success of projects, along most success measures, especially on complex projects. Extraversion and Agreeableness have an impact on the success of moderately complex projects, and Openness has an impact on the creation of new infrastructure (technological and organizational) of simple projects.

Our findings support Chemers (1997) view that the effectiveness of leader behaviors depends on contextual variables, such as the nature of the task.

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Lessons Learned From Tailored Gender Equality Plans: Classification and Analysis of Actions Implemented Within the EQUAL-IST Project

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Abstract: Gender Equality Plans (GEPs) represent a comprehensive tool to promote structural change for gender equality in research institutions. The Horizon 2020 EQUAL-IST project ("Gender Equality Plans for Information Sciences and Technology Research Institutions") supports six Informatics and Information Systems Departments at universities across Europe to initiate the design and implementation of GEPs. This paper is focused on project outcomes of the first iteration of GEP implementation (October 2017 - May 2018). Based on the internal reports provided by the involved research institutions, we classified the implemented actions as 'structural change actions' or 'preparatory actions' (following the study by Sangiuliano, Canali & Madesi, 2018) and as 'internally-oriented actions' or 'externally-oriented actions'. The implemented actions were analyzed across such intervention areas as Institutional Communication, Human Resources and Management Practices, and Teaching and Services for (Potential) Students. The conducted study addresses the need to investigate the peculiarities of GEP implementation in the Information Sciences and Technology (IST) and Information and Communications Technology (ICT) disciplines, where the gender leak in the recruitment pipeline often starts at universities already, with extremely low numbers of enrolled female students. We therefore aim at understanding if the notable amount of actions to attract more female students, which were initiated within the EQUAL-IST project during the first iteration of GEP implementation, implies a risk to bend the process towards more externally-oriented actions, which are less likely to impact internal power structures, at least in the short run. The second purpose of the paper is to explore, whether structural change actions, which have the potential to go beyond mere raising awareness on the topics at stake, tend to be concentrated in the Human Resources and Management Practices area.

Keywords: gender equality plans (GEPs), structural changes, research organizations, implementation, information sciences and technology, sustainability

1. Motivation and background

Over the last decades, policies for European Research and Technological Development have been focusing more and more on how gender aspects impact research and innovation (R&I). Following up the research and policy work in this field set up by the Helsinki Group, European Research Area (ERA) has prioritized the following objectives: gender equality in decision-making, gender equality in research teams, and incorporation of the gender dimension into research content and innovation (European Commission, 2012a; Council of the European Union, 2015). Therefore, European Union (EU) member states are expected and encouraged to set up incentives to achieve these objectives. ERA is also encouraging partnership of EU governments with Research Funding Organizations (RFOs) and Research Performing Organizations (RPOs) to promote cultural change in academia and consequently trigger institutional change.

The ERA concept and the policy tools promoting institutional change reflect the gender mainstreaming perspective and are referred to as *structural change* (European Commission, 2012b). Structural change practices are aimed at provoking transformations in institutions, in particular, in their rules, regulations, organizational processes, and cultures (European Commission, 2014). Thus, structural change is an effort to progress beyond the idea that women need to be trained or granted special support as the under-represented sex. In the recent policies issued by the European Commission (EC), which were reflected in the FP7 and Horizon 2020 (H2020) framework programs, *Gender Equality Plans (GEPs)* have been promoted as the main tool to achieve structural change. Based on the insights from sociology of gendered organizations (Gherardi, 1994), GEPs are intended to incorporate gender equality policies into change management practices and lead to institutional transformation (EIGE, 2016).

Since 2007 the EC have funded on average 3-4 FP7 and H2020 projects per year to support European RPOs and RFOs in designing, implementing, and evaluating GEPs. Projects like GenisLab (2014), Integer and Stages (2015),

Egera, Festa, Garcia, and Genovate (2016), GenderTime and Trigger (2017) delivered insightful reports and toolkits on how to foster structural change for gender equality and what are the main constraints and critical aspects at stake. In these projects gender equality is being increasingly seen not only as an issue of under-representation of women, but also as a core dimension of research excellence (European Commission, 2011). This also resonates with the new normative foundations for higher education and research institutions to become more 'managerial' and 'entrepreneurial' (Kreissl et al., 2015).

Implementation of GEPs in research institutions is monitored in the ERA periodic reports, which show that in spite of an increasing number of RFOs and RPOs adopting the aforementioned policies the majority of EU research organizations are still not committed to structural change for gender equality (European Commission, 2017). Consequently, additional guidelines and tools, such as the GEAR (Gender Equality in Academia and Research) Toolkit developed by the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE), have been provided by the EC to assist research organizations in understanding, which steps and specific implementation processes could be exploited (EIGE, 2017). The H2020 EQUAL-IST project ("Gender Equality Plans for Information Sciences and Technology Research Institutions"), which was approved in 2016 within the H2020 program "Science with and for Societies", applied these guidelines and tools to the research institutions in Information Sciences and Technology (IST) and Information and Communications Technology (ICT) disciplines.

IST and ICT belong to the STEM fields (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics), where statistics shows under-representation of women along the entire career pipeline, from studying to accessing research positions to progressing in the career ladder to top leadership positions. Figures on ICT tertiary studies in 2015 show that there are four times as many male graduates as female graduates (European Commission, 2018a). As for the leadership positions in EU research organizations, the SheFigures 2015 report (European Commission, 2016) showed that despite some positive trends over the last years women constituted on average 20.9% of Grade A (full professors) across all disciplines and only 9.8% in the Engineering and Technology field, which includes IST and ICT.

The EQUAL-IST project focuses on supporting six Informatics and Information Systems Departments from Germany, Finland, Italy, Lithuania, Portugal, and Ukraine to become engaged into achieving internal structural change for gender equality through GEP implementation. Running for 36 months, the project took the challenge to develop and implement the lacking discipline-specific interventions related to gender equality in the ICT and IST fields (Benschop & Van den Brink, 2011). The project addresses the following four main areas of intervention: Institutional Communication, Human Resources (HR) and Management Practices, Teaching and Services for (Potential) Students, and Research Design and Delivery.

The project started with an internal gender audit performed at each participating RPO, where a mixed methodology was applied using quantitative data analysis and qualitative techniques (e.g., focus groups, semi-structured interviews, and workshops). This process had led to the identification of the challenges related to gender equality at each RPO. These challenges, as well as ideas to address them, were then discussed on a crowdsourcing online platform, which was developed within the project (http://www.crowdequality.eu) in order to trigger a participatory approach to design the tailored GEPs. The designed GEPs have been implemented at RPO in two rounds: the first iteration from October 2017 to May 2018 and the second iteration from July 2018 to April 2019.

In this paper the results of the first iteration of GEP implementation are analyzed and discussed. The analysis is based on the GEP implementation reports delivered by the participating RPOs. As we clarify below, a self-assessment process was performed during the GEP implementation as part of a continued monitoring activity, which was conducted in a dialogue with the external evaluation team and supported by mutual learning during face-to-face meetings and online sessions of the project consortium.

In line with the study by Sangiuliano et al. (2018), we propose to analyze the self-reported implemented actions as either 'structural change actions' or 'preparatory actions'. Furthermore, based on the main audience involved in the implemented actions, we proposed to further classify them as being either 'internally-oriented' or 'externally-oriented'.

Identification of the share of structural change actions among all implemented actions is especially important, as there is a risk that the project could end up with non-sustainable actions having limited impact. This risk was

highlighted in the majority of the 19 in-depth interviews with representatives of research organizations across Europe, which were involved in similar third-party funded projects aimed at GEP design and implementation. These interviews were conducted at the beginning of the EQUAL-IST project as part of the state-of-the-art analysis. Furthermore, the ERA progress report (European Commission, 2017) and the FP7 GenderNet project reports (GenderNet, 2015) stressed the need in continuous institutional commitment and monitoring mechanisms for GEP implementation. GEP sustainability is also highlighted by the EC as a core element to work on (European Commission, 2018b).

The first purpose of the paper is to explore, whether the notable amount of actions to attract more female students, which were initiated within the EQUAL-IST project during the first iteration of GEP implementation, implies a risk to bend the process towards more externally-oriented actions, which are less likely to impact internal power structures, at least in the short run. The second purpose of the paper is to explore, whether structural change actions, which have the potential to go beyond mere raising awareness on the topics at stake, tend to be concentrated in the HR and Management Practices area.

2. Methodology for reporting on the GEP implementation

The objective of internal reporting within the EQUAL-IST project was to monitor and assess the GEP implementation progress by (i) the RPOs internally, (ii) the project task and work package leaders, and (iii) the external evaluation team. Each RPO had to report continuously on the initiated actions and their evaluation. At the end of the first iteration of GEP implementation the final versions of internal reports provided by the RPOs were included into a project deliverable (Gorbacheva, 2018). This deliverable also contained an overview of the GEP implementation progress at each RPO and analysis of content and time deviations from the GEPs.

During the first iteration of GEP implementation, 63 distinct actions were reported by the RPOs. These actions were aimed at addressing the challenges related to gender equality identified at each RPO during internal gender audits. Each action could be classified into one of the following project intervention areas: Institutional Communication, HR and Management Practices, and Teaching and Services for (Potential) Students.

When performing the reporting, the RPOs had to follow specific guidelines, which were developed by the task and work package leaders, informed by the recommendations from the project external evaluation team, as well as disseminated, discussed, and approved by all RPOs. The guidelines for internal reporting prescribed provision of the following information for each implemented action:

- General description of the work performed, focusing on the action objectives, main ideas, and content.
- Action impact focusing on the changes in processes and procedures and the changes related to behavior and culture.
- Details of the course and outcomes of the action evaluation.
- Action duration and status (completed, in progress, in preparation).
- Stakeholders involved in the action management and implementation, as well as those providing informational and advisory support.
- In case the reported action was an event or a standalone study: number of participants and the numbers of men and women among them.
- Faced problems or obstacles during the action planning or implementation and undertaken solutions to address them.
- Factors that have made the action successful or unsuccessful.
- Unexpected positive or negative results observed during the action planning or implementation.
- Links to all available materials related to action preparation and implementation, which had to be stored separately.
- Elaboration on how the sustainability of the action beyond the project runtime was planned to be ensured (in terms of resources, knowledge, institutionalization etc.).

3. Methodology for the analysis of results

This work follows up the paper by Sangiuliano et al. (2018) and is focused on the analysis of results of the first iteration of GEP implementation (October 2017- May 2018). Here the classification used by Sangiuliano et al. (2018), where 'structural change actions' were distinguished from 'preparatory actions', was refined into a more complex matrix intersecting the initial categorization with the scope of the actions as being 'internally-oriented' or 'externally-oriented' (Figure 1).

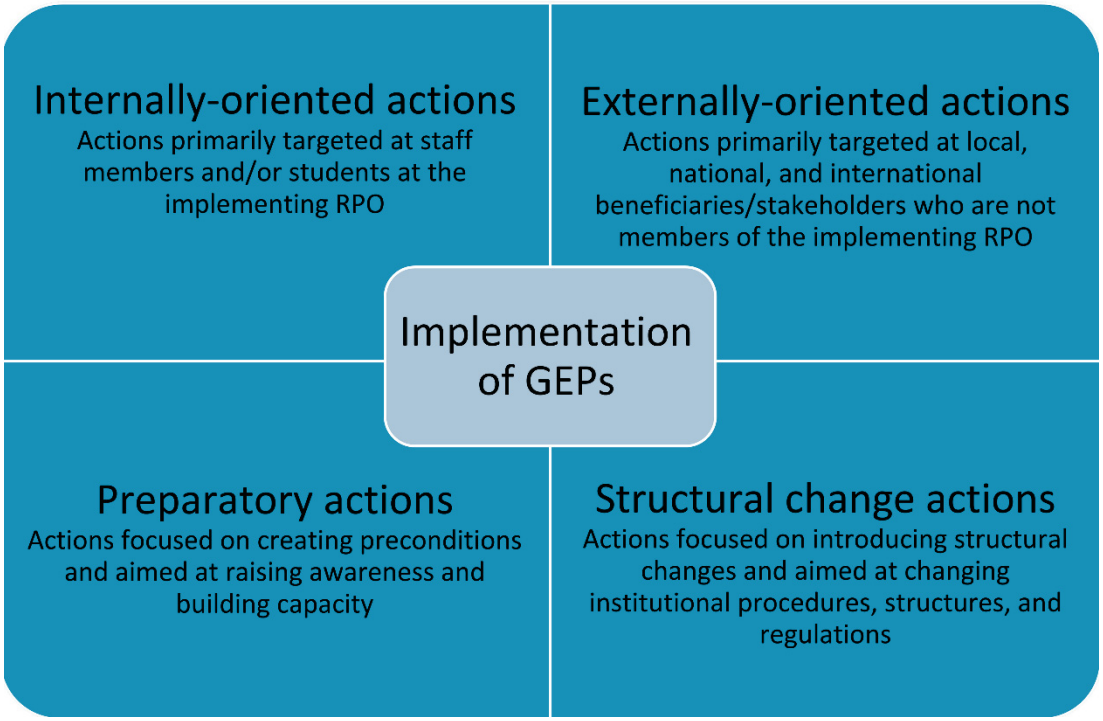


Figure 1: Proposed classification of implemented actions

As clarified in Figure 1, the following four labels were used to classify the implemented actions:

- "IP" - Internally-oriented preparatory actions: actions targeting staff members or current students at the implementing RPOs and focused on raising awareness on gender equality issues; the ultimate goal of such actions is to promote a change in the institutional culture.
- "EP" - Externally-oriented preparatory actions: actions targeting external stakeholders aimed at supporting the overall process of change.
- "IS" - Internally-oriented actions focused on introducing structural changes: actions targeting internal stakeholders and staff members focused on moving beyond the objective of creating preconditions and resulting in changes in structures, procedures, regulations etc.
- "ES" - Externally-oriented actions focused on introducing structural changes: actions targeting external stakeholders and resulting in (internal) structural changes.

This categorization provides a first step to analyze the nature of actions towards institutional change and it does not consider all possible complexities of change. In this matrix, internally-oriented actions for structural change ("IS") can be seen as the 'main' actions, while externally-oriented actions to build preconditions ("EP") can be framed as the 'first steps' in the structural change; the other two categories, namely "IP" and "ES", stand in between. In spite of its simplicity, the framework can still be useful to enhance understanding of prevailing patterns in structural change processes.

As mentioned in the previous section, the individual reports provided by the six RPOs implementing tailored GEPs within the EQUAL-IST project were screened and 63 distinct implemented actions could be identified. Each action has been attributed to one of the aforementioned four categories. A cross-check of interpretative choices and doubts was shared and resolved by the authors. In cases where a specific action could be assigned to more than one category (e.g., targeting both internal and external stakeholders), the most fitting category was chosen.

Data analysis reported in the following section presents our findings both in an aggregated way (without specifying individual RPOs) and for each project intervention area. It needs to be noted here that inconsistencies in allocating actions to intervention areas could be revealed in the reports submitted by the RPOs. Therefore, during the analysis re-allocation of such actions to correct intervention areas was performed.

4. Results

Most of the 63 analyzed actions belonged to the HR and Management Practices project intervention area, followed by the actions in the Teaching and Services for (Potential) Students and Institutional Communication areas at almost the same rates (Figure 2). At the same time, the Research Design and Delivery area remained unattended during the first iteration of GEP implementation.

HR and Management Practices is a broad area and includes such crucial aspects as recruitment, retention, career progress, access to top academic positions, as well as work-life balance. Furthermore, within the EQUAL-IST project such management aspects as governance structures and equality bodies were also included into this intervention area. Therefore, this is definitely the core area for promoting institutional change and it is not surprising that 31 out of 63 implemented actions belonged to it. As for the Teaching and Services for (Potential) Students area, a higher share of actions was expected here, as during the project mutual learning activities and monitoring sessions the RPOs often stressed the need for actions to attract more girls to apply to the respective study programs. This observation shows that project working groups at the RPOs (who are in charge of steering the GEP implementation) managed to achieve a balanced representation of actions in the project main intervention areas. Nevertheless, no actions were foreseen in the GEPs in the Research Design and Delivery area. This reflects internal difficulties reported by the RPOs in grasping how the gender dimension could be relevant in ICT and IST research, which is considered to be gender-neutral.

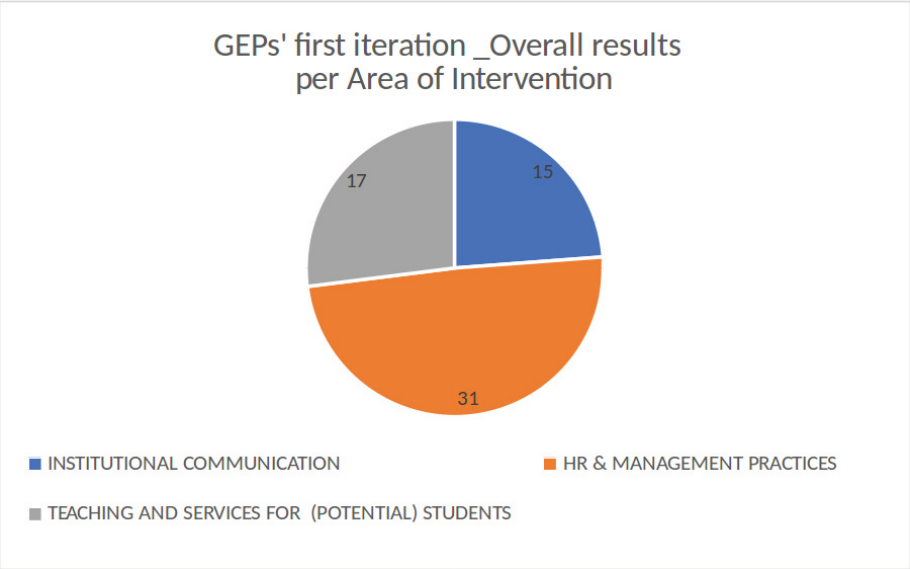


Figure 2: Implemented actions per area of intervention

Regarding the nature of implemented actions, Figure 3 shows that that twice as many preparatory actions as structural change actions were implemented (45 vs. 18 actions). This finding is not surprising, as all RPOs are still at the initial stage of setting up gender policies and this was the first iteration of GEP implementation. Therefore, implementation of 18 structural change actions already before the end of the project can be considered as a positive outcome. The majority of the actions were internally-oriented (53 out of 63). Out of 10 externally-oriented actions, 9 were preparatory actions. The only externally-oriented action focused on introducing structural changes was assigned to the HR and Management Practices area of intervention. In this action, a collaboration protocol was signed with external national-level stakeholders. The protocol was focused on joint actions to promote gender equality in research institutions across the country. This strategic action had a positive and triggering impact on the overall GEP implementation, as the protocol increased its legitimacy, as well as increased recognition of the EQUAL-IST project, in particular, in the eyes of the RPO middle-level management.

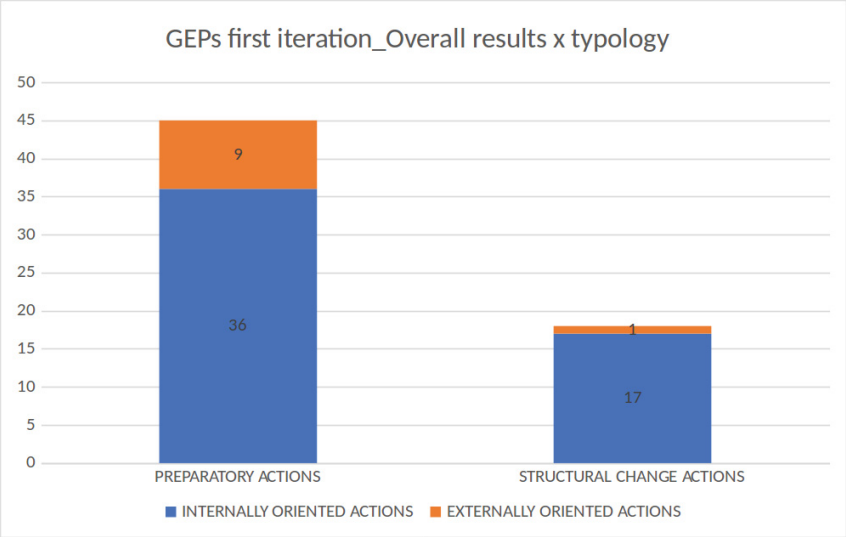


Figure 3: Overview of preparatory and structural change actions

A closer look at each intervention area revealed that external stakeholders were not involved in the Institutional Communication area (Figure 4). In this area, internally-oriented preparatory actions were focused on raising awareness of gender bias in visual and verbal communications, as well as assessment of communication materials using the gender-sensitive approach. The internally-oriented actions focused on introducing structural changes here included updating communication materials based on the recommendations from the performed assessment, setting up of new dedicated communication channels, and formal adoption of guidelines on gender-sensitive communication.

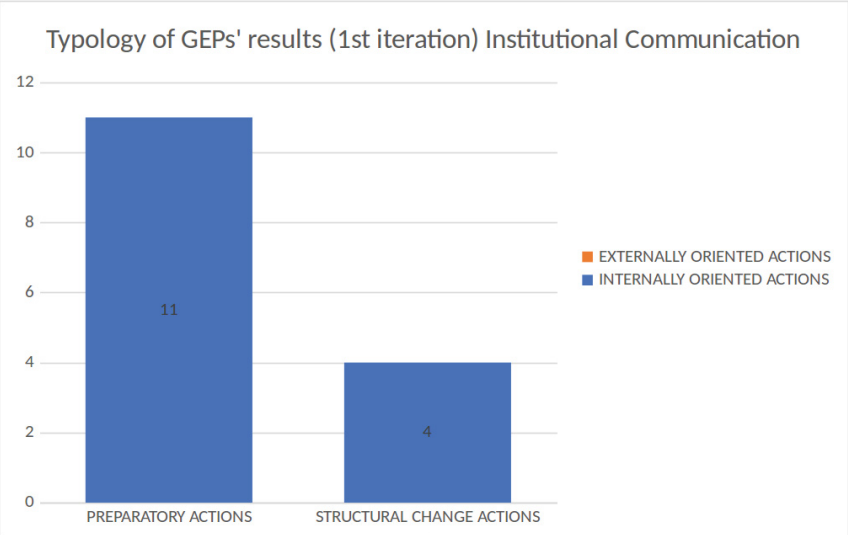


Figure 4: Preparatory and structural change actions in the institutional communication area

The most populated HR and Management Practices intervention area (Figure 5) contained the majority of internally-oriented actions focused on introducing structural changes. The most relevant actions here included as follows: formal agreements on telework, changed procedures for data collection and analysis (considering gender-disaggregated data), gender-sensitive career planning tools adopted at the department level, setting up of gender equality bodies, formation of networks for female researchers, appointment of contact people for gender-related matters at departments, and incorporation of gender equality as one of the values into the faculty mission statement. Internally-oriented preparatory actions, in turn, included the interventions focused on raising awareness, building capacity, provision of information about existing work-life balance regulations and the roles of existing gender equality machineries, a study to investigate the opportunity to establish on-campus child-care facilities, and analysis of the needs of staff members with childcare duties. One striking finding was that even though the ICT and IST disciplines are among those with the lowest shares of women among full professors and in leadership positions, no actions to address this challenge were included in the GEPs. The prevailing discourse of unbiased and meritocratic recruitment proved hard to be challenged, at least during this

initial phase of implementing gender equality policies. Activities to raise awareness of gender bias in recruitment were initiated only at one RPO. Here each time a new appointment committee for tenured positions was formed, the faculty Equal Opportunities Officer sent to the members of these appointment committees emails informing about unconscious bias and about existing regulations related to gender equality in recruitment. The goal was to sensitize the members of appointment committees about the importance of ensuring equal treatment of all candidates and avoiding any form of bias and discrimination.

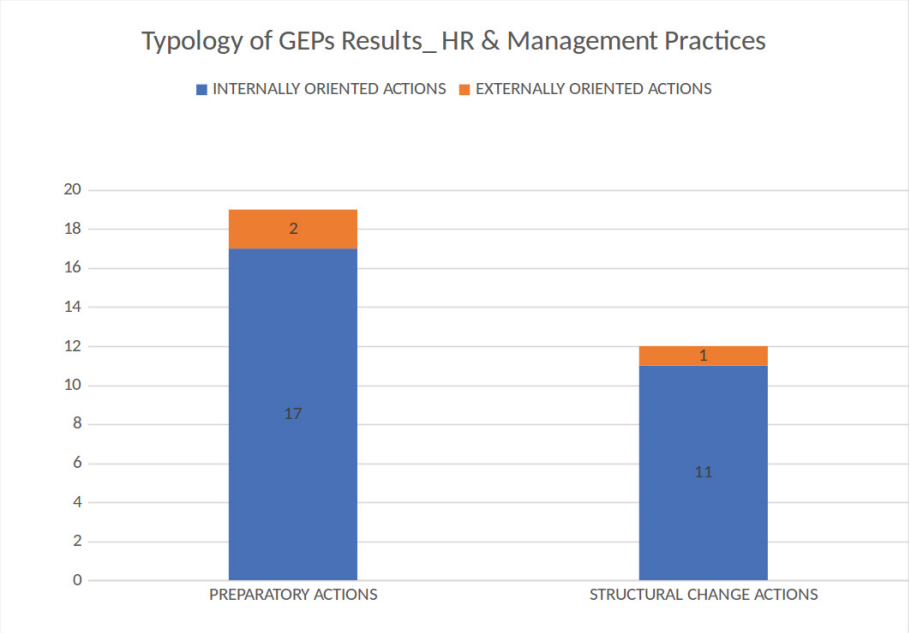


Figure 5: Preparatory and structural change actions in the HR and management practices area

Finally, the Teaching and Services for (Potential) Students area targeted external stakeholders the most (Figure 6).

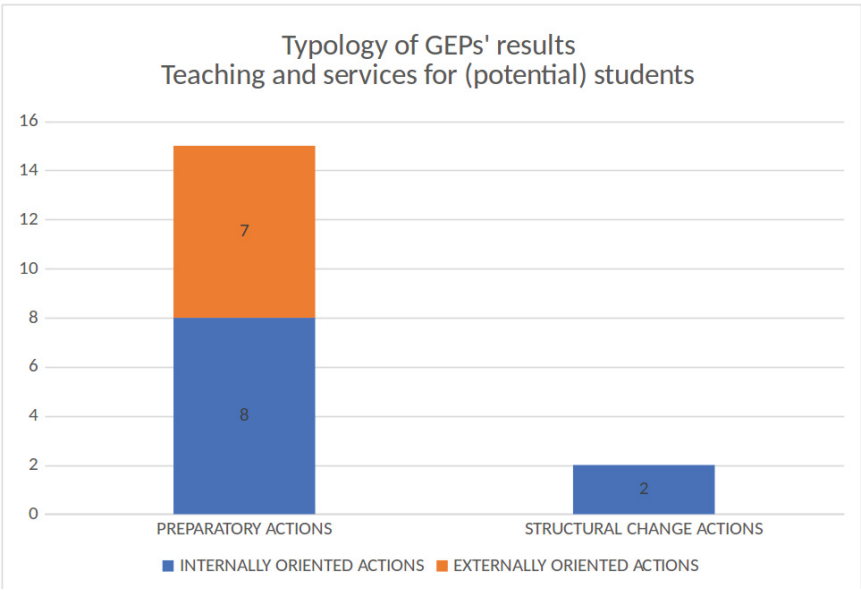


Figure 6: Preparatory and structural change actions in the Teaching and Services for (Potential) Students area

The externally-oriented preparatory actions here targeted girls from primary to high schools and were aimed at teaching them basic coding skills and encouraging them to pursue studies in the ICT and IST disciplines. These actions involved such external partners or sponsors as schools, ICT companies and foundations, and local Non-Governmental Organizations. Most of these actions required significant administrative efforts (e.g., organization of summer camps located at different campuses). Internally-oriented actions focused on introducing structural changes it this intervention area were related to reviews of teaching materials to eradicate gender bias, launching of awards for teams of ICT students that involve women, and institutionalization of annual events on

training high school girls to code as permanent activities. It is interesting to note that while initiatives to attract girls to study ICT and IST undertook a clear disciplinary focus, actions on gender-sensitive teaching were not addressing the specificity of teaching in the ICT and IST disciplines. We expect these aspects to be more widely covered during the second iteration of GEP implementation, as good practices and inspirational examples were proposed to the RPOs in the toolkit developed within the EQUAL-IST project (available at https://equalist.dais.unive.it/public).

5. Concluding remarks and recommendations

This paper is aimed at studying the main characteristics of GEP implementation at ICT and IST research institutions. The analysis is based on the results of the first iteration of GEP implementation within the EQUAL-IST project. Earlier feedback from most participating RPOs showed that attracting more girls to ICT studies formed the focus of GEP actions, as such actions could be understood and approved by internal decision-makers. On the other hand, the RPOs reported that during internal gender audits no need was identified to integrate the gender dimension into ICT and IST research content. This entailed the risk of having the actions mostly focused on the Teaching and Services for (Potential) Students intervention area and targeting external stakeholders, thus losing an inward-oriented approach towards changing structures, internal regulations, and processes. Using the information provided by the RPOs in their reports on the first iteration of GEP implementation, we have elaborated a four-dimensional matrix to classify all the reported actions along the 'preparatory' vs. 'structural change' and the 'internal' vs. 'external' dimensions. The results disconfirmed the foreseen risk that a preparatory orientation hinders structural change dynamics, as 18 out of 63 aggregated actions were still focused on introducing structural change. Furthermore, although the Teaching and Services for (Potential) Students area generated 17 actions, the majority of actions (31 out of 63) was implemented within the HR and Management Practices area. Here it needs to be mentioned that the importance of balance across the different intervention areas was communicated to the RPOs during training and mutual learning events as a fundamental element of GEP design and implementation.

The emerging unexpected critical aspect was the identification of ICT and IST research as gender neutral, which resulted in having no actions included in the Research Design and Delivery intervention area. The aspect of including a gender dimension into ICT research appeared to be a kind of 'taboo' at all involved RPOs, perceived as something difficult to grasp and being a low priority. Several factors could influence this phenomenon: for instance, the resistance to consider (cyber-)feminist and gender theories in the ICT and IST research, as well as the limited knowledge of recent developments in such research areas as algorithmic gender bias (Bolukbasi et al., 2016; Boulamwini & Tebru, 2018). These aspects were highlighted in a dedicated section of the toolkit developed within the EQUAL-IST project and corrective measures to support actions in the Research Design and Delivery area are on the agenda for the second iteration of GEP implementation.

As for the 'transformativity' of the achieved structural changes, it is important to underline the following two *caveats:*

- In the HR and Management Practices intervention area the implemented actions did not address the issue of under-representation of women in leadership and top academic career positions. Existence of gender bias in recruitment and in the definition of excellence standards was generally denied.
- The sustainability of most internally-oriented actions focused on introducing structural changes (e.g., the actions related to internal governance changes and those addressing financial and HR-related constraints) could not be guaranteed. Therefore, during the second iteration of GEP implementation partners intend to work on setting up dedicated sustainability plans to ensure the support of all initiated structural change actions.

Despite the revealed shortcomings, for such an early stage of GEP implementation we consider that satisfactory results in terms of triggering structural changes could be achieved within the EQUAL-IST project. The following recommendations to research institutions that intend to implement GEPs as a tool for achieving structural change emerged from the study outcomes, which are in line with available studies and literature:

- Organize trainings on integrating the gender dimension into research content, as, especially in the ICT and IST disciplines, there is a lack of awareness about its importance and a lack of understanding of how it could be performed (European Commission, 2017; Gender Net Project (2015).

- Ensure that the actions addressing the (gender) bias in recruitment procedures and lack of women at top academic positions are included in the GEPs and thoroughly implemented (European Commission, 2012a and 2012b).
- Introduce indicators related to GEP sustainability and perform periodic monitoring of GEP implementation; here the impact of implemented actions needs to be evaluated, including regular collection and analysis of gender-disaggregated statistics (EIGE, 2016).
- Value collaboration with the following external stakeholders: (i) girls as perspective enrolled students and (ii) national high-level stakeholders as the agents driving GEP legitimacy and acceptance.
- Support of external stakeholders could prevent the marginalization of gender equality issues and emergence of anti-feminist attitudes towards gender equality policies. Thus, gaining external support and building allies is especially important in such a controversial time as the present one, when advances coexist with backlashes (Kottig, Bitzan & Peto, 2017).

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Students' Perceptions and Expectations of University Social Responsibility and Service Quality: A Gender Perspective

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Abstract: This study focused on students' perceptions and expectations of university social responsibility (USR) and service quality from a gender perspective. The research used a semi-structured, self-reported questionnaire administered on an online platform to first and second cycle degree programme students in order to cover different perceptions and visions of USR in a Portuguese higher education institution. The data were analysed using partial least squares structural equation modelling to test the proposed research model. The results show that gender has a direct impact on students' expectations of USR. In addition, gender has an impact through the mediation of the respondents' overall perception of USR. Universities thus need to pay more attention to USR, concentrating on having sustainable and/or responsible campuses, publishing institutional reports on USR and trying to relate academic education and research with social participation in order to support more humane, inclusive and sustainable development.

Keywords: university social responsibility, service quality, gender, students' perceptions, students' expectations

1. Introduction

Social responsibility has become an increasingly important concept in the debate on competitiveness and sustainability in the context of globalisation. This concept has also been used to defend shared values and increase a sense of solidarity and cohesion. More specifically, university social responsibility (USR) has emerged as a vital tool with which to respond effectively to global changes, as well as to deal with growing competition in higher education.

The United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organisation's (2009) recommendations regarding social responsibility values contribute significantly to defining how the principles and values of university life relate to society at large. These include dignity, freedom, citizenship, democracy, participation, solidarity, social coexistence, the common good, social equity, sustainable development, respect for the environment and acceptance and appreciation of diversity. Values particularly important to universities are commitment to truth, integrity, excellence, interdependence and interdisciplinary projects.

According to Abouchedid and Nasser (2002), universities' clients (i.e. students) may have different perceptions of the quality of services offered by these institutions. Thus, universities need to monitor the quality of services provided by a variety of organisational units, making self-assessment a fundamental element of contemporary higher education institutions (HEIs). According to Burcea and Marinescu (2011), some studies have focused on USR, and students' perceptions of social responsibility is currently a significant field of research. However, few studies have directly examined students' views on HEIs' social responsibility activities.

Regarding gender, various researchers have investigated differences in men and women's perceptions of social responsibility. For example, Prasad et al. (1998) studied students' perceptions of what constitutes a just society and found significant variations between men and women's views. Hudson and Miller (2005), in turn, report that women are more sensitive to corporate social responsibility (CSR) and are more concerned about

environmental issues. Lämsä et al. (2008) also emphasise that female students place greater value on firms' ethical, environmental and social dimensions, as compared with male students.

A review of the relevant literature, therefore, revealed few studies that have applied CSR to educational contexts. In addition, the existing research shows a lack of consensus on the best conceptual framework to use when analysing universities' implementation of USR principles in their management. Even fewer studies have examined HEI students' perceptions of USR and service quality from a gender perspective specifically in Portugal. Despite the importance of USR to HEIs' competitiveness and the predominance of students among these organisations' actors, not many universities have implemented academic initiatives geared to meet students' expectations and needs in relation to social responsibility programmes. The present study sought to contribute to filling these gaps, setting as its main objective to assess students' expectations and perceptions of USR in an HEI located in a low-density region. This research also aimed to analyse how these perceptions and expectations' impact on higher education students' perceived quality of service can vary according to gender.

2. Literature review

2.1 USR

USR is understood as HEIs' ability to disseminate and implement a set of general and specific principles and values through four key processes: management, teaching, research and extension (Vallaeys, 2007). Through these processes, universities demonstrate social responsibility to the university community and the surrounding region and country. According to Vallaeys (2007), USR is when HEIs develop ethical quality policies that seek to align management, teaching, research and extension programmes with these universities' mission, values and social commitment. This is accomplished through congruent institutional management, transparency and participation in dialogues involving the entire university community (i.e. authorities, students, teachers and administrators) and multiple stakeholders who rely on universities' good performance. USR thus contributes to the effective transformation of society in order to solve the problems of exclusion, inequality and unsustainability.

Universities need to make an effort to comply with USR principles through academic services based on accurate social assessments, thereby strengthening the quality of teaching in each area, developing research projects and fulfilling their responsibilities in any planned partnerships with society at large. HEIs must implement totally inclusive policies, support their faculty's professional pedagogical improvements and deliver highly qualified and competitive professionals to society (Borja and Rodríguez, 2016; Hart and Northmore, 2011). In this way, universities can have a direct impact on society's future by training professionals and leaders, as well as becoming institutional actors who can ensure students' education prepares them to deal with external social realities and to make academic knowledge accessible to all members of society (Armstrong et al., 2003; Ceulemans and De Prins, 2010; Domínguez Pachón, 2010). HEIs should seek to avoid applying the 'social projection and university extension' approach, which makes USR only a well-intentioned appendix to universities' central focus on student training and knowledge production. HEIs need to strive to meet the real demands of implementing USR (Vallaeys, 2013, p.3) and assuming the role of catalyst for dynamic social changes.

The conceptualisation of the four processes' impacts and the underlying model (Vallaeys, 2007) discussed above is not intended to be rigid or definitive but instead to serve as an inspiring framework based on which each university can plan its own social responsibility strategies. These plans should consider HEIs' specific identity, history and context (Vallaeys et al., 2009). Therefore, evaluations must be conducted to align and delineate strategies so that they promote competitive advantages. In addition, the risks inherent in decision making, whether positive or negative, need to be assessed because responsible organisations are aware of their operations, avoid potentially adverse events, remain vigilant and take precautions to avoid undesirable results (Vallaeys, 2014). No organisation is immune to the danger of having negative impacts on the surrounding society and environment (Vallaeys, 2014). Given the above research, the following research hypotheses were formulated for the present study:

H1: Students' perceptions of USR have an impact on USR overall.

H2: Students' expectations of USR have an impact on USR overall.

2.2 Relationship between USR and gender

Previous studies have found evidence that gender is a significant determining factor of ethical conduct and that women more often than men pay attention to social initiatives overall, as well as CSR's four dimensions (i.e. legal, ethical, economic and philanthropic) (González-Rodríguez et al., 2013). Arlow (1991) carried out a study along these lines, which analysed the personal characteristics of university students with reference to their evaluations of business ethics and CSR, concluding that women are more ethical and socially responsible than men are. In addition, Nath et al. (2013) compared male and female trading investors and found that women's information preferences in investment decision making show structural differences from men's preferences.

Regarding social responsibility overall, women place more importance on maintaining a wholesome community and society than men do (Alonso-Almeida et al., 2015). Panwar et al. (2010) also report that men and women differ in their perceptions of social responsibility. Gill (2010) further stresses that female management students are more ethically predisposed than their male counterparts are. The cited author also notes that men exhibit less diversity in ethical decision making, while women more readily invoke different ethical dimensions of varied business scenarios.

Although the evidence found in the existing research is still inconclusive, studies that have confirmed gender differences form a consensus that women are more concerned about CSR (Alonso-Almeida et al., 2015). In contrast, Kolodinsky et al. (2010) did not find differences related to gender or ethnicity between students' attitudes towards CSR. Similarly, Brijlal (2011) did not observe significant variation between male and female students in their perceptions of the need for social responsibility. Given the above findings, the following hypotheses were developed for the current study:

H6: Gender influences students' perceptions of USR.

H7: Gender influences students' expectations of USR.

H9: Gender influences USR overall.

2.3 Service quality

Service quality is a more recently developed concept that has assumed an expanding role over subsequent decades largely due to the increasingly dynamic nature of businesses. This concept has thus become a well-established notion (Shahin, 2006). Researchers and service company managers agree that service quality involves comparing expectations with performance, so service quality measures how well the level of services delivered meets customers' expectations (Lewis and Booms, 1983; Parasuraman et al., 1985). Therefore, delivering quality services means consistently meeting clients' expectations (Lewis and Booms, 1983).

Service quality in universities has been studied in a generalised way, as well as according to HEIs' main stakeholders (de Jager and Gbadamosi, 2010), with some studies conducted in the United Kingdom (e.g. Telford and Masson, 2005), Portugal (e.g. Oliveira-Brochado and Marques, 2007), Germany (e.g. Voss et al., 2007), China and Hong Kong (e.g. Kwan and Ng, 1999), South Africa (e.g. de Jager and Gbadamosi, 2010) and Spain (e.g. Vázquez et al., 2014). Research on this topic has underlined how important knowledge about this concept has become for HEIs (Rowley and Moldoveanu, 2003). The definition of clients in higher education includes not only students, but also staff, teachers, governments, families and societies in general, which translates into a vast set of needs to be met (Abdullah, 2006).

Some studies (e.g. Vázquez et al., 2014; 2016) have indicated that universities' promotion of social responsibility strategies is one of the factors that can positively influence students' perceptions of service quality in higher education. The existing research has stressed that HEIs need to pay more attention to USR education in terms of environmental and social values and its application in universities' research, internal management and external projects. Given the above findings, the following hypotheses were formulated for the present investigation:

H3: Students' perceptions of USR influence service quality.

H4: Students' expectations of USR influence service quality.

H8: Gender influences service quality.

2.4 Conceptual research model

The conceptual research model was constructed according to the research objectives and hypotheses based on the literature review (see Figure 1). The model includes the articulation and incorporation of dimensions highlighted by Vázquez et al.'s (2014; 2016) surveys and studies carried out by Burcea and Marinescu (2011), Kleinrichert et al. (2011), Sobczak et al. (2006), Vallaeys (2014) and Vallaeys et al. (2009).

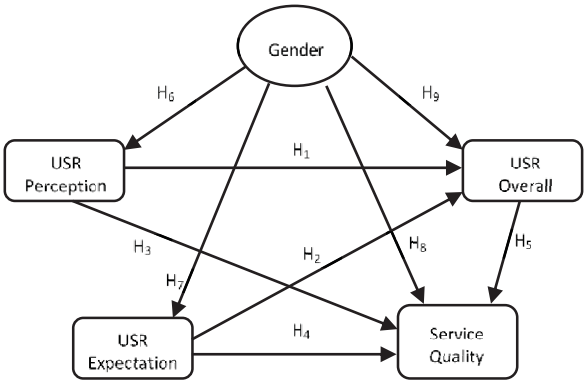


Figure 1: Conceptual research model

3. Methodology

The study collected data with a semi-structured, self-reported questionnaire distributed in an online platform, LimeSurvey. This measurement instrument was translated and adapted from Vázquez et al.'s (2016) work and based on Ceulemans et al. (2011), Moon and Orlitzky (2011), Vallaeys (2008) and Vallaeys et al.'s (2009) research. The questionnaire was administered to University of Trás-os-Montes and Alto Douro (UTAD) students in the third year of first cycle degree programmes and students in second cycle degree programmes, between 6 and 10 April 2017. Out of a sample population of 3,563 students, 1,419 surveys were completed, corresponding to a response rate of 39.8%. The final sample of valid questionnaires comprised 903 surveys, with a response rate of 25.3%. This sample consisted of 68.4% of the students in the third year of first cycle degree or integrated master's degree programmes, and the remaining 31.6% of students were in the first or second year of second cycle degree programmes. The sample is 39.5% male and 60.5% female. The age groups in the sample include 20.0% of the students between 19 and 20 years old, while 19.9% were 21 years old, 16.7% 22 years old, 13.0% 23 years old, 19.9% between 24 and 29 years old and 10.4% 30 years old or older. The data were processed using partial least squares (PLS) structural equation modelling (PLS-SEM) (Lohmöller, 1989; Wold, 1982) to test the proposed research model.

4. Results

SmartPLS 3.0 software was used to evaluate the proposed structural model (Ringle et al., 2015). Among the reasons PLS-SEM was selected were its lower demands in terms of the underlying data distribution compared to covariance-based SEM. PLS-SEM also facilitates the use of nominal, ordinal and interval scale measures in predictor constructs (e.g. Haenlein and Kaplan, 2004) and the incorporation of single-item measures, which is the case of the gender variable in the present study's proposed model. The psychometric properties of second-order USR expectations and perceptions constructs were tested using confirmatory factor analysis to derive latent variable scores. This method was applied to the questionnaire items measuring the proposed first-order latent variables. The inner weighting scheme used was the path weighting scheme, and the initial values for the outer model relationships were 1.0. The data were standardised with a mean of 0 and variance of 1, as well as a maximum number of iterations of 300 and abort criterion of 1.0E-7.

This study's PLS-SEM relied on bootstrapping, which is a resampling procedure. The bootstrapping settings used were 5,000 bootstrap subsamples, and the bootstrapping method used to estimate nonparametric confidence intervals was the bias-corrected and accelerated bootstrap interval. A two-stage approach was used to evaluate the PLS-SEM results (Henseler et al., 2009). Stage one comprised the measurement model evaluation, whereas stage two dealt with the structural model evaluation.

4.1 Stage one: Outer model (measurement model)

The outer model evaluation of the first-order latent variables followed the recommendations made by Gefen et al. (2011), Hair et al. (2012), Hair et al. (2013) and Ringle et al. (2018). This stage also included evaluating indicator reliability (Chin, 2010), internal consistency reliability (Bagozzi and Yi, 1988), convergent validity (Chin, 1998) and discriminant validity using the heterotrait-monotrait ratio of correlations (HTMT) criterion (Henseler et al., 2014). Indicator reliability was examined by measuring the outer loadings on all items in the model (>0.70). The standardised outer loadings ranged from 0.877 to 0.963. Convergent validity was assessed by measuring the average variance extracted (AVE) (Fornell and Larcker, 1981). All constructs showed AVE values greater than the 0.5 threshold, ranging from 0.818 for service quality to 0.905 for USR overall (>0.50), so convergent validity was verified (Chin, 1998). In addition, by ensuring that the Cronbach's alpha (α) and composite reliability were higher than 0.70 and below 0.95 (Hair et al., 2017), internal consistency reliability was assured. Composite reliability values ranged from 0.952 for students' perceptions of USR to 0.970 for students' expectations of USR (>0.70), while the Cronbach's α values ranged from 0.933 for students' perceptions of USR to 0.959 for students' expectations of USR (>0.70). To determine the discriminant validity of the first-order constructs, the HTMT criterion was used. This was done in order to verify if the mean value of the indicator correlations across constructs (i.e. heterotrait-heteromethod correlations) relative to the geometric mean of the indicator correlations' average measures the same construct. None of the values exceeded 0.90, so discriminant validity was confirmed.

4.2 Stage two: Inner model (structural model)

PLS models are evaluated using prediction-oriented measures that are nonparametric (Chin, 1998). PLS structural models are mainly evaluated by finding the coefficient of determination (R^2) of the endogenous latent variable (Chin, 1998) and effect size (f^2) (Cohen, 1988), as well as applying the Stone-Geisser's Q^2 test of predictive relevance (Geisser, 1974; Stone, 1974). The proposed model's predictive power was thus analysed using R^2. Using the PLS Algorithm function in SmartPLS 3.0, the R^2 statistics were calculated for the endogenous latent variables: service quality and USR overall. The R^2 value ranged from 0.501 for the USR overall latent variable to 0.731 for the service quality variable, all of which are greater than the acceptable threshold of 0.1 (Falk and Miller, 1992). Cohen's (1988) f^2 complements R^2, considering the relative impact of a particular exogenous latent variable on another endogenous latent variable by means of changes in the R^2. Cohen (1988) suggests f^2 values of 0.02, 0.15 and 0.35 for small, medium and large effect sizes of predictive variables. In the present study, a large effect size was found for the impact of USR overall on service quality (f^2 = 0.905) and a medium — although almost large — effect of students' perceptions of USR on USR overall (f^2 = 0.336). In addition, students' expectations of USR have a small effect on USR overall (f^2 = 0.113), as do students' perceptions of USR on service quality (f^2 = 0.120).

Predictive relevance was assessed for the service quality and USR overall endogenous latent variables using Stone-Geisser's Q^2 statistic (Geisser, 1974; Stone, 1974). The blindfolding resampling procedure was followed, with the omission distance set to 9. The model's predictive power was, therefore, examined by means of Stone-Geisser's Q^2 or cross-validated redundancy index (Tenenhaus et al., 2005; Wold, 1975). The Q^2 values of service quality (Q^2 = 0.578) and USR overall (Q^2 = 0.437) were greater than 0, indicating the model has predictive relevance (Chin, 1998).

5. Discussion of results

The research hypotheses were tested by examining the significance of the coefficient estimates on the seven paths in the inner model. To produce more reasonable standard error values, a bootstrap technique (Tenenhaus et al., 2005) was applied by following Hair et al.'s (2011) guidelines. The results support H1 because the path coefficient for the link between students' perceptions of USR and USR overall is 0.500 (t = 12.614; p < 0.001). The path from students' perceptions of USR to service quality has a direct effect of 0.254 (t = 7.275; p < 0.001) and a bigger indirect effect of 0.349 (t = 12.061; p < 0.001) mediated by USR overall, so H3 is also supported. The path from students' expectations of USR to services quality, in turn, has a small negative direct effect of -0.055 (t = 1.983; p = 0.047) and a positive effect of 0.205 (t = 6.854; p < 0.001) mediated by USR overall, which means the results support H4. In addition, the impact of USR overall on service quality is 0.698 (t = 21.353; p < 0.001), so H5 is supported. The next four hypotheses reflect the impact of gender as a control variable on the four latent variables of the proposed model. The path coefficient for the link between gender and students' perceptions of USR is not statistically significant (t = 0.509; p > 0.050), which means the results do not support H6. However,

gender's impact on students' expectations of USR has a path coefficient of 0.159 (t = 4.868; p < 0.001), so H7 is supported. The path coefficient for gender's effect on service quality is not statistically significant (t = 1.216; p > 0.050), which means H8 is not supported by the results. Finally, the path coefficient for gender's impact on USR overall has a non-significant direct effect (t = 1.479; p > 0.050), so H6 is not supported, although this path has an effect of 0.047 (t = 3.926; p < 0.001) mediated by students' expectations of USR. According to these results, the inference can be made that, of the first two hypotheses, students' perceptions of USF have a significantly greater effect on USR overall than students' expectations of USR does. Regarding the third and fourth hypotheses concerning the impacts of students' perceptions and expectations of USR on service quality, the results confirm that the direct impacts are small for students' perceptions of USR and even practically non-existent or slightly negative for students' expectations of USR. However, the overall effect of students' perceptions and expectations of USR on service quality are significant due to the indirect effects mediated by USR overall, but the impacts are significantly higher for students' perceptions versus expectations.

With respect to H5, which involves the path of the impact of USR overall on students' perceived service quality, the students surveyed feel that UTAD has high-quality academic programmes and the faculty's performance is excellent. The results also emphasise that this university offers good services and the management team's performance standards are high. These findings corroborate only Vázquez et al.'s (2014; 2016) results since USR's impact on service quality is an emerging topic. Regarding gender's impacts on the four latent variables of the proposed model, no difference was found between males and females in relation to the students' perceptions of USR and service quality. However, while gender has little or no direct influence on the students' overall perceptions of USR, different effects exist when these are mediated by students' expectations of USR. Finally, the results indicate that female and male students have different expectations of USR, with females having higher expectations than males. These findings are in agreement with Alonso-Almeida et al.'s (2015) research, which focused on gender's impact in a corporate environment and reported a consensus in the literature on the idea that women are more concerned about CSR.

6. Conclusions

In general, the present study's results confirm that gender has a direct impact on students' expectations of USR. In addition, gender has a mediated effect on students' overall perceptions of USR. The sample under study, which presumably only represents current trends, indicates that women have greater expectations regarding universities' internal management and functions. Female students thus show a tendency towards stronger expectations related to the professional development and continuous training of teachers and non-teaching staff. Females are also more concerned about all staff members enjoying a balance between work and family life and respect for diversity and the promotion of equal opportunities among personnel. Female students also feel that university goods and services need to be acquired according to responsible and sustainable criteria and that HEIs should evaluate the quality of their activities.

The results thus suggest that universities need to pay more attention to USR in terms of education about environmental and social values, research, internal management and external projects, thereby facilitating increases in the quality of services offered to students. Competitiveness in HEIs is a part of these institutions' reality, and, as a new trend as business, social responsibility has become an increasingly widespread phenomenon in most economic and political scenarios. USR has also become a focus of attention in recent years, including concerns about sustainable and/or responsible campuses, institutional reports on USR and attempts to relate academic education and research to social participation in order to support a more humane, inclusive and sustainable development model. Regarding students' overall perceptions of USR, the respondents in the present study believe their university (i.e. UTAD) has high potential in terms of contributing to solving social problems. In addition, these students' perceptions indicate that the most important area of USR is cognitive impacts, namely, the effects of university research. Notably, one of UTAD's specific features is that it has a 'green' campus, including the largest botanical garden in the Iberian Peninsula, and a slogan for the 2013—2017 strategic plan of 'Towards an Eco-University', thereby indicating this institution demonstrates a pervasive concern about the environment and sustainability. These findings can be considered corroborating evidence that strategies directed towards strengthening various areas of USR promote a reputation as a socially responsible university, influence students' perceptions positively and thus promote service quality and student satisfaction.

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Key Success Factors for Women's Career Paths in Engineering: A Qualitative Study

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Abstract: Although the number of women in higher management levels has been steadily growing over the last decades, women in such positions are still under-represented in Germany. This especially applies to women in the engineering fields. Extant studies about the under-representation of women in leadership positions focus on structural and individual barriers that prevent the ascension of women in engineering fields. In these traditionally male-dominated professions, women face diverse challenges. One major challenge is the presence of unconscious bias that can lead to discrimination. Thus, less technical competence and less leadership competence are attributed to women. As a consequence, women consider themselves being less qualified. Particularly in technical fields, gender stereotypes are identified as one main reason for the small number of female managers. This paper focuses on success factors of female careers at the individual level. Therefore, women have been investigated who, nevertheless, have managed to pursue a successful career in technical professions. The study explores the question of how women can transcend gender norms of leadership in technical fields. In this regard qualitative, semi-structured interviews were conducted during February to April 2018. The sample comprises female engineers purposively drawn from German industrial companies and who hold leadership positions in the engineering profession. The interviewees were interrogated about their career paths. The study results suggest that the interviewees need a high degree of self-directed competencies such as self-reflection and self-confidence, as well as micro-political competencies such as self-marketing and networking. The engineers create individual career strategies and pass through a learning process to deal with their female identity in male-dominated professions. However, because of their minority status, female engineers have the chance to define their idea of career and success. The paper concludes that it is important to support women in their careers in order to overcome gender stereotypes and to make professional success possible for everyone.

Keywords: women in leadership, career, engineering, gender stereotypes, professional success

1. Introduction: Women in engineering fields

Germany is generally known as an industrial country. The labour market situation continues to be positive for industrial employees. In particular, the total number of engineers in Germany continues to rise. The German labour market requires an increasing number of engineers and more and more high school graduates are opting for engineering studies (VDI, 2018). However, it is noticeable that women are strongly underrepresented in these assessments. In comparison to other European countries, very few women can be found in technical professions in Germany (Schinzel, 2007). While Romania, Portugal and Poland have the highest number of females graduating with a university degree in science and technology, Germany is in the middle of these rankings (Eurostat, 2012).

The typical gender-based segregation in the labour and educational market can be clearly seen in the engineering profession. This segregation means that, despite having the same qualifications, women and men are not equally represented in the labour market (Busch, 2013). Due to horizontal segregation, the gender-specific division of the German labour market is reflected in the different occupations and activities of men and women. It turns out that women are mainly employed in office occupations, in the medical sector (e.g. nurses), in sales, in social professions and in cleaning professions. Technical professions are dominated by men. In particular, in engineering fields the number of women is very low. In 2017, the proportion of new female university students in the engineering sciences (mechanical engineering, electrical engineering, civil engineering and information technology) was only 25.3 percent. There are even less women who finish their studies with a degree. Accordingly, in 2016 only 23.1 percent of university graduates studying an engineering subject were women. The number varied slightly depending on the subject. In particular, in electrical engineering it was only 11.4 percent (Kompetenzzentrum Technik-Diversity-Chancengleichheit, 2018). Finally, female engineers are more likely to be unemployed than men (Ihsen, 2010) and women more often leave the engineering profession (Erlemann, 2002).

Vertical segregation in the labour market implies that women are also less likely to move up the hierarchy and reach leadership positions than men. For the base year of 2017, only 29.0 percent of women were employed in leadership positions in Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2018). Compared to the other member states of the

European Union (EU), Germany is in the lowest third. This also applies to the engineering profession. Female engineers need longer to be able to be professionally successful and they rarely reach leadership positions (Ihsen, 2010).

1.1 The development of the engineering profession in Germany

The historical insight into the development of the traditionally male engineering profession shows how it has changed over the last 100 years and still continues to reproduce gendered conditions. With the admission of women to university studies at the beginning of the 20th century, the first female pioneers started a technical course of study. However, women are still rarely accepted and male power relations make it more difficult for them to gain access to higher positions in technical occupations. With the women's movement in the 1960s, traditional gender roles were publicly called into question; as a result, female engineers became more assertive in the world of work (Ihsen, 2013). While the proportion of female engineers was 11.2 percent in 1986, it will continue to rise slightly over the next few years (Kompetenzzentrum Technik-Diversity-Chancengleichheit, 2018).

In recent years, there have been political efforts in Germany to ensure that there are equal opportunities in working life for women and men. This is due not only to the skill shortage and the demographical change, but also to the desire to reduce the under-representation of women in leadership positions, especially in technical fields. In Germany, numerous political projects and initiatives have been introduced to support women. These affect different areas: women should be 1.) motivated to enter technical professions, 2.) supported during their studies and entering the job market, and 3.) empowered to reach leadership positions.

Even though the number of women in engineering study fields has been growing in recent years, there are still very few women in comparison to men. The desired effects of the support measures have not yet been achieved nationwide. To date, only a few women have managed to advance into the engineering profession and take on positions of responsibility.

2. Under-representation of women in engineering fields: Explanatory approaches

In Germany, women in engineering are affected by vertical and horizontal segregation. Compared to their male colleagues, they have more difficulty in accessing the higher-management level. This is made even more difficult by the fact that they are working in a male-dominated profession. The gender studies discuss various reasons for the under-representation of women in management positions and in technical fields.

2.1 Structural level

Labour market and organisational structures produce social inequalities between men and women. Acker speaks in this context of "gendered organizations" (Acker, 1990). She highlights that organisational structures are not gender-neutral. Conversely, there are structures that limit women's options for action. These include, for example, not having the guarantee that women will be able to return to work after pregnancy or working time standards that are not compatible with family and work. Structural barriers for women are also connected to the so-called "glass ceiling" (Barreto, Ryan & Schmitt, 2009). Reasons for this are seen, for example, in the fact that women have poorer access to professional networks dominated by men. The exclusion of women leads to reduced career opportunities (Sagebiel, 2013). Another explanation is that employers have gender-stereotyped ideas and expect women as less suited to leadership positions due to family responsibilities.

Besides that, there are macrosocial and professional related approaches that especially explain the under-representation of women in technical professions. The theory of the gendered habitus is one of these. Ihsen (2010) explains that the obstacles that women face in the engineering profession are due to the fact that women have fewer opportunities to act in this technical profession because of their female habitus. Female engineers develop habitual ambivalences as the habitus of an engineer is linked to the male habitus and thus contradicts the identity of a woman. Consequently, women in engineering have to act in a gender-untypical manner while at the same trying not to contradict the expected "female" behaviour. In this context, the habitus has an effect not only on the structural level, but also on the individual level.

Feminist science and technology studies continue to assume that knowledge cultures and structures are gendered in technical disciplines. Femininity, masculinity and technologies are related to each other in many

ways. In her studies, Paulitz (2014) uses the term "technical masculinity". Moreover, Faulkner (2008) states that the identity of the "engineer" is primarily male. As a result, women's identities conflict with the traditional identity of engineers. Although there are many efforts to remove barriers for women at the structural level, this is not easy due to the rigid and entrenched structures and traditions. This is especially the case in engineering science.

2.2 Individual level

Actor-oriented explanatory approaches primarily refer to the impact of gender stereotypes (Eckes, 2010). The categorisation into typically "male" and "female" behaviours is of importance here. These are cognitive structures, containing knowledge of the characteristics of women and men that are socially shared. Accordingly, men are more likely to be regarded as career-oriented and women as family-oriented. Stereotypes in relation to men and women are also particularly important in the technical field. For example, women are assumed to have a distance from technology and men an affinity to technology (Solga & Pfahl, 2009).

Studies have shown that gender stereotypes have an influence on women's technical self-image. Accordingly, men have a more positive technology-related self-concept than women. This even applies to women who are already in a technical profession (Vincent & Janneck, 2012). It has also been found that women are less trusted with technical competence, have to do more to be recognised, and place an excessively high demand on themselves (Pflugradt & Janneck, 2012). In addition to structural obstacles, these individual characteristics can restrict a person's ability to act. This also applies to micro-political competence (for example networking and self-representation), which is regarded as particularly relevant for career advancement. However, micro-politics can be a challenge, especially for women who work in a technical field (Mucha, 2014). One study shows that the rejection of micro-political action correlates with a self-concept that is closely tied to the female gender stereotype, while the willingness to undertake micro-political action is linked to a self-concept that is less related to the female gender stereotype (Mucha & Rastetter, 2012). Another study has shown that women rate themselves less positively than men do; for example, female managers attribute their success less strongly to their managerial skills (Sieverding, 2003). The studies indicate that women are less likely to pursue targeted career strategies and have less self-confidence with regard to their professional competencies.

3. Research interest

Previous research has shown that there are structural and individual factors that make it difficult for female engineers to gain access to management positions. In particular they are experiencing a twofold problem in gaining access to higher positions in working life – as *women* and as *women in tech*. With this in mind, the focus in this paper is on *individual success factors* of female careers. Regardless of the structural barriers, there are female engineers who manage to succeed in occupying management positions. These women are obviously able to overcome gender-stereotyped expectations. Therefore, the leading research question is *how can women transcend gender norms of leadership in technical fields?*

4. Method

As part of the research project "Equal career development opportunities for women in the STEM field" (CHEFIN) funded by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research in Germany, qualitative interviews have been conducted with women who have leadership positions in an engineering profession.

4.1 Participants

The sample comprises ten German female engineers who are working in different engineering fields:

- one chemical engineer,
- two electrical engineers,
- four mechanical engineers,
- three architects.

All of them hold leadership positions. However, particular emphasis was placed on the selection of different career levels and different age groups to obtain different perspectives on career. Accordingly, the sample consists of women in the first and middle management level, women on the executive board, and women who are retired. The age of the group ranges from 29 to 67 years. While the chemical, electrical and mechanical

engineers are working in medium-sized German industrial companies and groups, the architects are self-employed and run their own architectural office. The interviewees live in different parts of Germany.

4.2 Interview protocol

The instrument used in this study was the qualitative expert interview to ensure an open and theory-producing approach (Meuser & Nagel, 2009). Therefore, the interviewees are seen as experts in their own career. Our aim was to gain an understanding of the personal career strategies and success factors of each interviewee. The semi-structured interview protocol was developed after conducting a literature review. The questions were open-ended to minimise the influence on the interviewee's responses. The interview protocol contains questions related to (a) the temporal sequence of the career paths, (b) career strategies, (c) supportive career factors, (d) challenges in the course of career, and (e) the personal understanding of career. After the first interviews, some questions were refined.

4.3 Procedures

Potential interviewees were identified through different strategies. First, we selected most of the interviewees via an intensive internet search for successful German female engineers. Second, we found more participants via acquaintances, and third, through the snowball sampling method, using the recommendation of other interviewees.

The rate of acceptance of the women's participation in the study was very high. This can be explained by the fact that the female engineers are already involved in supporting young women in technical professions. They are aware of the barriers that women encounter and have endeavoured to improve the career opportunities for women in this field.

After contacting the participant by email, the date and location for a face-to-face interview were scheduled. The interviews were conducted between February and April 2018 and took place at the workplace of the interviewees, except for the interviews with two retired participants. Complying with the request of these women, the interviews were conducted in a café and at the interviewee's home. The duration of the interviews varied between 35 and 90 minutes. All the interviews were audio-taped and anonymised, and verbal data was transcribed in accordance with the rules of Dresing and Pehl (2015).

4.4 Data analysis

The transcripts have been coded and analysed with the software MAXQDA. The interviews were originally conducted in the German language. The selected interview passages in this paper have been translated and the verbatim data has been cleaned.

5. Results

In the following, various individual factors that have contributed to the women's success are presented: professional and social (such as self-directed and micro-political) competencies. The results will then be reflected: how do the women deal with career and success in this context?

5.1 Professional competencies

Hard skills are considered particularly important in the engineering profession. The interviewees state that for them, as women, the focus is on continuous performance. Knowledge of technical topics and the implementation of technical processes have helped them to establish themselves in their profession: "The engineer goes far beyond the professional acceptance and if the professional acceptance is there, then the ice is broken" (mechanical engineer). The interviewees use their minority status to attract attention and then use the opportunity to demonstrate their professional competence: "I think that women are not believed at the beginning to be extremely well-versed in technical matters, we really have to be aware of this special status first of all and then we can show we are well-versed in technical matters" (electrical engineer).

Some interviewees report that they had to fight hard to gain the acceptance of their male colleagues, since, as women, they were not initially expected to have any technical competence. This gender-specific ascription can lead to women being under greater pressure to perform than their male colleagues. A mechanical engineer

reports that she only dares to work in areas for which she has sound knowledge: “Personally, I feel better if I know the technique, I would never want to move into a terrain where I don't know much about the technique either, because that brings a certain amount of self-confidence” (mechanical engineer). The interview results indicate that the engineers have not only to be *good* in their profession, but also *better* than others.

5.2 Social competencies

Social skills such as assertiveness, empathy or communication skills are often linked to gender-stereotypical assumptions. The interviewees report that they have overridden these gender-specific expectations in their working life. This applies, for example, to the ability to assert oneself against colleagues, which is more often attributed to men. Such stringency is particularly important in engineering, where a harsher climate exists. A mechanical engineer believes that “you can’t be very sensitive and timid, and you can’t sit in a meeting with a soft voice, that doesn’t work either” (mechanical engineer). One architect reports that although her colleagues consider her to be assertive, because of that she is also perceived by them as a “guy”. The architect is successful with a supposedly male trait; therefore, her being a woman is questioned. At the same time, the engineers benefit from the fact that they are attributed more empathy and communication skills as women. These are skills that are becoming increasingly important in working life as well.

5.2.1 Self-directed competencies

Dealing with oneself is central to career development and is seen as a learning process. The interviewees highlight success factors such as self-discipline, self-confidence and self-reflection. The awareness of one’s own abilities and weaknesses develops over the professional career. The difficulty here is that women are often unaware of their abilities. A mechanical engineer reports how she underestimates herself in a professional self-assessment compared to a male colleague although she has performed well according to her superior. The women are not considered as technically competent; as a consequence they are less convinced of themselves and their abilities in technical fields.

The learning process also includes the experience of failure. Setbacks help the engineers to question and improve oneself. For professional development, therefore, not only the *highlights*, but also the *lowlights* are important. A mechanical engineer explains how she realised that she has to work first and foremost on herself if she wants to assert herself in the male-dominated environment: “I had a coach and I cried at him and told him the men in higher management positions do not want to play with me and they all exclude me, how mean that is, and the coach told me quite clearly, you must ensure that you show results, you must present yourself in such a way and show that they WANT to involve you, you cannot demand this from top to bottom, but you must work on yourself” (mechanical engineer). The interviewees have developed their professional identity on the basis of their experience and they regularly deal with gender-specific issues in this context.

5.2.2 Micro-political competencies

Female engineers have the benefit of attracting attention because of their minority status. Unlike their male colleagues, they do not have to distinguish themselves in meetings so that everyone knows that they exist: "Visibility is not needed as a woman that is the advantage” (mechanical engineer). However, due to gender stereotyped expectations women’s performance is perceived less, so they must explicitly draw attention to it in the sense of self-marketing: “You always have to tell the man exactly, [...] have you ever noticed that I have introduced this as a new process, I have done it very well” (mechanical engineer). During their career, the engineers learn to act strategically and to emphasise their own abilities. Furthermore, the women ensure that they communicate their career ambitions clearly so that responsible people become aware of them: “I want to be responsible for people, so I have to talk about it; if I don’t talk about it, then nobody else does it for me“ (mechanical engineer). In this context, networking, and especially contacting important gatekeepers, is highlighted as a success factor. An engineer describes how she is very cautious in her actions and uses informal contacts to reach her desired position: “I thought about which area I would like to work in and identified who I know in the area” (mechanical engineer). To obtain new positions, the interviewees use the informal job market rather than formal application procedures. For female engineers, it is important to obtain support from the so-called “promoters” to prevail against stereotypical expectations. All the interviewees had one or more promoters, most of them a superior, who became aware of them and supported them in their next career steps.

Because of their gender, women deal with the question of the extent to which they adapt to the male-dominated environment. An electrical engineer reports that she is open to the male environment and its themes: "I've always remained curious" (electrical engineer). She plays along with the "rules of the game", as otherwise there is the danger of not being able to be part of the important informal networks. However, the interviewees are not willing to do everything to succeed. One mechanical engineer reports that she was not happy to bow to certain "male" rules, although this would probably have enabled her to take larger career steps.

5.3 The idea of career and success

The results indicate that gender stereotypes are ever-present in the mostly male-dominated engineering profession and that they influence women's self-perception. The interviewees are aware of the prevailing gender stereotypes in technical fields. They question gender-specific expectations and use them in a playful way. At the same time, they use their visibility as female engineers. Even though in some cases they are not considered to have any technical or managerial competencies, they manage to prove their abilities, to contradict gender stereotypical expectations, and to establish themselves in the profession. They describe their experience of discrimination as a learning process. To succeed, women have to deal with themselves and their female identity.

The interview results also indicate that the interviewees enjoy their profession very much. They have a high level of motivation and endurance and show the appropriate performance. The engineers have a high level of self-confidence; however, it is clear that this was not always the case from the start but developed with experience. Their professional motivation has also increased to a certain extent. The interviewees state that at the beginning of their career they did not want to have a "career" – instead, their career has *developed*. Rather, the women have the goal of being able to fulfil their personal interests: "I wouldn't accept every job either, but I already have clear ideas about what I want to do; career is not so important to me, so if I found an interesting job that wouldn't be a promotion, I might take that too" (mechanical engineer). For the women, career means more than just status, salary and prestige. Career is understood as personal growth. The focus is on the factors of self-satisfaction and self-realization. In conversation with the engineers, it becomes clear that they want to remain true to themselves despite their professional success. They do not allow themselves to be constrained by structural obstacles. In this way, for example, the women manage to fulfil their desire for children and, despite their efforts, reconcile family and career. For some of the interviewees, the family is a central part of their career: "I draw my strength from the family and I would be unhappy if I wasn't with them the whole week" (electrical engineer). Career goals are adapted to the different stages of life. While men are often expected to have straight careers, women have the opportunity to develop their careers more flexibly.

Additionally, the willingness of female engineers to support each other is notable. Female networks are important for the exchange of career strategies and the handling of gender-specific discrimination and/or the compatibility of family and career.

6. Conclusion

The study results show that for female engineers in Germany, career obstacles arise on the structural and individual level. The engineering profession is still male-dominated and gender stereotypes are omnipresent. This could, among other cultural differences, be an explanation for the fact that there are so few women in technical professions in Germany in comparison to other countries.

The study reveals that female engineers find career advancement difficult and that their professional competence is often questioned. As the studies conducted by Vincent and Janneck (2012), Pflugradt and Janneck, (2012) and Solga and Pfahl (2009) have shown, on the one hand, gender stereotypes have an influence on the expectations of other people and, on the other hand, also on the self-concept of affected women. The interviewees manage to assert themselves against these obstacles. But overall, it can be helpful to support women in their careers. Women do have the capabilities to establish themselves in the engineering profession and advance to higher positions. Trainings or coaching programs should support women in realistic self-reflection, the development of self-esteem and in career and life planning. This support should be provided comprehensively and should not be left to coincidence. In this way, it can be ensured that professional success is not reserved *only* for privileged women.

Moreover, gender stereotypes should be identified and critically questioned for both *males and females*. To overcome gender stereotypes and to create equal opportunities for both genders, it is important to involve men as well. For example, special seminars during school, university and working life could help to raise awareness of gender stereotypes.

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How Informal Processes and Relationships Shape Gendered Careers in STEM

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Abstract: The number of women in the STEM sciences decreases the higher you look up the career ladder. Although the number of female university entrants reached 22% fifteen years ago, the percentage of female professors at universities and universities of applied sciences in this subject group in Germany is currently around 12%. Universities and other science and research organizations react to this problem by introducing new policies, which aim to 'fixing the women' by conveying relevant career skills to them. Such measures are based on the assumption that a successful career depends first and foremost on the decisions and properties of the individual. In this article, we address the problem of this actor-oriented perspective, which disregards the fact that gender-specific barriers in the field of STEM sciences do not only result from supposedly different behaviour of women that could be 'retrained' or simply adapted. Rather, we focus on hurdles, which arise from the influence of informal relationship networks, which are embedded in the structural and cultural context of the scientific field. We refer to contributions from research literature on gender, work, and organisation as well as social network analysis in order to problematize and expand the actor-oriented perspective. Using the network practice of 'creating visibility', which is described in two case studies in the field of STEM sciences as career-relevant, it is shown how specific cultural and structural framework conditions influence informal networks. The success of network practices depends, among other things, on the perception and recognition of peers, which is influenced by gender- and field-specific stereotypes. In order to propose a more differentiated analysis of gender-specific barriers in STEM careers in higher education, we draw our attention to the multi-layered conditions of informal network and relationship constellations.

Keywords: informal networks, women in STEM, scientific careers, gender equality policies, gendered careers, organisational studies

1. Introduction

The promotion of equal opportunities in STEM has meanwhile become a widely discussed topic with continued high relevance. In recent years, the proportion of women there has risen. German data show that the percentage of women among first-year engineering students rose from 17% to 25% between 1993 and 2017 (Federal Statistical Office of Germany 2001; Federal Statistical Office of Germany 2018). However, if one observes the proportions over the stages of a scientific career path, the proportion of women decreases from 22% of first-year female students in 2003 to 12.21% of female engineering professors at german universities today. It turns out that the higher the career level, the lower the proportion of women – this is illustrated by the imagination of a "leaky pipeline" (Berryman 1983).

Policies react to the under-representation of women in high professional positions with targeted coaching and support offers. These measures aim to impart career skills and bring women closer to strategies that promote success (Bamberg et al. 2009). These sets of measures, which are to be classified under the term 'fixing the women' (Schiebinger 2008; Chant/Sweetman 2012), are based on a disproportionate orientation towards actors and the assumption that the career path can be formed to a high degree on one's own initiative. In a way, they provide support for adaptation, implying that women would have the same opportunities for career advancement as men if they only applied the strategies in question. However, such measures, which propose a reorientation of women's micro-political actions, are not enough. They disregard that the hurdles for women are rooted in the structural and cultural framework of the scientific field (Lind 2007).

The complex relationship between organisational, cultural and individual factors must be taken into account if new evidence is to be found of causes for the under-representation of women in executive positions. Gender policies and their measures aimed at promoting equal opportunities for women must not overlook this

complexity. Previous sociological studies on scientific careers – which deal in particular with organisational and structural barriers as well as implicit selective mechanisms (e.g. Beaufaÿs 2003; Leemann 2002; Maurer 2010) – have been insufficiently connected with the practice of networking. It is therefore our attempt to conceptually link cultural and structural conditions, informal relationships and network practices. In order to clarify the area between theory and practice, specific practices, in our case informal networking practices, that enact gender-specific career obstacles at the upper hierarchical levels of universities, need to be identified and fathomed (Beaufaÿs 2012).

Starting with a literature analysis, the relevance of networks for careers in general and for scientific careers, in particular, is explained (2). Then the disproportionate orientation towards the actors' capacity to form their career and the associated problems are outlined (3). In order to identify barriers that become effective within informal relationships, we will open the analytical perspective to the conditions in which network practices are embedded and to the specific 'logic of the social field' (following Bourdieu 2006) by which actors are influenced. Subsequently, our article is based on a content analysis of two problem-oriented, narrative interviews with postdoctoral researchers from STEM sciences. These selected contrastive interviews are part of the ongoing research project GenderNetz on the relevance of networking on scientific careers in STEM. Discussing one networking practice, selected from these two case studies, which we call 'creating visibility', it will be shown how framework conditions affect specific possibilities for action and to what extent a field's ideals and perceptions influence informal relationships and the perception of the counterpart (4).

This article thus critically examines previous approaches to investigate informal networks and their practices and opens up a more differentiated horizon for research on networking practices.

2. The relevance of networks for careers

In order to gain an impression of the effects of networks on careers, we present a brief outline of the essential contexts that affect networking in the field in which our project is concerned. The labour market is a matching market. The search for a new employee or a new job is burdened with considerable information deficits for respective seekers. Market participants are therefore interested in minimising their information deficits. Certified performance records and complex application procedures have only limited success in reducing this deficit. Therefore, social networks are activated to a considerable extent during the search in order to get more informations about the market and potential contract participants (Voss 2007). The mediation via networks is supposed to save searching costs and increase the quality of the selection through a better fit. Although Voss notes that the advantages of activating social networks on the labour market are not demonstrably present from an economic perspective, he notes the enormous quantitative importance of social contacts for getting a job or employee (ibid.).

Social network analysis confirms this relevance. Granovetter's (1973) study on the strength of weak ties, concluded that access to new jobs for workers often stems from weak ties. Unlike strong ties, they offer a chance for new information. Even though subsequent studies discuss the exact network structure relevant to the labour market and their function as social capital, the great importance of networks remains undisputed (Burt 1992; Coleman 1994).

Weak ties are likely to be informal. The vague characterization of informal relationships as not formal indicates the broad focus that this term places on a wide range of phenomena. Informal networks serve to provide advice, support, information, friendship, influence, all of which have the potential to be used as resources to improve career opportunities (Burke et al. 1995; McGuire 2002). In a more indirect sense (informal) relationships help to understand implicit knowledge (Durbin 2011), such as specific logic and ideals of a social field.

Within the field of science, it can generally be assumed that a meritocratic principle prevails, which alone justifies scientific achievements as the basis for a successful career. However, as Kahlert shows, even in structured doctoral programmes and comparable doctoral settings, the qualification of young researchers is highly influenced by personal relationships, individualised funding practices and selective cooptation processes (Kahlert 2015). Here especially mentor relationships play an import role. They can take place exclusively within the formal framework or develop into an intensive promotional relationship. Cooperation in science is also of great importance beyond the relationship of supervision. It serves to open up new research fields, help to

increase the publication rate, facilitate scientific exchange, help to acquire partners or third-party funding and are thus an important career capital (Gruhlich 2016; Hendrix et al. 2016).

In the specific case of engineering sciences on the career path to a professorship at a university or college, there is often a requirement to have gained knowledge from entrepreneurial practice before being appointed. These scientists' networks are of great value to their universities. So at one point engineering scientists have to leave the scientific field (Leemann 2013). Networks and relationships can help to provide information on and gain insights into a previously unknown field.

3. The actor-oriented perspective on networks and networking

From a socio-theoretical point of view, the use of the network concept itself is an expression of a changed legitimacy structure of entrepreneurial action (Boltanski/Chiapello 2007). Up until the 1960s, the term network had a negative connotation. Networks were associated with secret societies and hidden negotiations about offices and positions. It was not until the 1980s that the term gained positive connotation since it could represent the mobility and dynamics of the liberal globalized society (ibid.). This conceptual shift is associated with an increasing demand for flexibility, in which responsibility for one's own career has been delegated from organizations to individual actors (Wingender/Wolff 2017). Nevertheless, networks were associated with a liberating significance, as actors could set themselves apart from their class affiliation through the targeted design of their relationship environment. From this insight that the relationship environment has a vital influence on the individual's potential for action, the idea grew that it is possible to influence one's own fate through the targeted design of the relationship network.

It is a paradox that this actor-oriented perspective on networks is based on the results of social network analysis, which follows the methodological and theoretical tradition of structural analysis (Diaz-Bone 2007). Although this tradition is subject to a powerful critique by Emirbayer and Goodwin (1994), who attribute a structural determinism to traditional social network analysis and argue for the implementation of the analysis of cultural formations and the agency of actors in networks (Diaz-Bone 2007), it is not a well suited framework for an individualistic theory of action. Transferring the findings of this structural approach into instructions for action ("networking") remains problematic, particularly with regard to the complex relationship between structure, culture, and action.

But the instrumental availability of relationships is emphasized, especially in studies with a theoretical foundation in micropolitics according to Crozier and Friedberg (1980). Networking is understood as an instrumental political action aimed at asserting one's own interests against resistance (Wingender/Wolff 2017). Actors in organisations struggle for power and resources, which they want to increase by forming their network of relationships. Micro-political approaches in the field of gender equality policies, therefore, draw on the necessity for women to learn the competencies of successful networking.

If the promotion of careers and especially the under-representation of women in executive positions is addressed with specific policies, it is often the micro-political promotion of networking skills. The under-representation is partly attributed to a deficit practice of women, which has resulted in coaching and mentoring programmes that specifically target women (Rastetter/Cornils 2012; Muser et al. 2015; de Janasz/Forret 2008). These approaches promote 'fixing the women' strategies starting from the idea that women must be 'coached' in order to learn the promising ways of acting or networking in the field in order to fit into the male-dominated system. They place women in a position of justification and delegate to them the responsibility of 'improving' their professional networks in a targeted manner.

The emphasis on individual opportunities for action is particularly problematic if, due to different (pre-)conditions, be they structural, cultural or individual, the same recommendations for action cannot be effective for everyone. The micropolitical concept does not take into account the specific needs and conditions to which women are exposed in the field of engineering sciences we are investigating.

4. Framework conditions of networking: Insights from case studies

GenderNetz investigates the importance of contacts for the scientific career path and focuses on gender-specific aspects. Therefore 68 narrative interviews shall be conducted with post-docs and gatekeepers in engineering sciences and information technology. As a preliminary study, we analysed two interviews with post-docs we

selected because we observed a very similar practice in them, which we will discuss further in the following section.

This analysis serves to examine the structural and cultural conditions of network relationships and their influence on career paths. In the following, we present selected results of these case studies and associate them with theoretical approaches.

4.1 Creating visibility

In both selected post-doc interviews one career-relevant network practice becomes in particular apparent, that seems to play a crucial role in everyday working life. This practice may serve as an example to point out the limitations of micro-political networking support programmes. It outlines the conditions in which network practices are generally embedded and which determinants are relevant to identify possible gender-specific barriers. We call this networking practice 'creating visibility', which appears in various facets in the narratives. Creating visibility means that career-relevant contacts are made aware of one's character, activities or performance. It is about strategically generating visibility in order to benefit from it in further stages of a career in form of being considered in important projects, receiving support or being consulted for cooperation.

4.2 Determining framework conditions for 'creating visibility'

With regard to the conditions that promote successful networking, time, in particular, must be considered as a necessary resource and condition to establish and ensure visibility. The male interviewee states that he invests a lot of time figuring out how his work is perceived and judged in his scientific field and which topics are more popular in order to be able to promote his work in a targeted manner: "*And that's why I just spend a lot of time on networking. To somehow experience this community sensing with 'what does my peer group think' – so the people who rate our papers – 'what do they think is cool. Where does it go'. Um, but of course also the opposite somehow to strengthen our position with 'we think that's cool, we're working on that right now. Please don't forget us'*" (P2, 674-680). Therefore, it requires the availability and investment of time, in order to create visibility for oneself or one's achievements in coffee breaks, corridor discussions and conferences for instance. Time and presence are two essential aspects that are mandatory in order to conform to the academic ideal, as Paulitz, Goisauf and Zapusek (2015) mention in their study on work-life balance in scientific life. This applies particularly to 'creating visibility' as a networking strategy.

But, the resource time and therefore also presence is not evenly distributed among scientists. This imbalance is illustrated by the female interviewee describing the limitations of part-time work as follows: "*I think the difference between a part-time job and a full-time job is that in a full-time job you have a great amount of time to stand somewhere in a coffee break and say 'I already did that'. To pat oneself on the back (...) to show up everywhere and say 'boa, what have I done great again today'. (...), everyone does that. (...) But you don't have time for that in a part-time position anymore.'*" (P1, 752-767). Part-time work increases the work density and reduces presence thus the time for casual conversations is limited.

The descriptions of the compensatory mechanisms the female interviewee used during parental leave indicates negative effects on visibility which occurs due to a longer period of absence. The interviewee actively and strategically establishes her visibility during parental leave, otherwise fearing to be forgotten and not considered for further employment: "*I've been to the institute regularly. And I always asked what's up. I simply believe that by the time you are no longer there, when you are no longer present at the institute daily and, uhm, can't draw attention to yourself or can say 'it looks like this and that', you are going out of focus a bit*" (P1, 267-273).

Given the fact that in most cases women go to parental leave, the resulting gender inequality of opportunity is obvious (Winker, 2010). Although the number of men taking parental leave has increased in Germany since the introduction of the Federal Parental Allowance and the Parental Leave Act in 2007, traditional gender relations continue to have an effect, with women being seen as key persons for child care (Becker-Schmidt 1987; Peukert 2015).

4.3 Conditional factors for attributing competence

As Engler (2001) shows, scientific careers are not simply about achieving excellent results. The key to a successful career are recognition and attribution processes which determine opportunities to a large extent. "*In science*

(...) you can do your job as good as you want, (...), but progress depends on external colleagues. And of course, it makes it somehow more difficult, because it's simply unpredictable (...) a lot of it depends on external persons. If I apply for third-party funding, if I submit project proposals, how many of these are approved depends on external reviewers" (P2, 898-923). This interview quote indicates that 'being perceived' as competent by the counterpart becomes relevant but in a process that is described as 'uncontrollable' and 'incalculable' (P2, 940, 946). Even if it is assumed that the strategies are well mastered, it does not mean that they are actually successful.

In order to understand how competence is attributed, it is important to consider the ideal image of competence in scientific contexts. On the one hand, the attribution of competence is required in the scientific field to take up leading positions (Beaufaÿs 2012). On the other hand, the ideal of a scientist is closely linked to the expectation that science always has to be the highest priority in all life's areas. Following Bourdieu's field concept Paulitz, Goisauf and Zapusek (2015) analyse the field-specific characteristics of engineering science. They come to the conclusion, among other aspects, that complete devotion and a holistic commitment form the ideal of the scientist. The ideals take part in the constitution of patterns of perception and evaluation of those belonging to the field.

Following McGuire (2002) and the "Status Characteristics Theory" (Berger et al. 1977), it can be understood how ideals, conceptions and stereotypes determine the perception and attribution of competence. The male post-doc describes his impression of the situation of women in information technology in the following way: "*I think it is rather that she is very advantaged. I don't mean that negatively, but um, I mean it's a male domain. If there is a woman every male fellow student is somehow/ ((laughs)) has a great interest in helping her to explain certain things*" (P2, 759-764). Although he considers being a woman in the field of information technology as an advantage, in his statement the attribution of women as being in need of help and support predominates. McGuire examines how gender inequalities manifest in informal networks. She states that even if women have a strong position in their network, manage relevant resources and have connections to powerful employees, they receive less career-relevant assistance and support from their network members than men do (McGuire 2002). She shows that the evaluation of the counterpart depends on the resources which are attributed via his or her gender. Network members consider women to be less resourceful and competent.

In line with the Status Characteristic Theory, we find that the attributions that determine support in our study stem from a male-technically oriented field. It is not only the ideal image of absolute devotion to science that forms the conception, but also specific stereotypes that link gender with an affinity for technology (Buchholz et al. 2018). Faulkner traces in her study of software developers the bipolar construction of the mindscapes that are effective in the field in the form of "masculine instrumentalism and feminine expressivity" (Faulkner 2000). The historical development of the close connection between masculinity and affinity for technology leads to a devaluation of women. Technology is conceived and constructed as a male domain (Paulitz 2015).

Women are also devalued by the fact that they are always assigned to the social sphere (Faulkner 2000). This can be seen clearly when their role in the team is mentioned in the context of the working atmosphere: "*Well I mean in the end I believe - as I said, we once had female employees - I believe that also for the total atmosphere it is quite good, if this is not a pure male workplace*" (P2, 838-841). The female interviewee says she needs to point out that she's actually not in the role of a mother: "*I already had to put my foot down once or twice and say 'I'm not reduced to the role of a mom here'. So someone says 'yes, you're our mum here'. #mhm# and I said 'to make one thing clear: 'I'm a post-doc here'*" (P1, 747-750). Women are subtly reminded that they are still foreign in the production sphere. They are regarded as potential mothers who may be absent from the organisation for a period of time due to pregnancy/parental leave (Paulitz/Goisauf/Zapusek 2015). The connection of the mother role and the family sphere with being a woman influences the perception and is contrary to the ideal of a scientist.

5. Conclusion

After analysing the two interviews, we are able to identify different levels of 'creating visibility'. Visibility is created for example by presenting research results, meeting for dinner with relevant people but also in casual everyday situations. Both interviewees clearly show that they want to advance their careers strategically by presenting their achievements.

Furthermore, the micro-political and actor-oriented perspective only aims in one direction and neglects the second or third person within the relationship and disregards their influence on the relationship. Thereby gender-specific barriers in networking are thus overlooked. Our analysis has shown that perception and attribution processes, which arise from field-specific mindsets, are decisive for attributing competence to a person and thus for successful networking. These processes are influenced by the ideal of a scientist who completely surrenders to science. In addition, the historical and bipolar connection between masculinity and technical affinity and between femininity and technical incompetence plays an important role for attributing competence along field specific stereotypes. Furthermore, our empirical material showed that mothers on part-time or parental leave have fewer time resources, which are necessary to successfully establish visibility, and we outlined in that way the influence of structural conditions.

In STEM sciences there is still an under-representation of women. Therefore, we have linked in our paper structural and cultural conditions and informal relationships to networking practices that are career relevant for scientists in STEM. Our results indicate that policies which only encourage women to learn successful networking disregard relevant aspects leading to gender inequality. These policies take too little account of the given environment's complexity.

Future gender equality policies will have to take into consideration the entanglement of multi-layered factors and develop measures that take into account gender-specific barriers which arise out of the influence of informal networks and relationships. A relevant starting point may be the softening of the concept of the 'ideal scientists' who dedicates their resources unreservedly to science. Alternative concepts of a scientific lifestyle should be equally enabled and institutionalized.

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Beyond Survival: Navigating Women's Personal Narratives of Sexual Violence in the Holocaust

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Abstract: During the Holocaust and the subsequent process of what has become known as liberation, women constantly confronted convergent oppressive forces. Under the Nazi regime and its cohorts as well as during the liberation process, Jews faced torture and genocide. Jewish women constantly lived with an additional layer of oppression: threatened or actual sexual violence. Positioned at the vortex of intersecting oppressions, how can the identities of these women transcend their stature as victims? How do women creatively reposition themselves vis-à-vis the perpetrators and the traumatic events so they can maintain or reclaim their agency and dignity? Centering on narrative analysis of first-person testimony gleaned from memoirs and from the USC Shoah Foundation's Visual History Archive (VHA), this investigation covers four narratively sustained modes of comportment toward sexual violence. First, mutual aid demonstrates an ethic of care. Second, degrading or minimizing the perpetrator or the sexual act retains the narrator's dignity. The final two angles offer complementary ways to avoid or repel assault: distracting an assailant by directing him toward more attractive targets, and rendering oneself repellent. Departing from the prevailing approach of treating Holocaust survivor testimonies primarily as responses to trauma, this project reveals how the narrators actively craft their identities through the storytelling process. This creative molding of identity through narrative, a process called autopoeisis, recasts survivors of these and other traumas as dynamically (re)negotiating their understanding of self and their relationship to lived experiences. Trauma stories thereby further *tikkun olam*—repair of a fractured world.

Keywords: Holocaust, sexual violence, trauma studies, narrative, rape

1. Introduction

As recently as 2010, Sonja Hedgepeth and Rochelle Saidel noted that "the sexual violation of Jewish women during the Holocaust" remained "a virtually unexplored subject" (p. 1). While not a popular scholarly topic, actual or potential sexual abuse constitutes a very real and remarkably common presence in women's lives. Even today, after the horrors of the Holocaust have receded and with progressive countermeasures that combat patriarchal oppression, the #MeToo movement has exposed the predatory professional and social environments that render women sexual objects.

During the Holocaust and the subsequent process of what has become known as liberation, women constantly confronted convergent oppressive forces. Jewish women faced multidirectional oppression. Demonized by the Nazi regime and its cohorts, Jews were considered a threat simply through their existence. Hence nothing short of complete extermination would cleanse the Third Reich of this danger to racial purity. On top of this existential threat, Jewish women also constantly lived with prospective or actual sexual violence and abuse. Under some of the most trying circumstances imaginable, many of those who survived somehow developed ways to incorporate those traumatic experiences into their overall lives and not only exist but persist. To appreciate how they accomplished this, attention must focus on their own narratives, since those furnish observable evidence of how Jewish women who survived the Holocaust negotiate their relationships with memory, with their experiences of sexual violence, and with others who could encounter sexual violence. These women's first-person stories offer concrete indicators of how narratives "mediate our relations with the past" (Phillips, 2011, p. 14) while illustrating creative ways to cope with its ramifications.

Before continuing, some definitions require clarification. The USC Shoah Foundation (2018) Visual History Archive keyword index defines "sexual assault" as "any sexual contact or act of sexual penetration forced upon a person." The broader terminology of "sexual violence" refers to such sexual acts whether performed or threatened. "Holocaust survivors" broadly includes "any persons, Jewish or non-Jewish, who were displaced, persecuted, or discriminated against due to the racial, religious, ethnic, social, and political policies of the Nazis and their collaborators between 1933 and 1945" (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2018). The types of disruptive life experiences include flight or physical displacement, imprisonment, forced labor, hiding (concealment or impersonation), etc.

Centering on narrative analysis of first-person testimony gleaned from memoirs and from the USC Shoah Foundation Institute's Visual History Archive (VHA), this investigation covers four narratively sustained modes of comportment toward sexual violence. First, mutual aid demonstrates an ethic of care. Second, degrading or minimizing the perpetrator or the sexual act retains the narrator's dignity. The final two angles offer complementary ways to avoid or repel assault: directing an assailant toward more attractive targets, and rendering oneself repellent. Within each of these contexts, the narratives reveal many ways that survivors engage with rather than simply talk about their experiences. Taken together, the survivor narratives provide a rich repertoire of answers to a central question: How can women creatively reposition themselves vis-à-vis the perpetrators and the traumatic events so they can reassert their agency and dignity?

2. A panoply of perspectives on sexual violence

2.1 "It was sheer terror": Mutual aid

Andreas Lixl-Purcell (1994) remarks on the "pronounced emphasis by women authors on their interconnectedness with other people and their histories rather than on the trials and struggles of the self" in Holocaust memoirs (p. 232). Myrna Goldenberg (1996) elaborates by noting how patriarchal restrictions on women's social roles stimulated women to find innovative ways to counteract Nazi oppression. Goldenberg (1996) calls attention to the readiness of women, even in concentration camps, to bond together and exhibit "gentle heroism" (p. 78) against common threats. She adds that throughout their lives during the Holocaust, sexual violence remained a primary danger. The following testimonies exemplify how women intervened in the face of gender-based threats.

Edith Bushell, a secular Romanian Jewish survivor of Auschwitz II-Birkenau, describes her liberation with some trepidation. In her Shoah Foundation video testimony, she observes that her freedom from the concentration camp did not free her and other survivors from fears of sexual assault. "Then we were liberated by the Russians, which was not exactly heaven" (Bushell, 1994, segment 47). Survivors experienced intensely conflicting emotions. They owed their lives to the liberators and welcomed freedom, but the liberators entered as sexual oppressors.

Rita Kuhn, a German Jewish survivor of forced labor, had been hearing warnings about Russian soldiers long they arrived in Berlin. After liberation, Rita and other survivors were housed in an evacuated hotel. "We had to worry about rape, because that's what they did. They raped" (Kuhn, 1989/1993, segments 47-48). Russian soldiers would go door to door, demanding "Frau!" which they had learned was the German word for "woman." This monosyllabic command meant that they wanted the residents to hand over a woman for sexual entertainment. Edith and the other women banded together and placed beds in front of the door to block the soldiers from entering. "It was sheer terror" (segment 48). Rita treats rape as a virtual inevitability; she characterizes Russian troops as inherently rapist. This attribution complements social construction of women's bodies as weak, vulnerable, and in Ann Cahill's (2001) terminology inherently "rapable" (p. 159), especially during wartime.

In two instances, other women intervened when Russian soldiers entered and demanded "Frau!" On one occasion, three Russian soldiers entered Rita's residence. They "came straight towards me, all three of them." Rita's family was housing a woman named Lydia, who happened to be a professional prostitute. Lydia recognized the threat to Rita, who had not yet reached her twentieth birthday. Lydia "intercepted them" (segment 579), seductively curling her index finger and beckoning, "Come." "She was quite pretty" (segment 579). "And she took all three of them with her. So I had another rescuer, a German rescuer" (segment 178). Rita chuckles as she notes the irony of being rescued from liberators. Even after liberation, Rita chose to wear her yellow fabric star marking her as Jewish. She hoped that it would protect her against Russian troops who might refrain from raping someone who also had been targeted by the Nazi enemy.

Another incident involved a drunken Russian soldier who entered the residence. Rita pointed to her yellow star and indicated that she was Jewish, using the Russian word for "Jew." The soldier replied, "Me too—come [with me]." Rita's mother observed the escalating situation and rescued her daughter. The soldier accompanied Rita's mother "to the back, where the bedroom was." Then "after a while," her mother emerged. She assured Rita that nothing happened, "but I don't know whether to believe her or not" (segments 179-180).

2.2 "I brushed it off": Degradation and minimization

Irene Binzer, a non-observant Jew and partisan resistance fighter, was captured by the Četnici (Chetniks), Yugoslav partisans who collaborated with the Nazis. Once imprisoned, she and her mother were separated. Both were raped. Irene was kept in solitary confinement, which allowed the jailer to rape her at will and without witnesses. In her video testimony for the USC Shoah Foundation, Irene delivers her narrative about these events haltingly (indicated in the transcription by periods inserted within sentences), often pausing for several seconds.

Irene describes her repeated rape—at gunpoint:

> *He said, "I have the gun here, and it's loaded." And he put it right next to me. "If you scream, I'll use it on you." And that's how he raped me. And that's how he raped me over and over and over and over and over [she swallows hard] while I was there" (Binzer, 1997, segment 76).*

The verbal redundancy mirrors the repetitive, brutal ritual of sexual violence. Her redundancy accompanies restating the merciless sexual assault with an assault on the listener's ears, forcing rapid and direct re-confrontation with the act itself. Stories of sexual violence can be challenging for the listener to hear, as well as for the narrator to tell. The violence Irene suffered from her captor constituted only part of her immersion in inescapable cruelty.

Surprisingly, Irene exhibits her greatest overt emotional distress not at her own agonizing abuse, but rather witnessing the physical abuse of other prisoners. These prisoners would be laid on a table in the prison courtyard near her cell.

> *The devastating part was that every single day [pause] they would take a [long pause] big stick [grips her hands around an imaginary a long stick] and hit them [raises her arms overhead and strikes downward to the floor, briefly moving out of frame] twenty. five. times. And 25 times I heard them scream and cry every. single. day. [sobs, long pause] That was my morning. [pause] That was my morning. (Binzer, 1997, segments 76-77, her emphasis)*

The ritual repetition reappears, verbalizing the daily re-enactment of violence. Irene also physically re-enacts the beatings by wielding an imaginary stick to illustrate the technique. Her narrative becomes literally embodied as her body mimics the bludgeoning of fellow inmates. The story acquires the added dimension of enactment--story performed as well as told. Notably, her long pauses and intense affect accompany descriptions of other prisoners suffering.

Those mornings, those beatings, those rapes, continued. "And I was kept a year in that prison. And abused sexually." The male interviewer then asks, "How often?" Irene replies, "Probably once a day." She notes that the abuse was "always by the same man," the commanding officer of the Četnici. "He was ugly. He was tall and skinny. He has a red beard and red hair, and I couldn't stand him." While describing him, she contorts her face in disgust. After a long pause, the interviewer quietly asks, "Do you know his name?" Irene responds, "No. [shakes her head] I brushed it off. I brushed it off of my head" (Binzer, 1997, segment 77).

Irene's remarkably offhanded dismissal of her rapist reduces him to a non-entity. His name erased, the immediacy of his brutality recedes so far that Irene can "brush it off." Perhaps she intended to use the idiomatic expression "I brushed him off," but her actual utterance carries rich connotations. The rapist and his actions physically shrivel and become superficial, externalizing the agonizing, repeated penetrations inflicted on her. The rapist is so insignificant that he shrinks to the equivalent of a nit or a speck of dust—an annoyance easily discarded. The perpetrator's name is not forgotten, it simply does not merit remembering.

In her video testimony for the Shoah Foundation, survivor Miriam Samuel uses nonverbal communication to convey her dismissive attitude toward a sexual predator in a concentration camp. Miriam quietly but firmly expresses her disdain for the German officer who desired her. As she describes his interest in her, Miriam begins to roll her eyes. Soon an exaggerated rolling of her eyes accompanies every quote or paraphrase of his words. This metacommunicative commentary positions the officer as absurd, reframing his voracious sexual appetite as outrageous.

2.3 Dimensions of distanciation

2.3.1 "Look at that pretty girl": Distanciation through contrast

Jewish Czech survivor Miriam Samuel hid from the Nazis and collaborators, was confined in two ghettos, then endured four concentration camps and a death march. In the concentration camps, "I remember that the young girls, the pretty girls, were taken out and raped" (Samuel, 1989/1991, segment 109). Soon after internment, an SS officer overheard her speaking German during a work detail. He approached her, "said he wanted me for something," and the first thought the 200-woman work detail had was that "he wants to use" any girl he would talk to. "I was scared to death. I tried to change my work things, or not to be seen anywhere. But he pursued me, that he wanted to—he gave an order" (segments 108-109) despite her efforts to appear unattractive and unobtrusive. "I was so scared I didn't know what was going to happen to me." Miriam's facial expression changes to smiles. She continues while chuckling, "And I saw a girl who was very beautiful and I felt she is much prettier than I am. And I tell him that maybe he could call her. I think to protect yourself you do almost anything." (segment 109). The contrast effect had the desired result. "So I said to him, 'Look at this pretty girl.'" The officer said she was his cleaning woman, and Miriam replied, "Can you use two?" (segment 109). Thus Miriam avoided being alone with the officer, evaded sexual assault, and was assigned a privileged position as cleaning woman for a higher ranking officer (due to her fluency in German).

Miriam's desperate, albeit successful, attempt to distract the officer exemplifies a form of distanciation from her fellow female inmates. Myrna Goldenberg (1996) distinguishes women's acts of aid-giving during the Holocaust as more often collaborative than combative, reflecting a feminist ethic of nurturant care for colleagues rather than a masculine modus operandi of forceful dominance (epitomized by killing the oppressors). Goldenberg stresses that Jewish women especially developed a wide array of creative coping strategies because they operated within patriarchal constructions of women as weak and passive. Far from exhibiting care for fellow inmates in this case, Miriam adopted a competitive approach associated with zero-sum beauty contests. Although this approach may have saved her from sexual assault, it also potentially compromised another inmate by designating her as a more desirable target. In addition, the connection between conventional feminine physical beauty and rape may reproduce the connection between femininity and rapability. Monika Flaschka (2010) contends that this interweaving of beauty with sexual allure ultimately invites the implication that the sexuality of "young, pretty" women makes them complicit in sexual assault.

2.3.2 "Make yourself look ugly": Aesthetic distanciation

Miriam's testimony dovetails with how other survivors describe ways that women tried to introduce aesthetic distance as a deterrent to sexual violence. Her mother taught her how to avoid the risk of rape in the ghetto. "I always covered my face and wore dark clothes and carried my little brother. They were much more—there were a lot of beautiful girls, very striking, and maybe they didn't succumb to what I—I was more like a little mother there. And I always tried to be in the middle, so I wouldn't be easily seen" (segment 215). Similarly, survivor Rita Kuhn was told how to evade rape by Russian liberators in Germany: "Make yourself look ugly" (Kuhn, 1989/1993, segment 577).

These methods of self-effacement attempted to erase the women's presence as women. Generally they would try to withdraw physically, hoping that obscurity would enable them to pass unnoticed. The gender-specific concealment focuses on women rendering themselves sexually undesirable so that, even if noticed, they would be rejected as aesthetically repulsive. Miriam suggests that this repellent aesthetic may have protected her from sexual assault when serving as a cleaning woman in the officer's quarters. She states that she avoided being sexually abused because the officers preferred women who "appeared more human" (better fed and clothed, cleaner) than her (segment 297).

3. Survivor narratives as autopoiesis

Geoffrey Hartman (1995) refers to videotaped oral testimonies as "uncalculated poetry" that defies categorization in the verbalization of poetry and prose as interpreters know them. The testimonies simultaneously remain personal and ineffable even as they are communicated publicly via (mass) media of audiovisual communication. These narratives contain more than an aura of poetry as they confront the fundamental poetic task of verbalizing the unsayable. Beyond stylistic features, the poetic nature of survivor narratives has functional significance as an ongoing process of attempting to re-create one's self through

narration. This narratively crafted negotiation of identity qualifies as a form of autopoiesis: an ongoing, active renegotiation of identity in light of radical, involuntary disruptions to its foundations.

The term "autopoiesis" bears kinship to Vico's prioritization of creative expression as the prime—and primal—epistemic driver for humanity. Autopoiesis recalls Vico's (1948, pp. 100-119) insistence on the primacy of mythopoiesis—knowledge generated by figuration and narrative rather than philosophical or mathematical proofs. Autopoiesis revitalizes resilience as a creative construction. Operating autopoetically, survivor narratives actively redefine and reframe self, environment, and experiences rather than demonstrate simply a more (im)passive objective record of external events or formulaic redemptive triumph over evil.

Survivors negotiate their relationship to sexual violence through their narratives, reflecting nuances of memory and storytelling that expand the repercussions and connotations of trauma beyond the purely pathological. Although clinical analyses of trauma abound, they often offer little insight regarding how the survivors position themselves in relation to these disruptive experiences, especially through their own narratives. Regarding the Holocaust, Omer Bartov (2018) suggests that firsthand testimonies and memoirs can rehumanize people whom genocide and sexual violence dehumanize as mere objects. Recognizing the capacity of narrative to enact as well as demonstrate the ways Holocaust survivors engage with intersecting oppressions acknowledges the survivors' agency by "re-cognizing" their memories as crafted narratives. This treatment of memory as embodied in living, evolving narratives comports well with emerging research that understands memory as a constructed relationship with the past (Shaw, 2017) as much as (sometimes more than) it provides a documentary record. The narrators thereby reconfigure themselves as creators, not simply survivors or remnants.

4. Tikkun Olam: Reparative value of narratives

The creative crafting of identity through narrative has implications extending beyond coping with personal trauma. While a psychological approach to trauma concentrates on these personal ramifications, a communication perspective allows for a more multidimensional framework that activates the relationship between narrators, narratives, and multiple audiences—readers, listeners, viewers etc., depending on the communicative medium. Insofar as survivor narratives provide resources that other communicators as well as the narrators themselves can replicate, refine, revise, remix, and otherwise creatively employ, they furnish raw materials for crafting fresh worlds built on trauma-tinged foundations. In this sense, survivor narratives enact the Jewish moral dictum of *tikkun olam*, usually rendered as repairing the world. Discussing the significance of *tikkun olam*, Laura Brown (1997) asserts that empowering others can be considered saving one's own life as well, a universal elevation understood as the greatest form of healing the world.

The teachings of *tikkun olam* portray the world as broken into innumerable fragments, a condition that Emil Fackenheim (1982) explicitly connects with the Holocaust and a fitting description of lives ruptured by persecution and sexual violence. The narratives of survivors exemplify ongoing attempts to navigate through these scattered fragments. The resultant testimonies testify to the variety of paths that may fall far short of the harmonious "wholeness" that would unify a disparate world (Lee 1990) or mend a mangled life. Instead, *tikkun olam* highlights the constant striving to craft possibilities for the future by working through the relationship with one's own memories. This ongoing renegotiation with the past and how those experiences can inform present and future need not—and usually does not—progress linearly toward trauma "resolution" or a synthesis of life experiences that culminates in "finding meaning" through suffering. Narrative instantiations of *tikkun olam* reveal more about process than product: active experiments with portraying self and others, tentative indicators of the survivor's degree of agency in conditions of "choiceless choices" (Brown, 2010; Levenkron, 2010) when all options involved moral compromises. In practice, survivor narratives demonstrate more incremental, piecemeal ways of engaging with intersecting oppressions that do not necessarily culminate in a "happy ending" or a complete recovery (Schwartzman, 2016).

Like the world itself, Holocaust survivors are also "fractured," but not irreparably. Observing these narratives reminds one that the survivors do not so much present their stories as a completed product, but rather lay bare the active process of constructing identity as embodied in their storytelling (Parker, 2007). As Henry Greenspan (2010) contends, survivors' own narratives often remain non-integrative, the narrators reluctant to furnish an ultimate resolution to the conflicts they contain.

Tikkun olam has pragmatic as well as theological value through its emphasis on healing and restoration. More than a theoretical construct, *tikkun olam* prioritizes the affirmation of human life; peace is considered a way to preserve human life and protect its value (Breger 2003). But we must not confuse peace with passivity. The forceful but non-violent modes of women's evasion or resistance in the face of sexual assault certainly qualify as active methods to protect human dignity and often life itself. Zoë Waxman (2010) expresses concern that evasion as a survival strategy often remains unnoticed, largely a result of such methods not fitting masculine valorization of violent physical confrontation.

5. Conclusion

The current study presents only a cursory examination of the potential for Holocaust survivors to engage narratively with the trauma of sexual violence. That very brevity, however, also provides fruitful avenues for further research.

5.1 Research limitations and opportunities

The narratives covered in this study provide only suggestive illustrations, not a representative sampling, of how survivor narratives engage with sexual assault. Specifically, the research focuses on narratives that include some of the more familiar gendered and heterocentric tropes of sexual violence: male aggressors exploiting vulnerable women who are placed in compromising situations. These narratives have value, and they could be supplemented with more attention to narratives of sexual violence that stretch the boundaries of the more familiar plot lines and character templates. For example, additional research could explore how other modes of sexual violence complement and challenge more established narrative content and structure. Few studies thus far foreground same-sex sexual violence (male on male, female on female), men as targets of sexual violence, and boundary cases that blur the lines between consensual and exploitative sexual activity.

Furthermore, the analysis herein focuses heavily on manifest content of survivor narratives. Explicit utterances do furnish observable "data" that can drive conclusions. Manifest content, however, may provide necessary but not sufficient evidence for how survivors configure their relationships to their gendered identities, their memories of sexual violence, and to the audiences of the narratives. Survivors negotiate these relationships in complex ways that may implicate narrative techniques beyond what the manifest content reveals. Henry Greenspan (2014) reminds researchers that Holocaust survivors grapple with expressing experiences and emotions that may defy linguistic representation. He recommends attending carefully to the strategic roles that different types of silences and non-fluencies may play in conveying survivor affect or in modifying/intensifying the verbalized content. Little research thus far has focused on methods for categorizing and classifying nonverbal content, including gestures, facial expressions, eye contact, paralinguistic cues (tone, volume, etc.), and use of artifacts as props (e.g., clothing, relics from the Holocaust era, etc.), as well as silences. Incorporating these components can dramatically enrich understanding of how narratives convey meaning. Archival indexes reflect similar limitations and opportunities. Currently these tools only deal with what is verbally and explicitly *discussed* (manifest content) rather than what is *communicated* (thematic content). Rethinking the type of content indexed and analyzed could yield important findings overlooked by studies restricted to only one medium or category of messages.

5.2 Implications

This investigation has explored some of the ways that delving deeper into the dynamics of women's narratives of sexual violence during the Holocaust can: (a) further the understanding of women's identity construction through their first-person narratives; (b) reconfigure how survivors attempt to integrate the trauma of sexual violence into their lifelong narratives; and (c) extend the study of trauma and sexual violence beyond survival, victimage, and pathology. When understood as communicative acts, the sexual violence narratives of women during the Holocaust expand possibilities for how people position and present themselves amid trauma. This expansion of the possibilities for signification extends the interpretive frame beyond direct correspondence to individual events and toward the generative potential of narratives. "The testimonies of Holocaust survivors are a natural source for historical information, but indisputably they also play a significant role in allowing understanding of how emotions and identity are tied to that information" (Kaplan-Weinger and Hoffman, 2004, p. 109). The narratives demonstrate different comportments toward sexual violence and its role in women's lives. Conventional psychopathology tends to situate these women primarily as victims who survived trauma. Acknowledging how narratives employ autopoiesis repositions women as creatively engaging with trauma rather

than being enveloped by it. Close analysis of Jewish women's accounts of sexual violence serves a rehabilitative function. Kirsty Chatwood (2010) cautions, "If we do not acknowledge the evidence of choice in some testimonies, we risk disenfranchising the very women whose stories we seek to bring to the forefront" (p. 67). At issue is less the (unascertainable) objective presence of volition at the time of sexual violence, but more importantly how the survivors narratively construct acts of choice. By investing themselves with some measure of agency, the narrators render themselves as more than helpless victims or hapless survivors.

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Formula for Success: Dueling Discourses in the Breastfeeding Battle

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Abstract: In 1974, Mark Muller published *The Baby Killer*, a salacious exposé that revealed Nestlé Incorporated's targeted marketing of western style infant formula to what was then referred to as "Third World" countries. Lack of adequate water supplies, money, and education contributed to an epidemic of malnutrition, particularly amongst African babies. The ensuing scandal led to a worldwide boycott of Nestle infant formula and created new, global debates on infant feeding. Formula had mutated from a nutritious, time-saving alternative that subsequently provided women more autonomy, into a poison that unnaturally separated women from their children. In the United States, the scandal contributed to escalating political tensions between women of competing ideological commitments. Later hailed in popular media as "The Mommy Wars," these conflicts over what constitutes true womanhood and proper mothering began to coalesce along cultural and liberal feminist lines, as breastfeeding versus bottle-feeding was acutely difficult for feminists to address. Specifically, breastfeeding promoted the de-sexualization of the breast and the importance of the feminine body, while bottle feeding allowed for more autonomy and agency. Through a critical rhetorical analysis of public discourses surrounding breastfeeding, this essay examines how breastfeeding discourses in the United States contribute to a war of friend-enemy politics between women and mothers. Our paper examines infant feeding in the United States through an analysis of popular breastfeeding websites, as well as blogs and social media sites. The essay exposes the discursive struggle to fix definitions of womanhood, even amongst women. This research aims to continue feminist conversations that challenge traditional constructions of gender while concomitantly uniting multiple feminist voices to expose the realities of motherhood. It also unmasks the true beneficiaries of feminine competition, who are very rarely women, but instead, large corporations and organizations who market along ideological lines.

Keywords: feminism, breastfeeding, hegemonic femininity

1. Introduction

In 1974, Mark Muller published *The Baby Killer*, a salacious exposé that revealed Nestlé Incorporated's targeted marketing of Western style infant formula to what was then referred to as "Third World" countries. While Nestlé Incorporated (hereto after referred to as, Nestlé) has consistently maintained that marketing formula to poverty stricken regions was intended to aid global humanitarian efforts combating famine, the lack of adequate water supplies, money, and education in impoverished countries contributed to an epidemic of malnutrition, particularly amongst African babies (Murray, Gazada, & Molenaar, 1983). The ensuing scandal led to a worldwide boycott of Nestlé infant formula and created new, global debates on infant feeding. Formula had mutated from Nestlé's controlled narrative of a nutritious, time-saving alternative that subsequently provided women more autonomy, into a cultural narrative of formula-as-poison that unnaturally separated women from their children (Jung, 2015).

In the United States, the scandal contributed to escalating political tensions between women of competing ideological commitments. Later hailed in popular media as "The Mommy Wars," these conflicts over what constitutes true womanhood and proper mothering began to coalesce along cultural and liberal feminist lines, as breastfeeding versus bottle-feeding was acutely difficult for feminists to address. Specifically, breastfeeding promoted the de-sexualization of the breast and the importance of the feminine body, while bottle feeding allowed women more autonomy and agency. Feminists were faced with a dilemma of how to simultaneously promote strong mothers and autonomy while continuing to engage in women's issues beyond the domestic sphere.

Through a critical rhetorical analysis of public discourses surrounding breastfeeding, this essay examines how breastfeeding discourses in the United States contribute to a war of friend-enemy politics (the rhetorical strategy of definition by negation), between women and mothers (i.e., we know what a good mother is by defining what she is not). Foust (2008) explores the concept of friend-enemy politics through an analysis of interactive websites. She notes the role interactivity plays in creating identification/group membership amongst activists and followers. The result of strong identification between bloggers and followers provides a heuristic—or a mental leap in rationale—to answering a perceived exigency. Our paper examines this kind of online activity as it relates to infant feeding in the United States through an analysis of popular lactation websites, as well as blogs

and social media sites. The essay exposes the discursive struggle to fix definitions of womanhood, even amongst women.

This research aims to continue feminist conversations that challenge traditional constructions of gender while concomitantly uniting multiple feminist voices to expose the realities of motherhood. It also unmasks the true beneficiaries of feminine competition, who are very rarely women, but instead, large corporations and organizations who market along ideological lines. We conclude that feminist competition fragments the feminist movement by making allies antagonists, a concept developed by bell hooks (1981) in her discussion of the racial and classist divides that exist within feminism.

The essay unfolds with a brief history of the Nestlé scandal and how it fueled anti-formula discourses in the United States. It proceeds with a discussion of the ways rhetorical analysis aids in understanding marginalized and feminist discourses and the consequences of the competing narratives present in "Mommy War" discourse. We conclude with an analysis of current rhetorical strategies employed by "Lactivists" (a term adopted by breastfeeding advocates in the United States) and offer a more holistic, and thus feminist, approach to breastfeeding discourses than those that resort to friend-enemy politics.

2. Formulated poison: Nestlé, scandal, and dueling discourses

British journalist Mark Muller's (1974) booklet, *The Baby Killer* associates Nestlé's hard marketing of infant formula with the death of millions of "Third World" infants. Muller (1974) argues that Nestlé knowingly sold formula to populations unequipped to use it properly. Muller's work, in conjunction with numerous international reports, blames Nestlé's targeted marketing of infant formula for "Creating a need where none existed, convincing consumers the products were indispensable and linking products with the most desirable and unattainable concepts—then giving a sample" (Kransy, 2012, para. 10). Poverty stricken mothers were approached by well dressed, or otherwise professional "looking," women selling formula. Nestlé's aim was to foster the assumption that formula would provide these impoverished mothers the time and freedom to become more like the women selling the formula. Unfortunately, the saleswomen, while operating under the guise of medical professionals, were not nurses, or associated with the medical community in any way. They were simply saleswomen hired to sell Western style formula to socially disadvantaged mothers (Muller, 1974).

Equally unfortunate were the circumstances under which the formula was administered to infants. While the "breast is best," recent studies of infant formula reveal that in industrialized countries, formula is nutritionally equivalent to breastmilk, and when factors like education and income are taken into account, the cognitive benefits of breast milk do not statistically outweigh those of formula (Jung, 2015). However, in impoverished areas of the world, the cost of formula led to misuse (Muller, 1974). Mothers diluted formula to extend the time between purchases and the water they used was often contaminated. Formula fed babies began to suffer from malnutrition, diarrhea, stunted growth, and eventually, began to die in record numbers (Muller, 1974). All the while, mothers unwittingly continued to use formula, believing it had greater nutritional value than their own milk supply. Muller's (1974) exposure of Nestlé's marketing strategy and its outcome understandably led to world-wide boycotts

In July 1977 the Third World Institute at the University of Minnesota's Newman Center launched a boycott of Nestlé products in protest of Nestlé's infant formula promotion tactics. They chose to target Nestlé because it was the largest producer of infant formulas and held 60% of the formula market in the Third World. INFACT [Infant Formula Action Coalition] was established to coordinate the spreading grassroots boycott of Nestlé products. The Third World Institute served as INFACT's national boycott headquarters. Local U.S. chapters of INFACT held a national conference in November 1977 calling for an international boycott of Nestlé products in July of that year. Canada, New Zealand, and Australia joined the boycott in 1978 and the United Kingdom, Sweden, and Germany joined in 1980 (Action for Corporate Accountability, para. 4).

In the United States, Senator Edward Kennedy called for congressional hearings to examine the marketing of infant formula. Testimony from The World Health Organization, UNICEF and The International Baby Food Action Network supported Muller's (1974) claims (Beaver & Fred, 1982). These combined testimonies resulted in a call for international intervention into formula marketing in poverty stricken regions of the world (Beaver & Fred, 1982)). In 1981, the International Code of Marketing Breastmilk Substitutes [The Code] was adopted, resulting

in new-regulations regarding the promotion, marketing, and distribution of breast-milk substitutes (World Health Organization [WHO] 1981).

While the adoption of "The Code" resulted in much needed corporate reform, it had unintended consequences for feminists in the industrialized world. Most notably, the resulting discourses over infant feeding exacerbated the tensions between cultural and liberal feminisms that exist in feminist discourse. While liberal feminists struggled to balance the benefits of autonomy with the reality of infant deaths, cultural feminists rhetorically evoked the archetypal "True Woman" to solve the conundrum of breast vs. formula. The following section defines liberal and cultural feminism and explores the rhetorical strategies employed by both to address motherhood and infant feeding, particularly in the aftermath of the Nestlé scandal.

3. Breastfeeding and the cult of true womanhood

Second-wave feminism—specifically liberal feminism and cultural feminism—worked in interesting ways to encourage women to find their own "path" to successful motherhood and personhood in the latter half of the twentieth century (Echols, 1989). Liberal feminism, fought for women's equality in the law and other public spaces, like the workplace. Liberal feminists sought options for women beyond motherhood and encouraged women to challenge the feminine artifice. Cultural feminism, on the other hand, embraced femininity and sought to "change the system" that valued masculinity over femininity (Echols, 1989). Breastfeeding proved a pragmatic paradox for both groups as it was difficult to prioritize commitments to what was uniquely feminine and what hindered women in the workplace (like children and breastfeeding) (Carter, 1995). Both groups found the complex, dualistic reality of public versus private personas in the United States to be augmented by the realities of parenthood in general and motherhood in particular: "One might see bottle-feeding as freeing women from the demands and restrictions of lactation or on the other hand, as imposed on women by the formula manufacturers depriving them of unique womanly experience" (Thulier, 2009, p. 90).

The Nestlé scandal brought these tensions into focus. Liberal feminists addressed the ethical implications of Nestlé's actions by centering their rhetorical strategies around research and socio-economic realities (Jung, 2015). They argued that formula in industrialized areas of the world, provided women a safe and affordable alternative to breastfeeding. Liberal feminists continue to largely hold this position and emphasize the importance of a woman's choice to feed her child has she sees fit. Liberal feminist activism in relation to infant feeding in the United States currently focuses on extended family leave, creating spaces for breastfeeding in public areas (such as work, public transportation, restaurants, etc.) and most importantly, a mother's *choice* and authority over how her children are fed.

Cultural feminist activism recognizes similar exigencies. However, some cultural feminists have essentialized womanhood to a degree that excludes the concept of maternal choice. Often, this type of activism draws from early religious narratives of the nursing mother as an "asexual, quasi-religious Madonna" figure (Nadesan & Sotirin, 1998, p. 220). Problematically, essentializing womanhood in this manner reifies doctrines of motherhood as a dualistic construct formed by competing subjects of good and evil.

In Western societies, motherhood is an institution that upholds the patriarchal order through discourses of the natural (good) mother (Rich, 1976). The natural mother finds gratification and purpose through her children. She is with them always, and in fulfilling her body's natural purpose, ensures the next generation will uphold a moral and just social order. She passes her virtue to her children through her selflessness and constant presence (Rich, 1976). Hays (1997) argues that as a result of cultural feminist narratives, mothers are extensions of their children. Because mothers are always closely hovering, they ensure that children are protected—which makes them good mothers as opposed to bad mothers. Cultural feminist narratives justify an intensely private and natural mother as a means of ensuring the continuation of society (Hays, 1997).

The cultural activism we analyze here continues to rely on an archetypal figurehead of natural motherhood—the True Woman (a historical depiction of women as the protectors of the hearth and home [see Campbell, 1989]) and friend-enemy politics. In this binary, the breastfeeding mother emerges as the True Woman via hegemonic femininity—a quasi-religious, selfless defender of her children. These Cult narratives employ the rhetorical strategy of definition by negation where the bottle feeding mother is portrayed as a "bad mother" who unnaturally puts herself before her children. Modern constructions of motherhood portray the physical relationship between mothers and babies as an exclusive one, and one, that, according to Blum (1999) is

threatened by the working white woman. In fact, Blum suggests that underlying the "*fanaticism*" (italics original) of motherhood and breastfeeding is a woman's fear of being forgotten. Master narratives tell women that this is the *one thing* they can do for their babies that no one else can (Blum, 1999).

The following analysis provides examples of cultural feminist narratives that focus exclusively on breastfeeding. To gather our data, we followed Bernhardt and Felter's (2004) findings which suggests most parents utilize online parenting websites and blogs to gather information regarding infant health. Mello and Tan (2016) expand on this research, demonstrating that most online parenting blogs situate the responsibility for children's health with parents, followed by manufacturers and governments. Both essays demonstrate the repetitiveness, and thus quick saturation, of online parenting narratives. As such, in gathering our data, we looked for online parenting bloggers whose primary focus was breastfeeding, and who placed emphasis on parental, manufacturing, and governmental responsibilities in regards to infant health. The examples presented in this paper were chosen based on their popularity and influence, which we determined by their number of followers, number of times posts were shared and liked, the number of "hits" on search engines, and online sales if applicable. Through these sites, we explore the use of hegemonic femininity and true womanhood to parse out how friend-enemy politics is operationalized—often effectively—to demean mothers who do not breastfeed. In answer to this type of activism, we offer a more holistic feminist approach that supports breastfeeding mothers, but maintains women's autonomy in making the best decisions for themselves and their families.

4. Cult narratives: Constructing allies as antagonists

In light of the discussion of breastfeeding and feminist discourse, the following analysis explores how modern cultural feminist narratives portray bottle feeding in the wake of the formula scandals. While the original scandal occurred over 44 years ago, most corporate analysis of formula companies reveals that few meet "The Code's" international standards of marketing which has resulted in significant consumer activism. The following websites and blogs reveal how cultural feminists draw on narratives of formula-as-poison and engage in friend-enemy politics to discredit alternative forms of infant feeding.

4.1 True Women and lazy mothers: Musings of The Alpha Parent and KellyMom.com

Parenting websites and blogs scatter the internet and are often the "go to" resources for new parents (Bernhardt & Felter, 2004). With over forty thousand likes on Facebook, almost five thousand followers on Twitter, and a popular, interactive website, *The Alpha Parent* is an influential international, cultural feminist parenting site dedicated to addressing the "politics of parenting" (*The Alpha Parent*, About, [Facebook]). *The Alpha Parent* supports its heavily pro-breastfeeding stance with articles like "Is Formula Feeding Worse than Smoking?" (*The Alpha Parent*, December 2, 2017) and tweets depicting breastfeeding mothers and captions that read "The Skinny on Mommy Guilt (those of a nervous or butthurt disposition, look away now) #breastfeeding" (*The Alpha Parent*, [Twitter], February 18, 2015). As a whole, *The Alpha Parent* uses aggressive, friend-enemy rhetoric that valorizes breastfeeding mothers and creates a strong sense of identification amongst them, while concomitantly blaming bottle feeding mothers for their children's ailments: "a breastfeeding mother who has a baby with eczema can be virtually certain that her feeding choice did not contribute to the development of eczema. A formula feeding mother cannot be so sure" (*The Alpha Parent*, November 25, 2016). The same article (entitled "How to Win any Breastfeeding Argument") latently attacks the liberal feminist position of choice:

While we're on the topic of 'choice' – a highly cherished value of formula feeders – one burden of having choice is that one must be held accountable for one's choice, a topic I discuss in length in my book 'Breast Intentions'. If you feel guilty of your choice, that is your internal accountability system being triggered (*The Alpha Parent*, November 25, 2016).

The article continues by associating a failure to breastfeed with a failure in parenting. Women who worry that they won't be able to breastfeed due to a family history are told: "Luckily, failure isn't inherited. I may have not had a positive breastfeeding example whilst growing up, but that has made me more determined to reclaim the breastfeeding tradition for the next generation" (*The Alpha Paren*t, November 25, 2016).

The Alpha Parent engages in a game of debasement with a strategy of shaming "other" women (women who are not breastfeeding). It valorizes the true woman via heuristics of the natural ("If you feel guilty of your choice, that is your internal accountability system being triggered"). Assuming an "internal system" of accountability

toward children harkens to a natural state of womanhood that closely aligns mothers with their children via the biological realities of birth and maps that alignment onto womanhood.

A similar tactic is used by *KellyMom,* another online blogger/website dedicated to natural parenting and breastfeeding. Like *The Alpha Parent, KellyMom* addresses those who suggest women should refrain from arguments situated in friend enemy politics. KellyMom boasts an impressive online presence with over three-hundred thousand likes on Facebook (Facebook, KellyMom.com, 2018), over seventeen thousand followers on twitter (Twitter, KellyMomdotcom, 2018) and, like *The Alpha Parent,* has an interactive website and blog. Specifically addressing whether or not it is appropriate to make bottle feeding mothers feel guilty, Jack Newmann (2000), a contributor to *KellyMom* writes:

Let's look at real life. If a pregnant woman went to her physician and admitted she smoked a pack of cigarettes, is there not a strong chance that she would leave the office feeling guilty for endangering her developing baby? If she admitted to drinking a couple of beers every so often, is there not a strong chance that she would leave the office feeling guilty? If a mother admitted to sleeping in the same bed with her baby, would most physicians not make her feel guilty for this even though it is, in fact, the best thing for her and the baby? If she went to the office with her one-week old baby and told the physician that she was feeding her baby homogenized milk, what would be the reaction of her physician? Most would practically collapse and have a fit. And they would have no problem at all making that mother feel guilty for feeding her baby cow's milk, and then pressuring her to feed the baby formula. (Not pressuring her to breastfeed, it should be noted, because "you wouldn't want to make a woman feel guilty for not breastfeeding".) (para. 3).

Newmann's article demonstrates how women are disciplined when operating outside of traditional gender boundaries. Newmann strips women of their choices in performing motherhood and places control of motherhood in the hands of medical professionals. One of the contributing factors to the success of cultural feminist narratives is their adaptation to medical discourse. In an attempt to provide women agency, some medical professionals err on the side of essentialized womanhood.

For example, in 2011, Psychologist, **Darcia Narvaez created a blog spot on *PsychologyToday.com* in anticipation of National Breastfeeding Week. Entitled "I**t's Breastfeeding Week: Why should you care? Not following evolution's design is extremely costly," Narvaez's (2011) blog spot employed an interesting tactic of associating breastfeeding and health with the capitalist ideology: "When your fellow citizens are not breastfed, **it costs you**. If you were not breastfed, it is costing you. It is costly for **all members of society**, whether or not you are a parent or grandparent (psychologytoday.com).

Another post associates bottle feeding not only with capitalism, but blames bottle feeding babies for society's ills: "Health **costs to society and taxpayers.** People who are breastfed are less likely to be a host of mental and physical diseases throughout life and are less likely to end up in prison" (psychologytoday.com). While certainly another rhetorical play on guilt, these posts also demonstrate how cultural feminist narratives map women's virtue on to their children. In this case, the bottle-feeding mother, in denying her child the breast, predetermined her or him to a life of crime. In contrast, the breastfeeding mother, quite literally passed her virtue on to her children through her milk and breast.

These websites and blogs promote a strong sense of identification amongst users and allow women to engage in a heuristic of the natural when addressing infant health. Through high levels of interactivity (posting, replying, commenting, etc.) followers foster strong group identifications which provides a rationale for their beliefs, to the detriment of holistic discussions that engage professional research and outside opinions.

5. Choice and care as feminist ethics

In the wake of the Nestlé scandal, international organizations rallied around breastfeeding, much to the benefit of babies around the world. However, in the twenty-first century, some of the outcry has resulted in taking formula *out* of the hands of women who need and/or want it. Breastfeeding has cultural implications, particularly in the United States, for many women, including women of color and women of lower socio-economic status. The former has an uncomfortable history of being forced to wet-nurse and the latter (which includes the former) often cannot afford to breastfeed—they have to return to unaccommodating workforces.

While feminists of all stripes are addressing both issues through targeted activism, the reality of breastfeeding is simply impossible for some women in today's capitalist societies.

Importantly however, while the narratives we've highlighted thus far resort to friend-enemy politics, the vast majority of narratives we found online were more positive and supportive than those that receive the most attention.

***The Badass Breastfeeder*,** for example, who identifies as a "mommy blogger" that regales her readers with stories depicting the difficult realities of parenthood explains:

There is no such thing as a breastfeeding versus bottle feeding duel. There is only a system that hates women. A system that thrives on us fighting with each other. This doesn't mean that we all throw our hats in the air and yell, "end mommy wars!" I think the mommy wars are a bunch of crap. I think the only thing going on here is a patriarchal system that is breeding misogyny. It doesn't want women to become empowered to make their own choices about their bodies. It doesn't want women to be successful at breastfeeding. It doesn't want women to feel secure in their choice to bottle feed. It doesn't want breastfeeding advocates pointing out the predatory marketing tactics from big corporations. It doesn't want you to have information. It doesn't want you to exercise control over your own choices.

Additionally, Amy Brown (2018), a professor as Swansea University reflects on her breastfeeding advice:

My fourth point appears to come as a shock to some. I'm a breastfeeding advocate aren't I? How can I be talking about supporting formula feeding? Because I believe in women's ability to make decisions that are best for them. And women who have decided they need to formula feed deserve high quality information on how to do it safely, responsively and have a support network to which they can reach out to. I believe in making sure women have all the support they need to be able to breastfeed if they want to, and can, but equally that women who cannot need practical and emotional support too…Enough of the stirring. There are no 'sides'. We're all fighting for the same things. More investment, more support, more value. Let's stop the media from trying to pretend otherwise (para. 10).

In conjunction with Dr. Brown, we too, agree that women hold the rights to their bodies and how they use them. We support breastfeeding and bottle feeding mothers equally and seek to end polarized narratives of women, in all their manifestations, not only as they relate to breastfeeding. As sisters, united against oppression, feminists are called to work together to challenge patriarchal, corporate, colonized and other imbalanced power systems that benefit from women recognizing each other as antagonists rather than allies.

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A Customised app to Attract Female Teenagers to Coding

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Abstract: The number of women in IT-related disciplines is far below the number of men, especially in developed countries. Middle-school girls appear to be engaged in coding courses, but when they choose academic majors relevant to their future careers, only few pursue computer science as a major. In order to show students a new way of learning and to engage them with coding activities, we used the learning app Pocket Code. In the "No One Left Behind" H2020 European project, the app was evaluated in several school subjects. An evaluation of the attractiveness of the app shows that students were motivated by Pocket Code's ease of use and its appealing design; however, girls rated the app less enthusiastically. To appeal to female teenagers in particular, a tailored version of the app "Luna&Cat" has been developed. This customised version stands in contrast to the "one size fits all" solution Pocket Code, which may discourage certain user groups. For apps to have a higher chance to appeal to a specific target group, it is, among many other points, necessary to optimise their store listing on app stores, especially as we found that app stores are the most effective way to reach teenagers. Thus, this paper covers the following research question: What customizations are necessary in Pocket Code to reinforce female teenagers in their coding activities? To answer this question, a focus group discussion was performed. This discussion first brought insights about our target group and suggested names and designs for the new app; and second, allowed each student to make proposals for their desired games. Later, these game ideas were analysed, graphically designed, and further developed together with university design students. By showing female teenagers games designed by other young women in their age group, we help them to get ideas and inspiration to code their own programs. This is important because most girls have the feeling that the games they play are not created for them. With this customised app, our aim is to reach and build a user base of interested female teenagers who want to learn how to code.

Keywords: gender, gendered tools, coding, social inclusion, learning environments

1. Introduction

The literature is full of findings that document girls' low experience or affinity levels towards computer sciences, their negative attitudes, and their fear to fail in computer science subjects compared to their male colleagues (Zaidi et al., 2016; Ramos and Rojas-Rajs, 2016; Wong and Kemp, 2017). Thus, the research focuses on female deficits in programming. However, what if these are not deficits but just different approaches or preferences that coding tools of today do not allow or fulfil? By understanding these differences, we hope to support girls so that they become more interested in coding. In previous work the authors focussed on how to create inclusive learning environments for girls (Spieler, 2018; Spieler and Slany [2], 2018), and analysing gender differences in game design (Spieler and Slany [1], 2018). To support our female user group outside of the school setting, a new flavored version of Pocket Code has been developed with the name "Luna&Cat. Its goal is to empower our female users while playing games through new game design possibilities; this is done with engagement through gender sensibility and awareness in contents used, creativity through allowing personalization and customization, and coding by problem-based tasks to foster self-directed learning and self-expression. Concerning Pocket Code, it is uncertain if female teenagers who search for such a tool will find or download it. We see a much greater chance that the newly customised version Luna&Cat will be more appealing for girls.

This paper is organised as follows: First, in Section 2, the paper provides an overview about coding, games, and gender issues in tools. This should provide evidence for a customised version for girls and suggests customization for the new version. Subsequently, Section 3 presents the base app, Pocket Code, and the related "No One Left Behind" (NOLB) project. Section 4 shows the Hassenzahl model used for analysing the attractiveness of our app. Section 5 displays the results by gender and Section 6 discusses the results. Section 7 presents a first concept of the new Pocket Code flavor Luna&Cat, and Section 8 concludes this paper and describes the authors' future work.

2. Literature review

The acquisition of digital skills is more important than ever and represents a key professional qualification. There is a great potential for young women to counteract the acute (and growing) shortage of qualified professionals in ICT (European Commission, 2016). However, the absence of female students who are interested in ICT fields can be observed at all levels of education as well as in the industry (Lamborelle and Fernandez, 2016). To allow

women to have better career choices, to get quality jobs, and even to improve their lives, opportunities must be visible. To provide a clearer image of the issues that have emerged, this section summarises CS issues in schools, and concludes by presenting opportunities to learn coding outside schools through tailored tools.

2.1 Acquiring computational thinking skills

There are many efforts in Europe and worldwide to foster students, particularly female teenagers, in CS (Informatics Europe/ACM Europe, 2016). However, strategies to redesign and rework the curriculum are obtained slowly, current solutions are often not applicable, and possibilities are limited. Thus, education programs neither offer methods nor framework for CS classes, nor get teachers trained specifically for this subject. Consequently, many teenagers leave school without any meaningful knowledge in CS, never quite understanding what CS is and how it relates to algorithmic thinking or problem-solving (Giannakos et al., 2014). These students will be less likely to choose a career in CS or study it as a major. Additionally, across Europe there are a number of extracurricular initiatives, e.g., Educational Robotics, Makerspaces, or FabLabs. However, these coding initiatives have predominantly male participation (Zagami et al., 2015). To promote initiatives for female teenagers as girls-only, e.g., coding clubs or summer camps are a good opportunity (Alvarado, Cao, and Minnes, 2017). On the one hand, such initiatives serve as vehicles to interest girls more deeply in CS and to foster their sense of belonging and self-efficacy. On the other hand, such initiatives exclude female teenagers who live outside the city (often such activities are promoted in bigger cities), girls that are underprivileged (e.g., initiatives have fees and additional costs), and they are quickly fully booked.

One accessible way to reach out to the remaining group of female teenagers that has no opportunity to learn coding inside or outside school, is to catch their attention with attractive, supportive tools and games. Games and Game Based Learning (GBL)-tools are effective approaches to motivate teenagers to interact and to learn (Kafai and Vasudevan, 2015). Statistics show that mobile gamers are more likely to be female, have a higher income, and are younger, compared to the online population (Verto Analytics, 2015). In addition, there is already a small shift in putting more focus on gender inequality issues in games (Jenson et al., 2007; Williams et al., 2009; Martin and Rafalow, 2015). However, most developed games only appeal to a male-dominated audience and exclude female gamers; there are less successful games available for girls than there are for boys (Google Inc., 2018), most games do not appeal to a female audience, and there exists less motivation for girls to become gamers (NewZoo, 1017). Moreover, video games with female protagonists are in the minority (Jayanth, 2014). It is important to know that there exists a correlation between students who play video computer games and those who rate their computer skills as good (Davies et al., 2014). To conclude, building gender-appropriate and gender-sensitive games and GBL tools are excellent ways to attract female teenagers to CS.

2.2 Customised services for female teenagers

Some may argue against developing tools/products specifically designed for women. On the one hand, many examples exist where companies are marketing to women as a specific target group with unique needs and preferences, e.g., clothes, or the color pink (Atlanta Parent Editorial, 2017; Rommes et al., 2011). Certain IT products that would seem to be clearly unisex, e.g., laptops, printers, or business software, are nevertheless not undisputed (e.g., "Petticoat 5"[1] from the 80s, "Floral Kiss" from today). Such products are so called "pink technologies" created to appeal to female customers (Rommes et al., 2011). In other cases, it is less controversial to take into account the needs or interests of women, e.g., in speech recognition systems, in games (Google, 2018), or inclusive educational software (e.g., Girl Games[2], Purple Moon (Gorriz and Medina, 2000)). According to a white paper by (Google Inc., 2018), to create inclusive games a developer should 1) know the audience (current and potential), and 2) look at game designs that may exclude potential players (imagery, iconography, etc.), and test it by store listing experiments. A study by (Martinson, 2005) analyzed the influence of having a diverse developer team (range of different perspectives). In addition, for Google Play it is important to pay attention to the store icon, screenshots, videos, and launching of female characters (see Section 7). Another discussion is about inclusion of gender perspectives in programming environments and software (Huff, 2002, Burnett et al., 2010) or feature discovery (Beckwith et al., 2006). Researchers argue that most environments are designed by men, and thus women have to adopt a male perspective when working with these technologies. Male-dominated environments have a negative impact on women's choices and reinforce gender stereotypes. Thus, an

[1] Petticoat: https://www.chonday.com/15509/marketing-computers-for-women-in-the-80s/
[2] Girls Games: https://www.wired.com/1997/04/es-girlgames/

inclusion of gender perspectives during the planning and development phase is important, as is considering the impact of gender relationships for product design.

3. The pocket code app and the "No One Left Behind" project

The No One Left Behind[3] (NOLB) project started in January 2015, was funded in the Horizon 2020 framework of the European Commission and was conclude in June 2017. The goal of NOLB was to unlock inclusive gaming creation/game design and to construct experiences in formal learning situations, particularly for teenagers at risk of social exclusion. The study in Austria was seen as a chance to recognize gender differences in engaging with coding and game design activities (Beltràn et al., 2015, Petri et al., 2016). Thus, the app Pocket Code[4], a media-rich programming environment for teenagers to learn coding with a visual programming language very similar to the Scratch[5] environment, has been used for creating games and apps (Slany, 2014; Slany et al., 2018). Pocket Code is freely available on the Google Play Store and allows the creation of games, stories, and many types of other apps directly on phones, thereby teaching fundamental programming skills. In addition, a new variant of the app with the name Create@School was developed. It uses the same UI as Pocket Code but comes with predefined game templates for pupils and corresponding instructions for teachers

4. Method

During the second cycle of NOLB, an AttrakDiff survey[6] was conducted with the Create@School app. The collected data from the AttrakDiff survey is evaluated through a Hassenzahl model (Law et al., 2017). This model evaluates (1) the usability and utility perceived by users, (2) the satisfaction of users with the app, and (3) the attractiveness of the app. Based on the Hassenzahl model, the qualities of a software are classified into two distinct groups:

- *Pragmatic qualities*: they relate to practicality and functionality: the purpose of the software should be clear and understandable for the user.
- *Hedonic qualities*: they reflect the psychological needs and emotional experiences of the user. Hedonic qualities are divided into two categories:
- *Stimulation* (HQ-S): The user wants to be stimulated in order to enjoy the experience.
- *Identification* (HQ-I): Users have a need for expressing themselves through objects and have a desire to communicate their identity to others.

5. Results

For the evaluation, pupils from Austrian and Spanish pilot schools filled out the survey (152 girls, 198 boys). The results are presented below (Spieler and Mashkina, 2017).

As can be seen in Figure 1, Create@School received neutral evaluations for pragmatic and hedonic perspectives from both genders. The small confidence intervals signify that the results are reliable and not coincidental. Male pupils (cyan) rated the app as slightly more attractive than female pupils (orange) did (see Figure 2). The average value of the pragmatic quality (PQ) evaluation has the largest absolute distance of 0.46 between female (orange) and male pupils (cyan). The average value of the PQ rated by the female participants has the value -0.25 and thereby it is below 0. The identity (HQ-I) and attractiveness (ATT) average value is slightly larger for the male participants with the difference of 0.13 and 0.18 respectively. The stimulation (HQ-S) has approximately the same average values with 0.53 from female and 0.57 from male pupils. The average values of the hedonic qualities do not reach maximum values in any of the aspects.

The average diagram shows that:

- almost all qualities achieve a positive evaluation in both genders,
- the largest distance between genders is seen in pragmatic quality,
- female pupils' evaluation of pragmatic qualities is less than zero,

[3] No One Left Behind EC project H2020: http://no1leftbehind.eu/
[4] Pocket Code Google Play Store: https://catrob.at/pc
[5] Scratch MIT: https://scratch.mit.edu/
[6] AttrakDiff-survey: http: //attrakdiff.de/

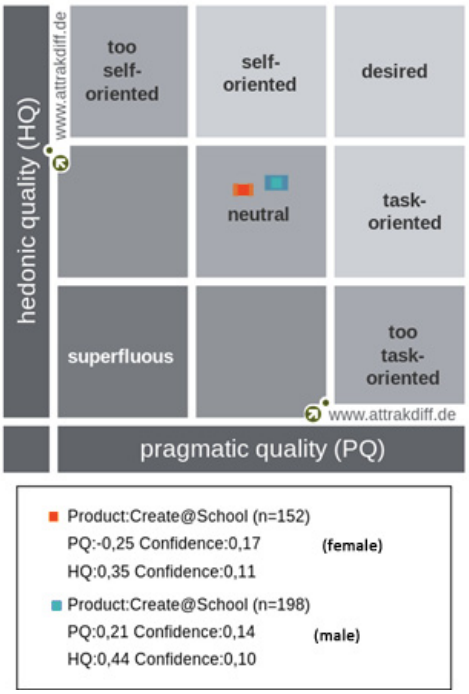


Figure 1: Overall evaluation of hedonic and pragmatic qualities

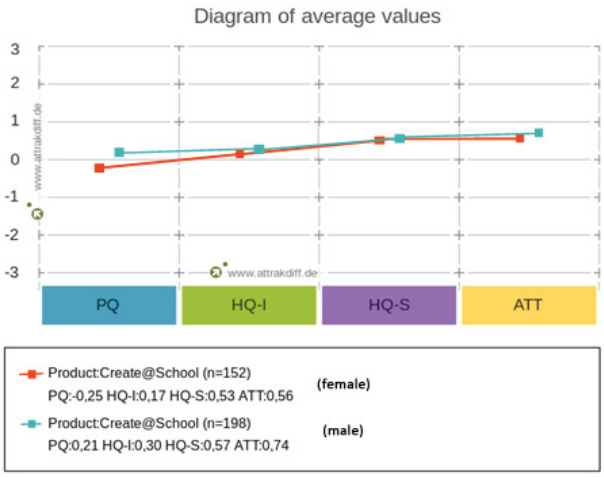


Figure 2: Diagram of the average values for pragmatic qualities (PQ), hedonic qualities — identity (HQ-I), hedonic quality stimulation (HQ-S), and attractiveness (ATT)

- for identity (HQ-I) male pupils rate Create@School slightly better than female pupils,
- for stimulation (HQ-S) female and male pupils' rates are almost the same,
- for attractiveness (ATT) male pupils rated Create@School slightly better, and
- no quality reaches the maximum rating.

The diagram of Figure 3 shows the details of the semantic differential of the model, the adjectives of the survey, and the values that have contributed to each quality. Overall, none of Create@School's qualities reach the maximum value. The negative feedback is mostly given by female pupils. Only the "cheap-premium" pair has been rated more negatively by male pupils. Female participants considered the app more technical than human, more complicated than simple, and more confusing than clearly structured. Male participants also rated the app more technical than human, but at the same time found it more practical than impractical, more straightforward than cumbersome, and more structured than confusing. Both groups had a neutral opinion on the predictability of the app. The identity (HQ-I) as well as the simulation (HW-S) evaluation of the app are mostly consistent between the two groups. Male pupils found Create@School more connective than female pupils did. Girls said that the app separates them from people rather than brings them closer to them. Boys rated the app as more bold and captivating than girls did, and also slightly undemanding rather than challenging, whereas female participants saw the app as challenging. Both groups rated the attractiveness (ATT) of Create@School positively. The boys rated the app as more likeable, inviting, appealing, and motivating than girls did.

6. Discussion

Create@School received very similar evaluations from both genders. In general, all pupils accepted the app and ranked it positively, even though it has not yet achieved the desired acceptance level. The positive values recorded and the good balance between pragmatic and hedonic qualities shows a degree of satisfaction while working with the application. These results of PQ are not surprising and correlate with the literature which states that there are differences between the perceptions of tools between the genders. The especially positive ratings for creativity and presentation how that participants enjoyed their experience with Create@School in general, and that the app allows users to express themselves. Regarding the negative rating for "it separates people" rather than "brings them closer", further research needs to be done if this somehow is an indicator and influences female pupils' sense of belonging or self-efficacy negatively. To conclude, the Create@School app was

perceived as useful and usable, attractive and stimulating, and as being a good first step towards the creation of a new innovative tool for education that promotes the social inclusion of pupils.

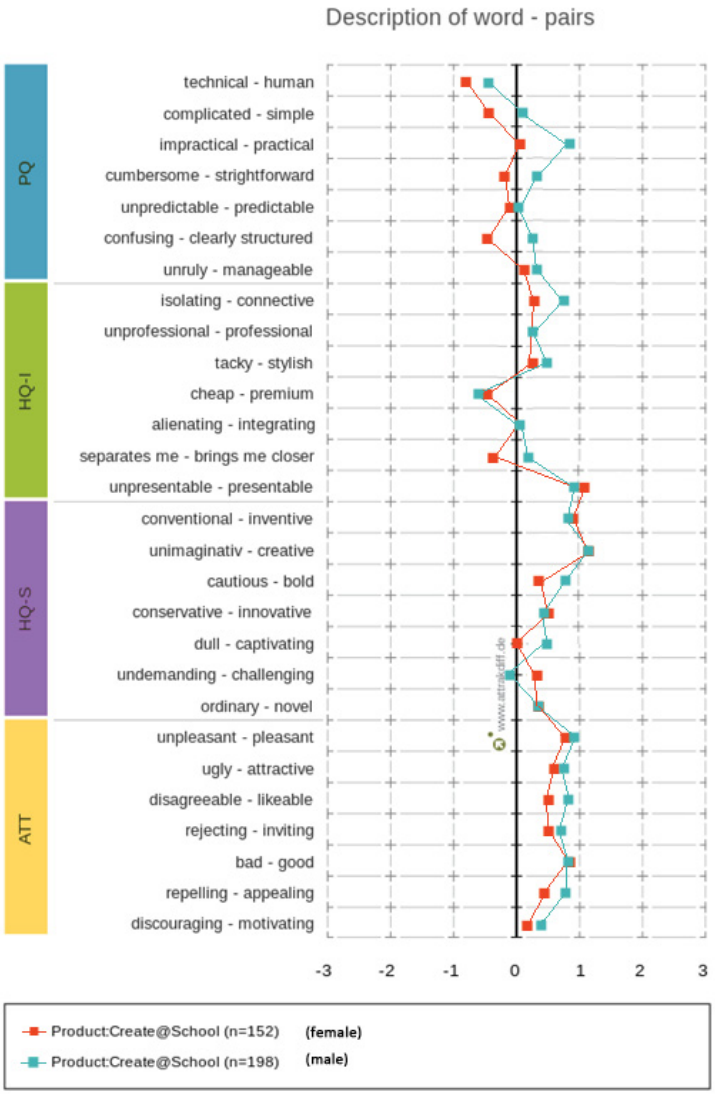


Figure 3: AttracDiff-survey: description of word-pairs

7. Luna&Cat: A first concept to reinforce female teenagers

The concept of "strategic essentialism" (Spivak, 1990) shows that is sometimes necessary to strengthen a specific stereotype in order to reinforce a group in the long term. During NOLB, the team got a clearer picture of what kind of gaming elements girls tend to like, create, and play (Spieler and Slany, 2018). These were obviously not the same preferences as those of boys. Thus, we decided to create a special version tailored for female teenagers in order to study the ensuing effects.

To create inclusive games and to include our audience, focus group discussions were conducted with 10 girls of two different age groups (12-13 years old, 14-15 years old). Girls talked about different names, designs, and developed game ideas with the help of a playful design activities. Different materials were prepared: questionnaires, potential app names, and idea cards for the game idea development process. Although 4 out of 10 girls said that they never play any computer games at all, all of them were convinced that they knew exactly what the game that would be most appealing to them would look like.

Subsequently, 14 university students from the first year of the master's degree program "Industrial Design" from the University of Applied Science (FH JOANNEUM) developed those ideas further as part of a 14-hour design

workshop. During this workshop, 5 out of 10 game ideas from the focus group discussion were developed further. Moreover, personas from the questionnaires were created to find out more about our target group's characteristics and aims (Cooper, 2003). As a result of the workshop, mock-ups, prototypes, and finished Pocket Code programs were submitted, which later came to serve as featured games for the new app flavor. In addition, a new promo video has been created[7].

Figure 4 shows the new app UI including the launcher icon, the themed UI, and the new community webshare view with featured games. It was essential to choose an appropriate design: The app icon plays an important role when users select apps from search results and category lists. Furthermore, screenshots and names are important, as users will see them when they select the app from the list of results. The name chosen for the new version was Luna&Cat. Luna&Cat sounds pleasant, has a connection to our project's name (Catrobat) and with Scratch, and seems to be very appealing to our focus group. The palette of violet colors used in the app was rated very positively by the focus group and had already been used successfully in a previous Alice Game Jam event[8] we conducted. The second screenshot shows the new example game "penguin dance" (the penguin was the most used character from our extensive gallery in girls' games). The new Luna&Cat app will be available at Google Play by the end of 2018. It has been developed in relation to four components recognized as important for girls (see PECC model Spieler, 2018): *Playing, Engagement, Creativity,* and *Coding*.

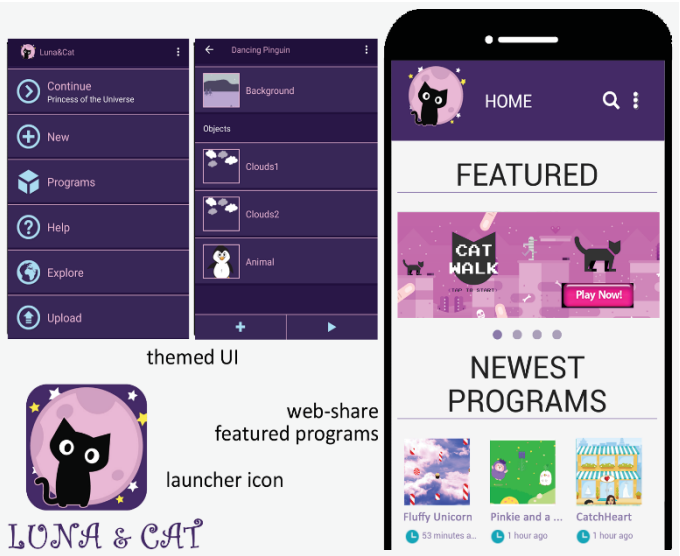


Figure 4: Luna&Cat logo, UI, and community webshare

Playing & Engagement: Designing gender-sensitive games is a promising approach to close the gender gap (see Literature review). The study by (Heeter et al., 2000) found that games designed by girls were ranked higher by female teenagers than by male teenagers. In addition, they considered them to be significantly better for learning than boys' games. During the NOLB units, there were several times in class that male pupils shouted "Cool, there is a Star Wars/Alien shooter game" etc., whereas their female colleagues usually only played games created by their female peers. Currently, recommended games on the sharing site are very similar, except for the random and new programs category. For newly uploaded programs, it is very difficult to reach the most downloaded/most viewed section at all. On average, each program is downloaded 26 times[9]. Thus, we see that our users love to download and play existing games, create and design similar games, or remix existing ones (i.e., a game created on the basis of another game). Sharing is critical: Many successful apps have a very active community, as evidenced by the successes of Pinterest, YouTube, and Instagram. The community is essential to feeling engaged. People who are part of this community want to feel a sense of belonging as well. With Luna&Cat we can give girls appealing featured games created on the basis of ideas from our focus group[10] (see banners Figure 5). Some of these games provide a scene with additional graphics to add a second level.

[7] New promo video for Luna&Cat: https://youtu.be/-6AEZrSbOMg
[8] Alice Game Jam Event: http://www.alicegamejam.com/
[9] As of 02.02.2018.
[10] https://share.catrob.at/luna/



Figure 5: Banner for the new featured games of Luna&Cat

Creativity: To support female pupils' creativity, we saw during NOLB that it is not only important to allow them to draw assets or to give them enough time during game design, but also to provide assets they can use, adopt, or even customise. This allows personalization through self-expression, and builds a sense of ownership. In addition, with semi-professionally designed assets the games become more beautiful and appealing.

Coding: By using the core functionality of the app - the coding - girls can create games and animations with the use of a visual block-based language. The authors' research showed that no differences could be observed regarding the functional structure of pupils' games based on gender (see Spieler and Slany, 2018 [2]). Comments collected by (Spieler and Slany, 2018 [1]) concerning the app showed that all users wished that the app would be more clearly structured and easier to use. Therefore, the whole team is working at the time of writing this paper on refactoring/redesigning tasks to make the app more appealing for all users. Luna&Cat has the same programming functionality as Pocket Code. To support our female pupils in their coding, missing functionalities mentioned in surveys and focus group discussions by girls during NOLB need our further consideration (e.g., media or predefined objects).

8. Conclusion and future work

With Luna&Cat, we hope that we can reach and build a new large user base of curious female teenagers who want to learn how to code. First, the featured games and a new example game should encourage female pupils and awaken their interests for coding. With this, the authors hope that in the future more games from female users will occupy the different highly visible sections on the sharing site. Second, Luna&Cat will help to support pupils in their engagement, building a new growing community of female teenagers who will love to share their games and assets with others, thus generating a sense of belonging to a community of female coders. The possibility of liking, commenting, remixing, and downloading the games will cultivate a new, engaged female community from all over the world. Third, to spark creativity, new assets and a continuously growing media library will help to support female teenagers in creating games that appeal to them. Thus, they can become proud of their programs and encouraged to share them with the community. Finally, coding will foster their self-efficacy, and Luna&Cat will be a tool for efficiently creating games.

To engage girls in coding, a new project started in September 2018, with the name "Code'n'Stitch". During this project we will extent the Luna&Cat app with the option to program embroidery machines (very similar to the existing Turtlestitch project[11]). In this way, self-created patterns and designs can be stitched on t-shirts, pants, or even bags. With Luna&Cat, the embroidery machines will get programmable. Patterns and different forms can be created using our visual programming language Catrobat. As a result, teenagers have something they can be proud of, something they can wear, and they can show to others. A special emphasis will be given to a gender-equitable conception to consider different requirements, needs and interests of our target group. These courses with schools will be realized together with partners "bits4kids[12]". On the one hand, with this option the team want to show young women new ways of using technology, with a lot of fun in a sustainable way. On the other hand, young men can get inspired too through this digital design process and the possibility of new challenges in textile handicraft lessons. A cooperation with the fashion shop "Apflbutzn[13]" will help us to picture the whole workflow. The Apflbutzn team will take part in the last units and bring their embroidery machine to the classroom. Thus, the teenagers are able to see how their programmed patterns are directly embroidered on T-shirts and bags. In future, the pattern-files can be sent via mail and the embroidered products can be picked up or shipped.

[11] https://www.turtlestitch.org/
[12] www.bits4kids.at
[13] www.apflbutzn.at

The project's outcomes will be 1) an extention of Luna&Cat, which includes the possibility to stitch pattern, 2) a gender-equitable framework for stitch/coding courses, and 3) to provide insights into the practical implementation for shops. As a result, not only app the app, but also gender-appropriate "guidelines" will be develop that show how young women could be motivated and, thus, they can serve as a guideline for others (teachers, trainers, schools, etc.). Figure 6 shows expressions from one of the first Stitching-Workshops.



Figure 6: First expressions from a Stitching Workshop as part of the "Girls Coding Week 2018" at TU Graz

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Polish war Herstories in Literature for Children

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Abstract: In recent years, Polish literature for children and young adults has been enriched by numerous works referring to the Second World War. The reader learns the stories of direct participants in the events (e.g. Asiuniaby Joanna Papuzińska) or post-memory narratives of the descendants (e.g. Rutkaby Joanna Fabicka). This article analyses texts addressed to the youngest audience that have appeared in the series Wojnydorosłych – historiedzieci, published since 2011 under the auspices of the Warsaw Uprising Museum by Literatura Publishing House from Łódź. The authors of the paper propose a reading of some works for non-adults (including Ostatniepiętroby Irena Landau, BezsennośćJutki by Dorota Combrzyńska-Nogala, WojnanaPięknymBrzeguby Andrzej Grabowski) from a feminist perspective. The purpose of the speech will be to present images of herstories embroiled in war. Herstory, understood in terms of saving women's stories and experiences from oblivion, present in the book series Wojnydorosłych – historiedzieci, has an elliptical character; it is not a monolith but, due to the dramatic times, it has a certain homogeneity stemming from shared female experiences.

Keywords: herstory, literature for children, war, Holocaust

1. Introduction

'War is not for girls.'

Now I knew for certain that it was for girls, too,

but it wasn't a happy thought.

Paweł Beręsewicz:Czy wojna jest dla dziewczyn?

Narratives about World War II are not uncommon in Polish literature for children and young adults. War stories are written by those who participated in the traumatic events (e.g. the protagonist of *Asiunia*by Joanna Papuzińska) as well as 'the sons and daughters of the victims, and those who have made themselves witnesses by adoption', as Geoffrey Hartman calls them in the book *The Longest Shadow: In the Aftermath of the Holocaust* (1996, p. 9). Examples of texts marked with 'absent memory' (Ellen Fine), 'inherited memory' (Celia Lury), 'mémoiretrouée' (Henri Raczymow), 'mémoire des cendres' (Nadine Fresco), and 'postmemory' (Hirsch 2011, p. 28) include *WojnanaPięknymBrzegu*by Andrzej Marek Grabowski and *Ostatniepiętro by* Irena Landau, but also *Arkaczasu*by Marcin Szczygielski, phantasmal *KotkaBrygidy* by Joanna Rudniańska, and fairytale-like *Rutka*by Joanna Fabicka.

This article analyses texts addressed to the youngest audience that have appeared in the series *Wojnydorosłych – historiedzieci*, published since 2011 under the auspices of the Warsaw Uprising Museum by Literatura Publishing House from Łódź.

2. Methodology

When the intended audience of books about a true horror are children aged mostly between 7 and 10 years, the authors must show extraordinary tact and sensitivity in each aspect of the text, from the creation of the characters, to the depicted world, to the used language. This specific sensitivity is described by Lydia Kokkola as 'an unusual combination of restraints' (2003). These issues were addressed by the Polish (e.g. M. Wójcik-Dudek, 2016) and the foreign researchers (e.g. A. Kertzer Adrienne, 2002, My Mother's Voice. Children, Literature, Holocaust, Broadview Press; Ulanowicz Anastazja, 2013, Second – Generation Memory and Contemporary Children's Literature. Ghost Image, Routledge)Katarzyna Wądolny-Tatar notes that 'World War II narratives for children focus on individual experiences of the heroes and heroines following the principle of age correspondence between the protagonists and the audience; they present experiences of child characters in the family context and ensure the emotional safety of the young reader, eschewing descriptions of cruelty and brining out a sense of deep compassion and empathy'(2017, p. 113).

Post-war, and especially post-Holocaust, texts for children are analysed and interpreted with an emphasis on their didactic significance (Kokkola 2003, Wójcik-Dudek 2016), while the very process of reading becomes an 'ethical event' (Wójcik-Dudek 2016, p. 29).

As Krzysztof Witczakreminds us, 'due to cultural factors, the historical narrative (at least in European historiography) became oriented towards masculinity. This phenomenon resulted from separate social roles: women taking care of children and home were not the main participants of, among others, battles' (2016, p. 63).Within the scope of texts for non-adult reader, which are the subject of this paper, we can observe a growing interest in herstory. This preference, sometimes seemingly unconscious, results from the situation of children (the protagonists of post-memory stories) who, during the war, were even more in need of parental closeness (usually the mother who was next to them), and the warmth of the family home, taken away or gradually lost, passed into the realm of dreams. The need to include and appreciate the herstory narrative was noticed by feminist movements already in the 1960s. The lack of interest in the history of women was strongly emphasised in the 1970s by US feminists of the second wave, who introduced the term *herstory*, which functions to this day in scientific jargon in opposition to the androcentric history. The creators of the term *herstory* deliberately ignored the etymology of the word *history.* Instead, as LucynaMarzec points out, they 'used a playful pun to reveal a bitter truth' (2010, p. 35). Adele Aldridge deconstructed the word *history* as a compound word made up of *story* prefixed by *his*, which supposedly 'suggested "masculinity" of this discipline' (Domańska 2005, p. 204). Thus, herstory was a story about *her*. The resulting neologism criticised traditional historical writing and demanded saving women's stories and experiences from oblivion.

The heyday of the feminist perspective in war research (strongly associated with the Holocaust) occurred in the 1990s. (R. Linden, 1995; C. Rittner, 1993; L. Kremer, 1999). The female researchers who stressed the need to talk about experiences of women in the Holocaust met with disapproval. The main criticism was based on the belief that the gender perspective would reduce the Holocaust to sexism. There were also fears of 'trivialisation and popularisation of the Holocaust" (Stöcker-Sobelman 2012, p. 15). Ignoring the voice of women in the process of shaping the memory and science related to the war experience results in an incomplete image (Stöcker-Sobelman 2012, p. 16). Thus, 'the process of breaking the silence involved highlighting the women's history but also sounding a warning that a one-sided account results in erroneous concepts' (Stöcker-Sobelman 2012, p. 17). The significance of the gender perspective was also stressed by Hirsch, who wrote that 'gender may influence the form and nature of the process of remembering' (Hirsch 2011, p. 29).

3. Analysis and interpretation

Herstory present in the book series *Wojnydorosłych – historiedzieci*is not a monolith but, due to the dramatic times, it has a certain homogeneity stemming from shared experiences.

One of the basic practices of herstory-telling, not only related to the war period, is discovering and recalling stories of women and girls. This characterises both literary works based on personal experiences from the discussed series and fictionalized stories. It is rooted in a kind of personal, individual narration, which creates interior space of protagonists. (M. Fludernik, 2009; M. Bal, 2012). A kind of reinforcement of the presented herstories, a link between the literary and non-literary realities, are the biographical notes and photographs placed on the last pages. The story of the little Asia, who was five years old when the war started, is finished by Joanna Papuzińskaas follows:

> *"Asiunia, a little girl in a pointed hood, who got an awful lot of presents for her fifth birthday, is today Professor Joanna Papuzińska. She was born on 3 January, 1939. . . . She terribly disliked the war because it first took her mum, then her home, dad, and brothers. Fortunately, almost everything ended well, but you already know about it from the book(2017, p. 48)."*

Andrzej Marek Grabowski makeshismum, Krystyna Grabowska, the narrator of *Wojna na Pięknym Brzegu*(2016). The book describes the experiences of the adolescent Krysia as well as women from her family. Krysia is ten years old when the war breaks out; she helps her mum and grandma to hide a Jewish family, participates in the activities of the resistance movement (she delivers dispatches and weapons in her apple basket), and during the Warsaw Uprising she carries the wounded with her friends Jadzia and Maria.

In a book by Dorota Combrzyńska-Nogala, there is a following passage: 'My name is Anna Szwykowska-Michalska and I used to be this little Chmurka[Little Cloud]' (2018, p. 70). During WWII, Chmurka is deported with her mother, grandmother, and aunts to Siberia. The childhood of Szwykowska-Michalska, spent surrounded by women, Siberian friends from the neighbourhood, and her cat KatafiejKatafiejewicz, is filled with suffering and tragedy but, nevertheless, captivates with its uniqueness. In another book, written by Izabella Klebańska (2018), the eponymous heroine Jadziais Jadwiga Brzezińska, who during the war was forced to hide at her relatives, away from her parents and sister.

Anna Czerwińska-Rydel (2018) describes the herstory of Irena Sendler, who saved 2,500 Jewish children from the Warsaw ghetto. Nurse 'Jolanta' (nom de guerre of Sendler) was also depicted in the book *Wszystkiemojemamy*by Renata Piątkowska (2017). In this palimpsestic book, Szymon Bauman, a survivor of the Holocaust who is now an elderly man and can be found in the park every day, tells the narrator how, during the war, the lives of Sendlerand his own became interwoven. Here, it should be mentioned that Irena Sendler is one of the most frequently remembered female figures of the Holocaust, both in Poland and abroad (Goldman Rubin 2015, *Irena's Jar of Secrets* by Marcia Vaughn (2011).

In addition to the above examples, the herstory practice of remembering women figures also encompasses works whose heroines were only partially modelled on actual people living during the war. Irena Landau in *Ostatniepiętro* introduces to the readers a girl named Cesia, who escaped from the Warsaw Ghetto and was hiding with a Polish family. The ordeal of Cesia is based on the experiences of the author herself, the heroine's mother was modelled on Landau's mother, and Teresa, the woman hiding the little runaway, 'resembled Helena, who had been hiding the author' (Landau 2015, p. 102).

Another variant of herstory war narratives in literature for children can be associated with the survival strategies of women during the Holocaust as presented by Judith TydorBaumel. In her article 'Women's Agency and Survival Strategies During the Holocaust', the researcher writes about two strategies adopted by women: they either became involved in male activities or they createdtheir own alternative ones (1999, pp. 329-347).

An illustration of the first strategy can be foundin the novel *Czywojna jest dladziewczyn?*by PawełBeręsewicz (2017). The story of Elka was inspired by the experiences of Elżbietałaniewska-Łukaszczyk (nom de guerre 'Black Elka'), who, being still a naïve child, could not come to terms with the fact that 'war is not for girls' (Beręsewicz 2017, p. 9). When the war separated her first from her dad (who worked in intelligence and counter-intelligence of the Home Army [AK], was held in prisons in Kiev and Lviv, and then in the concentration camps Gross-Rosen, Sachsenhausen, and Buchenwald, where he died) and then from her mum (who was arrested by the Germans in 1943 and sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp), she realized that the fight was hers, too: '"War is not for girls." Now I knew for certain that it was for girls, too, but it wasn't a happy thought' (2017, p. 44). The accelerated lesson in maturity made the girl join the Scouts. Like her friends, Ela wanted to fight. She was a liaison officer during the Warsaw Uprising and also put her life at risk saving the wounded. Krystyna Grabowska from *WojnanaPięknymBrzegu* together with her female friends tracked saboteurs and, at the age of less than thirteen, she was urging her companions to action: 'Look, we've got to do something to make life hard for Jerries . . . It's high time we joined the fight' (Grabowski 2016, p. 71). The girls decided to join the Home Army;they took the oath and the commander who swore them in declared: 'I receive thee among the soldiers of Freedom. Victory will be thy reward. Treason will be punished by death.' Upon hearing these words, the protagonist 'felt elation mixed with fear, as if she were entering the depths of a forbidden forest' (Grabowski 2016, p. 110). The girls who decided to enter the 'male' world of war had to show determination and courage, and their intentions were not always taken seriously.

In the second strategy, women created their own activities, which could correlate with male activities, e.g. work in hospitals and care for the wounded described in *Czywojna jest dladziewczyn?* and in *WojnanaPięknymBrzegu*. In this variant of herstory we can talk about a 'women's war', which Svetlana Alexievichdefines as follows:'"Women's war"has its own colours, its own smells, its own lighting, and its own range of feelings. It's own words.There are no heroes and incredible feats, there are simply people who are busy doing inhumanly human things' (2017, p. xvi). This dimension of herstory is presented in *Jadzia*by Izabela Klebańska. The mother of the protagonist crocheted to help the home budget:

> *"Jadziacrouched next to her, looking at the darting crochet hook. The mum could conjure up real miracles, but it had been a long time since she'd done anything for her daughters. Now it was all for sale or on request. It was also an additional source of income, or rather barter. People somehow had lost confidence in money (2018, p. 11)."*

The grandma of Krystyna Grabowska (*WojnanaPięknymBrzegu*) sold bread:

> *"Obviously, trading in bread, like many other activities, was forbidden by the Germans, but you had to trade and live by your wits in order to survive. Even my good old granny . . . used to say:'I never thought I would live to see such hard times. In my old age I must work as a street vendor,*

> *travelling with bags throughout Warsaw.'That's what she said, but she kept smiling. She was glad that thanks to her efforts our lives were a little bit better' (Grabowski 2016, p. 82). "*

When the grandmother of the little heroine sprained her ankle, the fourteen-year-old took over the duties. Her decision was accepted by the old woman with tacit approval: 'The grandma looked at me intently and smiled. I saw in her eyes joy, maybe even pride' (Grabowski 2016, p. 83).

Another feminized activity was the hiding of Jewish families. The dominance of women in this field resulted from two factors: firstly, it was women who took care of the homes where the Jews were hiding, and secondly, during the war, the men were not always with their families. Teresa Ródycki, one of the heroines of the novel *Ostatniegopiętra by* Irena Landau*,* hid Cesia in her flat. The woman took it upon herself to be the primary carer for the Jewish girl. She prepared her daughter Krysia for the arrival of a mysterious visitor. And although little Krysia did not understand everything, which could prove to be dangerous in the planned situation, her mother did not give up: 'And then her mum said something very strange."This girl will be our shared secret. And she won't be able to leave the house. Nobody, but nobody must know about her. Do you understand?"' (Landau 2015, p. 5).The burden of responsibility of the carer for Cesia was especially visible in the scene of an air raid by Russian aircraft. The Ródyckifamily went down to the cellar but for fear of neighbours they could not take with them the Jewish girl:

> *"There were sounds of . . . explosions, sometimes louder, then fainter, a bomb could hit their house any moment. In such event, the presence of Krystyna's mum would not save Cesia. And besides, Teresa had a daughter and husband, so she should live for their sake. She knew that leaving the girl alone during the raid, during the bombing, was the worst thing she had done in her life. Despite this, she had gone downstairs and was now sitting in the cellar, crying with fear, regret, and remorse so terribly that her heart ached (2015, pp. 69-70)."*

SławomirBuryła, in his attempt to 'reconstruct and discuss the topic of the Holocaust' (2012, p. 131), includes among 'common places' (loci communes, topoi) also those that relate to women. Significantly, each of these 'female' topoi concerns the mother: in addition to the compassionate mother, such as the above-mentioned Teresa Ródycki, there is also the Jewish mother, Jewish Madonna (mother hiding her child), and Niobe (tragedy of mothers giving away their children). In the cycle *Wojnydorosłych – historiedzieci*we can find herstories of each of the above types of mother. Ms Gołda, mother of Cesia from *Ostatniepiętro*, represents the Jewish mother who wanted to save her daughter at any cost, showing determination and ingenuity. Only adult women could leave the ghetto, which is why Ms Gołda tried to appropriately disguise her daughter:

> *"'My dear, mummy explained it all to you yesterday. You are luckily very tall for your age. If you put on my high heels, you will look like a short woman.' . . .My mum pulled a vanity case from a drawer and took from it a long-unused red lipstick and a black eyebrow pencil. She put a compact next to it. . . . The skirt, the blouse with green leaf print, the beige sweater—they were all too big for Cesia; her mum fastened the clothes with safety pins, sighed, and it seemed to Cesia she struggled to hold back the tears. . . . Indeed, Cesia started to look like an almost adult girl. . . .Her grandpa entered the room and groaned. . . .'Dad, please don't act like you don't know what it's all about. Dad, you must . . .', began Cesia's mum, and then burst into tears. (Landau 2015, pp. 12-14)"*

Ms Gouda also embodies the tragedy of mothers giving away their children (Niobe). As to the Jewish Madonna, she is exemplified in the book *Listy w butelce. Opowieść o IrenieSendlerowej*(Czerwińska-Rydel 2018). Significantly, the motifs of mothers referred to by Buryła did not have to be realized by mothers: they could also be sisters, aunts, or grandmothers, like Chana, sister of Szymon Bauman (Piątkowska 2017), or aunt Esterka from *BezsennośćJutki*(Combrzyńska-Nogala 2012). In addition, mothers of Polish descent were also forced by war events to seek shelter for their children with strangers or extended family (Klebańska 2018, Papuzińska 2017).

Within the scope of women's stories from the past included in the cycle *Wojnydorosłych – historiedzieci*, we can also find narratives focused on describing relationships between women. Daughterhood emphasised the relationship of the daughter with her parents, especially her mother. Mothers and daughters were confidants of dangerous secrets and supported each other in difficult times. Irena Sendler could always count on her mum. Weakened, overwhelmed by the reality of war, she would come to her and the very company of Janina Krzyżanowska soothed her. After the scene in which nurse Jolanta witnesses the march of the children of doctor JanuszKorczak to the Umschlagplatz, from where they would be deported to death camps, comes the following passage:

> *"'Everyone . . . watched this. And no one did anything. Neither did I, Mum!!! I didn't do anything!!!' Irena sobbed.*
>
> *'There is nothing you could have done', her mother hugged her. 'Germans would have shot you on the spot if you'd tried to react in any way. 'There is nothing you could have done', Janina stroked her daughter's head.*
>
> *'But now I can. I must take care of all these children and I will do it. I will do it, Mum', declared Irena, as thick tears flowed from the eyes of both women.*
>
> *'I know, my child, I know,' replied her mother, then cradled her adult daughter in her arms and hugged her to her bosom like a crying baby. 'I know you, so I know you will' (Czerwińska-Rydel 2018, p. 47)."*

In the situation of war, daughterhood becomes an incomplete relationship, broken, lost, and unfulfilled. After the death of her mother, Chmurka blamed herself that she could not remember what her mum had been like:

> *"She was upset that she had quickly forgotten her mum's face. Even worse, each time she tried to remember it, the image kept returning of the last time they bathed in the river. They were swimming together and when they came out naked, she noticed a huge mosquito on her mum's white bottom. She slapped it and her mum was indignant. Only when she turned around, she saw the bloody stain of the squashed mosquito. So nowChmurka feels even sadder and more embarrassed that she remembers her mum's bottom better than her mum as such (Combrzyńska-Nogala 2018, p. 44)."*

The scene becomes a symbol of an intimate relationship—an untimely interrupted process of the daughter's identification with her mother, which the young protagonist could not fully experience and understand.

With respect to the discussed literature, we can also talk about transferred daughterhood. Examples of sublimation of daughterhood are characteristic of girls who have been separated from their mothers. They form bonds with female carers, who give them a semblance of the mother-daughter relationship. Aunts, grandmother, even foster ones, will talk with girls about their first loves (Landau 2015, p. 94) or will cultivate the memory of the past (Combrzyńska-Nogala 2018, p. 19). An interesting example of the relationship - not seen in the discussed cycle - is found in the picture book*A Child's Story of the Holocaust* LoïcDauvillier (2014). Grandma Dounia tells her granddaughter how she was hiding from the Nazis. It is significant that Dounia chooses to tell her young granddaughter a story she has never revealed to her own son.

Another image of relationships between women—sisterhood—is common in women's literature intended for younger as well as older readers. *Encyklopedia gender. Płeć w kulturze* [Encyclopaedia of gender. Sex in popular culture] points to several realizations of this theme:

> *"the relationship between women based on blood ties; the relationship of intimacy and a sense of bond between women who are not related to each other, drawing on shared experiences arising from the fact of being a woman; . . . the communion of kindred spirits, jointly tackling the adversities, fighting for a common cause or against a common . . . enemy (Rudaś-Grodzka et al. 201, pp. 511, 513)."*

In the cycle *Wojnydorosłych – historiedzieci*, sisterhood gains three dimensions: one related to girl activity (girlish); one concerned with adult women; and one hybrid (sometimes taking the form of daughterhood). Girlish sisterhood visible in the works of the discussed cycle was marked by naivety, which gradually—under the influence of war experiences—turned to maturity. Girls from *WojnanaPięknymBrzegu*use their sisterly strength for childish search of a saboteur, in attempts to 'make life hard for Jerries', and finally for joint preparation (joining the ranks of the AK) to fight the enemy.

An endearing example of non-mature sisterhood, showing the birth of a bond between girls living on both sides of the ghetto border, can be found in *BezsennośćJutki*. Basia and Jutka communicate with each other using alphabet letters written on sheets of paper. The girls met on the ghetto site. Basia decided to visit Jutka. She did not realize how dangerous it was. She entered the Łódź ghetto with a basketful of apples and her pet:

> *"They played happily with the cat and the bird. . . . They crunched sweet apples. . . . Basia taught Jutka a poem:*
>
> *Far away, across a plain*

Crazy men travelled by train.

In a carriage, very naughty

Hitler sat down on his potty.

He collected rags for guns

And squeezed bullets out of buns.

'And squeezed bullets out of buns,' they kept repeating, crying with laughter.. . . Suddenly, they heard a call from Basia's mum. . . . The girl panicked. . . . She was about to squeeze under the wires when a guard shouted:

'Halt! Händehoch!' . . . Basia did not respond . . . The German started to take his rifle off his shoulder when a small figure jumped in front of him and clasped her hands over his, crying in a thin voice:

'Nein! Nein! Das istmeineFreudin! Sie istPolen,' screamed Jutka.The man hesitated. . . . He leant over the sobbing child and wagged his finger at her."

The bond that connected both girls was stronger than fear and gave Jutka a semblance of normality. A similar relationship developed between Cesia and Krystyna from *Ostatniepiętro.* Krysia felt responsible for her Jewish friend and their friendship has stood the test of time. Years later, as elderly ladies, they meet to joke and reminisce over a plum cake.

The second dimension of sisterhood relationships consists of descriptions of adult women who are connected by blood ties or share a common destiny or purpose (e.g. Sendler and her fellow female members of the underground, the aunts helping her to conceal the names of the rescued children). The hybrid model, in turn, comprises relationships between women of different ages and statuses (e.g. girls from *WojnanaPięknymBrzegu*helping the nurse in the hospital, the female members of Chmurka's family deported to Siberia).

4. Research results and conclusions

The war distorted the system of values, changed the rules and priorities as well as led to defeminisation, 'which assailed femininity—deprived [women] of self-esteem and self-confidence, making them even easier targets of attacks, both physical and psychological' (Stöcker-Sobelman 2012, p. 46). As a result of socialization processes, the external appearance and aesthetics were of great importance to women. War experiences had left their mark not only on the psyche but also the physical appearance; they also forced women to abandon the norms strongly connected with the sociocultural gender. A red lipstick and an eyebrow pencil were relics of the past (Landau 2015, p. 14). The female body and face, changing due to harsh conditions and pain, also became another cause of mental suffering and self-disgust:

"Her Mum was carefully examining her reflection in the water. She touched her cheek with her hand as if she couldn't recognize herself, slipped off her headscarf and tried to tidy her hair, then sat on a chair and covered her face in her hands. The girl already knew that at this moment any attempt to comfort her would be futile and her mum would start crying. She stayed still for a long time before showing her sad eyes. Then, with a grimace, she put a pair of boots on her slender feet. . . . A long time ago, her mum had high heels with beautiful, shiny buttons (Combrzyńska-Nogala 2018, p. 31)."

During the war, any display of femininity was treated as something shameful and inappropriate. The young heroines knew it, too, so they had a dilemma before taking an oath in front of an officer of the Home Army:

"Marysia also wore a dress. She looked as if she was going to a party. Jadzia, on the other, who usually wore slacks and a sweater, had put on her everyday clothes.'Don't you have a dress?' I rebuked her.

'Oh, come one, no one puts on their best clothes when going to war', Jadźka snapped contemptuously. 'It's you who look silly.'

'Damn it, you are right!', I was aghast (Grabowski 2016, pp. 108-109)."

Literature for children omits many aspects of the herstory narrative. There are not many themes related to corporeality (e.g. concerning puberty) or, emphasised in adult literature, motifs of dangers that women face in

the wartime reality. The authors do not expose the young reader to traumatic experiences. They endeavour to downplay the brutality of the war with references that are clear only to adults. A passage from *WojnanaPięknymBrzegu* contains a hidden warning against sexual violence:

> *"'Listen, German army will soon take up other positions . . . Ukrainians will be here in about an hour. You have two daughters, so my advice is that you leave this place as quickly as possible. Do you understand?'*
>
> *My mum looked petrified. She understood. (Grabowski 2016, pp. 143-144)."*

Such fragments serve as a pretext for discussion of the brutality of war but at the stage of contact with the text they do not venture beyond safe emotions. They leave it to parents to decide whether to discuss this difficult topic with their child.

The works from the cycle *Wojnydorosłych – historiedzieci*provide an image of girls' and women's narratives about wartime extermination. These elliptical herstories form a conglomeration of stories about femininity. War experiences of women and girls are multi-faceted. We get to know the herstories of daughters, mothers, wives, grandmothers, aunts, wanderers, fugitives, Jewish and Polish female carers, fighters, and victims.

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Gender Aspects Based on Anthropometric Norms at the Traditional House of Karampuang

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Abstract: In the development of traditional architecture, the size of a woman's body has been used as a basis for determining the room size in a building. Existing forms of appreciation are manifested in the form of domains, functions, materials, and ornaments. Gender elements of female both in terms of body anatomy, and special spaces for women that are applied as a reflection the identity of traditional houses. One of the traditional houses that applies gender roles as the architectural philosophy is the Karampuang Traditional House located in Sinjai Regency, South Sulawesi. In the view of Islam, women hold great beauty potential from men, and have great potential for human survival on earth. The women are given a uterus to conceive, breasts for breastfeeding, and other hormones that function to support the role of women as mothers and wives, which is evidence of the high degree of a woman. This study discusses the gender roles as the basis philosophy and symbolism of the Karampuang Traditional House architecture in Islamic perspective. The analytical method used is the interpretation of descriptive analysis that refers to the rules of anthropometry in architecture. Anthropometry relates to measurements the dimensions of the human body. The field of anthropometry such as weight, position when standing, when stretching out your arms, body circumference, limb length, and so on. The results of this study are expected to show the size and proportion of space based on anthropometric principles of women's bodies, as well as the many aspects and symbols based on female are cannot be separated from the nature of women in the Islamic point of view and the history of Karampuang where the first person to build and prosper Karampuang is a woman. The use and placement of symbols on parts and ornaments of the house represent the anatomy of a woman's body. While matters relating to architectural aspects that are influenced by male are in terms of the development process which includes the procurement of materials / materials and Maddui rituals. Whereas aspects of ceremonial activities of male and female roles are comparable.

Keywords: traditional architecture, gender roles, philosophy, symbolism, the nature of women, Karampuang

1. Introduction

Anthropometry is one of proportional theory, refers to the proportional measurement and size of humans' body. Anthropometry theory initiated by Vitruvious, the architect in 1st century BC. Vitruvious proposed about the human face is 1/10 of the body height, head from the chin is 1/8 part of the body, the upper part of the breast to the roots of the chair is 1/6 of the body, the foot length is 1/6 of the body, the forearm is 1/4, and the center of the human body is the navel. The human body is a circle-shaped when the body stretched, and have a square shape (as describe in figure below).

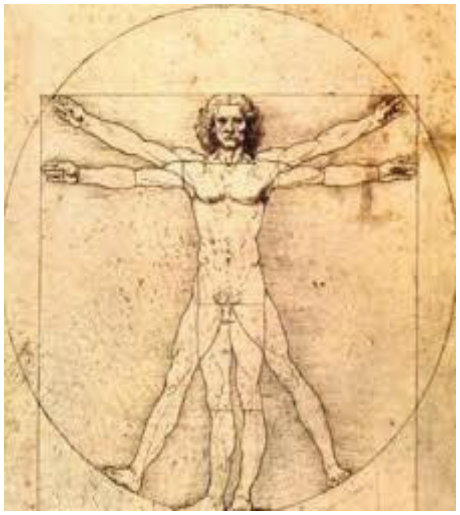


Figure 1: Leonardo da Vinci works based on Vitruvian Norm-Man (a figure in Renaissance Period)

The anthropometry method does not observe the symbolic and abstract comparison, but study the function. The method closes to the theory that state the form and the space inside the architecture could be a storage or human body extension, thus the theory determines by the size. Anthropometry is ergonomic science that study on efficiency and comfortable of a building (Ching, 2009).

Anthropometry has two categories, static anthropometry (measuring the body in static condition) and dynamic anthropometry (measuring the body in active condition). According to Purnomo (2013), there are two types of dynamic measurement, a) Measuring the skill level as the approach to understand mechanical condition of an activity, b) Measuring room range that necessary for working activity.

The principle reference in anthropometry dimension measurement may apply the gender size standard, either male or female. Male and female have different standard size. Additionally, there is a body standard categorization in Indonesia based on the existing tribes. This is the explanation for the traditional house dimension in Indonesia are diverse, because the occupant body size is different. Generally, standard body size for Indonesian people for space dimension is the male body size (head of the family). However, there is one traditional house in South Sulawesi applied anthropometry principles from the female body size (the wife). This traditional house is Karampuang traditional house, located in Sinjai Regency.

The traditional house of Karampuang is one of vernacular architecture variation that exist in South Sulawesi, located in Sinjai Regency, South Sulawesi province. A uniqueness of the Karampuang traditional house is the position of the traditional house that located in indigenous area. The area has 4.2Km² with total of road length is 5.8 Km. There are 93 houses inside the area includes Puang To Matoa (the kings house) and Puang Gella (the ministry house) (Muhannis, 2013).

Research study on the existences of Karampuang Indigenous Area is still inadequate, the previous study only examines the anthropology, legal, and social culture aspects. No much research in architecture files study for the traditional house. Therefore, references of this study is absolutely necessary for additional reference for this field study.

This traditional house develops from all stories and basic belief. The fundamental information of basic belief in any kind of culture is almost lost and most of the local people are not recognize the story, including the belief in determining the building size and overall traditional house space with anthropometry. In order to determine the size of the building, space, and etc. on Karampuang traditional house refers to human body size (anthropometry) of male/female occupant. Therefore, aim of this study is to identify and analyze the anthropometry size of male/female residents that applied on the Karampuang traditional house.

2. Research method

This study applied descriptive research method and data collection activity practiced by literature study, observation, in-dept interview, field study measurement, including recording and note-taking method to avoid data error. Focus of this study is the measurement and anthropometry practice in traditional house (Puang To Matoa and Puang Gella'). The analysis method is explorative method to reveal the fact and building size in accordance with the anthropometry principles of traditional householder (Puang To Matoa and Puang Gella').

Additionally, there are four steps in the analysis method:

- 1. First step, investigating the information from informants, such as chief of adat or society, important figures in the society, and the local society.
- 2. The measurement activities on the research object are:
- *Linear dimension (distance): the shortest distance between two point of human body: span unit.*
- *Body circle, circumference length: eye circle (diameter) ear circle (diameter).*
- *Shape and body contour*

Direct method with anthropometry instrument, includes: tape meter/ruler, caliper, goniometer.

- 3. Anthropometry principles measurement.
- 4. Analyzing the building size based on anthropometry principles and space philosophy of the traditional house.

3. Result and discussion

Basically, the Karampuang traditional house is a representation of woman's body shape philosophy with the ladder symbol in the center of the building and directly faced to the kitchen room. The door cover of the main

ladder connected to the pulley as a control and open-close door system. The door cover symbolized as female genital, where the ladder as the pathway or the exit for baby when the baby born. The kitchen positioning is a symbol of stomach.

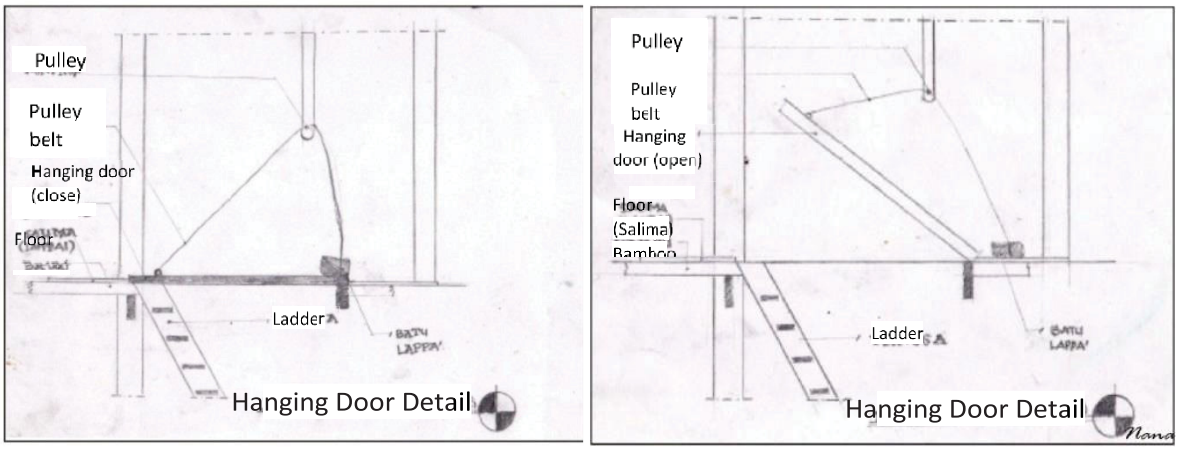


Figure 2: (a) Detail of the door in close condition; and **(b)** Detail of the door in open condition



Figure 3: Ladder detail for Karampuang traditional house

In addition, there is an ornament in one part of the house in the system of house dowel joint or bate-bate from wooden material, the tip of the dowel has floral ornament, as a pendent in women symbol. This ornament is located in the left and right side of Karampuang traditional house as a gender symbolization.

The main building in Karampuang indigenous area has two units of the traditional houses, the king residence (arung or To Matoa) and the place to safe royal goods (Arajang), and the ministry residence (Gella). Consequently, anthropometry analysis includes Puang To Matoa anthropometry for Puang To Matoa traditional house and Puang Gella anthropometry for Puang Gella traditional house. The application of anthropometry parts are Reppa, Sikku, Jakka, Kekkeng tuo, Lapposusu, the height of man in standing position, the ears height when sit down, eye diameter and ears diameter.

Karampuang traditional house exists since 1760, since the Islamic teaching comes to the Karampuang indigenous area.

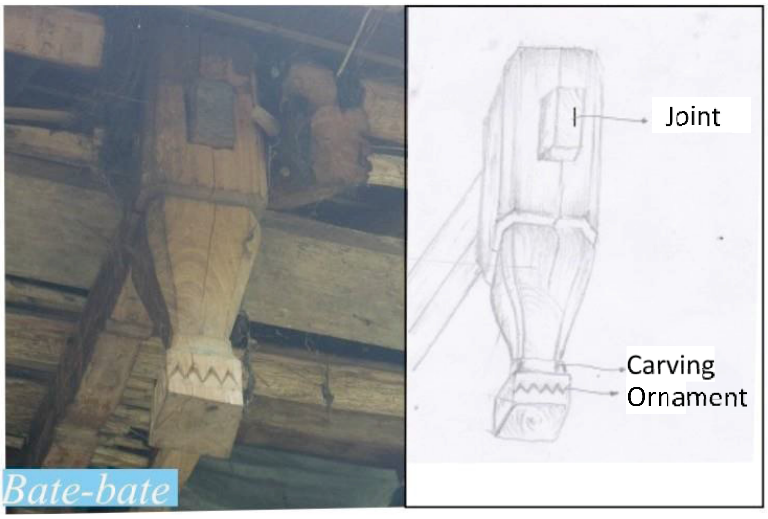


Figure 4: Detail of *bate-bate* in Karampuang traditional house



Figure 5: Karampuang traditional house **(a)** Gella house (left); and **(b)** To Matoa house (right)

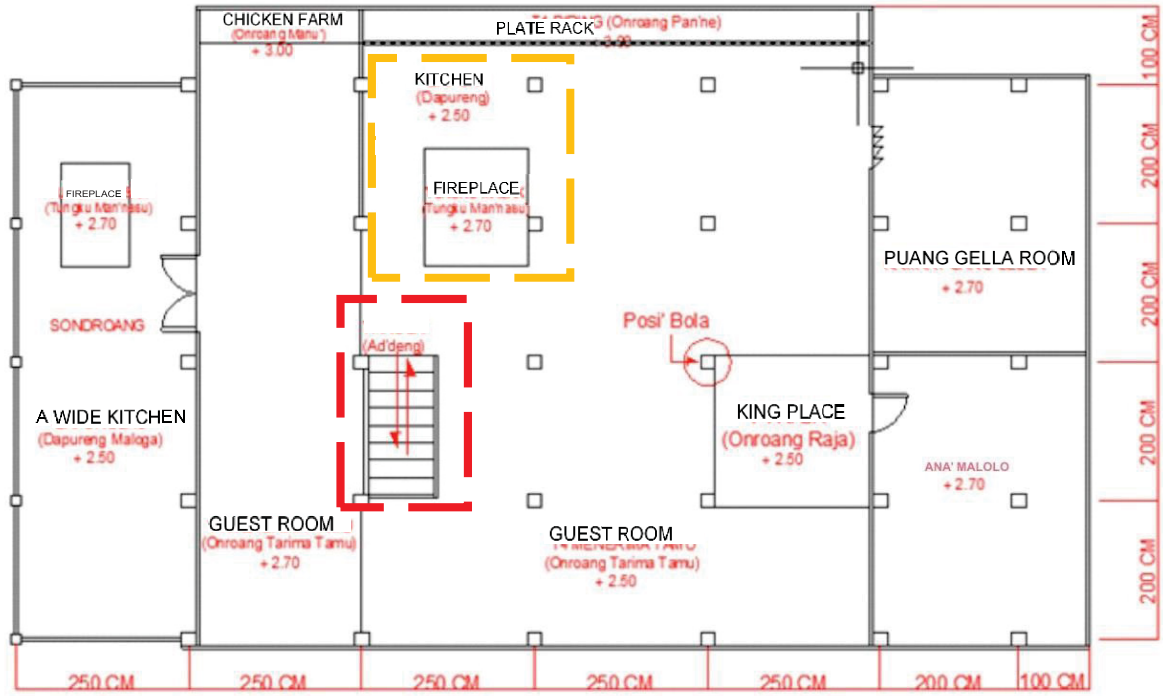
According to leaders of village and Uragi, even they not confidence on the size of Puang To Matoa and Puang Gella body size (that occupy at that time), the size of the traditional house is never changes and consistent as the original size until nowadays, even there is a material change. The material position changes will be located in initial position and the position should never changes. The effort to maintain the original size since the house existing is one of effort from the Karampuang traditional society to keep their ancestor heritage.

Based on the observation in field study, there is a different physical orientation from these two houses, house size, roof, ventilation form, and bedroom number.

- *1. Puang To Matoa* traditional house
- *The orientation is westward*
- *The house length is 17 reppa + sikekkeng tuo, width 7 reppa + sikekkeng tuo*
- *The roof has three level of timpa' laja*
- *four bedrooms*
- *2. Puang Gella* traditional house
- *The orientation is eastward*
- *The house length is 11 reppa + sikekkeng tuo, width 5 reppa + sikekkeng tuo*
- *The Gella roof has two level of timpa' laja*
- *2 bedrooms*

A uniqueness of Karampuang traditional house observed from main ladder positioning, main entryway, and the kitchen. In contrast with others traditional houses, where the main ladder is located in front position, the door is on the same plane with the wall and the kitchen is in the backside. The main ladder of this traditional house

is in the center of the house, the main door is on the same plane with the house floor, when we enter the house, we found the kitchen.

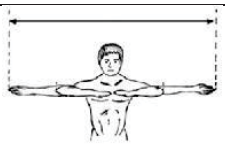
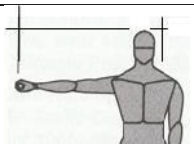
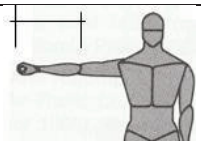
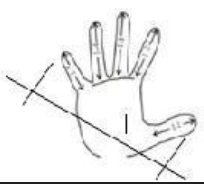


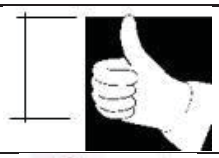
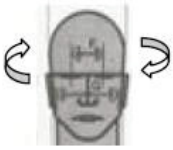
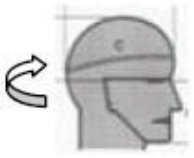
Remarks: Yellow line for kitchen positioning, red line for the main ladder positioning.

Figure 6: Karampuang traditional house blueprint

Ladder positioning as the entryway path, a description of the female uterus position on the center of the body. The ladder is not too high because the ladder applied the female height standard. The conversion result for anthropometry size in Karampuang traditional house will explain below:

Table 1: The anthropometry size comparison in Karampuang traditional house and the standard of Indonesian female body size and Buginese female.

Size Category	Image	Definition	Karampuang Metric Size	Indonesian Standard	Bugisnese Standard
Reppa		The range size starts from the middle- right fingers tip to middle-left fingertip.	156 cm or 61.4 inches	158.5 cm	162.5 cm
Lapposusu		The distance between middle- right hand fingertip to the left chest.	85 cm or 33.4 inches	85 cm	86.5 cm
Sikku'		The distance between funny- bone to the middle finger tip.	43 cm or 16.9 inches	45 cm	44 cm
Jakka'		The distance measurement range between the tip of little finger to the tip of thumb.	20 cm or 7.8 inches	20 cm	20 cm

Size Category	**Image**	**Definition**	**Karampuang Metric Size**	**Indonesian Standard**	**Bugisnese Standard**
Size Category	Image	Definition	Karampuang Metric Size	Indonesian Standard	Bugisnese Standard
Sikekkeng tuo		The size is a handful with thumbs up.	15 cm or 5.9 inches	15 cm	15 cm
As high as eye in standing position		The altitude range is between the eye to the ground when the stand up	150 cm or 59 inches	152.5 cm	153.5 cm
As high as ear when sit down		The altitude range is between the eye to the seat	70 cm or 27.5 inches	70 cm	71 cm
Eye diameter		The size is between the right eye circled the head to the left eye	46 cm or 18.1 inches	46 cm	47 cm
Ear diameter (soli)		The distance is between the right ear circled the head to the left ear	25 cm or 9.8 inches	26 cm	28.5 cm

According to the anthropometry application analysis after conversion into metric size from the anthropometry data of Indonesian people (female) in centimeter and the anthropometry data of Bugisian people (female) in centimeter, most of the house size are not standard. The building function is the place for traditional ceremony for the local society, but no consideration in building capacity. All activity during the traditional ceremony held in To Matoa house, including the number of guests or tourist visitors with a hundred's participant. Consequently, the space capacity is not standard.

In contrast with Gella house, for meeting or discussion between Puang Gella and some of important figures in the society, the capacity is reasonable standard condition. Moreover, a natural illuminance aspect is not standard according to the lux standard. The window opening and ventilation in these two of Karampuang traditional house is not standard, less than one tenth of the total of house floor.

The main door in Karampuang traditional house in accordance with the normative standard and the bedroom door size and ladder is not standard. The natural ventilation of the traditional house is sufficient and cool because the ventilation hole is more than 5% then the total of house floor. In contrast with the kitchen, according to the standard size, the illuminance and air circulation standard for the kitchen room size and furnishing in Karampuang traditional house are not standard.

The measurement analysis for the room capacity requirement almost close to the occupant activity in the Karampuang traditional house kitchen, the furnishing size of the Karampuang traditional house is not standard. User positioning for cooking activity seems difficult and not comfortable, but as the kitchen furnishing size standard in the traditional house has their own standard and meaning inside the size, then the user only adapted with current condition.

The illumination system in the Karampuang traditional house kitchen is traditional lighting equipment (oil lamp with wicks and kerosene as the fuel). This system is not standard according for kitchen condition. Even the lighting is poor, this traditional lighting equipment is flexible and easily removable in accordance with the activity to provide a lighting during cooking process and create a habit and comfort for the user during cooking activity. There is no funnel found in the Karampuang traditional house kitchen. The air circulation and kitchen smoke come out through the wall and floor that made from bamboo, ventilation, and the door before the smoke blows to another room.

Anthropometry application for the local houses of Karampuang indigenous area are different with the To Matoa and Gella traditional house. There is no reppa size found in the local society house, because reppa size is only for the traditional house. Additionally, procedure in measuring the building height proportion in the society house is different with the traditional house. This differentiate would lead a clear difference between traditional house and society house. In addition to the social stratification of head of adat (Puang Matoa, Puang Gella', Puang Sanro and Puang Guru), the stratification of the Karampuang indigenous area are equal.

4. Conclusion

Anthropometry application in Karampuang traditional house such as Reppa, Sikku, Jakka, Kekkeng tuo, Lapposusu, the height in standing position, the height when sit down, eye diameter, and ear diameter, resulting the building length and width, door size, opening width, and ladder size that refer to anthropometry size of the owner of the house, the female (wife). The female anthropometry becomes the primary references when building the society house, and the differentiates among the others traditional houses.

The anthropometry measurement pattern, followed by space philosophy that close to the female identity as the wife or mother, is one of the ancestor heritages that should preserved. This condition followed by the local people that consistently maintain the Karampuang traditional house existences through the positioning and material size maintain when they change the material as a consequence of damage as the culture preservation action.

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The Academic Feminist Fight Club

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Abstract: Why has gender equality still not been accomplished in academia? Studies and experiences from gender equality practitioners have pointed towards several problems like resistance, power issues and the knowledge-to-action gap (Karner et al. 2017). Additionally, another cause could be identified: conflicts of feminist actors who share a common goal, but differ in their 'gender knowledges' (Albenga 2016, Wetterer 2009), and in their status. In European gender equality projects often three prototypes of feminist actors are working together: the feminist engineer/scientist, the gender equality officer and the gender scholar. Prototypically, all three of them are using their 'everyday gender knowledge', the gender equality officers draw additionally their expertise on practical 'gender expert knowledge', while gender scholars debate 'scientific gender knowledge' (Wetterer 2009). These three types of knowledges can lead to a "conflict of knowledges" (Albenga 2016, p.140). This is the first arena of the feminist conflict in academia. The second arena of the feminist conflict can be explained with a concept of 'outsiders' and 'insiders' (Laube 2017). While feminist engineers/scientists, gender equality officers and gender scholars with permanent positions at universities are in fact in an 'outside' position because of their feminist commitment, they are because of their permanent positions, 'within' the university, that is why Heather Laube (ibid.) calls them 'outsiders within'. Contrary to this 'within' position, project-based gender scholars are 'outsiders' (ibid.), who share the feminist idea of gender equality in academia with all the other mentioned actors, and also bring in scientific and often also gender expert knowledge, but their status in the academic hierarchy is lower. he aim of this paper is to show that gender equality in academia could be reached more efficiently, if feminists of all backgrounds and with different knowledges would join a 'Feminist Fight Club' (Bennett 2016), which not only aims at fighting sexism, discrimination and inequalities without fighting each other ('rule number three', Bennett 2016). The innovative element of the proposed 'Academic Feminist Fight Club' is the method of co-producing gender equality knowledge with different actors, which is key to overcome knowledge conflicts (Karner et al. 2017).

Keywords: gender equality, feminist knowledge, gender knowledges, situated knowledges, knowledge-to-action-gap, co-production of knowledge

1. Gender equal academia: A feminist utopia?

The European Union has, for decades, policies in place to foster gender equality in science and research. In the currently running research funding programme 'Horizon 2020' the promotion of gender equality is not only limited to increasing the share of women in all academic career stages, overcoming gender biases and discrimination in decision making processes, but also by strengthen gender as a cross-cutting theme in research generally:

> *„The activities developed under Horizon 2020 should promote equality between women and men in research and innovation, by addressing in particular the underlying causes of gender imbalance, by exploiting the full potential of both female and male researchers, and by integrating the gender dimension into the research and innovation content as well as by paying particular attention to ensuring gender balance, subject to the situation in the field of research and innovation concerned, in evaluation panels and in other relevant advisory and expert bodies in order to improve the quality of research and to stimulate innovation. Activities should also aim at implementation of principles relating to equality between women and men as laid down in Articles 2 and 3 of the Treaty on European Union and in Article 8 TFEU."*
>
> *(The European Parliament and the Council of the European Union 2013, recital 25).*

In an interim evaluation of gender equality as a crosscutting issue in Horizon 2020 an expert group stated that a number of successful steps could already have been accomplished. For instance, gender has been integrated in the whole research funding cycle in the European Union, from legal frameworks, work programmes, proposal evaluation, project monitoring to the reporting phase. To support this, gender trainings for the personnel of the Commission and involved agencies have been carried out. Advisory groups are now better gender balanced; evaluation teams are on a promising way. And very importantly, legal provisions for gender equality have been secured with respective articles in the framework programme and standard grant agreement (European Commission 2017).

However, the same evaluation report points also to several shortcomings in the efforts of Horizon 2020 to foster gender equality. First of all, indicators were flawed, some key performance indicators have not been measured reliably and projects falsely flagged as covering the gender dimension in their content, when they in reality did not. Having more women in panels had been identified as not enough to gain more gender fair selection or research processes, decision-making bodies would additionally need more gender expertise. Beside other mentioned shortcomings the expert group states that the slow reaching of gender balance in research teams is a huge problem, which can be explained with a lack of institutional changes towards more gender equality in research and innovation (ibid.).

And why is structural change in academia so slow? Studies and experiences from gender equality practitioners often name resistance and power issues (Bustelo et al. 2016) and lately also the knowledge-to-action gap (Karner et al. 2017, Thaler et al. in print). The later phenomenon would explain why knowledge from gender theory and research could not have been translated effectively into gender policies and practices (ibid.)

The above-mentioned evaluating expert group of the European Commission also concluded that producing and improving gender equality knowledge is an extremely important objective for fostering gender equality in science and research (European Commission 2017).

However, producing more gender knowledge will not be enough to fulfil the feminist utopia of a gender equal academic world, certain conflict arenas have to be dealt with first.

2. A feminist conflict based on diverse gender knowledges

Decades of gender equality research has shown that it needs a structural change as well as the integration of all relevant stakeholders in the organisational change process to sustainably reach more gender equality (EIGE 2016). However, it is crucial to keep in mind that all stakeholders in a structural change process, and this means also all involved feminist actors relate to diverse gender knowledges. The notion of diverse gender knowledges refers to a concept from German sociologists (Wetterer 2009 based on an original idea by Dölling 2005), which distinguishes the everyday gender knowledge of all humans from gender expert knowledge of gender practitioners (like gender equality officers at universities or gender trainers), and again from scientific gender knowledge, which is produced and passed on by gender scholars and researchers.

The main argument of this paper is that these different knowledges can lead to conflicts of feminist actors, who might share a common goal, but differ in their gender knowledges (Albenga 2016, Wetterer 2009), and what is also important: in their status.

In projects funded by the European Commission to foster gender equality, often three prototypes of feminist actors are working together: the feminist engineer/scientist, the gender practitioner (equality officer) and the gender scholar.

Prototypically, all three of them would use their everyday gender knowledge, meaning drawing their knowledge upon personal and peer group experiences, portrayals of femininities and masculinities in advertising and media etc.

Gender practitioners, like gender equality officers additionally use gender expert knowledge, which is based on a limited number of gender theories and specific knowledge about gender relations in their organisation. They translate their knowledge into 'gender competencies', which can be trained.

Gender scholars and researchers on the other hand challenge existing gender theories, provide new empirical and/or theoretical insights and often deconstruct the very gender binary, which is the core of everyday gender knowledge.

These three types of gender knowledges are building the groundwork of the first arena of the feminist conflict in academia, which Albenga calls the "conflict of knowledges" (2016, p.140).

The second arena of the feminist conflict can be explained with Heather Laube's concept of feminists as outsiders and insiders (2017). While feminist engineers/scientists, gender equality officers and gender scholars

with permanent positions at universities might share an 'outside' position because of their feminist values and interventions, they are in fact 'within' the university, because of their permanent contracts that is why Laube (ibid.) calls them 'outsiders within'. Contrary to this 'within' position, project-based gender scholars with temporary contracts are in both senses 'outsiders' (ibid.) They share the feminist idea of gender equality in academia with all the other mentioned actors, and due to their feminist commitment and system critique they are outsiders. But although they bring in scientific and often also expert gender knowledges, their situation is more precarious and their status in the academic hierarchy is lower than those of their feminist colleagues in permanent position.

Laube (2017) analyses that the stronger institutionalisation of gender studies in US American universities (440 gender institutes and programmes are nearly half of all worldwide) helped structural changes in the US, and makes gender equality efforts on the other hand more difficult in those European institutions where gender studies – and hence scientific and expert gender knowledge – are not structurally present. With gender projects financed by the European Union also those universities and research organisation have been part of structural change efforts in the last years, but then driven by feminist scientists/engineers with permanent positions or/and project-financed gender scholars. While the ones have the advantage of staying at their universities even when the project has finished, they have the disadvantage of a lacking gender network/support at their organisations. The others have the scientific gender knowledge and also a gender network, but their gender network is as outside as they are themselves, once the project ends.

Beside the arena of the feminist conflict, this situation of lacking institutionalisation of gender studies describes a structural weakness in some European universities, which has to be addressed by structural change efforts too.

Back to the feminist conflict and its groundwork, the diverse knowledges. It has been explained that everyday, expert and scientific gender knowledges are potentially conflicting knowledges. There has to be added of course that the very notion of diverse knowledges (!) is first and foremost based on Donna Haraway's "argument for situated and embodied knowledges" (1988, p. 583), which she concludes in a "hope for transformation of systems of knowledge and ways of seeing (ibid., p. 585)." In the last two chapters, this paper will now present a proposal, how systems of knowledge could be transformed.

3. The 'academic feminist fight club'

This paper has focussed on a specific clipping of the European academia and their efforts to become more gender equal: feminist scholars and practitioners who work together in so called structural change projects. It has been argued that although research funding and policies of the European Union improved the gender equality in European higher education and research in quite some ways, the gender balance in research teams, gender as cross-cutting issue in science and research, and structural gender equality in academia and research organisation have not been achieved so far (European Commission 2017).

Knowledge-to-action-gaps and knowledge conflicts of stakeholders have been identified as problems, which should not be underestimated. Also the variety on feminist actors and their different status can have an influence on the project process and outcome. It has been shown that in European gender research projects feminist engineers or scientists often work side on side with gender practitioners and gender scholars. While all three of them are using their 'everyday gender knowledge', the gender practitioners refer on practical 'gender expert knowledge', while gender scholars use 'scientific gender knowledge' (Wetterer 2009). It is further complicating that scientific knowledge is seen as superior than practical or lay knowledge, this often leads to inequalities based on knowledge hierarchies. All these arguments can be seen as reasons for a "conflict of knowledges" in the realm of gender projects (Albenga 2016, p.140), or to be more precise as a feminist conflict of knowledges.

Now, what would happen, if feminists of all backgrounds despite their different gender knowledges would join their forces and fight inequalities together?

Jessica Bennett (2016) coined the term 'Feminist Fight Club' for meetings, where women shared their discriminatory job experiences and the common goal of fighting sexism, discrimination and inequalities but without fighting each other. 'Fight Club' is originally a satirical novel (and later an iconic movie directed by David

Fincher based on that very book) by Chuck Palahniuk (1996), which is – in a nutshell – centred on the idea of a man establishing a secret fight club, to overcome his insomnia. While the first two rules of Palahniuk's fight club are "You don't talk about fight club" (ibid. p. 48), the first two rules of Bennett's (2016a) feminist fight clubs are: "You must talk about the Feminist Fight Club!" (p. 1). Bennett uses the pop-cultural knowledge about Palahnuik's respectively Fincher's fight club and its famous two first rules (to not talk about this secret club) and adapts them humorously and paradoxically to gain attention for a feminist intervention. With this new approach she not only digs the probably dusty idea of women discussion groups out, but also moreover reacts to the self-harming fights of diverse feminists in general public, media as well as in the academic discussion. Of course Bennett's idea behind her feminist fight club is not new and many feminists wrote about feminism, which is for everybody (see for instance bell hooks 2000), but Bennett appeals also a young and non-academic audience with her feminist fight club:

> *"The original Feminist Fight Club began in a cramped living room in New York City, with cheap wine and cheese. But there's no right or wrong way to form a fight club of your own, and in fact there are chapters of the Feminist Fight Club forming all over the globe. In Austin, there's a 500-person Facebook group that shares news and advice; during the Women's March, the Feminist Fight Club Toronto gathered to craft protest signs and peacefully demonstrate together. There are clubs on college campuses, in a middle school in Seattle, inside corporate offices, and even a real life fight club in New York –that is, a boxing club for teen girls. (Their slogan: "Together we can punch out the patriarchy.")"*
>
> *(Bennett 2016b, p.1)*

And this is what a potential 'Academic Feminist Fight Club" could learn from her. Such a club should be open for everybody, should unite diverse feminists and fight for a common goal: gender equality in academia.

In CHANGE a new approach of a gender equality project is tested which could be seen as an academic feminist fight club. In the last chapter of this paper the rationale of CHANGE will be explained.

4. Fighting together for structural change

CHANGE is an implementation project aiming at structural changes towards gender equality in science and research. Previous projects on gender in academia often finished with stating current gender in-equalities, naming several barriers for women's careers, and giving recommendations for gender equality in science and research (Carvalho et al. 2013, European Commission 2012). But – this is one of the basic ideas of CHANGE – due to the knowledge-to-action gap (described by Strauss et al. 2009) these recommendations are not always put into action.

Additionally, the politics of feminist knowledge conflict and power issues, as described in the previous chapters of this paper, led to unsolved inequality issues in European academia.

This means, gender experts and scholars have provided a large body of evidence and gender knowledge, but there seem to be effective strategies missing, how this knowledge can be put into practice. In other words, the knowledge-to-action gap must be closed by integrating relevant stakeholders from the beginning, integrate diverse knowledges and overcome feminist conflicts. Thus

- the different individual positions of involved feminists: outsiders and outsiders within (Laube 2017),
- the conflict of diverse gender knowledges: everyday, expert and scientific gender knowledges (Wetterer 2009),
- and the potential tensions between academic and practice expertise in the context of gender training (Bustelo et al. 2016) have to be addressed.

But how to acknowledge these different positions, solving potential knowledge conflicts and reaching the goal of structural change in academic and research institutions?

In the described project CHANGE experiences from sustainability research, transdisciplinary approaches, adult education, and gender studies have been brought together to an integrated approach of co-production of gender knowledge. This idea of co-constructing knowledge together, and building communities of practices with the participating stakeholders has been tested in other knowledge brokerage and so called RRI ('Responsible

Research and Innovation') projects, and has indeed proven as a very successful strategy to enable structural changes (cf. Karner et al. 2016 tested this in the area of sustainable food systems).

Co-producing knowledge can also minimise resistances, resulting from expected changes in power relations (as a consequence of structural change in academia). In order to gain commitment from relevant stakeholders and key actors in research organisations for these change processes, they need to be involved bottom-up and in time, and not when results are fixed and actions recommended. Stakeholders (like university and research organisation managers, research funding directors, gender equality officers, research policy makers, etc.) need to be involved in good time, and their experiences and expertise be heard (Lee et al. 2010; Karner et al. 2017). Therefore, CHANGE uses ‚Transfer Agents' (TAs) as relevant institutional actors who are committed to gender equality and structural change in their organisation and have a certain authority within their organisation (Thaler 2016) as active agents of change. TAs can help understand the specific organisational logics and take care that the co-produced gender knowledge is applicable for the respective organisations and expressed in words, relevant stakeholders can relate to. Thus this co-produced hands-on knowledge can be easier put into policies and practices. On the other side, TAs transfer the co-produce knowledge into their organisations and inform others explicitly and formally (for instance through changed recruitment procedures), but also very importantly during networking activities or even in informal contexts (for instance sport activities among members of the management). Furthermore, TAs stay in their organisation after the project ends and can help in a sustainable transition process including long-term activities, which can be planned but not fully implemented during a gender equality project duration.

The method of co-producing and communicating gender equality knowledge is in the centre of CHANGE. With this very method these three objectives of structural change are addressed:

- remove barriers to the recruitment, retention and career progression of female researchers,
- address gender imbalances in decision making processes and bodies, and
- strengthening the gender dimension in science and research.

These objectives are in line with the previously mentioned goals for gender equality in the Horizon 2020 funding programme of the European Commission.

It is expected that with the approach of CHANGE, the results should differ from other projects, as the co-produced gender knowledge will be implemented already during the project lifespan, in form of contextually-based gender equality actions in the respective organisations. In the beginning so called quick actions provide short-term wins (Peterson & Dahmen-Adkins 2018), which help to bring employees of the respective organisations on board, as they see that the project immediately gives something back (for instance via a staff survey, which can bring visibility to certain problems; ibid.). Later mid- and long-term actions are planned and implemented, based on a regularly updated gender equality plan.

Although the coordinators of the project have long years of gender expertise, and also experience with RRI and knowledge brokerage projects, and they can provide the necessary facilitation competencies to integrate knowledges and build communities of (gender) practices; the aspiring project goals can only be reached in a team effort. And the team consists of a committed group of diverse feminists,

- who are due to their feminist critique 'outsiders' in their organisations, most of them are 'within', but some are not, because they work project-based (Laube 2017);
- who draw upon different sets of gender knowledges (everyday, expert and scientific gender knowledge; Wetterer 2009);
- who come from different countries, organisational contexts and disciplinary backgrounds;
- who have diverse experiences with feminist practices and policies;
- who have differing affinities towards the actual methods for co-producing knowledge (like workshops and reflection exercises).

Despite all their diversities, this team of feminists shares a common vision of changing their own organisation, then changing other organisations in their regions, nations and finally changing academia generally towards more gender equality. And this is why CHANGE can be seen as a prototype for an academic feminist fight club.

The next years will show how successfully this club could reach its goals. But for now they simply follow the first four rules of their club:

- 1. You must talk about the Academic Feminist Fight Club!
- 2. You must talk about the Academic Feminist Fight Club!
- 3. We fight gender inequalities in academia, not each other!
- 4. We all value our different feminist knowledges and co-produce gender knowledge together!

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Strategic Governance and Gender Budgeting of Local Governments: Paths and Experiences in Italy

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Abstract: Through a qualitative approach and an empirical analysis, this study aims to investigate the most significant gender budgeting initiatives implemented by Italian local Governments. The study has analyzed twenty-seven gender budgets carried out in Regions, Provinces and Municipalities beyond the nine laws enacted by eight Regions (Piedmont, Liguria, Friuli Venezia Giulia, Emilia Romagna, Tuscany, Umbria, Calabria, Puglia) and one Autonomous Province (Trento). The analysis of the legislation underlines modalities and measures for the adoption of the gender budget that the Regions adopt internally or promote on their territory. The analysis of the laws and gender budgets carried out has allowed underlining indicators/methodologies of gender budgeting processes. With respect to the approaches adopted, a recurrent element and therefore to be highlighted is the widespread methodological homogeneity on a regional scale or the acquisition on a local scale (provincial and municipal) of the settings that have been adopted by the Region to which the Province or the Municipality refer. Currently, available evidence suggests to public authorities the need to go further than the sporadic implementation of gender budgeting, systematizing a gender-based analysis and a gender-equality-oriented evaluation with regard to the distribution of resources and the explanation of budgets. Gender Budgeting has multiple purposes: it promotes accountability and transparency of local Governments; increases gender responsive participation in the budgeting process; and advances gender equality and women's rights. Moreover, the gender budget report plays a particularly important role in the improvement of governance: it is a tool available to public administration for self-evaluation and therefore defines increasingly effective and fair administration methods. In this perspective, the emerging key point is, perhaps, the need to find incentives and motivations for the application of the gender budget report which, although starting from the legislation, are supported by practice and by the search for a concrete useful return of the instrument. Integrating a gender budgeting methodology into the ordinary budgetary processes allows governments to better understand the different effects that policies and actions, revenue and expenditure, can have on women and men.

Keywords: gender budgeting, gender mainstreaming, public governance

1. Introduction and brief literature review

Gender budgeting is "an application of gender mainstreaming in the budgetary process. It means a gender-based assessment of budgets, incorporating a gender perspective at all levels of the budgetary process and restructuring revenues and expenditures in order to promote gender equality" (Council of Europe, 2005, p. 10). This implies that: 1) in all budget programmes, measures, policies and actions, revenue or expenditure should be assessed (*ex-ante*) and restructured (*ex-post*) in order to find qualified responses to the needs and requests of the local area; 2) the gender effects of all government programmess and policies (and their improvements over time) shall be measured in terms of efficiency, effectiveness and achieved equality between men and women (Sharp 2000). With regard to the local and regional strategic governance, gender budgeting is considered for its impact on gender-responsive public governance (Budlender and Hewitt, 2002). Gender budgeting is founded on a logical framework outlining a number of priority areas of action, it can strengthen the policy-making capacity of the public administration and improve resource allocation processes as well as policy outcomes at government and local level (Andriolo and Zanoni, 2011). Therefore, as set out by the Council of Europe (2005, p. 12), it is "an important step towards not only good economic and financial governance, but good governance in general". Gender budgeting has gained ground over the past 30 years. Many of the pioneering experiments with gender budget were conducted in the Anglo-Saxon countries (Esim 1995; Sarraf 2003): Australia (1984), United Kingdom (1989), Canada (1995), and South Africa (1996). These actions have gained additional impetus from the Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995, which called for ensuring the integration of a gender perspective in budgetary policies and programmess. According to the international literature and experience, the gender budgeting methodology reflects a variety of approaches and outcomes worldwide as well as significant differences between countries in terms of: aims, scope (sectoral, national or sub-national, revenue and/or expenditure), tools, objectives, gender-specific measures, dissemination (political-)context of implementation, nature and range of roleplayers (Sen 2000; Stotsky 2006).

Gender budgeting can be applied to any type of budget system at all levels of government: central, regional and local government levels. Introducing gender budgeting at the central government level is important because budgetary decisions on both revenue and expenditure are made at this level.

At the national level, almost half of OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) countries (fifteen out of thirty-four members) (Austria, Belgium, Finland, Iceland, Israel, Japan, Korea, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Spain, and Sweden) have introduced the gender budgeting (results of the 2016 OECD Gender Budgeting Survey). In Italy, the first pilot gender budget regarded the Final Account/End-of-Year Budget 2016 and the document was drawn up also for the 2017 Final Account / End-of-Year Budget.

At the regional and local government levels, there is great potential to use participatory gender budgeting approaches involving the local population. Regional and local governments' proximity to people's everyday lives means there is potential to respond more directly to women's and men's needs when it comes to public policy and service delivery. At these levels, the cases of Berlin and Andalucía can be mentioned (Quinn 2017).

In this respect, unlike other countries (where gender budgets have mostly begun at the national level), gender budgets in Italy are mostly drawn up at local government levels (Regions, Provinces and Municipalities), probably due to the responsibilities and competencies in public services ascribed to regional and local authorities by devolution laws.

From a methodological standpoint, a variety of approaches, tools and methods for gender budgeting have been developed and are available. In many cases, different tools can be used together. In the Italian context, gender budgeting initiatives apply the following complementary principal approaches: the Performance Oriented Gender Budgeting Approach (Sharp 2003; Sharp and Connolly, 2003); the Capabilities Approach (Sen 1987; Nussbaum 2000); and the "V.I.S.P.O (Valutazione di Impatto Strategico sulle Pari Opportunità – Evaluation of the Strategic Impact on Equal Opportunities Actions) Guidelines" proposed by the Italian Council of Ministers, Equal Opportunities Department (June 1999).

After this brief introduction and review of the literature, this study is focused on the experiences of Italian local governments and, through a qualitative approach and an empirical analysis, aims to investigate the most significant Italian gender budgeting initiatives in the light of EU (European Union) strategic guidelines (European Strategic Engagement for Gender Equality 2016-2019) and methodological indications (Council of Europe 2005) and also of the experience gained by national and regional governments in the implementation of Gender Mainstreaming and Gender Budgeting (Budlender, Sharp and Allen, 1998; Elson 1998, 2002; Sharp and Broomhill, 2002; OECD 2016). A further objective is to evaluate the potential of gender budgeting on strategic governance processes of the local bodies in terms of: gender impact assessment of budget policies; evaluation of quality and efficacy of the government services and activities and their coherence and effectiveness to the demand for public services; strategic planning, public programming and efficient management of public finances.

This paper may contribute to the ongoing international debate on gender budget analysis, providing current evidence from Italy considering that, despite the extensive international literature on the subject, there are few Italian academic studies on the gender responsive budgeting processes.

2. Gender budgeting in Italian local governments

This study provides a mapping of the public gender budgets drawn up in Italy and, then, describes the gender-specific indicators aimed at measuring public bodies' action and providing guidelines for the local governance in a gender perspective.

As a reference, the innovative approach developed by the Region of Piedmont is used, which combines the above-mentioned approaches and emerges as the most widespread in Italy. This approach, making the budget process more rational, weaves planning and budgeting together, according to a circular mode that links the policy development cycle (from needs-assessment through to the design of policy interventions, implementation and *ex-post* evaluation) and the budget cycle (from formulation to monitoring and reporting) (OECD 2016). These two cycles interact and overlap both *ex-ante* (gender budgeting) and *ex-post* (gender auditing) within the

budget process. So, well-defined linkages between the evaluative and impact-assessment requirements that underlie both cycles are increasingly seen as necessary for supporting inclusive growth policies (OECD 2015).

On this basis, in 2014-2015 the Region of Piedmont carried out a comprehensive study on gender budgeting methods (this is the inter-regional project "REGIONI BIG. Esperienze e metodi delle Regioni per il Bilanci di genere" [REGIONI BIG. Experiences and methods of the Regions for the Gender Budgets]) with the aim of collecting documents, capitalizing and disseminating the most significant experiences acquired in developing and carrying out gender budgets at the national and local levels. That study investigated the gender budget's legal framework under which gender budgeting practices have been drawn up in eight Regions and Autonomous Provinces in the 2005-2014 decade. This mapping, studying and comparison of these sets of rules and the gender budgets drawn up in accordance with them have led to the definition of common uniform standards and, as a consequence, an equal opportunities governance model has emerged: the gender budget reflects this model in an inter-regional systemic perspective.

2.1 Research methodology and data collection

For the purposes of this research, the documents of the above-mentioned interregional study (which was made available by the Piedmont Region) were analyzed. From the methodological standpoint, a survey was submitted to all the Regions and Italian Autonomous Provinces to detect three aspects of the Gender Budget: promulgated legislation, methodology and tools activated, and promotion of the research in the territory. One of the authors of the paper participated in this survey, which was financed by the European Social Fund, led by the Piedmont Region and implemented by the IRES Piedmont-Institute of Economic and Social Research (Andriolo and Zanoni, 2011).

The analysis has been further extended and enhanced considering a sample of experiences at the local level (provincial and municipal). In order to find the latter, the Internet has been deliberately chosen, in order to identify whether and to what extent the gender budgets are actually available. In this regard, it emerged that attention to disclosure is still rather limited; indeed, not all the experiences of gender budgeting can be found on the Internet or, in some cases, even if published after a certain time lag, they are no longer available.

With these data collection methods, in this research we analyzed:

- nine laws enacted by eight Regions (Piedmont, Liguria, Friuli Venezia Giulia, Emilia Romagna, Tuscany, Umbria, Calabria, Puglia) and one Autonomous Province (Trento);
- twenty-seven gender budgets (some multi-annual) carried out in:
- *four Regions: Piedmont, Emilia Romagna, Tuscany, and Puglia;*
- *six Provinces belonging to Emilia Romagna (Bologna, Ferrara), Tuscany (Arezzo, Leghorn, Massa Carrara), and Marche (Macerata);*
- *one Union of Municipalities of Tuscany: Unione Montana Val Tiberina, including six Municipalities (Anghiari, Badia Tedalda, Caprese Michelangelo, Monterchi, Sansepolcro, and Sestino);*
- *sixteen Municipalities: three regional capitals, in Piedmont (Turin), Emilia Romagna (Bologna), and Puglia (Bari); five provincial capitals, in Piedmont (Cuneo) and Tuscany (Arezzo, Lucca, Pisa, and Siena); eight other Municipalities, distributed in: Friuli Venezia Giulia (Cervignano del Friuli in the province of Udine), Emilia Romagna (Argenta and Codigoro in the province of Ferrara), Tuscany (Capannolo and San Giuliano Terme in the province of Pisa, Piombino and Rosignano Marittimo in the province of Leghorn), and Sicily (San Filippo del Mela in the province of Messina).*

2.2 Results

The empirical analysis of the legislation and initiatives concerning the gender budgeting highlighted some characteristic elements. In general, even in the various implementation modalities, the analysis and evaluation of the gender impact of public policies and budgets is an element that can really strengthen the capacity of governance according to criteria of effectiveness, efficiency and transparency.

A first result of the research is the mapping of regional legislation in terms of gender budgeting. In this regard, the legislation for the preparation of the gender budget is almost always regional, with the exception of the case

of the Autonomous Province of Trento, and the widespread sensitivity of the regions with respect to the gender dimension emerges: the decision to draw up a law reveals, in fact, the recognition by the Regions of how important it is to evaluate the gender impact for the good governance of its own organization and territory and therefore how important it is to consider it a non-accessory factor of the priority commitments of the public administrations: the intervention policies and the budget. Furthermore, the analysis of the legislation underlines modalities and measures for the adoption of the gender budget that the Regions adopt internally or promote on their territory (Table 1).

Table 1: Local laws concerning gender budget

Region/ Province	**Law**	**Modalities and measures for the adoption of the gender budget**	
		Internally	On territory
Piedmont Region	Regional Law 8/2009 artt. 3-5; 11	The Region prepares gender controls in the planning, definition and implementation of the budget and a monitoring and evaluation system	The Region urges local authorities to adapt their budgets to the purposes of the Gender budget prepares the drafting of guidelines for the implementation of gender budgets prepares training courses for public administration personnel for the implementation of gender budgets
Liguria Region	Regional Law 26/2008 artt. 8-9	The Region indicates the introduction of gender budgeting as an objective of the Regional Equal Opportunities Strategy prepares audits and a monitoring and evaluation system in the planning, definition and implementation phases of the institution's budget	The Region promotes the dissemination of the gender budgeting tool among all local public administrations supports the implementation of the law also through specific training and updating activities for the preparation of public administration personnel for the implementation of gender budgeting
Autonomous Province of Trento	Provincial Law 13/2012 art. 6	The Region adopts the gender budget as a tool to make public action transparent, equitable and efficient with respect to equal opportunities provides for the preparation of a drafting methodology	The Region promotes the adoption of a methodology for the drafting of gender budgeting by local governments in the territory
Autonomous Region of Friuli Venezia Giulia	Regional Law 20/2010	The Region defines the objective of implementing effective social reporting processes also through the gender budget	The Region defines constantly updated guidelines promotes the voluntary and gradual implementation by local governments organizes and supports training and technical assistance initiatives for public administrators
Emilia Romagna Region	Regional Law 6/2014 artt. 6; 36	The Region reports the gender budget as an annual social reporting document with gender mainstreaming takes care of the implementation of specific staff training and updating activities	The Region promotes the dissemination of gender budgeting among local governments also in order to promote positive actions for the reconciliation of life and work times and the sharing of care responsibilities
Tuscany Region	Regional Law 16/2009 artt. 13; 22	The Region defines the role and purpose of the gender balance as a tool for monitoring and evaluating regional policies on equal opportunities	The Region promotes the dissemination of gender budgeting among local governments also in order to direct actions for work-life balance
Umbria Region	Regional Law 6/2009 art. 3	The Region promotes the adoption of the gender budget as attached to the regional budget	The Region promotes the dissemination of gender budgets among local governments shares methodologies and supports in the implementation

Region/ Province	Law	Modalities and measures for the adoption of the gender budget	
		Internally	On territory
Calabria Region	Regional Law 15/2008 art. 8	The Region approves the guidelines and authorizes to prepare a program to test the gender budget, together with the Social and Generational one	*There are no specific measures*
Puglia Region	Regional Law 7/2007 art. 19	The Region intends the gender budget as an additional document accompanying the Final Account and Budget of the local or regional government	The Region promotes the dissemination of the Gender Report on the territory, through activities of awareness and information

Source: Own elaboration

From the analysis of the laws and gender budgets, the following gender-based indicators/methodologies of the public administration's budget emerge:

- indicators for monitoring gender gaps;
- approaches followed for drawing up the gender budget;
- reclassification of expenditure from a gender perspective.

2.3 Indicators for monitoring gender gaps

The gender budget has the specificity of taking on a gender-oriented perspective, starting from the definition of the framework in which the institutional activities (policies, programmess, projects) and the management of the public budget (revenue and expenditure) are inserted.

Therefore, an essential part of the gender budget is the analysis of the context, which is conducted with different and more or less synthetic methods, but all aimed at disaggregating data by gender, in order to have separate information on the quantity and characteristics of women and men with respect to different areas considered most relevant: demography, immigration, family composition, health, socio-economic conditions, work, and income, among others.

Drawing from the international literature, the gender budget reports monitor a set of indicators measuring different features and behaviours of men and women in the economy and society. In general, gender budgets provide statistical data disaggregated by gender (information on the number of women and men relative to: labour market; protection of work, social welfare and assistance; contrasting gender violence, etc.); gender indicators that summarize the gender gap; gender equal opportunity indices on the participation in economic, political and administrative decision-making processes (Bardhan and Klasen, 1999; Sharp 2003; European Institute for Gender Equality 2015).

2.4 Approaches followed for drawing up the gender budget

The gender budget report makes it possible to evaluate the policies and resources of the public body, not only in relation to the declarations of policies and programmess, but also to their implementation processes and the effects on the female and male population.

Both the rules and the implementation practices of the gender budget report place particular attention on choosing a way of reading and evaluating the impact of gender and applying it to their own reality (Quinn 2009). This does not exclude that, sometimes, methodological references are integrated with each other. The methods applied are traceable to the following: the V.I.S.P.O. guidelines; the S.P.O.G. (Supporto alla Programmazione in Ottica di Genere – Support for Gender Optics Programming) questions; the B.E.S. (Benessere Equo e Solidale – Equitable and Sustainable Well-being) model; the Gender SWOT Analysis; the integration of the gender budget into the performance plan.

The *V.I.S.P.O. guidelines* have been defined by the Equal Opportunities Department with ISFOL (Istituto per lo Sviluppo della Formazione Professionale dei Lavoratori – Institute for the Development of Vocational Training for Workers) technical assistance for the 2000-2006 programming of the Structural Funds and then updated in

the 2007-2013 programming for the Convergence Regions. For the gender budgeting, this approach was adopted by the Piedmont Region, the Autonomous Province of Trento and the Puglia Region. The V.I.S.P.O. guidelines identify six strategic indicators of gender impact assessment: 1) improvement of living conditions in order to better respond to women's needs; 2) improvement of women's access to work systems and training processes; 3) improvement of the condition of women at work; 4) conciliation of time and redistribution of care work between men and women; 5) promotion of the participation of women in the creation of socio-economic activities; 6) improvement of the governance of equal opportunities. The six indicators make it possible to measure the impact of policies and to understand "what works", i.e., what public intervention tools are effective in determining the desired changes. Therefore, it is a methodology that can help: to carry out an analysis that highlights the conditions experienced by women and men in their territory and to define the objectives to be achieved; making choices (both programmatic and operational) based on gender specificity; and seize the impact on women and men of policies, programmes and interventions.

The *S.P.O.G. questions* have been defined by the Autonomous Province of Trento in collaboration with the University of Trento and allow the integration of the gender perspective within the policy planning cycle, encouraging greater decision-making awareness and improving the quality of policies and interventions through a measurement of the type of impact (neutral, favourable, unfavourable) of any intervention against existing gender gaps (in terms of economic resources, information, availability of time) in the areas concerned.

The approach allows policies and interventions to be evaluated on the basis of four questions (which, with respect to the possible areas of impact, refer to the above mentioned V.I.S.P.O. variables):

- 1. Does the intervention have, as its specific objective, the reduction of any existing gender gaps?
- 2. Who are the beneficiaries of the intervention?
- 3. What are the areas of life (family life conditions / reconciliation between family and work life, quantitative aspects of employment, qualitative aspects of employment, entrepreneurial activities) in which the intervention has a gender impact?
- 4. What is the potential effect of the intervention on any gender gaps (neutral, favourable or unfavourable)?

ISTAT (Istituto Nazionale di Statistica – National Institute of Statistics), together with representatives of the third sector and civil society, has developed a multidimensional approach to measure *"equitable and sustainable well-being" (B.E.S.),* in order to complement the indicators related to production and economic activity with measures of the key dimensions of well-being, together with measures of inequality and sustainability. In the framework of the international debate on the overcoming of GDP (Gross Domestic Product), according to which the parameters on which to evaluate the progress of a society cannot be exclusively economic, but must also take into account the social and environmental dimensions of the well-being, it is considered that to improve the quality of life of citizens the concept of well-being should be considered as a starting point for public policies and individual choices. The B.E.S. model identifies twelve dimensions of well-being: Health; Education and training; Work and life balance; Economic well-being; Social relationships; Politics and Institutions; Safety; Subjective well-being; Landscape and cultural heritage; Environment; Innovation, research and creativity; and Quality of services. It is applied by the Puglia Region in the gender budgeting process.

The *Gender SWOT Analysis* is a methodology introduced as an innovative element by the Piedmont Region in the Guidelines for the Gender Budgeting. The Gender SWOT Analysis allows highlighting the main gender factors internal and external to the context that are able to influence the success and impact on women and men of an intervention/action systematizing and making usable disaggregated information about a specific theme, analyzing alternative gender-sensitive development scenarios, setting an equal opportunity strategy consistent with the context, and outlining lines of intervention that adhere to the specificities of recipients (considered in their specificity of women and men).

The integration of the gender budget into the *performance plan* has been adopted by some regional governments (Piedmont Region and Tuscany Region) following the indications of Legislative Decree 150/2009 for the reform of the Public Administration, according to which the reporting of results is a fundamental step in the performance management (Article 4) and the "Performance Report" to be compiled annually by each Public Administration must also contain "the gender budget" (Article 10). Table 2 illustrates the contents of the gender budget report and those of the Performance Plan and highlights the reclassification of expenditure and revenue from a gender perspective as a distinctive and unique element of the gender budget report.

Table 2: Comparison between the sections of the gender budget and the performances plan

Gender Budget	Performances Plan
Premise	Presentation of the plan and index
Context analysis	Context analysis
Analysis of policies and programmes	Identity
Staff analysis	
Analysis of activities and services	
Reclassification of the Government budget from a gender perspective	---
Identification of areas for improvement	Strategic objective
	Operational objectives
	Improvement actions
Technical attachments	Technical attachments

Source: Own elaboration

With respect to the approaches adopted, a recurrent element and therefore to be highlighted is the widespread methodological homogeneity on a regional scale or the acquisition on a local scale (provincial and municipal) of the settings that have been adopted by the Region to which the Province or the Municipality refer. A choice of this type is easily understandable, especially for those areas in which the Regions, together with *ad hoc* regulations, have also chosen to prepare guidelines for the preparation of the gender budget report and/or to make funding available for the Local administrations (Table 3).

Table 3: Approaches followed for drawing up the gender budget

Approach	Local Governments
V.I.S.P.O. Guidelines	*Regions*: Piedmont, Puglia *Autonomous Province* of Trento *Municipalities*: Turin, Bari, Cuneo
S.P.O.G. Questions	*Autonomous Province* of Trento
B.E.S. Model	*Regions*: Puglia, Emilia Romagna *Provinces*: Macerata, Bologna, Ferrara *Municipalities*: Bologna, Bari, Cervignano del Friuli, Argenta, Codigoro
Gender SWOT Analysis	*Regions*: Piedmont *Municipalities*: Turin, Cuneo
Integration of gender budget into the performance plan	*Regions*: Piedmont, Tuscany *Provinces*: Arezzo, Leghorn, Massa Carrara *Municipalities*: Turin, Cuneo, Arezzo, Lucca, Pisa, Siena, Capannolo, San Giuliano Terme, Piombino, Rosignano Marittimo *Union of Municipalities* of Tuscany Val Tiberina

Source: Own elaboration

2.5 Reclassification of expenditure from a gender perspective

Reporting the budget expenditure according to a gender perspective involves its "reclassification" according to the following categories:

- "neutral" expenditures with no effect on gender;
- "sensitive" expenditures relating to measures which have a different impact on men and women;
- expenditures "aimed at reducing gender inequalities", relating to measures directly attributable to, or aimed at, reducing gender inequalities or promoting equal opportunities.

3. Conclusion

This paper contributes to the ongoing international debate on gender budget analysis, providing current evidence from Italy considering that, despite the extensive international literature on the subject, there are few Italian academic studies on the gender responsive budgeting processes whilst several technical reports have been carried out to provide overviews of the current practices and experiments in this field (Bettio, Rosseli and Vingelli, 2002; Addabbo, Lanzi and Picchio, 2008, Pulejo 2010; Martini 2011; Galizzi 2012; Picchio 2015).

Moreover, gender budgeting is a highly topical issue and of great general interest. In this regard, the new EU strategy for equality between women and men includes the objective of advancing gender budgeting as part of the EU budgeting. The current Multiannual Financial Framework (2014-20) includes a joint declaration by the European Parliament, the Council and the European Commission, in which they commit to integrating, as appropriate, gender-responsive elements in the EU budget.

The analysis of the regional and provincial legislation concerning gender budgeting and of the documents drawn up by the Italian municipalities, provinces and regions makes it possible to identify some elements that emerge as particularly relevant.

The gender budget tests and promotes the application of gender mainstreaming in any planned policy action, and evaluates all policies of the administrations from a gender perspective, in order to ensure fair and balanced growing conditions.

Gender Budgeting has multiple purposes: it promotes accountability and transparency of local Governments; increases gender responsive participation in the budget process; and advances gender equality and women's rights.

The gender budget report plays a particularly important role for the improvement of governance: it is a tool available to the public administration for self-evaluation and therefore to define increasingly effective and fair administration methods.

Current available evidence suggests to public authorities the need to go further than the sporadic implementation of gender budgeting, systematizing a gender-based analysis and gender-equality-oriented evaluation with regard to the distribution of resources and the explanation of budgets. Moreover, common methodologies and gender-specific indicators should be systematically developed and published to allow useful comparisons, increasing the ability to interpret the collected information locally (benchmarking).

The emerging key point is, perhaps, the need to find incentives and motivations for the application of the gender budget report, which, although starting from the legislation, are supported by practice and by the search for a concrete useful return of the instrument. In this perspective, integrating a gender budgeting methodology into the ordinary budgetary processes allows governments to understand better the different impacts that policies and actions, revenue and expenditure, can have on women and men.

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Female Distance Employment: Opportunities and Challenges

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Abstract: This paper presents the results of a study of topical gender-related social and economic issues in the development of distance forms of employment. One of the research aims is to identify women's attitude to distance employment, and to confirm the presence or absence of a connection between distance employment and the basic socio-economic parameters of the quality of life. The collection and processing of empirical information was carried out according to the authors' sociological survey programme that involved women looking for jobs in the regional labour market. The study was held in April-July 2018 in one of the largest Russian cities with a population of over a million. We interviewed more than 10% of the average annual number of women seeking assistance in finding a job in employment agencies. The analysis of the empirical data made it possible to conclude that distance employment continues to spread, and it is one of the most effective forms of labour relations. Distance employment can be seen as a factor in improving the quality of women's life in socio-cultural, family, parental, and reproductive terms. The evaluation of women's attitude to distance work revealed that the majority perceive its conditions positively. For the majority of the examined parameters, more than 20% of the female respondents report an increase in social efficiency as a result of this type of employment. The highest probability of women's lives improving as a result of their transition to distance employment is observed in such areas as: children development and education; home comfort; healthy diet; attending social functions with children. The great readiness of women in search of work to find distance employment has been empirically confirmed: 36% prefer the remote format to traditional employment. The results of the research are of practical importance and can be used in the development of territorial and organizational programmes to promote women's employment.

Keywords: distance employment, female employment, motivation of women's labour, labour market, work-life balance

1. Introduction

This study is the first step in the implementation of a fundamental research project to identify the impact of the development of women's distance employment on the institution of parenthood. The project is carried out in the conceptual framework of institutional theory, which is widely used in modern studies of employment (Kang, Moon, 2012, Holm, 2014). Institutional changes in society are recognized as key factors of individual behaviour in the labour market. We consider the processes of distance employment development both as a result of institutional, technological changes, as well as a factor in the transformation of the parenthood institution.

The study of women's distance employment in conjunction with the parenthood institute combines two relevant scientific problems. The first is a problem of spreading of the distance employment among women. And the second is a problem of compliance of the distance employment characteristics with the individual needs of women in terms of achieving a balance between paid work, domestic work and parenting. Gender disparity in the distance labour market is not the subject of our study.

The founder of the first concept of distance employment is considered to be Nilles (1976). His ideas were further popularized, the terminology and research areas were significantly expanded (Di Martino, Wirth, 1990, Bailey, Kurland, 2002), the evaluations of the pros and cons of such work (Harpaz, 2002), and recommendations on organising teleworking (Illegems et al, 2001) have appeared. Changes in the institutional and technological environment lead to constant renewal of the remote employment types, which have national specifics and limitations due to the current labour legislation. Classification of the distance employment types in Russia differs from European countries and it is at the stage of formation, since in Russia remote work formats began to be applied to the labour market much later. According to various estimates, the lag is 10-15 years (Ludanik, 2007). The focus of our research project is on such types of distance employment, when an employee manages all or almost all of his working time at home or elsewhere but not at the employer's office. The scope and content of work is established by the employer.

The strategic directions of this stage of our research are as follows: 1) to identify women's willingness to work remotely, 2) to assess the likelihood of a connection between the distant labour features and the woman's decision to give birth to a child. The latter direction is highly relevant for solving the problem of population reproduction, which is characteristic both for European countries and for Russia.

The theoretical basis for the study of distance female employment was the provisions of the Job Characteristics theory, and the Work / Family Border Theory, as well as some provisions of the Adaptive Structuration theory concerning the adaptive behaviour of individuals to use flexible IT technologies (Schmitz et al, 2016). In this regard, we are interested in the specifics of female adaptation behaviour, but at this stage of our study we do not pay special attention to these issues and rely more on the first two theoretical concepts.

Investigations of the employment various forms parameters (job characteristics) consider the relationship between the motivating job characteristics and job satisfaction (Oerlemans et al, 2018), as well as behaviour and emotional state of workers (Saavedra, Kwun, 2000). Theoretical models are being developed that allow a high degree of reliability to be used to estimate the likelihood of a certain type of employee behaviour depending on the specific employment conditions, including in the telework segment. In particular, a model for predicting of the remote worker's job satisfaction based on consideration of technological factors and the distant work content was tested. It has been proven that job satisfaction varies depending on its intensity. According to Suh, Lee, "the manner in which the teleosting of technostress varies depending on the intensity of teleworking." (Suh, Lee, 2017). Thus, modern science has several tools for modelling personnel behaviour. Our research interest within the framework of the Job Characteristics theory is to study the motivation and attitudes of women towards remote work conditions. This information will help the authors in further studies to develop a theoretical model of the selection of remote working conditions by women depending on the number and age of children.

In frames of the Work / Family Border theory, the authors are interested in how erasing the boundaries between home and work in connection with women's work performance primarily at home will affect the quality of their lives and the lives of their children. The study of published works did not give us an exhaustive answer to this question. However, there are interesting results of evaluation of the impact of distance and flexible employment on the process of saving women's careers after childbirth. The results of household surveys for 2009-2014 (Understanding Society database, UK) argue that teleworking and other flexible employment forms help women stay at work after the birth of their first child. In the understanding of the authors of this study, remote and flexible employment is a tool of the work-life balance (Chung, Van der Horst, 2018). It should be noted that the relevance of the problem of the work-life balance in the conditions of digital economy does not decrease (Schieman, Glavin, 2016, Karassvidou, Glaveli, 2015, Anxo, Boulin, 2006, Tremblay, 2002, Clark, 2000). However, the issue of women's participation in distance employment, as a factor influencing the quality of woman life and her family, has not been sufficiently studied yet.

Despite the fact that the issue of distance employment and other non-traditional forms has recently become very popular in Russia, there are no official statistics on the number of employed working remotely, including women. The research presented in the article is one of the pioneer, pilot projects for the Russian labour market (Fedorova et al, 2017). Our study will help develop the institutional labour market theory and obtain the information base to further develop tools adequate to the digital economy for promoting women's employment, increasing its socio-economic efficiency.

The starting point for the basic hypothesis were the summarized ideas of various researchers and practitioners about the factors contributing to the development of female employment, the opportunities for women's successful realization, the possibilities of combining family and work duties. Among these factors, conditions of employment are most often distinguished, and more specifically, the employer providing an opportunity to flexibly adjust the working schedule. It is flexible employment and self-employment that stand out as the most effective forms that allow balancing the family, personal and professional spheres of a working woman's life. In connection with the above, the working hypothesis of the study is formulated as follows: distance employment is attractive for women, especially for those with family and children of preschool and school age. Distance employment will allow women to combine their work with socio-cultural, family, parental and reproductive spheres of life most successfully. Distance employment is highly rated based on subjective criteria of social and economic efficiency.

The following is a methodology developed by the authors to collect empirical information: 1) on the prevalence of distance employment among women on the Russian labour market, 2) on women attitudes to employment conditions, 3) on women imaginations how the remote work can affect a quality of their life, and the lives of their children, as well as their childbirth decisions.

2. Methods

The aim of the study is to identify the attitude of women in the Russian labour market to distance employment, their subjective evaluations of the presence or absence of a correlation between distance employment and the main socio-economic parameters of the quality of life. The sub-aims are: 1) determining the share of women with experience and desire to work remotely in the group of women who are actively looking for a job in a large city; summarizing subjective evaluations of their economic efficiency; 2) identifying the presence/absence and the possible nature of the correlation between distance employment and the socio-cultural, family, parental, reproductive spheres of women's lives.

There are no official statistics on the composition and structure of distance employment in Russia; therefore, the study used sociological survey of women searching for suitable work. The general population of the respondents is represented by women who applied for assistance in finding employment to the State Employment Agency in Yekaterinburg, one of the largest cities in Russia, with the population of more than 1.5 million. Yekaterinburg can be described as an industrial, financial, trade, service and logistics center with high-quality human potential and a highly developed scientific and educational sector of the economy. Table 1 shows the dynamics of the general population of the respondents over the past 3 years; the calculation used data from statistical reports of the Employment Agency.

Table 1: Calculation of the number of women who applied to the State Employment Agency in Yekaterinburg

Average numbers for 2015-2017	**01.01.2016**	**01.01.2017**	**01.01.2018**
The number of unemployed citizens who applied to the employment agency for assistance in finding work at the end of the period, people.			
5867	7594	6828	3126
Share of women who applied for assistance, average for the region, %			
50.0	50.0	49.7	50.3
The number of women who applied to the employment agency for assistance in finding work at the end of the period, people.			
2934	3797	3394	1572

* The table was compiled by the authors based on the analysis of the reports of the Department of Labour and Employment of the Sverdlovsk Region (statistical data on the number of citizens who applied to the agency in the context of municipalities).

To ensure the sample is representative, the total number of respondents was determined as 300, which is more than 10% of the total population of women who applied to the State Employment Agency in Yekaterinburg. The survey was conducted in the agency at the stage of applying for employment assistance. The following procedure was used to survey women: the questionnaire was filled in by each woman when she applied to Yekaterinburg Centre for Employment, both during their first and the second visit. During the first visit, the questionnaire was given to women along with other documents to be filled out according to the current registration procedure. During the second visit the form was filled by a woman while an employment agency specialist was selecting a suitable vacancy.

The questionnaire contains an introductory comment, questions to identify the women's socio-demographic characteristics and questions relating to the experience of teleworking, its attractiveness, competences in the field of Internet technologies, subjective evaluations of the impact of distance employment on the economic, socio-cultural, family, parental and reproductive spheres of life. The questionnaire also includes questions about the employment conditions important for women when choosing a suitable job. The questionnaire gave a simplified explanation of the nature of distance employment, because, despite the fact that the Russian labour legislation now features the definition of distance employment, it is too complicated, and there is no common understanding of its essence in Russian publications due to lack of research into this phenomenon. The explanation is worded as follows: "Distance employment is working from home, country house, anywhere, but not in the employer's office; working on the computer or on the phone, tablet. There may be meetings on the

employer's premises, but the main work is not done there. You can be officially employed by one company or work with various customers."

The survey was conducted from April to July 2018; 343 women were surveyed. The increase of the sample is due to the need to cater for the possibility of some questionnaires being filled out incorrectly; but based on the results of preliminary processing of the information obtained it was decided not to disregard the questionnaires in which some of the questions were not answered. Therefore, when calculating the structure of answers to each question, the total number of answers was used as the basis for determining the percentages, which in each case exceeded the estimated sample size.

3. Results

According to the survey results, the socio-demographic structure of women involved in looking for suitable work with the help of the state employment agency services is as follows:

- by age: 18-24 years old (2.7%); 25-29 years old (9.6%); 30-34 (19.2%); 35-39 (19.5%); 40-54 (44.6%); 55 and over (4.5%);
- by education: university degree - 63.1%; vocational secondary education - 22.3%, secondary general education (11 classes) - 10.7%, basic education (9 years) - 3.9%;
- by the number of children: childless - 23.0%; one child - 40.2%; two children - 29.7%; three children - 6.8%; more than three - 0.3%;
- by marital status: officially married - 45.8%; married (common-law marriage, cohabitation) - 14.6%; not married - 39.6%.

Below is a fragment of a summary of women's responses that served as the basis for calculating the indicators of the spread of teleworking and willingness to work remotely (Table 2).

Table 2: Fragment of a summary of the results of the survey of women who applied to Yekaterinburg Centre for Employment

Question wording	Yes		No	No answer	Difficult to answer	Total number of answers
	people	%	people			
Have you had a distance employment experience?	48	14.2	291	4	-	339
Have you ever been offered distance employment?	279	83.3	56	8	-	335
Would you like to work from home?	138	41.7	89	12	104	331

Source: Authors

As it can be seen, both women's and employers' interest in distance employment is fairly strong. 14.2% of the respondents had an experience of teleworking in 2018. This number has increased compared with the results of our previous studies in 2015-2016, when distance employment in the municipalities of Sverdlovsk region ranged from 5 to 7%, with the highest rate in Yekaterinburg, and the lowest - in small, depressed localities of the region. It cannot be said that the results of the current study are fully comparable with the previously obtained results, since the analysis of the gender aspect was not conducted. However, we can state that the trend of growing remote employment in the Russian labour market continues.

In our opinion, the spread of distance employment can be considered as an indicator of its economic and social efficiency. On the one hand, employers, maximizing profits, tend to use the most effective forms of organising labour and business processes. On the other hand, the degree of women's readiness to work remotely can be considered a reflection of the social effectiveness of this non-standard form of employment. Over 80% of the women surveyed received offers to work remotely at least once; more than 40% would like to work in this way; 14% have real experience of distance work. Based on these data, it can be concluded that this form of employment is highly efficient in both economic and social terms.

A preliminary assessment of the presence/absence and possible nature of the correlation between the conditions of distance employment and socio-cultural, family, parental, and reproductive spheres of women's lives, showed the following results. According to the majority of the women surveyed, the conditions of distance employment will not have a significant impact on the indicators of their own health or on the health of their family members (Table 3).

Table 3: The structure of the respondents' answers to the question "If you worked from home, in your opinion …?", %

The question ending	would not change	would improve	would become worse
Your health	74.7	5.1	20.2
Your children's and family members' health	69.1	3.5	27.3

Source: Authors

However, more than 20% of women believe that distance employment can have a positive effect, especially on their children's health. It is likely that the logic behind this opinion is as follows: less time spent commuting - more time for children; more time at home - better care, more attention to children, and so on. Table 4 summarizes the other subjective statements women made.

Table 4: The structure of the respondents' answers to the question "If you worked from home, in your opinion …?", %

The question ending	**yes**	**rather yes than no**	**rather no than yes**	**no**	**nothing would change**
You would take your children to theatres, concerts, exhibitions and other social and cultural functions more often	19.5	39.9	10.9	4.6	25.1
You would have an opportunity to devote time to develop and educate your children	27.5	38.3	5.4	6.8	22.0
You would have more time for social, cultural and spiritual life	16.4	37.9	9.4	7.0	29.2
You would have more time for yourself, for relaxing and socializing with friends	19.5	38.7	8.6	7.9	25.2
You would have an opportunity to study (develop professionally, etc.)	15.6	29.2	14.6	15.6	24.9
Your home would be cleaner, cozier	23.0	30.1	10.1	5.7	31.1
Your family would have a healthier diet	20.7	30.5	7.8	6.8	34.2

Source: Authors

Only a third of the women believe that distance employment will not affect their quality of life. At least 15-27% of the women are sure that certain aspects of their life will improve. If you add to this number those who chose the option "Rather yes than no", then the probability of a positive effect of the transition to remote employment on other areas of life is indicated by 40 to 60% of the respondents. According to the women surveyed, distance employment will not significantly influence their relationships with their husbands: 50% are sure that nothing will change, 26% found it difficult to answer, 20% of respondents see possible improvements, 3.7% indicated a possible deterioration in the relationships with their husbands due to the transition to distance work. 67.1% of the women found it difficult to answer the question "If you worked remotely, in your opinion, your income .....?" At the same time, 18.1% think that it could increase; 9.5% answered that it would not change and 5.3% believe it would grow.

The balance of various spheres of life is one of the topical problems in the field of gender studies: the balance of work and leisure and family time; work and time for keeping the house; socially useful work and reproductive labour - upbringing children. In this regard, the women were asked a question aimed at confirming or refuting the hypothesis about the possible impact of employment conditions on the attitudes to reproductive behaviour (Table 5).

Table 5: The structure of the respondents' answers to the question "If you worked from home, in your opinion, would you be willing to have a child (another child)?", %

Answer options	Share, %
Yes	15.7
Rather yes than no	14.4
Rather no than yes	9.4
No	34.1
Difficult to answer	26.4

Source: Authors

The obtained data did not clarify the situation; rather, they confirmed the results of other studies on parental attitudes, in particular, those done by the researchers from the Ural research team, according to which socio-economic factors do not influence the quantitative parameters of birth rate (Bagirova et al, 2014). However, it cannot be said that female distance employment adversely affects their motivation to have children. About a third of the respondents would decide to have a baby if they worked from home.

The respondents' positive attitude to remote work is confirmed by their answers to the question about the preferred form of employment ("What kind of employment would you prefer if you had a choice?"). 63.7% of the women answered they would choose standard employment on the employer's premises; 36.3% chose remote employment. Thus, more than a third preferred distance employment, which is more than two times higher than the percentage of women with real experience of working remotely, that is, these opinions are not supported by first-hand experience, they are subjective, based on assumptions, and require further study using qualitative methods.

4. Conclusion

The results of our empirical study of the women imaginations related to the possible impact of the remote work features on the quality of their life and their family members, as well as on the childbirth decision, allow us to draw the following conclusions.

The use of quantitative sociological methods has proved its feasibility and enabled the authors to obtain information about the prevalence of distance employment among women in the Russian labour market, to identify the level of willingness and desire to work remotely, which in the absence of official statistics of distance employment can be attributed to scientific novelty. The spread of female distance employment in Yekaterinburg is wide and has prospects for further expansion (14% of women in the labour market have experience in remote work). This trend is characteristic of other major Russian cities, although regional differences cannot be excluded.

For the first time, empirical data on women's perceptions of the advantages and disadvantages of teleworking have obtained and summarized, as well as the predominance of its positive perception has revealed. Summarizing the evaluations obtained, distance employment can be considered a factor in improving the quality of women's life in socio-cultural, family, parental, and reproductive spheres. For most of the parameters studied, more than 20% of the women report an increase in social efficiency as a result of working from home. The highest probability of improvements in women's life due to the transition to distance employment is observed in such areas as: upbringing and educating children; home comfort; healthy diet in the family; taking children to cultural functions. The high readiness of women looking for a job to find distance employment has been revealed: 36% will prefer the remote format to traditional employment.

It can be argued that the distance form of employment belongs to the group of effective forms of the labour relations for women, especially for women with children of preschool and school age. This justifies the need to further improve the state tools for managing female employment in the regions, to adjust employment programmes taking into account the growing digitalisation of the economy. The information obtained will help take a new approach to the issues of assisting women in finding employment, especially those living in remote localities outside large municipalities.

Development of state programs to promote the women employment at the remote jobs should be carried out in following phases.

First stage: scaling the author's methodology for conducting a sociological survey of women in the labour market. At present, surveys are being conducted in other Russian cities, which will make it possible to subsequently conduct a comparative analysis of the socio-economic efficiency of female distance employment in cities with varying populations, situated at varying distances from large administrative centres of the country.

Second stage: development of a theoretical model based on behavioural theories, which allows categorization of women who apply to state employment services for assistance.

Third stage: standardization of regulations for the provision of public services to women in the labour market, depending on the category assigned. For women who are willing to work remotely, but do not have such experience, it is necessary to provide special training programs.

We consider it promising to conduct an empirical research on the pros and cons of telework in the men perceptions. The results of such study will make it possible to carry out a comparative analysis of the relationship of women and men to remote employment, and to identify a gender gap.

Quantitative research methods did not allow authors to unequivocally confirm or refute the existence of a relationship between the distance employment characteristics and the women parental attitudes within reproductive behaviour. Further research of this project direction should be carried out using qualitative tools, such as in-depth interviews and content analysis of personal accounts posted on the Internet. These techniques will allow us to obtain qualitative characteristics of women's motivation for distance employment, socio-psychological and economic results of combining remote work with parental functions. This is the prospective direction for our further research.

The study of the relationship between the development of distance employment and the parenthood institution may be of scientific interest for researchers engaged in gender sociology and reproductive behaviour, as well as for researchers of women employment in the labour market.

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Can Entrepreneurship Education Bridge the gap? STEMM Women's Entrepreneurial and Commercialisation Activity

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Abstract: The deficit between academic research and its commercialisation has been lamented for some time. To address this deficit, there have been many calls for entrepreneurship education (EE) interventions to be delivered to Science, Technology, Engineering, Mathematics and Medical (STEMM) students and early-career researchers (ECRs). This is because STEMM students and ECRs are considered most likely to have research outputs that can be translated into mainstream, commercial products and processes. Given that short-term entrepreneurship education interventions have been shown to impact upon entrepreneurial intentions and competence development among students, enhancing the likelihood of STEMM student and ECR commercialisation could be achieved through such short-term, extra-curricular offerings. This paper draws upon data from a short-term, UK-wide, National entrepreneurship education intervention targeting STEMM ECRs, which has run for twenty-three years. An independent evaluation has shown this initiative assists entrepreneurial competence development among participants. However, research shows that women in STEMM are less likely than their male counterparts to engage in commercialisation or spin-out activities and that the benefit of EE for women has also been questioned. While this national best-practice exemplar of targeted STEM entrepreneurship education has been shown to positively influence entrepreneurial competence development, this finding was not gender disaggregated. From a critical feminist perspective, this paper explores if the outcomes of this programme may be gendered and, if so, seeks to identify such differences and the ensuing implications for using EE to promote STEMM women's commercialisation propensity. We undertook an online survey of former participants to identify whether the perceived benefits and impact of the programme differed by gender, prior to undertaking personal interviews with women who had previously participated in the scheme and a focus group with young women currently participating in the programme. We find evidence of gendered barriers and outcomes and conclude with recommendations for further research and considerations for those seeking to support commercialisation activity among STEMM women.

Keywords: STEMM, entrepreneurship education, gender, commercialisation, academic entrepreneurship

1. Introduction

The commercialisation of academic research is sought for economic development purposes (Davey, Hannon and Penaluna, 2016) and has attracted academic and policy attention. Academic entrepreneurship traditionally described academics who engage in company start-up, however, the term now includes a spectrum of knowledge transfer and exchange activities (D'Este and Perkmann, 2011). Research has explored the characteristics of individual entrepreneurial academics (D'Este and Perkmann, 2011), establishing that academics possessing previous entrepreneurial experience are more likely to engage in commercialisation (Abreu and Grinevich, 2017). However, there are skills deficits among STEMM researchers in relation to entrepreneurship and commercialisation (Wilson, Kickul and Marlino, 2007; Ebersberger and Pirhofer, 2011). EE is not typically included within scientific curricula (Henry and Treanor, 2010; 2012) and it has been argued that providing post-graduate management or entrepreneurship education would enhance willingness to spin-out (Wilson et al, 2007). The potential for EE to assist in competence development and attitudinal change to support enhanced rates of academic entrepreneurship and commercialisation activity has been recognised, with short-term interventions proven to influence entrepreneurial attitudes and intentions (Fayolle and Gailly, 2015); thus engaging STEMM ECRs in short-term EE interventions could prove effective.

A gender gap has also been identified, with women in STEMM less likely to commercialise or be interested in commercialisation than their male counterparts (Ebersberger and Pirhofer, 2011; Abreu and Grinevich, 2017) and less likely to be involved in patents or start spin-out ventures (Abreu and Grinevich, 2017). It could be assumed that providing EE to STEMM women would offer a solution, however, the benefit of EE for women has been questioned (Westhead and Solesvik, 2016). Thus, while EE has the potential to equip STEMM ECRs with the requisite competencies that can promote commercialisation overall, this may have unintentional gendered outcomes in that the gap between male and female commercialisation could increase.

This paper outlines the findings of a small-scale study conducted with participants of YES (Young Entrepreneurs Scheme) - a long-running, STEMM-focussed EE intervention that has been shown to assist entrepreneurial competence development (Rasmussen, Mosey and Wright, 2011; Mosey, Noke and Binks, 2012). Having

quantitatively explored if the outcomes and impacts for participants may be gendered, we draw upon qualitative data from semi-structured interviews with female former participants and a focus group with female current participants, to identify gendered barriers influencing STEMM women's commercialisation before considering the potential for EE to promote STEMM women's entrepreneurial activity.

2. Literature review

2.1 Women's entrepreneurship

The gendered stereotypes underpinning women's horizontal and vertical segregation in the workplace is well rehearsed (Bradley, 2013). STEMM careers remain gendered masculine even when numerically dominated by women (Treanor, 2016) leading to early career exit and inhibited career progression (McAdam, 2012). This results in many women seeking to escape the glass ceiling by starting their own business (McAdam, 2012), although gendered employment barriers and outcomes can hamper women's accrual of financial, human and social capital, impacting upon their entrepreneurial activities (McAdam, 2012). In terms of academic entrepreneurship, women are less likely to report their inventions (Colyvas, Snellman, Bercovitz and Feldman, 2012) and men were more than twice as likely as women to hold patents (13% vs 6%) (Ding, Murray and Stuart, 2006). Interestingly, this effect was more pronounced in academia; while men were 1.4 times more likely than women to patent in industry, they were 2.3 times more likely to do so in the academic context. More recently, Abreu and Grinevich (2017) established the gender gap between UK academics is "fairly large and statistically significant" (p.773) across a range of commercialisation activities including patenting (6.1%), licensing (3.9%) and spin-outs (3.2%). However, they recognised that some disciplines are more conducive to commercialisation and spin-out activity e.g. life sciences, engineering, physical sciences etc.; those disciplines where women remain under-represented. Further investigation, however, highlighted that the gender gap was greater in those disciplines with higher spin-out activity leading them to conclude that *"that women are both under-represented in high-entrepreneurship disciplines, and are less likely to be involved in academic entrepreneurship even if they are in the ''right'' disciplines"* (Ibid, p. 775). Xie and Shauman (2003) found women often self-selected into streams that were regarded as family-friendly.

Horizontal segregation (the sorting or self-selection of women into specific disciplines or types of research that are less likely to result in commercialisation) contributes to lower rates of commercialisation activity by women. However, a significant proportion of the remaining gap can be accounted for by vertical segregation effects. That is, academic entrepreneurship is greater among senior academics (such as professors) who have more extensive networks and previous experience of commercialisation. This cohort of academics is "*overwhelmingly male*" (Stephan and El Ganainy, 2007). Evidence shows that seniority, academic field and level of institutional support all influence commercialisation activity at all stages (Stephan, Gurmu, Sumell and Black, 2007; Haeussler and Colyvas 2011) and that such personal and institutional differences account for a large proportion of the gap (61%), with discrimination and potentially other unknown factors accounting for the remainder (Abreu and Grinevich, 2017).

2.2 Entrepreneurship education

The provision of EE in Universities has increased dramatically since the early 1990s (Hisrich, 2006; Davey et al, 2016) with the majority of studies reporting positive effects (Martin et al, 2013; Davey et al, 2016; Fayolle and Gailly, 2015). The ability of EE to foster entrepreneurial competencies and behaviours has long been established (Verheul, Audretsch and Thurik, 2002) with positive effects on entrepreneurial intention among science and engineering students found to be greater when targeted specifically to their discipline (Maresch, Harms, Kailer and Wimmer-Wurm, 2016).

However, there is some debate as to whether EE has similar outcomes for male and female students (Westhead and Solesvik, 2016). Wilson et al (2007) report that entrepreneurship education increases self-efficacy for female students more so than for male students; however, male students reported higher levels of entrepreneurial self-efficacy at the outset. Ersberger and Pirhofer (2011) found that post-graduate management education moderated the gender gap in willingness to engage in academic entrepreneurship, indeed "*almost offsetting the gender effect*" (p.841). Bae et al (2014) established that entrepreneurship education resulted in a significant positive link with entrepreneurial intention that was stronger than the link between general management education and entrepreneurial intention. Some contend that women acquire different skills from EE (DeTienne and Chandler, 2007) which may impact upon their lower entrepreneurial intentions (Westhead and Solesvik,

2016). However, research exploring the outcomes of EE for women students generally is scarce (Westhead and Solesvik, 2016) with most evaluations of EE offerings not exploring outcomes for women participants (Bae et al, 2014). There is a dearth of research exploring EE outcomes for STEMM women.

2.3 The YES programme

The YES programme is a national EE intervention specifically targeting STEMM doctoral students and ECRs (particularly in the sciences, medicine and engineering – those disciplines more conducive to commercialisation and spin-out activity (Abreu and Grinevich, 2017). The programme has run annually in the UK for 22 years and aims to raise awareness of the commercialisation process and engender entrepreneurial competences. It is an extra-curricular, optional activity in which self-selecting teams of ECRs, from any UK University or research institute, prepare business plans for a hypothetical start-up company, based on plausible science. The programme culminates in a competition whereby, following two days of residential workshops where they develop and refine their plans, they pitch to a panel of investors for equity investment on a competitive basis on the third morning. Prior to the residential events, participants engage in an online seminar, online Q&A sessions and benefit from mentoring via LinkedIn over a period of a few months. The YES website contains vlogs, quotes, reflective pieces, mini case studies of former participants and examples of previous winning pitches, all of which provide role models and convey the standard of entries. The residentials are held in industry settings and provide a mix of mini-lectures on specific topics such as accessing equity finance, marketing, intellectual property and patenting, presentation skills and business planning etc. which are then followed by mentoring sessions to assist participants in translating the information into a strategic plan for effectively commercialising their idea. Guest speakers also include former YES participants who have established spin-out companies talking about their experience of the process and offering advice; additionally, industry stakeholders come to discuss their research and development activities and equity innovation funds. The business mentors and advisers who support the groups during the residential include entrepreneurship educators, management consultants, venture capitalists, business angels, technology transfer officers from Universities, patenting experts and STEMM business owners. The guest speakers, business advisors and mentors are both male and female. Within their teams, participants acts as entrepreneurs, adopting different roles within the entrepreneurial founding team such as CEO, CSO and so on. The residential competition workshops afford an immersive, experiential learning opportunity and incorporates many elements of recognised good practice in terms of EE pedagogy (Westhead and Solesvik, 2016).

YES was subject to a matched cohort, external evaluation by its primary funders BBSRC after fifteen years. YES was found to have engendered significant and noticeable skills development among former participants (Webb, 2010) with entrepreneurial competency development established (Rasmussen et al, 2011). This external evaluation also established that a higher proportion of former YES participants were employed in industry than their peers who did not participate and that they also enjoyed a 25% salary uplift (Webb, 2010).

3. Methodology

This research sought to explore the impacts and outcomes of YES participation for female YES alumni. Specifically, the existence of unintended gendered outcomes in terms of YES participation was being explored in order to consider the implications, if any, for delivering EE to women STEMM ECRs. In light of literature indicating gendered experiences and outcomes in terms of STEMM career progression and academic entrepreneurship, we sought to explore whether such sex-based differentials existed among YES alumni through comparative quantitative analysis. Thus, we employed an online survey to attain some baseline data in relation to former participants' views of the YES programme, their career aspirations at the time of participation, subsequent career progression and commercialisation and technology transfer activities. This also facilitated our ability to identify women YES alumni willing to participate in follow-up personal interviews that would enable us to collate rich data to gain insights into the experiences and understandings these women had of their career outcomes and ascertain the influence of gender, understood as a social construct that differentially distributes power through social networks (McAdam, 2012), in relation to these experiences and outcomes. A mixed method approach is useful in such circumstances (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007).

Survey Monkey, the online electronic survey platform, was used to administer a short survey to former YES participants. A call for participants and a link to the survey was posted on the YES LinkedIn group. While there are over 5,000 members of this group, only 1,032 of those members are active members engaging with the YES group. However, 370 responses were received which represents a response rate of c. 36%; 57% (n=210) of those

responses were from female former YES participants and 43% (n=160) from males. Women constitute the majority of former YES participants but the gender ratio is 52:48, female to male. Our survey therefore had a slightly higher representation of females than the typical YES cohort. However, given that a key aim was to identify women who would take part in personal interviews, this was not a concern. The survey asked respondents what their career aspirations were at the time they participated in YES, what their current role is, what knowledge and skills they derived from YES participation, if it influenced their subsequent career pathway, if they had been subsequently been involved in commercialisation, knowledge transfer or spin-out activities and if they had any recommendations for improving the YES programme. Participants were also asked if they would take part in a follow-up research study. Sixty-seven percent (n=71) of female respondents agreed to participate in the follow-up research activity. However, given a short timeline for initial exploratory interviews among a group of women dispersed nationally, 8 interviews were conducted for the purposes of this paper.

4. Findings

As Table 1 illustrates, participants were primarily interested in pursuing an academic career at the time of YES participation. Whilst approximately one in four YES alumni had considered commercialisation or spin-out activity as a possible career route prior to YES participation, this group contained twice as many males as females.

Table 1: Gender disaggregated career aspirations at time of YES participation

Career Aspirations at time of YES	All Respondents (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
Lab researcher	38	36	40
Academic career	44	43	45
Corporate career	32	31	31
Commercialisation/Spin-Out Opportunity	26	37	18

As respondents could select more than one career of interest at that time, answers do not tally to 100%.

Table 2: Gender disaggregated current career descriptors for YES alumni

Career Description now	All Respondents (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
Lab researcher	27	33	20
Academic career	24	26	22
Corporate career	43	41	47
Commercialisation/Spin-Out Opportunity	25	23	27

In terms of those who actually pursued commercialisation or spin-out careers, we find that women were slightly more likely than men to have done this. It is also noteworthy that while academic and lab careers were those that most YES alumni were aware of and interested in pursuing when they participated in YES, it appears (Table 2) that many moved into corporate careers instead.

During the course of interviews, some of the women highlighted that the short-term, insecure employment that comes with academic research contracts may were unappealing to many women, especially those with ambitions of having a family. As Interviewee 5 highlighted "*70 – 80% of graduates at my Uni were women. It's the career structure and the instability of careers in science - particularly if women are thinking about maternity leave and having stable employment; two-year contracts don't work like that.*" Interviewee 6, however, felt forced to seek an alternative to an academic career when her "*old-fashioned – no! Blatantly sexist*" supervisor told her "*You'll never be a group leader. Women are better going into industry or doing something else."* As a result she began her own company.

As Interviewee 8 highlights, gendered attitudes and discrimination cause horizontal and vertical segregation in STEMM careers in both academia and industry:

> *"It is still seen as a man's world. From my own experience…you get into the lower levels but to rise it is harder; you are held back, and as soon as you have children it's a negative. It doesn't matter how dedicated you are. It is the attitude of men…Most of them are slightly older and running the show. It is very much a man's world – in academia too!! Women have to work twice as hard to get to the same role. Even at universities there are a lot of female students but it does not translate - inside industry, especially with senior jobs; junior jobs you will get technicians and RA's but when*

you get up to the senior jobs they [women] are just not there! Throughout your career you get a lot of knockbacks and in the 21st century you think a lot has changed but in reality, there are problems."

Having worked in both academic and industry settings, Interviewee 8 has since begun her own science-related business having experienced gender discrimination which hampered her career progression.

To explore the existence, or not, of vertical segregation among this sample, we interrogated the data for alumni aged over thirty years. Overall, 34% of women held a senior leadership or management role in contrast to 41% of men where the ratio of men to women was 4:5 in the subsample. The contrast in seniority was stark among the 35-39 year old age group with only 32% of women holding senior positions in this age category in contrast to 61% of males. This coincides with the age at which women pose a 'maternity-threat' or may have childcare responsibilities.

Participants were asked about their entrepreneurial and commercialisation activities since YES (see Table 3). This revealed that 42 of the alumni had personally established a new venture, 26 (62%) of which were males and 16 (38%) female. These figures are in keeping with rates of male and female entrepreneurship more generally (McAdam, 2012). While seventy-five percent of respondents were employees, predominately in corporate employment, 5% of respondents were currently full-time employed as either an equity partner or Director or a sole proprietor of a firm: 10 partners/equity directors and 8 sole proprietors. Despite narratives of women being less entrepreneurial, 5 of the 8 sole proprietors were women. This may be a peculiarity of this sample or suggestive of women escaping the glass ceiling and becoming self-employed (Kickul, Gundry and Sampson, 2007). Men slightly outnumbered women (6:4) in partner or directorship roles, perhaps reflecting gendered barriers to women's career advancement to partnership and leadership roles reported in the literature (Carter and Spence, 2014; Bunker-Whittington, 2011).

Table 3: Gender disaggregated data on respondent innovation and commercialisation activity

	For University Employer (n=)	For Corporate Employer (n=)	Personally (n=)
Commercialised IP	34	33	7
Male	*18*	*20*	*3*
Female	*16*	*13*	*4*
Set up a new venture	16	16	42
Male	*8*	*9*	*26*
Female	*8*	*7*	*16*
Applied for a patent	27	23	11
Male	*13*	*13*	*7*
Female	*14*	*10*	*4*
Been involved in a patent	49	42	17
Male	*24*	*26*	*8*
Female	*25*	*16*	*9*
Evaluated Business	29	66	40
Male	*16*	*40*	*25*
Female	*13*	*26*	*15*
Evaluated Commercialisation Opportunities	42	69	48
Male	*21*	*35*	*31*
Female	*20*	*34*	*17*

Despite the literature establishing sex-based differences in academic entrepreneurship, our alumni report fairly equitable engagement across the range of academic entrepreneurship activities. Greater differentials between men and women were observed in relation to commercialising IP or being involved in a patent within corporate settings which differs from Ding et al's (2006) findings that these differentials were greater in an academic context.

In seeking to explore whether EE had a negative impact on intention to commercialise or engage in commercialisation activity, Tables 4 and 5, highlight that some male and female participants reported negative impacts of YES participation on their confidence in their ability to, interest in and intention to start a business. The proportions of male and female participants who felt less confident in their ability to start an enterprise or

who were less interested in starting a business were not very different. However, there was a greater differential in the proportion and scale of female YES alumni reporting a negative impact upon their intention.

Table 4: Impact on female participants' entrepreneurial/commercialisation intent

Impact on Female Participants' Entrepreneurial or Commercialisation Disposition/Intent	1	2	3	4	5	Total	Weighted average
Confidence in Own Ability to Start a Business	4.28% 8	12.30% 23	46.52% 87	28.88% 54	8.02% 15	187	3.24
Interest in Starting a Business or Commercialising an Idea	7.49% 14	8.56% 16	45.99% 86	27.81% 52	10.16% 19	187	3.25
Intention to Start a Business or Commercialise an Idea	8.02% 15	9.63% 18	56.68% 106	18.72% 35	6.95% 13	187	3.07

Table 5: Impact on male participants' entrepreneurial/commercialisation intent

Impact on Female Participants' Entrepreneurial or Commercialisation Disposition/Intent	1	2	3	4	5	Total	Weighted average
Confidence in Own Ability to Start a Business	2.92% 4	12.41% 17	29.93% 41	34.31% 47	20.44% 28	137	3.57
Interest in Starting a Business or Commercialising an Idea	3.65% 5	9.49% 13	24.82% 34	31.39% 43	30.66% 42	137	3.76
Intention to Start a Business or Commercialise an Idea	5.11% 7	7.30% 10	31.39% 43	35.04% 48	21.17% 29	137	3.6

Forty-four percent of survey respondents indicated that participating in YES had impacted upon their subsequent career. However, the impact reported was greater for male participants (55% of male alumni reported an impact upon their subsequent career as opposed to 37% of women). It appears that male YES alumni derived more benefit from their participation in YES. This is consistent with the literature reporting enhanced outcomes for males completing entrepreneurship education interventions.

However, those women who reported an impact from YES participation upon their subsequent career, deemed it as being very influential and long-lasting with some saying "*it still inspires me to start my own business someday*"; this perhaps echoes Souitaris, Zerbinati and Al-Laham's (2007) finding that EE interventions can provide inspiration which is often an overlooked and under-rated outcome.

5. Discussion

This research has limitations; the survey draws upon a small sample, it is also acknowledged that, as individuals self-select to participate in YES, it may be that these participants may be more predisposed to engage in academic entrepreneurship or commercialisation activity than their non-participating STEMM counterparts. These findings are not positioned as being representative of the experiences of women in STEMM generally or indeed of all female participants of this programme. These findings echo some of the findings in the extant literature with some notable differences and raise questions for consideration in terms of supporting women's progression in STEMM careers.

As ECRs female participants reported being less interested in engaging in academic entrepreneurship and commercialisation activity than their male counterparts, at the time of participating in YES, consistent with extant findings (Ersberger and Pirhoffer, 2011; Albreu and Grinevich, 2017). However, when looking at the actual career outcomes, the women in this sample were as likely to have engaged in academic entrepreneurship and more likely to currently be a full-time owner of a firm. This may be a peculiarity of the particular cross-sectional data collated at the point in time this research was undertaken. Certainly, male alumni were more likely to have started a venture personally than their female counterparts. Alternatively, this could be regarded as supporting the findings that post-graduate management, or more specifically entrepreneurship education, would compensate for the gender effect (Ersberger and Pirhoffer, 2011) and enhance STEMM women's willingness to spin-out (Wilson et al, 2007).

In terms of the gendered barriers that may affect STEMM women's commercialisation propensity, it seems that STEMM women continue to face gendered professional landscapes that can inhibit their career progression. These experiences and constraints result in bounded perceptions of opportunity, channelling some women into

family-friendly employment in corporate settings with secure employment and suitable maternity provisions. Frequently, these are in commercialisation and Technology Transfer related posts. Other women, however, escape the glass ceiling to establish their own business ventures. While others still, precariously employed on fractional and short-term contracts do not recognise gender as a mediating factor on their career outcomes to date.

This study provides some support for Fayolle and Gailly's (2015) contention that short-term EE interventions can have long-term impacts upon entrepreneurial intention given some of the feedback from interviewees and survey respondents who identify the ongoing inspiration, derived from YES participation, to start their own enterprise (Souitaris et al, 2007). This may relate to the YES programme being tailored specifically for the STEMM context in terms of biotechnology, medical and life science fields which is said to produce greater effects on entrepreneurial intention (Maresch et al, 2016).

In relation to entrepreneurship education for STEMM women, it appears that women derive greater self-confidence, or indeed entrepreneurial self-efficacy (Wilson et al, 2007), from postgraduate management and EE interventions. However, this is likely explained by the fact that women may be starting such interventions from a lower confidence position. Future research exploring self-efficacy differentials prior to and post EE interventions, in addition to entrepreneurial intention before and after, would be very useful. If these measurements were undertaken as part of a longitudinal cohort tracking study, this would provide greater insights into the longevity of effects, and the relationship between such measurements and subsequent career outcomes.

In terms of the YES programme, these findings suggest that it positively impacts upon participants' knowledge and skills development and, while providing greater knowledge and understanding of commercialisation, inspires some participants to engage in spin-out activity, commercialisation or new venture creation in their future career. However, the data indicates that male alumni perceive that they derived greater benefits from participation than their female counterparts. This suggests some sex-based effects in terms of perceived outcomes among the cohort that were not necessarily anticipated by the YES delivery team.

These preliminary findings will, therefore, inform a research agenda for the YES programme team. Greater exploration of current data held will be undertaken to further investigate patterns and relationships. Further interviews are required with women alumni to gain greater insights into the variability of these women's experiences. Going forward, longitudinal data can be gained pre- and post-programme as part of a cohort tracking study.

In terms of addressing the research questions, these findings suggest that STEMM women continue to face gender barriers in their careers, experiencing horizontal and vertical segregation. Such segregation has been shown to negatively impact upon women's propensity to engage in commercialisation or spin-out activity. These preliminary findings also suggest that a short-term intervention, in addition to fostering entrepreneurial competence development, may provide entrepreneurial inspiration for participants over the longer term. We caveat that statement with acknowledgement that those alumni most likely to participate in this research may have been those for whom the programme did have most impact which could skew results in a relatively small sample. Notwithstanding the limitations of this study, we do consider there are wider implications for the future delivery of, and expectations from, the YES programme and STEMM EE interventions.

6. Conclusion

The YES programme represents a 'good practice' exemplar in terms of entrepreneurship education delivery and androgogy, for example: combining, individual and team research, mini-lectures, independent learning, group work, guest speakers and case studies from a range of sectors and business types who can relay their personal experiences, give advice and potentially inspire the next generation of STEMM innovators and entrepreneurs (Westhead and Solesvik, 2016). Participants benefit from blended learning, a problem-solving approach and experiential learning within a context-specific EE offering shown to foster entrepreneurial competencies among participants (Ramussen et al, 2011; Mosey et al, 2012; Maresch et al, 2016). In terms of meeting its objective to support greater commercialisation awareness and requisite skills and competences among STEMM ECRs, successive evaluations have found the programme to be successful and effective. However, as is common (Bae et al, 2014) those evaluations did not gender disaggregate data. In terms of contributing to bridging the

commercialisation gap reported in STEMM research, the YES programme appears to be worthwhile. However, this programme, and others like it, may have unintentional gendered effects. Given the interview data and wealth of literature indicating that STEMM professional contexts are highly gendered to the detriment of women, it is apparent that structural barriers still exist that inhibit STEMM women's career progression and likelihood of engaging in commercialisation or spin-out activity.

At best it is naïve to hold such great expectations of an EE intervention to equip STEMM women ECRs with sufficient strategies or enhanced agency to enable them to overcome deeply-embedded structural constraints and "institutional sexism". From a methodological perspective, the interview data and research method in this paper suggests that EE interventions undertaking quantitative analysis alone may report successful outcomes in terms of higher rates of women's subsequent business ownership. This may be erroneous however, as this may actually reflect women escaping the 'glass ceiling' due to the ongoing gendered inequalities experienced in STEMM workplaces and professions. While programmes such as YES are highly useful in helping STEMM ECRs generally to bridge the knowledge and skills gap, a continuing supply-side policy focus, encouraging young women to study STEMM subjects, is not sufficient. Instead of considering whether and how it may be best to address the elephant in the room with female EE participants overtly as part of an EE intervention, an approach that does not continue to place the onus on women to overcome their disadvantage may be more appropriate.

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Salary Negotiations: Highlights and Surprises From 10 Years of Research

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Abstract: In this paper, we present the results from three major research projects we conducted between 2007 and 2017. The first project "Gender-Specific Negotiation Skills and Their Impact on Salary and Promotion Negotiations" (2007–2009) focused on the preparation, performance, and success of the last salary negotiation conducted by male and female managers. The research method was an online survey. The second project "Successfully Negotiating Salary –Strategies of Female and Male Executives" (2011–2015) focused on the effectiveness of negotiation strategies. The research method here was an experiment. For this purpose, we produced four video clips each with an approximately five-minute sequence of a salary negotiation. We varied two variables: the gender of the person who asks for a salary increase and the negotiation strategy (win-win strategy vs. win-lose strategy). These video clips were shown to executives who filled out a questionnaire after seeing only one of the four short films. The third project "Follow-up study: Gender-Specific Negotiation Skills and Their Impact on Salary and Promotion Negotiations" (2017) was a follow-up project to the first one. It had been conducted to see if there would be modified results ten years after the first survey. The research method of this project also was an online survey. The purpose of this paper is to give an overview of the most interesting and surprising findings that we have achieved in this long-time research process. These can be briefly summarized as follows: First, changes happen very slowly. In 2017, just as what happened ten years before, female executives are still less successful in salary negotiations than male executives. Second, a variation of the research method (experiment instead of online-questioning) delivers conflicting results. Third, the success factors of salary negotiations are contradictory to what the guidebooks say. Neither the usual ways of preparing for a salary negotiation proved to be success factors, nor did the selection of a strategy. Instead, the sympathy for the negotiation partner and a self-confident and self-conscious attitude seem to be crucial. Fourth, there are gender differences in the definition of success in negotiations and gender-typical success factors that require further research.

Keywords: gender, gender pay gap, negotiation, negotiation skills, salary negotiation

1. Ten years–three research projects–one topic

There have been many changes concerning the participation of women in the labor market in recent decades. In many parts of the world, women have a high level of education and are very well represented in the workforce. For all that, some facts remain stable: women are underrepresented in more senior positions and female managers still experience the "glass ceiling effect." In Germany, the number of female managers is increasing, however, in 2015 only 30 percent of all managers were women (Holst and Friedrich 2017: 3). Women also earn considerably less money than their male colleagues. Currently, the German gender wage gap is about 21.0 percent (Destatis 2018). The unadjusted gender wage gap is determined by comparing the gross hourly wages of men and women. In 2016, Germany ranked third last in the European Union with a difference of 21.5 percent (see Eurostat 2016).

In the vertical division of labor, the gender pay gap can be noticed at every level in the hierarchy: in 2015 it was estimated to be 23.0 percent for management positions (Holst and Friedrich 2017: 9). The gap has not diminished considerably over the past decades and is, therefore, a continuing factor of inequality between the genders. In our view, it is the key indicator of the unequal treatment of working women, as almost all the problems which women must face in their working life are condensed in the gender pay gap. They include traditional gender role models still rife in Germany, practical or mental problems concerning the compatibility of family and career, and direct and indirect discrimination in the workforce (see German Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth 2010: 2).

The explanation of the gender pay gap in management and the depiction of possible solutions and actions are current topics in gender studies that have high relevance for attaining gender equality. The aim of our three major research projects in the last decade was to contribute to this discussion and to investigate the impact of negotiation skills and behaviors of male and female managers in this context.

The first project "Gender-Specific Negotiation Skills and Their Impact on Salary and Promotion Negotiations" (2007–2009) focused on the preparation, performance, and success of the last salary negotiation conducted by

male and female managers. More than 1,000 executives took part in the survey, with 810 participants filling out the entire questionnaire. Of these, 42.8 percent were male and 57.2 percent female (Ruppert and Voigt 2009).

The second project "Successfully Negotiating Salary –Strategies of Female and Male Executives" (2011–2015) focused on the effectiveness of negotiation strategies. For this purpose, we produced four video clips each with an approximately five-minute sequence of a salary negotiation. We varied two independent variables: the gender of the person who asks for a salary increase and the negotiation strategy. The negotiation strategy is either collaborative (win-win strategy) or competitive (win-lose strategy). In the first clip, a male negotiator negotiates in a collaborative manner which means that he considers the interests of the other side (win-win-strategy). In the second one, a female negotiator is conducting the same win-win-strategy. In clips three and four, both are using the competitive strategy which means that they have only their own interests in mind. They negotiate assertively and hard without worrying about the relationship with their negotiation partner (win-lose-strategy).

These video clips were shown to executives who filled out a questionnaire after seeing only one of the four short films. They were asked, in particular, to predict the success of the person who asked for a salary increase. We used two different dependent variables to measure the success of the male and the female person asking for a salary increase in the video clips. The first dependent variable was labeled *salary increase in the film.* It was based on the question "What percentage of a salary increase will the employee in the film realize in your opinion?". The second dependent variable was based on the question: "What percentage salary increase would the employee from the film realize if he had negotiated with you?" This variable was named *salary increase in reality*. Each clip was seen and evaluated by 90 executives. Of the 360 participants, 65.5 percent were male and 35.5 percent were female managers. Besides, we conducted the same experiment with students from our university to find out if there were any differences to the managers' assessments. The sample included 374 students, of which 45.6 percent were male and 54.4 percent female (see Ruppert and Voigt 2015a).

The third project "Follow-Up-Study: Gender-Specific Negotiation Skills and Their Impact on Salary and Promotion Negotiations" (2017–2018) was focused on the identification of changes in the results ten years after the first survey. Essentially, the methodology corresponded to the first study. There were 735 executives who took part in the survey, with 698 filling out the entire questionnaire. Of these, 47.4 percent were male and 52.6 percent female managers (see Voigt and Ruppert 2018).

In the following, we present some of our findings that are empirically substantiated and have been stable for over ten years. We also describe the big surprises we experienced in this long-term (ten years) research process.

2. Selected results: Highlights and surprises

2.1 Female executives are less successful in salary negotiations

Like the 2007 study, the 2017 follow-up study shows that female and male executives have very different outcomes from salary and career negotiations. Ten years after our first survey, female executives are still less successful than male executives. These findings are confirmed by various individual results (see Voigt and Ruppert 2018).

For one thing, women are less likely to receive a salary increase in general. In 2017, only one in five women stated that they had received more than two salary increases in the last five years whereas among men it was one in three. This difference by gender is highly significant ($p < 0.001$). Also, male managers were promoted much more often than females. This result is statistically significant ($p = 0.014$).

Secondly, the salary increases achieved by women were lower. A larger percentage of men (38.8 percent) men, compared to only 26.6 percent of women succeeded in realizing more than a ten percent increase in their last salary negotiations. This difference is also expressed in the arithmetic means calculated on the originally continuous variable. In their last salary negotiation, men realized an average salary increase of 11.69 percent and women 9.36 percent. This gender-typical difference is also statistically significant ($p = 0.049$).

Finally, in 2017, female executives were less likely to receive a higher salary and a better position at the same time. Therefore, they are in a less favorable starting position when it comes to the next round of salary negotiations.

From a researcher's point of view, we certainly can be pleased. These study results proved to be stable over a ten-year period, and are also statistically significant. However, from the female executives' perspective, this stagnation must be a great disappointment.

2.2 In film everything is different: Woman "beats" man

The result of our video experiment (second research project) where the negotiating female actor proved to be more successful than her male counterpart was surprisingly different (see Ruppert and Voigt 2015a).

Based on the results of our first study, we hypothesized at the beginning of the project that the man negotiating for a higher salary in the film would be considered more successful than the woman, regardless of the negotiation strategy. However, the executives who watched the video clips came to a different conclusion.

As mentioned above, we used two different dependent variables to measure the success of the man and woman asking for a salary increase in the video clips. The first dependent variable was labeled *salary increase in the film.* For this success variable we calculated an average of 6.3 percent for the female negotiator, and 5.5 percent for the male. The second dependent variable was named *salary increase in reality*. Concerning this variable, the difference between the genders appears to be even more pronounced. Here the average salary increase of our female protagonist is 7.1 percent compared to 5.5 percent for the male actor.

The primary outcome of this video experiment meant that we had to reject our own initial hypothesis that the male actor would be more successful. However, we thought it was good news for female executives. There seemed to be a positive development which we found very encouraging for women.

2.3 The financial sector appreciates tough women

Another hypothesis in our second study was based on the expectations on gender roles and gender-typical behavior that have been repeatedly discussed and demonstrated in numerous studies (see Babcock and Laschever 2007; Riley Bowles, Babcock and Lai 2007; Craver 2002; Tellhed and Björklund 2011; Wade 2001; Stuhlmacher and Walters, 1999; Walters et al., 1998).

Specifically, we assumed that assertive, hard negotiating (still) does not match the gender role expectations and that the woman in the film would achieve worse results than the man using this strategy. In other words, we assumed that the two independent variables (gender and type of negotiation strategy) would interact in a specific way. We also had to reject this hypothesis. The surveyed executives judged the female protagonist better regardless of the applied negotiation strategy.

And the surprise got even greater. We found a clear interaction effect in one subgroup of our sample. The executives from the financial sector (n = 70) rated the man negotiating in the film better when he negotiated collaboratively according to the Harvard Principles (win-win-strategy) (see Fisher, Ury and Patton 2012). By using this strategy, the surveyed executives predicted an average salary increase in the film of 5.9 percent compared to 5.2 percent when using the win-lose-strategy. In contrast, the female negotiator achieved an average of 6.1 percent when using the win-lose-strategy compared with only 5.4 percent when using the collaborative strategy.

From these results, it can be concluded that female executives are well advised to act more competitively at the right moment. Deviating from typical gender roles seems to be the road to success. The financial sector apparently appreciates tough women.

2.4 Sympathy beats strategy

Another big surprise arose in the second research project. It was clear to us from the beginning that we had to cast a male and a female actor of an equivalent level of sympathy for the video clips. To monitor how likable the executives found the person negotiating in the film, we had incorporated a control variable *sympathy* into the research design. Although we tried hard to select an actor and an actress who gave a similarly sympathetic

impression it seemed essential to us to monitor whether the executives of our sample would come to the same assessment. In short, the participants of our study rated the actress as slightly more likable than the male actor.

Consequently, at some point of our research process, we decided to include the control variable sympathy into the analysis. At the end of this process of data analysis, we had to draw the following conclusion. The two independent variables that were of our primary interest, *negotiation strategy* (with the values win-win and win-lose) and the *gender* of the person who negotiates for a higher salary are only weakly related to the predicted negotiating success. However, there is a strong connection between the variable sympathy and the two dependent variables salary increase in the film ($r = 0.311$, $p < 0.001$) and salary increase in reality ($r = 0.429$, $p < 0.001$). Even when conducting a variance analysis with three main effects (negotiation strategy, gender of the negotiating person, sympathy for the negotiating person), the factor sympathy proved to be highly significant. It explained about 10 percent of the variance in the dependent variable salary increase in the film and about 15 percent in the dependent variable salary increase in reality.

Common sense suggests that sympathy is likely to play a part in a salary negotiation. Nevertheless, it was surprising that this factor has much more influence than the strategy adopted in the negotiation (see Ruppert and Voigt 2015b).

2.5 Students overestimate the win-lose-strategy?

Interestingly, the video experiment conducted in parallel with students of our university showed that the assessments and expectations of the students differed from those of the executives. Executives are more likely to value the issue-oriented, collaborative negotiation strategy (win-win-strategy) for salary negotiations than the competitive strategy (win-lose-strategy). If they had to decide (dependent variable salary increase in reality), they would grant an average salary increase of 6.7 percent with the use of the collaborative strategy and 6.1 percent with the use of the win-lose-strategy. In contrast, the difference is minimal for the second dependent variable salary increase in the film (5.9 percent vs. 5.8 percent). The students came to different results. They expected an average of 6.2 percent of salary increase in the film using the issue-oriented, collaborative strategy and 6.6 percent using the win-lose- strategy. On the other hand, in this sample the percentage difference in the success variable salary increase in reality shrinks (7.1 percent vs. 7.2 percent).

These results can be interpreted in two completely different ways. It is conceivable that students (for example, due to the media representation of executives) overestimate the “hard bandages” in business and only in the course of their own professional activity will experience the benefits of collaboration. However, the opposite is also plausible. This may be considered as a trend reversal in the negotiation culture, which is already anticipated by the young students.

What also can be deducted from the numbers mentioned above: The expectations of the students about salary increases are higher than those of the executives. Students may have a slightly too optimistic view of what is achievable in salary negotiations.

2.6 Gender-typical constructs: Success does not equal success

For the classification of a salary negotiation as successful we combined (in 2007 and in 2017) an objective success variable (achieved salary increase in percent) with a subjective success variable (personal satisfaction with the negotiation result). Those who obtained a salary increase of at least 5.0 percent and had been “very satisfied” or at least “satisfied” with the outcome of the negotiation were classified as successful. All other participants were classified as not successful.

In our follow-up study from 2017, we wanted to check to what extent the objective and subjective component of this composed variable are related. The results came as a surprise. For male managers, the correlation ($r = 0.420$, $p < 0.001$) was proved although we had expected a higher value. In the group of the female executives, the measured correlation was so small ($r = 0.266$, $p = 0.010$) that it seems as if the salary increases achieved and the personal satisfaction with the outcomes of the negotiation have hardly anything to do with each other.

How satisfied female executives are with the result of a salary negotiation is, therefore, obviously very much related to other factors than the amount of the salary increase. The definition of success in a salary negotiation thus represents a gender-typical construct whose elucidation requires further research.

2.7 Well prepared –less successful?

Another result that we did not expect refers to the preparation for the negotiations. If you consider any guide to successful salary negotiation, you will find a whole range of recommended steps on how to prepare for a negotiation properly. Relevant seminars and training usually also focus on the topic of preparation.

Our research revealed few links between the preparation of the last salary negotiation and the success achieved. Thus, it seems to be minimally advantageous for male executives to find out about their own market value externally, to ask colleagues for comparable salaries, and to define a strategy for the negotiation. Among female executives, there is a weak positive relationship between settling for a minimum requirement and preparation for the negotiation partner, and the success in salary negotiations. Overall, the influence of most of the elements of preparation is either non-existent or even negative. In particular, "classical" types of preparation such as the listing of own achievements (χ^2 (303.1) = 13.45, p <0.001) and the written preparation (χ^2 (303.1) = 6.24, p = 0.013) stand in a significantly negative relation to the success of salary negotiations.

It is not easy to interpret these results. Would it be better to advise against the preparation of the salary negotiation altogether and to rely on intuitive improvisation? To draw this conclusion, contradicts not only what is recommended in the guidebook literature as well as in seminars and training, but also common sense. It is helpful here to realize once again that correlation does not state anything about causality. It is, of course, imaginable that executives who prepared themselves would have done much worse had they not. Conversely, it is also imaginable that those executives who already had "good cards" could afford to forego preparation and still go out of the negotiations as winners.

Regardless of how this result is interpreted, it remains a surprise and requires future research.

2.8 Male and female success models

As described in the last chapter, we did not find strong correlations between the different elements of preparing salary negotiations and being successful. So, one big question remains unanswered: What then are the main success factors? Our video experiment (second research project 2011–2015) suggested that sympathy plays an enormous role in the outcomes of salary negotiations. The findings of the online-questioning of executives about their latest salary negotiation (first project 2007–09 and follow-up-study 2017/18) reveal additional success factors for male and female negotiators. These results were generated by using the logistic regression analysis. Therefore, we built a model in which all variables of theoretical plausibility (attitudes toward negotiations, elements for the preparation of the negotiation, emotions before the negotiation, the course of the conversation, selected strategy), concerning the success of the negotiation, were included. For the subgroup of men, the calculated regression model turned out to be not particularly meaningful. Only one single variable proved to be relevant. The feeling of certainty to be successful before the negotiation enhances the probability of belonging to the group of successful negotiators (see Figure 1).

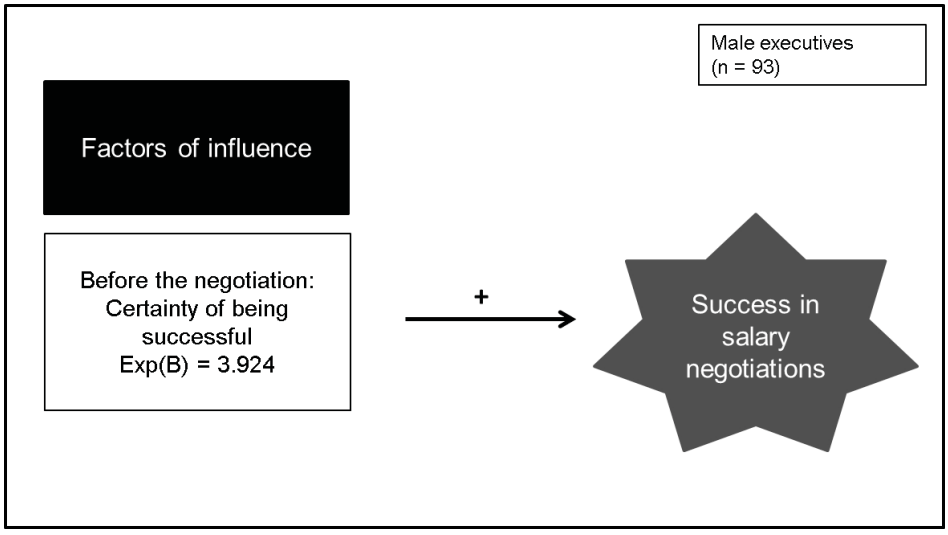


Figure 1: The male success model

For women, the model in which all relevant variables were included (n = 130) delivers an entirely different picture. This model shows a positive correlation between the success in salary negotiations and the following variables: younger age, personnel responsibility, an attitude that complies with the Harvard principles as well as a failure-avoiding attitude. As shown in Figure 2, the attitude complying with the Harvard concept increases the chance of success by a factor of 3.197. The failure-avoiding attitude has an even greater effect with an Exp (B) of 5.886. For the variables age and lack of personnel responsibility, the coefficients have a value of less than 1, which implies a negative correlation with the dependent variable (see Figure 2).

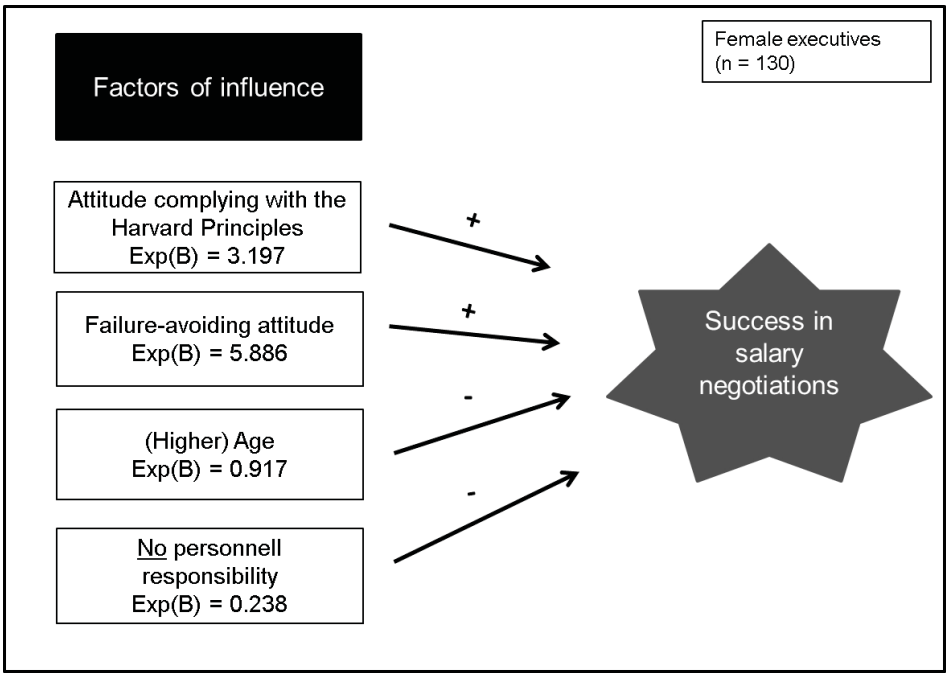


Figure 2: The female success model

3. Conclusion

Ten years of research on salary negotiations revealed a lot of surprises. We found that gender-typical patterns are more deeply rooted and that change is slow in coming. The "smaller" success of women in salary and promotion negotiations has remained unchanged over the past ten years. This is also true for the factors identified to exploit the potential for improvement. In our opinion, a positive and "sportier" attitude as well as a more focused and targeted preparation seem to be important. Ideally, both lead to a positive feeling of certainty of success and a confident performance in the salary negotiation. Also adopting an attitude complying with the Harvard Principles seems to be a success factor, at least for women. A lot of attention should be given to establishing a relationship with the superior as sympathy has more impact on success than the negotiation strategy. A deviation from stereotypical expectations also seems to be appreciated and rewarded by superiors. This is true for female executives in the financial sector. Working on your own attitude to negotiation could, therefore, prove to be the most crucial success factor for a successful salary negotiation in the long term.

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Implicit Bias: Root Cause of Discrimination Against Women in Construction

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Abstract: This article focuses on indirect bias as the root cause of historically generated gendered oppression which leads to the marginalization and underrepresentation of women in construction. Covert and gatekeeping institutional and social bias leads to discrimination from governments, markets, employers, and unions even though anti-discrimination policies are structurally embedded in the policies/customs/rules which regulate these institutions' behaviours. Implicit bias is problematic because it produces behaviour different from an individual's espoused beliefs, values, and principles and makes identifying discrimination, which by law must be intentional against a protected group, difficult to expose. Within an employment context, implicit bias affects how outreach, hiring, and retention policies are fashioned and the way employees are treated. Implicit bias's effect on policies relating to gender discrimination should be exposed and mediated because it negatively affects workers' job opportunities, earning ability, and job security and satisfaction. Situated in political economy theory which posits past influences contribute to the oppression of equity-seeking groups in the absence of collective action, implicit bias fosters gender discrimination, the historic marginalization of women, and the hiring and retention of women in construction. Addressing these deficiencies through strategies which encourage the inclusion of women in construction, strengthen legislative and workplace policies promoting women, and decrease masculine dominance in the workplace is necessary. The past's influence on the present and the unequal power relations and unequal access to resources between and among social groups/organizations is a component of a system of racial and gender oppression which historically marginalizes and disenfranchises equity-seeking groups and persists in institutional discrimination in the absence of collective action (Albelda, 2001). Using groups as a basic unit of analysis and assuming external influences (religions, economic systems, and social institutions) shape contextual relationships such as social experiences, situations, and circumstances which drive group behaviour, political economy theory defines groups as some set of individuals who share some interest and have a social relationship to other groups with which they share commonalities or compete for scarce resources. The nature of the group then is explored through "context, collective behaviour, conflicting interest, and change" (Albelda, 2013). Implicit bias contributes to present day gender oppression and discrimination as the result of past influences on women's place in society and roles in institutional and cultural environments.

Keywords: implicit bias, construction, institutional and social discrimination, women, construction

1. Background

Evidence as to why significant numbers of women fail to enter and remain in construction (Tomlinson, 2005, Dainity, 2004, Denissen, 2010) includes family/care giving duties, inflexible and/or long hours of work, masculine workplace cultures, employer's stereotypical attitudes, and few work-life balance initiatives. These outcomes are an extension of implicit biases' effect on social and institutional factors which historically relegate women to secondary power positions resulting in discriminatory racial and gendered beliefs, injustices, and policies against women and other equity seeking groups. Pre-1960, the taken-for-granted gendered division of labour conformed to societal roles based on economic and cultural systems which considered men as breadwinners and women as secondary or subservient. Post-1960, working women mobilized and agitated for change via women's caucuses, moved on to organizing for clerical jobs, and turned toward affirmative action to address women's poverty issues. Women continue to fight for their right to enter non-traditional jobs especially in the field of construction (Maclean, 1999).

Female equality owns a great deal to the Black civil rights organizations who fought for and won some employment discrimination reforms. The Negro American Labour Congress (NALC) was formed in 1961 to end "male-female differentials" for black women in wage earning positions (Maclean, 1999). Affirmative action, which addressed past racial and gendered injustices and established a barrier against future racial and gendered harm, became policy in the 1960s. Supporters and detractors of affirmative action sought a balance between equality for all and individual freedom; current affirmative action rulings have been weakened by the conservative courts (Wagner, 2015).

The Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII embedded into law antidiscrimination prohibitions making it illegal for employers to discriminate against protected classes or "adversely affect the status of anyone because of race, colour, religion, sex, or national origin" (SEC 2000e2 [Section 703a] (Tomaskovic-Devey, 2007). The intent and

interpretation of the law is questionable because the outcome depends on the ability of an individual in a protected class to "prove" an employer has intentionally discriminated.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), an agency formed in 1965 to enforce Title 7 of the Civil Rights Act (1964) and charged with monitoring and ending workplace discrimination, lacked enforcement power and staff and was ineffective in seeking redress for working women who constituted about one fourth of complaints concerning unequal wages, sex-segregated seniority, unequal health and pension coverage, and male-biased job recruitment and promotion policies (Modesitt, 2010). The EEOC still maintains a huge backlog of cases.

The lethargic response of the EEOC to adjudicate cases fostered the formation of The National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966. NOW's goal is to promote grassroots activism to eliminate discrimination and gain equal rights for all women (2017). The Federal Women's Program (FEW), created in 1967 by Executive Order #11375 during the Johnson administration, "added sex as a prohibited form of discrimination" (2016). FEW has a presence in every federal agency with responsibilities to identify hiring, advancement, and enhancement barriers to opportunities for women in federal jobs.

In 1965, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC) was created to advance hiring people of colour for private firms with more than 50 employees and federal government contracts of more than $50,000. Non-compliant firms were sanctioned with fines and lost their right to bid on federal contracts. In 1978, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP) was created as an umbrella agency for all federal compliance agencies (Tomaskovic-Devey, 2007). Currently OFCCP sets the terms for covered federal government contractors' and subcontractors' requirements in compliance with Executive Order 11246 to ensure non-discrimination based on sex in employment (Programs, 1980, Regulations, 2017, Programs, 1964). The Civil Rights Centre (CRC) is part of the Office of Assistant Secretary for Administration and Management and directs equal employment opportunities for programs and activities receiving federal financial assistance while the OFCCP manages employers who hold federal contracts and subcontracts (Labor, 2017).

In 2013, the EEOC "commissioned a work group to identify the obstacles remaining in the federal workplace that hinder equal employment opportunities for women" (Commission, 2013). The report generated six obstacles for workplace equality including inflexible workplace policies, wage gaps, caregiving responsibilities, underrepresentation in STEM, unconscious gender and stereotypical biases, and lack of agency commitment. The report focused on federal employees and is extrapolated to include similar obstacles for women in the private sector. Title 7 of the Civil Rights Act and Revised Order No. 4, which implements Executive Order No. 11246, includes a 1978 federal regulation stipulating federal construction contractors must "make good faith efforts to ensure that at least 6.9 percent of hours worked are performed by women" (Hegewisch, 2015). These requirements have not been updated. Construction industry regulations provide guidance on maintaining a harassment free workplace which include two women on each worksite, adequate toilets, and assurance management is aware of their responsibilities for women and minorities (Hegewisch, 2015).

During the sixties and seventies, women's advocacy groups pushed for women's rights to better wages, benefits, and respect in the workplace. As more women found themselves as sole heads of households, higher wages and benefits in the construction industry became increasingly attractive to women. Wider Opportunities for Women, organized in 1966 to promote training for minority women, pushed for poor women's entry into craft jobs; Advocates for Women, a splinter group from NOW which formed in 1972, approached women's entry into non-traditional fields as a poverty issue. The relegation of women to low-paying service and sexualized work led to the creation of the Women's Work Force Network in 1979 and created a Construction Compliance Task force to facilitate women's entrance into construction (Maclean, 1999). Using Affirmative Action, women fought for rights to a decent standard of living by breaking out of normal subservient and sexualized gender roles which regulated them to secondary status. Upsetting the gender dynamic threatened men's masculinity, so they turned to sexual harassment to protect their territory (Maclean, 1999).

2. Discussion

Implicit bias leads to institutional bias, the tendency to discriminate, which leads to institutional discrimination, the act of discrimination. Discrimination, "the treatment of a functionally irrelevant status (such as race of sex) as relevant for the distribution of some reward or penalty" (Merton, 1972), is a socially-constructed process

which historically and legally favours white males over others. Discrimination "involves the *disparate treatment* of similarly situated individuals because of their sex, race, colour, national origin, religion or some other protected characteristic" and includes the *disparate impact* of discrimination or the "use of sex- or race-neutral practices that systematically disadvantage members of a protected class…regardless of employers' intent" (Hirsh, 2008). Discrimination implies "inappropriate and potentially unfair treatment of individuals due to group membership" (Dovidio, 2013). Claims of discrimination must be proven and are encouraged or restricted based on the worker's perception of workplace practices and fairness. In sex/race neutral practices, claims decline while in sex/race conscious practices, claims rise (Hirsh, 2008).

Institutional bias is affected by social and cultural bias through the dominants' use of legitimate power via avenues of institutional structures. A social problem which "has systematically harmful effects on the life changes of members of particular socially salient groups" (Bagenstos, 2007), institutional bias is difficult to pinpoint yet has pronounced effects. Anti-discrimination laws designed to provide remedy for equity-seeking individuals deprived of opportunities require proof of discriminatory intent (Bagenstos, 2007), so legislation has not achieved the goal of workplace gender equality, but rather has driven the maintenance of the status quo into cultural veins to justify exclusionary decisions (Tomaskovic-Devey, 2007). Cultural attributes contributing to gender inequality by condoning/solidifying existing biases against protected classes and reifying organization structures and practices include stereotyping (Reskin, 2000, Dovidio, 2013). Several reasons for the maintenance of the status quo are inertia, the resistance to change (Tomaskovic-Devey, 2007), external environmental pressure such as lawsuits, governmental regulation, outside cultural, or human resource practices (DiMaggio, 1983), and internal organizational pressure to change leadership (Baron, 1991), human resource agendas (Cockburn, 1991), and demands from women and minorities (Smith, 2002). Most policy actors discount implicit bias as a cause of discrimination because of political or judicial backlash (Bagenstos, 2007). Whether overt or covert, implicit bias insidiously effects institutional organizational structures and policies in subtle and nuanced ways which affect racial and gendered training, job opportunities, retention, and job security.

2.1 How implicit bias contributes to institutional discrimination

According to Greenwald and Krieger (2006), implicit bias is an unconscious mental process which functions "outside conscious attentional focus" (p. 947) and prominently figures in the determination of discrimination against women and minorities through implicit attitudes and implicit stereotypes. Implicit attitudes, unconscious and predicated on favourable/unfavourable impressions, colour human tendencies to take actions for/against something or someone. The stark difference between implicit and explicit attitudes are commonly observed toward stigmatized groups, including groups defined by race, age, ethnicity, disability, and sexual orientation (Greenwald, 2006). Implicit stereotypes are socially constructed beliefs associated with a group's characteristics and attributes. Stereotypes "represent a set of qualities perceived to reflect the essence of a group…. and affect how people perceive, process information about, and respond to, group members" (Dovidio, 2013). Individuals in a stereotyped group behave in expected ways because they self-fulfil expectations of stereotypical traits transmitted through socialization, the media, and language and discourse. We see this in the domination of whites over blacks, rich over the poor, and men over women. The constant struggle for domination leads to forms of oppression through exploitation and exclusion in order to protect the dominant's turf and power.

Institutional discrimination, historically used to justify racial and gendered group-based inequities which favoured white men (Henry, 2013), is defined as the "adverse treatment of women and minorities" via societal and institutional explicit and implied rules and policies. Institutional discrimination masks as normal operational behaviour because existing ideologies support its maintenance. It is only unmasked when disparate outcomes and/or negative consequences between groups/individuals surface (Henry, 2013). Some scholars recognize the source of group-based disparate treatment as a result of the group's own attributes which disadvantage the group (Kluegel, 1986). The view in these cases is that equity seeking groups are responsible for their own inequitable status, and this imbalance can only be rectified through group responsibility. This conservative viewpoint sees inequalities as caused by the groups themselves and not as systemized institutional failures. Other scholars recognize a "victimizing society" (Henry, 2013) as the source of group-based disparities and believe institutional policies can be biased against disadvantaged groups even when individuals within those institutions have no intentional animus toward disadvantaged groups.

Institutional discrimination surfaces in construction's hesitancy to hire, retain, and promote women to good paying positions. Implicit bias reinforces the sexual division of labour which favours the unwritten rules

governing male and female behaviour and physical strength and size (Peterson, 2006). The belief that women are less able to tackle the heavy lift associated with construction or their presence is a result of affirmative action follows from this sexual division of labour. Class struggle emboldens divisiveness within the collective and impacts the bargaining power and solidarity of workers. Groups or organizations maintain their identity, distribution of income, and control of work processes by covertly discriminating against "other" (women or minorities) in order to protect their economic gains/stance/power/control (Albelda, 2001). This divineness is perpetuated when white males benefit from the effects of job competition by "discriminating" against other in order to lessen competition and have the "best" jobs, higher wages, and more promotions (Albelda, 2001, Albelda, 2013). The impact of institutional discrimination affects the solidarity and bargaining power of workers so within the collective, racial and sexual difference contributes to discrimination, and management capitalizes on this conflict to promote profitability. Intra-discriminatory practices within the collective are reflected in various racial and sexual coalitions which reify the institutional structures of white male prerogatives and serve to benefit management's control of work processes and maintenance of power. This results in a weakened collective because of workers' prejudices, the "individual-level attitude (whether subjectively positive or negative) toward groups and their members that create or maintain hierarchical status relations between groups" (Dovidio, 2013).

The dominant white male power structure affects the "distribution of income and the organization of work." Implicit bias exists against women as caregivers as their performance is measured against a standard white, European, male model of performance creating a perpetual loop of failures for equity-seeking groups who do not conform to the model. Nonconformance situates women as inferior/substandard and results in negative outcomes which reveal institutional bias. White males' economic incentive to discriminate serves to maintain their dominant position within labour/management and the worker/subordinate dyad. This self-reinforcing behaviour rewards those who discriminate with influence, money, and power. The historical exclusion of "other" benchmarked by low status, low pay, and disenfranchisement contributes to indirect biases' effect on institutional discrimination from the perspective of the firm as the firm mirrors class struggles in the external environment and intragroup discrimination among workers trying to protect their status, economic benefits, power, and control. Organizational adaptation surfaces when management prefers white males over "other" and questions decisions to promote women and minorities because of the social impact promotions have on the firm's profits. When labour collectively unites against management, employers face greater costs and lower profits, so management's incentive is to "divide and conquer" in order to maintain profits and control of the work process (Albelda, 2013).

2.2 How implicit bias contributes to social and cultural discrimination

Implicit bias impacts social structures, patterned arrangements of socio-economic institutions which act as a framework for human and organizational interaction and the social networks in which all human engage. Within these spaces, dominant groups influence and define generational societal values and policies for subordinate groups and encourage social and cultural bias through a "collective forgetting" (Henry, 2013) of the historical marginalization of women and the restriction of women's entry into jobs requiring physical strength, math and engineering skills, and construction abilities. These co-opted social structures have a discriminatory impact on women's entry and retention in construction. Maclean (1999) suggests male identity is "derived in good part from the maleness of their work cultures" (p. 30), so males protect their gender role and identity by protecting their workplace turf. Ridgeway and Cornell (2004) submit, "gender is an institutionalized system of social practices for constituting people as two significantly different categories, men and women, and organizing social relations of inequality on the basis of that difference" (p. 510). Gender, socially constructed and embedded in everyday interactions, is a multi-dimensional system recognizing and supporting differences and providing justification for the inequitable treatment of women in construction (Denissen, 2010, Risman, 2004, Ridgeway, 2004). Gendered roles influence our work lives as occupational identities are constructed. Construction's masculine nature excludes female participation, though mandated by federal and state policies (Denissen, 2010), through exclusionary practices orchestrated via an organizational culture which covertly sanctions gender-specific behaviours by rewarding men primary positions and women secondary positions. Socially-constructed gender boundaries reinforce gender inequality and maintain male-gendered dominance by stereotyping tradeswomen as unfeminine, incompetent to do men's work, and devoid of self-worth.

Women are compliant in reinforcing gendered social structures (Ridgeway, 2004). Our cultural belief system predicates our identity as a composite of our relationships to others and compels us to exhibit certain behaviours

within difference situational contexts. The paternalistic and patriarchal nature and trajectory of history values white male dominance as "status worthy and competent overall" (Ridgeway, 2004) and devalues female roles as less competent, secondary, and communal. These cultural beliefs cede power to dominant groups who "shape[ing] women's own actions and responses" (Denissen, 2010) so tradeswomen have to constantly (re)negotiate their gender, status, and power within situational interactions. Women subsume their own identity in order to achieve the higher pay and benefits afforded to their male counterparts or face sanctions such as "harassment, sabotage, intimidation, and exclusion"(Denissen, 2010). Women's agency can redefine gender as an asset within their occupational identities through these occupational challenges and opportunities.

3. Recommendations to reduce implicit bias

Institutional, social, and cultural discrimination in construction will only end when implicit bias encouraging and benefiting discrimination ends. Achieving equitable outcomes in the hiring, retention, and promotion of women in construction means dismantling existing institutional and social structures which support the white male European model as the standard by which others are judged. Political economy theory suggests collective action as a solution. There is robust scholarship documenting anti-discrimination's failure to curb explicit or implicit bias (Bagenstos, 2006, Flagg, 1995, Green, 2003, Kreiger, 1995). Recommendations for addressing these failures include reducing the dominance of group power, enforcing government policies which mandate more women in the trades, changing the masculine culture of union/employer construction workplaces through the promotion of mentoring components in apprenticeship programs which provide to women one-on-one support, and making concerted efforts within the firm toward implementation of more gender neutral, family-friendly, and work-life balance policy.

Reducing implicit bias lies in the subordinate group's collective ability to affect change in the dominant power structure; political economy theory requires concerted action by the group and posits social and institutional discrimination, embedded in the institutional practices/polices which guide decision-making concerning labour and management and reflect external social environments, can be reduced through collective action's "impact on social attitudes, market dynamics, organizational behaviour, and government policies" (Albelda, 2013). Since maintaining dominance is necessary to reaffirm the hierarchical structures within social institutions (Sidanius, 1999), dominate groups gravitate toward a social positive hierarchy which allows recognition/reinforcement of gender differences to rationalize stratification and justify gender inequality . Individuals self-select into groups predicated on their economic and social status, educational and political experiences, and traditional and hereditary mores within the social categories of race, class, and gender so individual decision making is subsumed by the group and predicts the chances of success or failure. Within the political economy there will always be winners and losers and successes and failures. The power of cultural discrimination relies on the dominant group's ability to justify the inconsistencies in inequities through "legitimizing ideologies" (Henry, 2013) such as stereotyping the poor are lazy and indolent and women as science blind to shape the groups' interpretative reaction to disparities by maintaining the status quo. These ideologies are situated in policies which have detrimental effects on equity-seeking groups. Without this gender inequality would disappear, and the dominant male group would lose power, prestige, and money (Maclean, 1999, Henry, 2013).

Overcoming implicit bias requires restructuring the way we think about the male/female dichotomy situated within an economic system which values profits over people. Currently the preservation of male dominated workplace cultures satisfies a firm's productivity even at the expense of exclusion and harassment of female workers (Selmi, 2005). According to Selmi (2005) firms tolerate discriminatory practices that "frequently mirror those of their male employees" (p. 44) to maintain profits. Addressing these deficiencies first requires broad changes in our economic system which discounts the collective as well as a strategy for decreasing masculine dominance of workers in four areas of construction: governments, markets, unions, and employers.

- *Governments*: Institutional structures predicated on the private ownership and allocation of resources need to be changed to a more equitable distribution of resources. Under the current system, there has to be an economic argument for increased funding via federal agencies for women's access to training, entry, and retention. In other words, gender equality has to pay for itself. Though increased construction industry profits might be increased in the long run if women's share of resources increases, it is unclear that increase would compensate for the cost of the adjustments. It also seems unlikely, gender equality will be established because it is simply the right thing to do. Moving toward a redistributive form of taxation would be a good start.

- *Unions:* Evidence suggests private/union apprenticeship programs successfully train/retain more women than do private/government apprenticeships. Bearing equal costs gives firms/unions "skin in the game" for successful completion of the programs. Union support for women's mentoring programs in apprenticeships, which supplies the support women find nonexistent in the building trades where they are often the target sexual harassment and bullying, can contractually be embedded into collective bargaining agreements. A more equitable power structure between labor and management and men and women through collective action reduces the number of women leaving the construction industry, raises women out of poverty, and provides a trained workforce for 21st century jobs.
- *Markets*: Alter the economic balance of power by moving our current capitalist economic system toward one of social justice for equity seeking groups by strengthening the collective and moving farther away from a strictly profit-oriented society. This shifts the implicit bias associated with favoring one group over another into neutral territory and fosters social justice for equity seeking groups while equalizing the economic power balance between labor and management, whites and minorities, and males and females. This involves strengthening market regulations to favor collectives versus corporations.
- *Employers*: The redesign of jobs for flexible working hours, retraining programs, and work-life balanced environments facilitates different attitudes toward women in construction and aligns with cultural changes recognizing there is no place for segregation, inflexibility, and inequality within the last male bastion of work, the construction industry. Workplace polices reflecting a more gender neutral, family-friendly workplace include nuts and bolts issues like the provision of proper-fitting protective clothing, sanitary toilets at worksites, and stress reduction through mentoring or counseling.

4. Conclusion

I explored the issue of indirect bias as a root cause of institutional, social, and cultural discrimination in construction. Situated in political economy, the historical marginalization and oppression of women and minorities results from unequal power relations and unequal access to resources and results in discrimination in the absence of collective action. Obviously, scholarly research, diversity training, and education have not achieved the intended outcome of equality in construction for women and minorities. The seriousness of governments, markets, employers, and unions about routing out indirect bias is questionable. The remedy to rooting out implicit bias on a macro level lies in restructuring the very institutional structures which currently reify its existence. Creating a redistributive tax system which more equitably distributes wealth and income, strengthening the collective's ability as a representative of workers to stand toe-to-toe with corporations, and redesigning jobs with respect to gender equality would foster more micro level changes, such as additional training monies for apprenticeships, with which the construction industry could live. As long as indirect bias remains profitable for the construction industry and the social and cultural mores associated with male domination in the workplace remain strong, indirect bias will continue to plague the hiring, retention, and promotion of women in construction.

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Promoting Women in STEM: Requirements for an Automated Career-Development Recommender

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Abstract: Despite a variety of initiatives and promises, the lack of women on management levels and in executive boards is hardly diminishing. Besides undermining equality, this fact entails a shortcoming for the whole economy. To handle the current skilled worker shortage, consequent consideration of the female workforce is necessary. The worker shortage is especially remarkable in the STEM (science, technology, engineering, mathematics) sector – in Germany this is one of the sectors with the lowest share of employed women. There are many reasons for the *leaky pipeline*, a metaphor illustrating the loss of women with increasing hierarchy. Besides multiple socio-structural factors, actor-oriented factors (due to society, upbringing or else) play a role, too (Ceci et al, 2009). Many women still consider themselves less competent, they lack self-esteem and self-marketing skills needed to promote themselves on the way up the ladder. With the cooperative project CHEFIN funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research, the authors aim at supporting women on their career paths to leadership positions by tackling these individual factors. The goal of the project is to develop an automated recommender system that both improves women's self-esteem and gives their career plans an ambitious push. The tool is based on the results of three analyses: (a) a currently running data-mining study of 100.000 online CVs, (b) the results of qualitative focus groups and (c) interviews with successful women and men. This paper considers these analyses together with an inquiry of young women to shed light on the question which features does an ideal career development tool require. All involved parties mentioned strict transparency regarding the results of the recommender and put greater emphasize on career reflection than career planning. Apart from that, the data basis of online CVs bears limitations concerning the possible predictions, the type of careers and the factors that can or cannot be considered in the analysis of career paths. In this paper, we bring together those requirements and limitations and discuss their implications for the set-up of the Competence Development Recommender.

Keywords: gender equality, career development, CV analysis, data mining, STEM sector, leadership

1. Introduction

In 2017, 51% of all Germans were women. Also, 51% of the graduates and 47% of all employees were female (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2018b, 2018c, 2018a). In the middle management of the private sector, numbers of women are slowly increasing. Nevertheless, on the first management level the proportion of women has been ranging around 25% - for the last 14 years (Kohaut and Möller, 2017, cf. figure 1). The situation remains the same: the higher the hierarchy, the fewer women. Those are bad news in times when the skilled worker shortage requires the industry to make full use of all players – male and female. What is more, creativity, productivity, and innovation prosper in diverse surroundings (Woolley et al, 2010; Corbett and Hill, 2015). Obviously, the current management levels are far from diverse.

This situation gets even worse when focusing on the STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) sector. Fewer women study STEM subjects, even fewer start working in those fields and only a very small proportion reaches the middle management, not to mention senior ranks (Jagacinski, 1987; Valian, 2007; Huryn et al, 2017; Nier, 2018). Remarkably, this decrease at all stages is stronger for women compared to men. The so-called leaky pipeline pictures this specific loss of women (Schiebinger, 2000).

With the wish to contribute a small change to this situation, we started the project CHEFIN. The aim of the project is to use qualitative and quantitative methods and an extensive CV analysis to identify factors that hinder or promote women's careers. Based on the results, we develop an online-tool that supports young women striving for leadership careers in the STEM field. The online-tool will deliver feedback on the potential and performance of a user and encourage her to pursue a career in STEM and to climb the career ladder. In this way, the project motivates women to stay in the pipeline when they change from university to the working world.



Figure 1: Proportion of women on two management levels and among all employees in the private sector in different years of inquiry, in percent adapted from Kohaut and Möller, 2017

2. Reasons for the underrepresentation of women on management levels

There are multiple reasons for the underrepresentation of women on management levels. Whereas many studies have proven wrong the assumption that women are doing worse than men in mathematics or are less interested in technical subjects (cf. Ceci et al, 2009 for an overview), *socio-structural* and *actor-oriented* factors play a role. Socio-structural factors refer to structural disadvantages that create barriers for women. These span from constructs like the glass ceiling in the working world or disadvantaging laws (Bartol et al, 2003; Wilz, 2008). In addition, biology hampers women on the job market: As the ones giving birth, they often undertake most of the childcare, stay at home longer than men do and rather work part time. When returning to the job market, this time at home leads to disadvantages. Recent studies show that the family-friendlier a company is the faster women return to work after childbirth (Frodermann et al, 2018). Moreover, political decisions can improve the situation with laws for more equal parental leave or improved daycare for children (Wrohlich and Wittenberg, 2017; Diener and Berngruber, 2018).

On the other hand, there are actor-oriented factors that hold women back. An essential factor are so-called gender schemas, which describe expectations what it means to be a woman or a man (Valian, 2005). “While everyone employs gender schemas to categorize life, using them to limit women or minorities makes them problematic” (Easterly and Ricard, 2011, p.64). Those schemas can cause unconscious bias that, for example, explain lower competency ratings for women than men – although objectively, they performed equally well (Valian, 2007). Especially at high management level, dominant and competitive behaviors prevail. To sustain, women often have to contravene gender-conform expectations, e.g. by appearing self-secure and pointing out their successes. Yet, this can provoke a backlash in the form of indirect or open antagonism and discrimination (Guillén et al, 2018; Rudman and Glick, 2001; Phelan et al, 2008). For example, agentic women get fewer promotions into management positions because they are “insufficiently nice” (Rudman and Glick, 2001, p.743).

Those effects – socio-structural conditions and actor-oriented prescriptions and expectations – influence women. It is something they learn to adapt to from an early age. Thus, these schemas influence the views and expectations women have about themselves: what they are good at, what they are able to and what they can reach. In this vain, Babcock and Laschever (2007) showed that women more often accepted the money offered for a task, whereas men asked for additional reward. Women, it seems, did not feel like they deserved more. In a simulated job interview, women underrated their performance. Men, in contrast, overrated themselves or made adequate evaluations (Sieverding, 2003). In engineering education, women significantly evaluate their performance worse: only 25% of female students rate themselves as being (very) good compared to 32% of their male peers. Conversely, only 7% of men indicate their performance to be (very) bad, but 10% of women do (Ihsen et al, 2013; cf. figure 2). Women, from the day of their birth, make the experience that men are rather interested in technology, that most managers are male, and that thus men are more successful in technology than women (Valian, 2007; Völkel et al, 2018). Those points lead Cheryan to conclude that three factors “explain why there is a lower representation of women in computer science, engineering, and physics […]: masculine cultures, insufficient early experience, and gender gaps in self-efficacy” (Cheryan et al, 2017, p.21). Once a woman decided to enter the STEM sector, the conviction of being able to prevail will shape her career goals

(Lent et al, 2018). The conviction to succeed will uphold her motivation to persevere in a men-dominated surrounding and will motivate her to strive for a leadership position (or not).

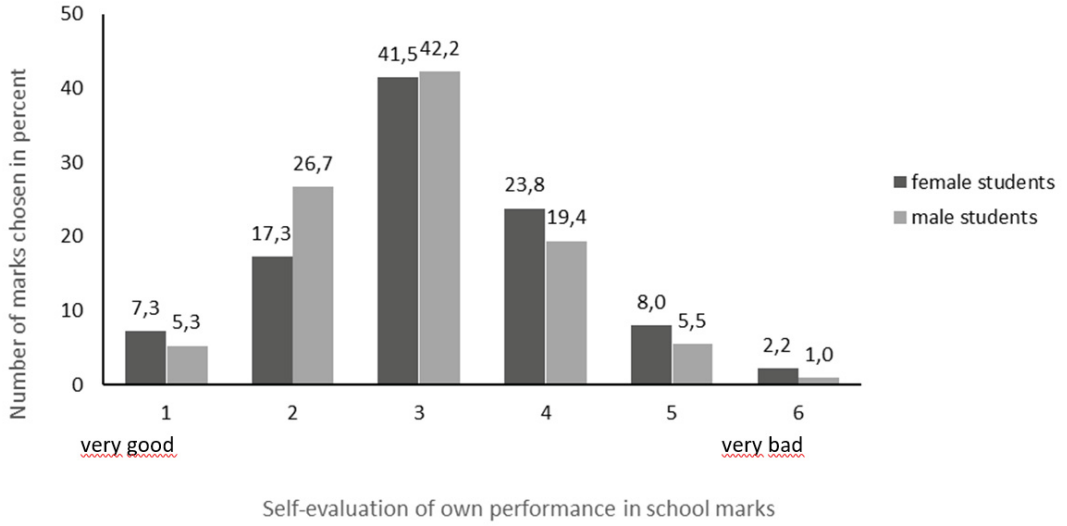


Figure 2: Distribution of how students evaluated themselves in their STEM studies, divided by gender; adapted from Ihsen et al, 2013

3. The project CHEFIN and the online-tool

At this point, the authors' project CHEFIN (German acronym for "Equal opportunities for the career development of women in the STEM field"), funded by the German Ministry of Education and Research, steps in. In this project, the authors aim to patch the leaking pipeline – at least in parts – at the transition from university to the working world. As several studies have shown, female students tend to underestimate their achievements (e.g. Ihsen et al, 2013; Völkel et al, 2018). At the same point, presenting oneself in a successful, confident, and self-secure manner is central when applying for jobs and taking first steps on the career ladder (Caldwell and Hayes, 2016; Ellis and Taylor, 1983; Dickerson and Taylor, 2000). To support young women to both take these first career steps confidently and to insert the idea that becoming a female leader is something they can achieve, the authors are developing the so-called Competence Development Recommender. Graduates and women at the beginning of their career can use this data-based online tool by uploading their CV. The tool then compares the user's CV with patterns of successful careers and further results of the research project (cf. Willicks et al, 2018). As a result, users receive feedback about achievements and remarkable milestones in their CV and suggestions about possible next steps and further recommendations. Thereby, the tool will help women to detect the potential of the career steps they have already taken as well as nudge them to think about their career plans (cf. figure 3).

The automated recommender system is based on the results of a currently running data mining study of 100.000 online CVs and on the results of qualitative focus groups and interviews. With this method, the online-tool addresses traditional questions of gender-research ("Which career patterns help women to become successful?") and combines them with new opportunities of the digitalization: the extensive analysis of CVs with text mining methods. However, the project does not end with information gathering but prepares the results for public use via the online-tool. The tool provides research results to offer low-threshold and easy accessible support. The main aim of the project is not the replacement of career coaching or counselling services – something an automated tool can never accomplish. Rather, it aims to provide an easy way to address young women that are striving for a leadership position, to motivate them on their way, and to inspire and support them in their career planning. To this end, the tool provides feedback about their achievements, offers comparative measures of successful professionals, and points out possible next steps, e.g., concrete career steps and coaching programs.

Before the set-up of the online tool, three questions should be answered to ensure an ideal design of the competence development recommender:

- Which limitations does the data mining method determine for the development of the tool?
- Which requirements do experts and senior professionals define for the development of the tool?

- What are the requirements, potential users consider necessary when using the tool?

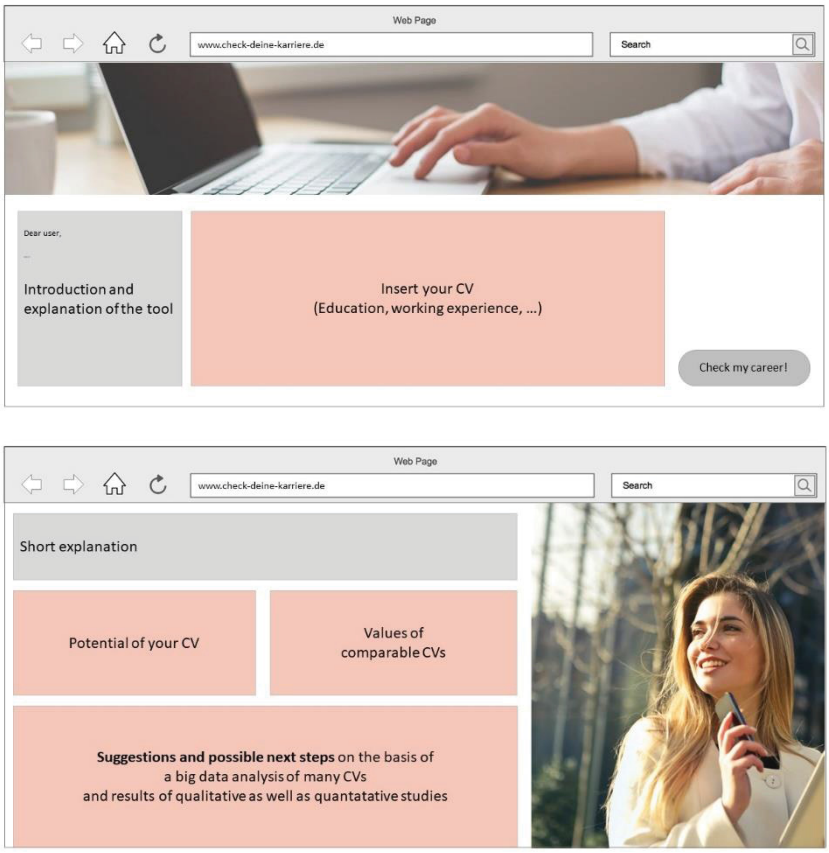


Figure 3: Initial mockup of the online tool ("Career Development Recommender")

4. Methodology

The tool's results will be based on four analyses: (a) a currently running data-mining study of online CVs, (b) the results of two workshops with experts, (c) 22 interviews with male and female professionals and (d) a quantitative survey (not finished yet). All four analyses deliver the content of the tool. Now, the first three analyses are of interest: They determine the tool's design and set-up (cf. figure 4). Further, (d) interviews with graduates and young professionals complete the picture of the ideal design of the tool.

4.1 Data mining study

The data-mining study is based on 100.000 online CVs from a German career platform. Each CV consists of predefined variables such as, in the education section, school, main subjects, and degree. In the job section, relevant variables are, e.g., company, occupation, and branch. Every listing has a date of beginning and end. As all inscriptions are given voluntarily, a high number of missing values occurs. This is why most analyses are based on about one third of the data. It is to note that most of the inscriptions are text-based and need a thorough preprocessing, so that the unstructured content of the CVs can be aggregated and analyzed. The data mining study both builds the basis for the tool's recommendations and determines the design of the tool (cf. figure 4).

4.2 Expert workshops

The two workshops took place for a whole day each, one in Aachen, one in Dortmund. Each time, ten different female representatives from the STEM sector, from social partners, trade associations, gender equality institutions and the human resources sector from all over Germany participated. The aim was to record the participants' expertise on women's careers in STEM occupations. The methods comprised a *world café format* to discuss different questions. Furthermore, the *hat method* helped the participants to take four different perspectives when gathering the needs of the tool: the student, the young professional, the developer, and the politician.

The workshops' results helped to identify factors that influence female career paths and to collect relevant requirements for the design of the tool (cf. figure 4).

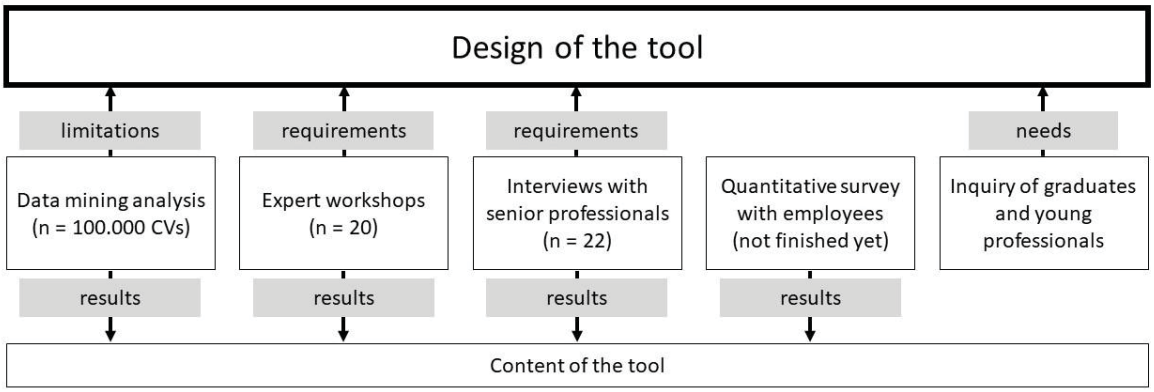


Figure 4: The results of four approaches build the content of the tool. Three of those approaches plus one inquiry of users contribute to the design of the tool

4.3 Interviews with senior professionals

For the interviews, female interview partners (*n* = 19) were chosen to represent different parts of the STEM field: five mechanical engineers, two electronic engineers, one construction engineer, one chemical engineer, one computer scientist, seven architects and two interior planners. All interview partners are/have been in a leadership position. The age group ranges from 29 to 67 years. During the survey, it became apparent that the male view of career is also important for the project. For this reason, men who hold a management position in an engineering profession were also invited for interviews. Out of 16 requested mechanical engineers, only three were willing to participate. The age of the interviewed men ranged from 52 to 80 years. The interviews followed a half-standardized manual, describing their career paths, answering questions about career strategies, supporting structures, beneficial career factors, impediments, events of success and failure and experiences with different working cultures. The interview language was German, thus, all examples in this paper are translations into English. As with the expert workshops, the results of the interviews both enriched the content of the tool and defined requirements towards its design (cf. figure 4).

4.4 Inquiry of the needs of young professionals

The inquiry of young professionals and graduates took place in three short workshops and in free conversations during an exhibition. The workshops were held at two subsequent days during an exhibition for female career planning (herCAREER, Munich, October 2018) and had ranging numbers of participants (in total about *n* = 35). The workshops addressed different topics of the CHEFIN project: Two focused on the results of the study and their implications for young women, one covered the required design of the online-tool. Furthermore, the visitors at the project's exhibition stand raised questions towards a career-planning tool and expressed their needs concerning career planning. These needs put demands on the design of the tool (cf. figure 4).

5. Results

The three questions raised above concern the requirements towards the design of the online-tool. Those requirements stem from the composition of the dataset of CVs, the experts in workshops and interviews and the requests of potential users. In the following, we will present the results concerning these three areas.

First, the fact that the online tool builds upon an analysis of CVs implies specific limitations. CVs contain information the writer believes makes them look favorably. This means that people skip disadvantageous information, all kinds of failure and misfortune, but (most often) also times of parental leave. In addition, CVs are "cold": they do not contain information about emotions, satisfaction or work-life-balance. This influences the kind of analyses that are feasible and their respective results. Furthermore, careers described in CVs are always linearly listing stages of life, one building on the other. This fact also entails the understanding of career the tool is able to consider.

Second, the experts in the workshops affirmed the basic assumption that young women in the STEM sector often struggle with self-confidence and their role in male-dominated fields. This is why they judged the tool to have great potential and to complement existing coaching programs in useful way. Nevertheless, the experts put great emphasis on the point that the tool must not dictate young women what to do. Participants struggled with the expression “recommender” and feared it to be too directive. Accordingly, the tool should support users to find their individual solution. Furthermore, experts reported that especially in the STEM sector, many young women have problems imagining the possible professions and jobs they can take after their studies – let alone, being capable to work in those. Therefore, they found it helpful to demonstrate multiple jobs and work opportunities available, showing graduates as many options and next steps as possible and encouraging them to pursue those options. In order not to restrict the users’ options but extend them, the experts highlighted the importance of transparency with regard to all results of the tool. By being able to understand the processes, users are free to decide whether the argumentation applies to them, their career plans and if they want (or do not want) to adopt them.

Thirdly, the successful women and men from the STEM sector delivered basic information on the design of the tool. They endorsed the project’s idea to strengthen female careers by supporting women at the transition from university to work. According to their experience during their own careers, but also with subordinates, young women rather than young men underrate their potential and performance. They very often lack self-security and self-promoting skills – abilities the interviewees describe as key in men-dominated fields. Concerning career planning, the interviewed women delivered mixed information. On the one hand, most women stated that they did not plan their careers. On the other hand, it becomes clear that most women always had and still have their career goals in mind and reflect on them:

> *Actually, I tell everyone, you have to reflect every two or three years, do I want to continue the job […] do I want to make progress, do I want to go one step higher, this is a decision everyone should make themselves" (mechanical engineer)*

The interviewees highlighted the importance of matching one’s career to the period of one’s life, to current needs and interest. They pronounced the difference between career planning and career reflection – and placed more weight on the latter. This differentiation should be considered in the design of the tool.

The third group, young women, showed a lot of insecurity about their careers. Questions like “Am I too old already?” or “Did I hop too much during my studies?” show the fears graduates and young professionals have. Most women wished to get concrete next steps and specific job descriptions. Furthermore, they reported surprise and relief learning that successful women also struggled. They appreciated hearing about the steps, failures and doubts successful women had during their career paths.

Taken together, those four approaches deliver a rich picture of requirements and prerequisites for the design of the tool.

6. Implications for the design of the online-tool

Three main findings answer the three questions raised above concerning the limitations the data mining method implies for the online tool, the requirements experts and senior professionals define and the needs of potential users. The three answers will yield in the design of the online-tool:

Firstly, concerning the limitations, the tool can only make statements about information the collected CVs contain. This mainly concerns the hierarchical level. The tool cannot determine whether someone is happy in her job or dissatisfied with the work-life balance - nor can it make any recommendations to this matter. One possibility to cope with false expectations might be an initial questionnaire about the user's career understanding and goals. If a user chooses goals that go beyond hierarchy, she will receive a note about the tool's limited validity in these domains. In core, users need to be aware that the tool addresses a specific target group: young women in the STEM sector who are striving for a leadership position.

This leads towards the second finding, based on the experts’ input: Transparency is core, such that users have a clear understanding of the target group and of the processes at work. To grant support for all users, they must always be able to reconstruct the processes and to know why they receive the results they are receiving. This empowers the users to interpret the results of the tool for themselves – and gives them the freedom to decide which recommendation to follow and which not.

The third finding concerns career planning and comprises the two views of young women and senior professionals: Of course, young women wish there was a specific recipe for a successful career. At the same time, fortunately, this does not exist and everybody can and must choose her own way – something to which the experts attached great importance. As the interviewees reported, it is not possible to plan one's whole career. Rather, they put emphasis on career reflection. They perceived career planning to be a long-term issue, while career reflection implies awareness of the current situation and its impact on next steps. For the tool, this refers to the point raised before: It cannot give a recipe of a successful career, but should encourage young women to consider which step they want to take next in the light of their successes and abilities. This enables young women to take over their own career planning and relieves them by reducing the pressure to plan their entire career in advance - which, according to the respondents, is not possible anyway.

7. Conclusion and outlook

Faced with unequal career opportunities for men and women on their way to the top, the objective of the project CHEFIN is to design an online tool that aims at encouraging and supporting young women in the STEM sector with their career planning. To do so in an empowering way, the challenges of the tool are both to provide suggestions and to maintain the users' freedom of choice. As identified, the core requirements are of three kind: the transparent communication of its limitations, comprehensibility concerning its results, and providing next steps to encourage women to start their individual career planning – short term rather than long term. If the tool takes account of these challenges, it combines two innovative ideas: Firstly, digitalization and data mining methods are used to gain insights into traditional questions of gender research. Digital datasets bear the opportunity to both analyze existing CVs of senior professionals and to provide automated feedback about the CVs of young professionals. Thereby, secondly, the tool allows access to these research results so that they do not remain theoretical publications in academic journals. With the tool, the results become accessibility for those concerned: young women at the beginning of their career.

As next step in the project, the tool will be designed. To this end, its adaption to the target group should be intensified. Besides the free conversations and workshops with potential users, the development of the tool has to be accompanied with feedback of the future users. Designing it in iterations with regular feedback-loops is one method to ensure the fit of tool and users' needs.

In addition, the content of the tool will be completed and gathered. The results of the expert workshops and the interviews will complement the numerical, CV-based results. Another study, a quantitative survey among employees in the STEM sector, is currently running to validate the qualitative results. All those insights will commonly build the basis of knowledge, which the tool will process and individually present to young women. By all these means, the tool is an innovative way to encourage young women in their career choices, bolster them on their way to management and give them an initial idea of possible next steps. Thereby, it will constitute a small fix of the leaky pipeline.

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PhD Research Papers

Algerian Female Educational Leaders: Narratives, Struggles and Success

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Abstract: Making our societies more gender equitable is vital for the success of any society that is why, it is important to investigate and study the participation and integration of women in the social, political and economic sectors. According to John Dewey, "education is not preparation for life, education is life itself" (1916, p. 239). Consequently, in order to reach that stage in which young girls can choose the careers that suit their abilities and potentials without being afraid of the cultural barriers, they need to see role models to look up to them especially in leadership positions in educational institutions. In Algeria, despite the fact that women constitute 38% of teachers in higher education (the World Economic Forum,2015), women have only 5% chance of holding leadership positions according to the World Economic Forum. For this reason, it is important to investigate women's current educational leadership roles and participation in decision making in order to help to achieve gender equity in the Algerian educational institutions and then in the society as a whole. Moreover, this study will also focus on the barriers and constraints that prevent women's access to promotions and the cultural influences on their leadership identity construction through sharing personal narratives of female educational leaders. This study will follow a qualitative approach which is appropriate because it investigates the dominant culture in the Algerian educational institutions in addition to their organizational systems and structures, as well as the female educational leaders' growth and development through reporting their narratives. The result of this study will serve as a platform for female educational leaders to share their stories to motivate each other first and to help young girls to be more flexible in pursuing their future careers. Moreover, the role of Algerian women is undoubtedly central to addressing the challenges faced by the Algerian economy. Even though they have achieved a high level of education, this has not been translated into economic outcomes. By raising awareness about the status of females in educational institutions, it will help to investigate the status of women in other sectors.

Keywords: identity construction, cultural barriers, gender equitable environment, Algerian higher education

1. Background

1.1 Country profile of Algeria

Algeria is the biggest country in Africa with a rich heritage and history, and it plays a significant role both regionally and internationally. Algeria, officially the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, is a northern African country that is part of the so-called "Maghreb" region. It consists of Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Mauritania and Libya, and it is the occidental part of the Arab World. The original inhabitants of Algeria are the Berbers or Amazighs (ⵣⵉⵔⵉⵖⵏ in Tifinagh letters), then after the Arab conquest in the 7th century, the Berber population converted to Islam and in part also Arabized, and this created a hybrid unique culture. After the fall of the Ottoman Empire, France found it easy to conquer Algeria because it was part of it and take full political power on the region by 1830. After 132 years, the Algerian people led by the National Liberation Front (also known as FLN) got their independence on the 5th of July, 1962.

Algeria experienced struggles as a new independent country, and in October 1988, massive riots started in many important cities in Algeria forcing the former president Chadli Benjdid to implement a multi-party democracy after it was only the National Liberation Front (FLN) ruling the country. Nevertheless, in 1991 after the electoral victory of the Islamic Salvation Front, known as FIS "Front Islamic du Salut", the military intervened to stop the elections and seize control over the government which pushed the president Chadli Benjdid to resign, and a bloody armed conflict between the Algerian government and Islamic rebels started. This civil war took 10 years, and it is usually referred to as the "black decade" in which approximately 100,000 people died in conflict areas. It was not until the 1999 presidential elections when the current president Abdelaziz Bouteflika started a new amnesty law, approved by a national referendum, that Islamic rebels were forgiven, which paved the way for a new era in the history of Algeria.

1.2 Women's status in Algeria in general in terms of rights and status

All around the world, women have fought to gain legitimate power and to rise above oppression and gender stereotypes that consider them as less than men or second-class citizens. In some countries, women have succeeded to achieve better conditions thanks to the governmental, non-governmental and international support. Less is known about contemporary challenges or opportunities for women in Algeria. Nevertheless, it is known that women have played an active role shaping the history of Algeria. During the independence war, women played a crucial role as nurses, cooks, spies and sometimes as fighters as well (Lazrus, 2010). This made promoting the rights of women one of the important points in the agenda of the newly independent country (Turshen, 2002); for this reason, under the rule of President Ben Bella (1962-1965), women obtained both civil and political rights in addition to the right to be in a political office (Bennoume, 1995). According to Article 39 of the Algerian constitution: "Any discrimination based on sex, race or occupation is forbidden, and the article 42 states "All political, economic, social and cultural rights of Algerian women are guaranteed by the constitution". (The Algerian Constitution, 1963). However, in the early post-independence period, female leaders and activists suffered from discrimination, imprisonment and some even lost their lives and were exiled from Algeria (Ismael & Ismael, 2008).

In 2012, the law of feminine quota that states women should be given a percentage in the parliamentary elections was adopted in Algeria, and it made the country one of the pioneers in the Arab world to empower women in politics (Benzenine, 2013). On the 10th of May, 2012, the legislative elections allowed 146 women (from 462 of total) to win seats in the People's National Assembly (or APN), which is the lower house of the Algerian Parliament that has members who are directly elected by the people (Benzenine, 2013). Fortunately, things started to become better in the 2017 elections in which the percentage of women in the lower house was 25, 8 (119 out of 462). This makes Algeria the first in the Arab world and the 15th internationally (The Inter-Parliamentary Union, the review of Women in Parliament 2018). However, the road is still long for the full empowerment of women.

2. Literature

The theoretical framework that forms the basis for this research sits at the intersection of gender and educational leadership, in the Islamic context in particular. The review that follows begins with the broader literature on this topic. The second part will be devoted to the under-representation of women in leadership positions globally and in the Islamic world in particular. The last part of the study will deal with to the representation of women in higher education institutions in Algeria.

2.1 Gender and educational leadership in general and in the Islamic context in particular

Extensive research in Western countries over the last few decades shows that although there are more women in educational institutions, they are still unable to break the glass ceiling to reach their full potential (Lyness & Heilmen, 2006). In the Middle East, research has only recently begun to focus on women and educational leadership (Moore, 2012; Madsen, 2010; Yaseen, 2010). Emerging from that strand of literature, Ahmed (1992) suggests "the most important socio-economic-cultural factors affecting women's participation in the Arab world are identity, religion, patriarchy, conflict between work and family commitments; women's role within the family, the lack of structures, quality control, the existing of governing bodies of higher education institutions". Historically organizations have always been male-dominated (Witz and Savage, 1992 as cited in Zhao, Jones, 2017). Further compounding the challenges for women, in the Islamic culture the term "leadership" is always associated with masculine qualities, and it is reinforced by the interpreted versions of the Quran and Sunnah (Moten, 2011).

2.2 The under-representation of women in leadership positions

A common theme in the research is that women continue to face a "glass ceiling" as illustrated by the historical significant under-representation of women in leadership positions in institutions world-wide (Warner, 2014; Morrison, 2012). According to Chaves (2011) and Cook (2010), although there are more females working at the universities today, institutions remain male-dominated in their academic culture and management practises. The issue for female academics is that they face many obstacles such as the duel burden, limited access to professional networks to reach senior leadership positions and being a target of gender bias and stereotypes (UNDP, 2015: p.13); however, even when they do reach those positions, they face a lot of challenges to manage both their male and female colleagues (Blackmore 1999). Arab women need also to prove themselves as capable

of undertaking the job to remove deep rooted cultural beliefs of their inability in managing that prevail among both men and women (Ameen, 2001).

Research into gender inequities experienced by women holding leadership positions helps to develop understanding of the reasons for the issue and this can enable solutions to be found that are suited to the unique culture in Islamic societies in general and in Algerian society in particular. However, there is a dearth of research concerned with the experiences of women and the cultural barriers to women's participation in North Africa, compared to the Middle East, where it is also embryonic, compared with developed countries. The little research that does exist in the Middle East suggests significant barriers prevent women from advancing in their careers. Reports specific to North African women suggest another perspective on the representation of women in Higher education in general and science fields in particular (Greene and Richmond, 2013). In this article, the researchers interviewed 14 female North African (from Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia) academics in the science field and 8 Americans to see how they experience "gender" in the same setting. North African academics reported that women are well-represented in their departments with equal pay. However, they expressed that their homes are not gender-equitable where nearly the full responsibility lies on the women. While American academics expressed the lack of gender equity in the workplace and how they need to "push" themselves in, whereas at home, they reported having equal partnership with their husbands and how this is helping them to reach professional success (Greene and Richmond, 2013).

2.3 Status of female educational leaders women in Algeria

The participation and integration of women in the social, political and economic sectors are the key elements to the change and development in any society. According to the Human Development Index of 2015, 72% of males aged fifteen and above were part of the workforce compared to only 47% for females (UNDP, 2015). The situation in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) is more difficult for women where 76% of men are in the labour force comparing to women with 27%. (International Labour Organization, 2014 :p.15). In Algeria, women represented only 16.3% of the active population (la Direction Technique chargée des Statistiques de la Population et de l'Emploi, 2014).

Research by Arar and Oplatka (2016), which involved meta-analysis of 20 studies about the status of the Arab female educational leaders between 2000 and 2014show the development of a new stream of research in this area Eight of these studies were conducted in Israel taking Arab from Palestinian origins as a case study while the remaining studies were conducted in Jordan, United Arab Emirates, Lebanon, Kuwait, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Palestine. However, as noted, there very little is known about North African women's experiences with equity in the workplace, women in leadership, collegial relationships and work-life balance (Greene and Richmond, 2013).

3. Problem statement

The research questions this study seeks to answer are as follows:

- How do female educational leaders describe, make senses of and understand cultural influences on forming and developing their leadership identity
- What are the challenges that female educational leaders face in their job?
- In the view of women academic leaders, how can policymakers and educational professionals help female career progression in the educational setting in Algeria?

4. Proposed methods

According to Jonassen and Hernandez-Serrano (2002), "the oldest and most natural form of sensemaking is that of stories or narratives" (p. 66, as cited in Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). That is why, in this qualitative research, the narrative inquiry will be used to have a clearer understanding of the experiences of Algeria women in Higher Education. I would like to start with a pre-interview task to help my participants to visualize their journeys as female academics in Algeria by asking them to draw a timeline of their lives. This will be done to help the participants to think about their lives as a whole and visualize it. Then, I would like to hear their stories and aspirations about the obstacles and barriers that an Algerian female educational leader face.

5. Conclusion and contribution to the field

The majority of studies focus on women in business leadership (Kemp, Madsen & El-Saidi, 2013) or political leadership (AlLamky, 2007). This makes researching in women's position educational leadership in Algeria is particularly worthy of attention because it will address an important gap in the published literature and seeks to gain insight into experiences that may be unique to Algerian Female Educational leaders. Al-Shanfari (2011: p.51) states that women must have faith and confidence that they have the capabilities to make significant contributions to the human race. That being so, it is crucial to empower women and open opportunities for them to be active in the Algerian society without being stereotyped and ignored.

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A Review of Women Identity and Empowerment

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Abstract: The issue addressed this review paper is about how women can develop their gendered identities and then further their professional identity and then further their professional identity which at core is defined by women psychologically or say, based on their personal experiences such as life stories. The overall and influencing culture worldwide is still largely based on patriarchy and there is a repressed, integral experience appropriate to women's bodies and lives which is no less powerful because of its invisibility and marginality due to the patriarchal culture. It is revealed that commitments of society, relationship and religious issues are actually less identity forming as compared to the women's own sense of effect upon the world. This own world of ambitions and desire to make it to the top level of leadership is affected by gender biases or gender power conflicts. It is found from the review of literature that identity development process begins during early age upbringing where in society and family influences are vital in the form of social and cultural factors shaping the identity and igniting the identity development process. Identity thus developed enables women to start their journey of achieving leadership and overall empowerment. There is an overlap between concepts of identity and leadership as to which leads to empowerment. The current stage of this study is at the completion of review of literature and further stages will include qualitative analyses of narratives of identity, leadership and empowerment journeys of female academics working in six selected universities of higher education in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Main aim of this research study is to find out relationships between identity, leadership and empowerment and how women can achieve either individual or collective empowerment in the long term.

Keywords: women empowerment, identity development

1. Review of the literature on women, identity and empowerment

The experience of becoming a leader is inextricably intertwined with a complex process of identity work. As this review of literature will show, leadership identity is shaped, stretched or inhibited through multiple social and relational encounters and experiences, which ultimately influence inner psychological processes. Identity is interwoven to leadership in such a way that it evolves with the role and develops an elevated sense of purpose (Quinn, 2004; DeRue and Ashford, 2010). Internalising an identity of a leader starts a relational and social action – reaction processes in which one can see himself or herself the way they are seen by others, as a leader. This iterative process of mutually confirmatory relationship of a leader and its identity construction can generate both beneficial and adverse results. In a beneficial scenario, leader receives validation and recognition from others and gets motivated to continue as a leader whereas in the adverse result, if leader does not receive affirmation and acceptance of the leadership then her leadership attempts, self-confidence and motivation suffers and ultimately identity issues stem from that point (Lord and Hall, 2005; Day et al, 2009; Fu et al, 2010). At this juncture, it could happen that leader gets too focussed on getting acceptance from her team and to fast forward their career in a certain manner that they become too much concerned with team members' views about their leadership acceptance, unable to see the bigger picture and gets disconnected with their real identity, values and the organisation they work for (Quinn, 2004; DeRue and Ashford, 2010).

Adding to this problem when culture is pro-masculinity then women's task becomes very difficult at the outset to establish themselves as leaders because such a culture creates a lot of impediments to women's authority (Bailyn, 2006; Ely and Rhode, 2010). And, even if women become successful to reach leadership positions within the such male dominated cultures of country or organisations, then they become scarce and become more visible and subjected to heightened scrutiny from their male and female both leadership peers. (Duan et al, 2017).

The central theme of leadership and identity developments is information and interpretation resulting in the specific behaviours in the different scenarios and its probability of occurrence. This requires society, interaction and commitment to actions by involved individuals such as women aspiring to be leaders and their families, workplace teams or community they live in (Stryker and Serpe, 1994; Riley and Burke, 1995).

To overcome any challenges related to leadership potential and recognition and identity formation and development, there is a growing trend of making laws to avoid any gender discrimination, women leadership development programmes, compulsory representation percentage in boards, encouraging schemes of women

education and 360-degree feedback mechanisms. Also, there are leadership teaching programmes which can include networking, negotiations, leading change and advancing careers and changes, developing competencies and motivation (Ibarra and Obodaru, 2009; Kolb et al, 2010; Cuddy, 2010; Morriss et al, 2011). Some people can realise women's leadership competencies and skills set but they underestimate women's leadership potential (Judge et al, 2002; Ravasi and Schultz, 2006; Shah, 2010; Kattan et al, 2016).

2. Theoretical foundations of women identity and its development

As Burke and Stets (2009) remarked, "what does it mean to be who you are?' An identity is the defined meanings that clarify who one is when one is an occupant of a specific role in society or member of a particular group, or requires particular characteristics. Sociologists are concerned about the understanding of the nature of social structure, its forms and patterns and how it develops. Social identity is an individual's sense of who they are based on their group membership(s). Tajfel (1979) highlighted that the groups such as social class, family or football team to which people belong are an important source of pride and self-esteem.

It can be inferred that it is difficult to distinguish between multiple identities, or academic, social, professional or personal identity of the people and especially people in positions of authority or leadership. However, it is very important to know the person's identity before conferring or delegating them the authority and discretionary powers as they could lead a team or a whole organisation into the chaos (Jensen and Jetten, 2016).

2.1 Identification and identity

Identification is a perception which enables oneness with a group or individual, social identification then arises from categorisation of individuals, the distinctiveness and status of the group, the salience of the out groups, and the factors associated with group dynamics. And, this social identification enables activities that are congruent with the identity, support for organisations that encapsulates the identity, usual perception of self-image and outcome whilst interacting with groups. This is the basic idea of how organisation functions and what role identity plays in socialisation, tasks, conflicts, delegation, leading, forming and other intergroup relations. Thus, identity of one another between each employee has a very crucial function in operational course of organisation (Ashforth and Mael, 1999).

Organisational identification is a major construct of organisational behaviour formation affecting both the satisfaction of individual and effectiveness of a team. This has been often confused as institutional commitment or internalisation which are outcomes of identification, identity recognition and activities of team. Identity theory is thus a perspective on the social basis of a self-concept and on the nature of normative behaviour (Hogg et al, 1995). Identity theory as explained by well-known researchers Stryker, Burke, McCall and Turner explains a social behaviour in terms of relations between a person and the society. It is about the symbolic interactionist view that society affects social behaviour through its influence on the self. This forms the central theme of identity wherein as a reflection of society, the person / self is considered as a multi-faceted and an organised construct (Brown, 2000). Researchers often considers the person itself as an output or product of social interaction wherein an individual comes to know who they are through their interactions with another individual or the society as a whole. (Sundstrom et al, 2017).

Within this process of recognising own identity through interactions when a person is given a role then they go one step further and tend of realise their 'role identity'. This is when leaders have three forms of different identities to deal with: self, role and social. Thus, a psychological view of one single self-identity becomes a multi-faceted organisational or social construct. For example, within role identity also there are many features as each person has different role to be played each day. A female academic may have role identities of being a mother, wife, daughter, sister, boss, colleague and a social worker. This research study analyses female academics role identity of being a leader in the workplace in higher education sector (Burke, 1980; Burke and Stets, 2009).

Role identities are self-defined, self-referent or self-conception cognitions which female leaders apply to themselves as a consequence of the structural role positions of authority they occupy. This happens through a process of labelling as a group member of a particular social community or organisational category. The role identity is able to derive its meaning not only from self-perception but also on the basis of exact role and responsibility specification and also because roles are either complementary or counter to each other. Thus identity becomes a pivotal function which enables creating a base for leadership development stemming from the role, self or group.

Once this identity is verified by the group, institution or higher management, a person's self-esteem gets boosted. Identity verification provides self-esteem however there are three major reasons for driving the one's self-esteem which are: sense of competency, sense of self-worth or; self-authenticity. Persons are more likely to engage into difficult tasks based on their self-esteem derived from higher self-efficacy. In the same manner, for example if female academic has a low level of self-efficacy, they would shy away from leadership responsibility as they would find it a problematic situation, or feeling that they may make a mess of it (Stets and Burke, 2000). Some researchers however have argued that role and social identities are interwoven as reference to me and us (Thoits and Virshup, 1997). One can summarise that role, person and social identities operate in the same way on the basis of perceptual control process.

2.2 Social, multiple and identity process theory

The identity theory model can be said to have four central themes embedded into it: the identity standard, or the set of culturally prescribed meanings held by the individual defining their role identity in a situation; perceptions by the person of meanings within the situation matched to the dimensions of meaning in the identity standard; the comparator or mechanism that compares the perceived situational meanings with those held in the identity standard; and behaviour or activity of the individual, which is a function of the difference between perceptions and standard. (Scheier, 1990; Burke, 1991; Burke and Stets, 2009).

As seen from the previous sections, at the micro-level, an analysis of the group, role, and the person can help one to understand the motivational processes of self-esteem, self-efficacy and authenticity. Even of these multiple identities arise from different sources of meaning, it may overlap, may reinforce the development or may constrain each other (Stets and Burke, 2000). The conditions under which they occur, change or evolve leads to the important theory of identity process (Breakwell, 1986).

Identity process theory (IPT) enables one to understand dynamics between individual identity, interpersonal relationships and social structure. It also attempts to explain a number of levels of analysis (the intrapsychic, interpersonal and intergroup), the processes wherein identity changes (Jaspal and Breakwell, 2014). Two overarching approaches are identity process theory (IPT) and social identity approach (SIA). The social identity approach further classifies into self-categorisation theory (SCT) and social identity theory (SIT) (Haslam et al, 2010; Reicher et al, 2010; Pehrson and Reicher, 2014).

To understand IPT, one needs to know the overarching influence of categorisation which is not merely a way to interpret but it has the potential to transform social relations wherein identity links social structure to social action. However, the authority or discretionary power is a dynamic product of social identity processes. Social representations are a source of stability in self-categorisation and social relations. Social power and mobilisation provides meaning to the particular identity combinations. However, the representation of social categories is a domain for struggles to shape the future. The psychological groups can enable shared knowledge. Social identity and identity processes provides the foundation to build social categories of leadership, power and social influence (Breakwell, 1993; Turner, 1999; Reicher, 2004; Elcheroth et al, 2011).

The leadership potential and identity verification may enable female academic to become a leader; however, that does not guarantee the success as a leader or maintaining the position as a leader which requires confidence, knowledge, self-identity recognition and self-esteem and motivation.

2.3 Women's perceptions about identity

The most basic and initial identity for any human being is formed by fitting into its culture as brought up by his or her family and community they live in. Either they are fitted in the prescribed roles or otherwise banished, punished, oppressed, sanctioned or restricted by same family or community. This is where root causes of women's struggles are underpinned. Community, nation and organisational cultures are easily influenced by politics, religion, media and geographical conditions rather than what is right or wrong for future generations. This was the usual process of identity formation during human evolution however now the process has become more difficult, precarious and solitary as women still face so called gender obligations, gender discriminations, gender power issues in addition to their phylogenetic background (Cote and Levine, 2002; Burke and Stets, 2009).

Globalisation and technological development with cultural advancements have forced everyone to become fit, good, marketable and selling oneself and non-redundant. Such a pressure from society and level of social structure affects the one's interactions with others and its own personality, ultimately reflecting to identity formation (Said and Tallontire, 2015). This is evident from House (1977 as cited in Cote and Levine, 2002) model of the personality and social structure perspective (PSSP). Emerging technologies saturate us with the many voices of humankind. As Gergen (1996) describes the reaction to the forces of such social saturation result into non-confirmation of any solid identity or authentic action. This is due to one has to shuffle and search for an appropriate set of actions to formulate one's own identity which can result into identity being questioned rather than developed or confirmed. Therefore, in the post-modernist era the social structures and its saturation leave women being continuously ripped from the security of their actual, essential and unified self-identity. Such conditions deprive women of being comfortable to function and rather create unwanted, superficial and meaningless world of non-stop actions of self and other. This is a major and root obstacle for women in their journey to create their identity and recognise their self-worth (Cote, 2000; Stets and Burke, 2000; Stryker and Burke, 2005).

Within the social structures and personal development, women's identity development and its process are threatened by intractable conflicts (Bar-Tal et al, 2009; Oren and Bar-Tal, 2016), cultural diversity issues (Condor, 2006; Chryssochoou, 2010), psychological disintegration and incoherence (Amiot and Jaspal, 2016), geopolitical changes (Dixon, 2001; Dixon et al, 2016), age or mental health issues (Spini and Jopp, 2016; Lowenthal, 2016), religion issues for example islamophobic prejudice (Cinnerela, 2016), personal resistance to change due to fear or anxiety (Murtagh et al, 2016) or having a feeling of risk in furthering the social representation through identity (Brewer, 1991; Breakwell, 1993; Barnett and Vasileiou, 2016).

Developing process and formation of identity is one side of the problem for women, another one is access to resources when they wish to develop identity whereas the third major problem is developing and living with a wrong identity. If wrong identity is developed, then is a chance of prolonged state in that frame of identity unless there is a change or threat to that wrong identity which may force a woman to re-think. Fostering encouragement to overcome resistance and change one's own identity is a difficult process and requires immense support both at macro and micro level (Jaspal and Breakwell, 2016). In case women are able to facilitate changes in their perspectives of identity then there could be new modified identities and they may start seeing the drastic changes to their subsequent behaviour (Prochaska et al, 1992; Bovey and Hede, 2001). The social structure theory, social representation theory and identity process theory all could lead to successful analysis and developmental understanding of identity; however central theme remains that identity development, process, formation and its sustaining depends upon how women think, perceive, react, change and take action to mentally, physically and professionally strengthen themselves leading to empowerment and leadership (Cote and Levine, 2002; Connell, 2003; Burke and Stets, 2009; Jaspal and Breakwell, 2016).

3. Theories of women empowerment

This work is based on social identity theory and underpinned by feminist theories. Professional identity in Higher Education has not been widely studied (Drennan, 2013). In Kelchtermans' (1993) research social identity theory is used as a model of the professional identity concept, and the findings from Connelly and Clandinin's (1999) approach to instructors' expert tales inspires this research.

Social identification theory, which originated from the work of Tajfel and later Turner, proposes there are two types of identity: social identity, in which the self is defined by groups and 'the value and emotional significance attached to that membership', and personal identity, which refers to idiosyncratic private history and tendencies (Tajfel and Turner, 2010).

Kogan (2000) advanced Henkel's (2000) notion of academic identity as a one-of-a-kind personality, along with the individual's conceptual framework, personal history and network identity, adding the concept of a personality embedded within a specific community with its own language, practices, ideals and values. One of these definitions is similar to Kelchtermans' (1993) concept of professional identity. Kelchtermans (1993) draws a distinction between the expert self, or instructors' perception of themselves, and subjective educational identities, teachers' notion systems and expertise in their profession.

3.1 Gender and identity

Social roles, therefore, constitute the social expectancies of gender, and it is essential to consider the way that women and men are socialised into these roles. Social attitudes are widely recognised determinants of identity formation (Trudgill, 2000, p. 80). Thus, it is necessary to examine the implicit gendered social attitudes endemic in Saudi society to determine how these values, beliefs and assumptions might affect women's use of language to construct their expert identities. (Cornwall and Rivas, 2015).

In a sense then, individuals co-assemble our identities within the workplace, and influence and authority are also socially built. This view is consistent with Alvesson's (2002) view that gender schema draw on a society's discursive records and cultural scripts, the narratives of early life, to shape character at a subconscious level. Throughout life phases, cultural thinking determines and restrains what men and what women need to assume, sense and do. Having reviewed the literature and the gendered attitudes embodied in Saudi subculture and lifestyle, it would be surprising if there were not a few lingering regions influencing the functions and expectations of both men and women.

The term feminist entered the academic lexicon more generally only in the 1970s, when women promoting the theory became active as academics, although it had been used as a political concept since the late nineteenth century. Feminist ideas were highly contested as academic subjects, and women's studies initially developed outside conventional undergraduate courses in continuing education and lifelong learning departments for older-adult women. However, as more women became active as sociologists of education and social scientists, they began to develop and refine ideas and feminist theories, methodologies, pedagogy and knowledge (Charles & Grusky, 2004).

3.2 Meaning and purpose of empowerment

Empowerment has been discussed in many different ways, ranging from political and legal rights through to empowerment in the workplace, and so forth. This thesis is concerned with empowerment in the workplace.

Empowered employees enjoy from freedom of action in their delegated responsibilities. People possess power by virtue of their knowledge and motivation, and empowering entails releasing this power. There are some fundamental points in this definition: empowerment is a long process of adding value, working down from top management to lower levels of organisations; the process of empowerment is qualitative as employees learn knowledge and skills for interactions with clients and customers. Thus, these relations will instil confidence and unanimity in both parties and finally, empowerment is a means of delegating formal authority to employees so that they have full responsibility for producing goods or services in a self-initiated way from the beginning to the end of the process (Sreelakshmi and Rao, 2016).

4. Personality and identity barriers to empowerment

Identity empowerment theory has been built on interpersonal, group and family behaviour issues however the personality and identity barriers are developed as women struggle to develop identity and appropriate personality for being empowered or being leader due to opposition from their own families, communities, culture; and also due to inadequate resources to obtain a right set of skills, knowledge and abilities. These barriers are generated based on long term and iterative interactions with other persons, group, family members, religion, reference group, class, culture and society (Ker and Bowen, 1988; Hess et al, 1988).

The major barriers arise of personality and identity from women's own understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of their personal a collective historical experiences and current state which in turn increases their sense of purpose and future direction of development (Hall, 2010). To develop their identity and personality, women must recognise their leadership and empowerment potential themselves first and then others should be able to recognise the same potential. To enable these women must examine their own values, constantly determine life time goals and their interests of being empowered in the personal and professional life (Jensen and Jetten, 2016). The researchers of social psychology synthesis and identity theory suggest that women if choose to make dramatic shifts in their lives then they are able to make it. Their personality and interpersonal behaviour can play a vital role in this and same can act as barriers if not dealt with appropriately (Cote and Levine, 2002).

The barriers in the above sections from multiple factors to women leadership, identity and empowerment signify the importance of policies from government and decisions from corporates to incorporate and make a case of women empowerment and implement 'zero tolerance' rules and laws for encouraging women their global opportunity. Today's women are the largest economic opportunity. For example, in 2009 women globally earned $13 trillion which was double the combined GDPs of China and India at $5.6 trillion. Also, women globally control at least 64% of the consumer spending (Silverstein and Sayre, 2009). Also, women are setting up their business and creating wealth; and are living longer; they improve corporate performance. For example, Catalyst (2007) and McKinsey (2007) both found that having women on corporate boards increased the return on equity, profit margin, return on invested capital and a stronger stock price growth. Therefore, empowering women and removing barriers from their leadership journey is essential and necessary for global growth and success.

Women are improving their professional opportunities, yet are still responsible for the majority of the chores and care giving duties, also known as the double burden syndrome. This syndrome is particularly experienced in the African and Asian regions, which reflects the responsibility for both work and household. European women are responsible for twice as many household tasks than the men McKinsey (2007). This is a personal challenge acting as an obstacle from family and child care issues or work-life balance.

A major problem relates to women's confidence, in both the beliefs in their own abilities, as well as in the capability of communicating confidence. As an example, research amongst MBA women shows that while the majority of women consider themselves equally capable as their co-workers, the majority of men consider themselves more capable than their co-workers (Eagly, 2003). In an environment where the behaviours expected are still male dominated, female-specific communication can be interpreted negatively. This competence and confidence issues pertains to the identity recognition by women internally with their own self and externally by their superiors or colleagues or family members. Identity content issues are also bogged down by identity process and development issues such as identity verification, confirmation, multiple identity and fear of wrong identity and overlapping identity.

Unfortunately, women do experience a strong gender bias when being evaluated for promotions on both their level of performance as well as their potential impact. Research within professional groups shows that women have to significantly work harder to be perceived as equally competent as men (Lyness and Heilman, 2006). Women struggle with so-called second generation gender biases, which are "*powerful yet often invisible barriers to women's advancement that arise from cultural beliefs about gender, as well as workplace structures, practices, and patterns of interactions that inadvertently favour men*" (Ely et al, 2011, p.4). These second-generation gender biases have recently been discussed as causes for women's underrepresentation on boards.

A core finding of gender bias issue suggest at each stage of women's career, from recruitment and selection to retirement, they struggle to navigate their careers in a gendered environment. The male dominated culture so strongly influences daily working practices that exclusion from networks limits opportunities for career advancement. Moreover, the male dominated culture led women to feel intimidated and consider leaving the organisation. Such repeated experiences could lead to women start lacking the confidence. Such a lack of confidence and self-belief can act as a barrier to their professional advancement.

5. Gaps found in the literature

There is a lack of research studies about this topic in Saudi Arabia. The majority of these studies are relevant to the general meaning of employee empowerment such as decisions making for the middle level or schools head teachers with a weak amount of the authorities. For this thesis no one has done the previous research to focus on the women empowerment and identities of female academic leaders in Higher Education or even at the other society sector and organisation until now in Saudi Arabia. This became as a result of the researchers' fears and control exerted to some extent by ideological and traditional society trends with a weak researchers' network on the women's studies in Saudi Arabia. These studies which are done already about women empowerment have various differences within them. For example, some of them have discussed effectiveness of women in the workplace and how it can be developed. Also, it is commonly accepted that women cannot use certain technology based platforms with a sense of confidence because they fear the eventual consequences that can be directed to them. Women cannot express themselves freely while on the Internet as the Saudi government is always monitoring content posted by respective users. These are challenges that need women to be empowered if reasonable progress is to be realised in terms of ensuring equality is present in various social

domains. Some other studies have evaluated the women leader's challenges. Saudi Arabia is a country that continues to experience external influence and pressure when it comes to empowering women, as the government has since long time opted to rely on religious or traditional stipulations which suppress women from being represented in important leadership and employment positions. While actual statistics can confirm that through the last decade Saudi Arabia has witnessed a growing participation of women in key management positions in respective businesses industries, related efforts are still not appealing to many people. However, it is prudent to complement the clear strategic direction and approaches that policy makers in the country are adopting when it comes to empowering women. A major problem that is looming for women who find themselves in leadership positions is the basic stereotype thinking and behaviour from their male counterparts who have seemingly been culturally and traditionally influenced to segregate or discriminate women. Women need to possess and own leadership positions in the country in order to experience success in their lives and alter the trend of inequality.

Some of these studies tend to be only quantitative in collecting and analysing their data which provides useful statistical data but could not provide any detailed insight into people's experiences and perceptions. Therefore, this study attempts for in-depth answers by using qualitative methods of narrative data collection and analyses. Moreover, there is great scope to highlight here that no previous research has explored identity, leadership and empowerment of females in the Higher Education in Saudi Arabia or sought to understand the ways that policies to empower women are experienced by women and how these policies may shape their multiple identities.

Gender mainstreaming, with its promise of gender transformation, equality and empowerment, has become a central pillar of development discourse, policy and practice. Yet, the implementation of these promises has largely been disappointing. Proposed new solutions have brought little new to the table. This suggests that one requires to rethink the link between policy and implementation, recognising that both are political processes and that while policies set agendas, both policies and their implementation are deeply influenced by societal factors. Drawing on critical development analysis and feminist writings, it can be said that transformative potential of gender mainstreaming in international development organisations in an increasingly complex, unequal and gendered world.

6. Conclusions

On a global scale, women face a few key challenges. Women are not advancing enough to leadership roles or contributing to influential decision-making roles. Women are not receiving an equal amount of education, pay and employment opportunities, and economic resources. Businesswomen face legislative challenges and often have limited access to capital. To overcome global barriers, women need more decision-making roles, more education attainment, more employment and easier access to credit. However, their personal challenges stem from gender bias and male-dominated societal norms which prevent their overall growth. Women are improving their professional opportunities, yet are still responsible for the majority of the household chores and caregiving duties, also known as the double burden syndrome. European women are responsible for twice as many household tasks as men. This is a personal challenge acting as an obstacle from family and childcare issues or work-life balance.

A major problem relates to women's confidence, in both beliefs in their own abilities, as well as in the capability of communicating confidence. These competence and confidence issues pertain to identity recognition by women internally with their own self and externally by their superiors, colleagues or family members. Identity content issues are also bogged down by identity process and development issues, such as identity verification, confirmation, multiple identity and fear of wrong identity and overlapping identity.

Unfortunately, women experience a strong gender bias when being evaluated for promotions on both their level of performance and their potential impact. Research within professional groups shows that women have to work significantly harder to be perceived as equally competent as men. Women struggle with so-called second-generation gender biases.

A core finding of gender bias research suggests that at each stage of a woman's career, from recruitment and selection to retirement, she struggles to navigate her career in a gendered environment. The male-dominated culture so strongly influences daily working practices that female exclusion from networks limits opportunities for women's career advancement. Moreover, the male-dominated culture has led women to feel intimidated

and to consider leaving the organisation. Such repeated experiences could lead to women lacking confidence in the workplace. Such a lack of confidence and self-belief can act as a barrier to women's professional advancement.

Gender mainstreaming, with its promise of gender transformation, equality and empowerment, has become a central pillar of development discourse, policy and practice. Yet, the implementation of these promises has been largely disappointing. Proposed new solutions have brought little new to the table. This suggests that one needs to rethink the link between policy and implementation, recognising that both are political processes. While policies set agendas, both policies and their implementation are deeply influenced by societal factors. Drawing on critical development analysis and feminist writings, it can be said that there is transformative potential of gender mainstreaming in international development organisations in an increasingly complex, unequal and gendered world. However, a global movement for women's empowerment can do more harm to society if it turns into an 'anti-patriarchy movement', which could cause wider rifts between men and women and more serious gender bias issues.

Analyses of theoretical underpinnings of identity and women's empowerment theories exist in the literature and are explained in this paper. These analyses enable authors to conclude that identity is a main concern of women's empowerment passing through leadership channels as well as major domains of sociology, psychology, organisational behaviour, and corporate and government policies. To make sense of how these subjects correlate to women's empowerment, one needs to explore them individually and with real-time data sets. This review has been extended to further research by collecting identity, leadership and empowerment understanding through life stories narrated by female academics in face-to-face, semi-structured interviews which shall be published in due course.

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Gender and Political Suitability in the Irish Daìl: A Comparative Experiment on the Perception of Legislators' Suitability for Office

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Abstract: Historically, politics is conceived as an area of male dominance. Today, the normalization of female presence in the political arena is actively sought through plans of affirmative action, such as gender quotas. When normalization takes place, women are perceived to be as suitable as men to political careers, reflecting a change in social norms; the public opinion does not perceive politics as an area of male dominance anymore and potential female leaders face fewer obstacles, aiming to the political career more oGen. Nowadays, despite the increase of female representation over the last decades, the percentage of women in high-profile political positions still does not represent the female population. Is the female presence in politics still opposing social norms/not normalized? In many countries (e.g. Ireland), the increase of women in high-profile political positions is slower than expected. At the same time, measures of overt prejudice can't find an overt preference in regards to female politicians anymore. Nevertheless, the literature exploring the relationship among normalization, public perceptions and missing numbers of women in politics is scant and vague. By using an experimental design this paper aims to access hidden beliefs of the public opinion, in regard to women's suitability for high-profile offices. By way of Goldberg Paradigm, this study prevents the formation of Social Desirability Bias (SDB), as I argue this bias is the reason why contemporary literature can't find overt prejudices in regards to female politician anymore. To support the claim that previous literature based its finding on biased data, I also compare the result of this experiment with an overt questionnaire to explore the effect of Social Desirability on direct questionnaires. Using the Irish Parliament (Dáil Éireann) as my research context, I found that men are perceived as more suitable legislators than women. As a secondary finding, results show that there is a lack of trust in actual career chances for women. Comparing this result with an overt questionnaire that do not control for SDB, this study found that when the interest for the gender dimension is revealed, suitability scores are distorted and women show stronger support for female politicians; on the contrary, they support men when the gender dimension is hidden with proper measurements. Similarly, male participants show their preference for male politicians only when this is addressed indirectly, while overt measurements report their preference to be neutral. I conclude that normalization has not yet happened and social barriers still prevent women's access to politics, especially in high-profile positions.

Keywords: gender prejudices, political participation, hidden prejudices, social desirability bias, Irish Parliament

1. Introduction

Worldwide, female political representation is greater today than ever before. However, neither it is proportional to the percentage of female individuals in the population nor scholarly expectations of increment are met (Fox, 2010). To investigate the role of women representation in today society this study aims to understand whether the female presence in politics is normalized or considered a marginal phenomenon that should not be entrusted. The definition of "normalization" refers to a context in which female candidates' presence in the arena is not an "exceptional" event, they are perceived to be as suitable as men in every political office they reach, potential female leaders face no social obstacles preventing their success or even their choice of engagement in politic (Devlin and Elgie, 2008). On a speculative level, in case the female presence in politics is normalized, the causes of female under-representation should not be sought in the social fabric, on the contrary they can be the result of the freedom of choice. On the other hand, if social norms are limiting the freedom of choices (e.g. through sexism, gender expectations and roles, or discriminatory mechanisms), they can be considered at the root of today under-representation and segregation outside the political arena. Specifically, this study concentrate on prejudice, as one of the most powerful and hegemonic social barrier hindering the political success of women.

Scholarly findings are characterized by a tension in principles and while they indirectly support the idea that prejudices are still present, the majority of them also deny to recognize them as a current cause of under-representation. For instance, while a gender preference is disappeared from measurements, the female lack of political ambition is today considered as the first reason for the restricted poll of potential female politicians – and then material (Devlin and Elgie, 2008). However, scholars also report that stigmatized groups tend to avoid career paths that they perceive as specifically risky and with a high failure-potential due to the presence of a bias against them. (Sweet-Cushman, 2016) In the same vein, scholars report that when minority groups systematically experience stigmatization they internalize it (Glick and Rudman, 2010). This mechanism can be translated in practice with the historical female exclusion from politics that led women of today to doubt their qualification and professional achievement in this area way more than men do (L.Fox and L.Lawless, 2011), as well as the

ownership of the trait required to a good leader (Fox, 2010). Alike findings can arguably support the idea that under-representation is not a free choice, on the contrary, it have risen from discriminatory mechanisms that today research fail to capture. To overcome this paradox, this study aims to show that although it has changed the way in which it is expressed, gender prejudices is still present in the background and the undercovering of it, is only a matter of the right tools.

Some scholars reports that a cultural climate formally supporting neoliberal values (such as equality) and "politically correct" conversations about sensitive themes (such as gender and minority rights) can empathize the pressure of Social Desirability (Richardson and Shelton, 2010). The public opinion is here pushed to mask its informal "feelings" if they do not conform to the standards of the formal discourse (Richardson and Shelton, 2010). This separation between formal and informal discourse translate, on the level of opinions expression, in a distancing between what the public declare to believe (overt expression) and what is its actual judgement (hidden expression). The social desirability bias (SDB), which is defined as the tendency of research subjects to answer in a manner that will be viewed favorably by others, instead of choosing responses that are reflective of their true feeling, makes impossible to interpret data capturing the reality of today social fabric (Streb et al., 2008). In order to regenerate the genuineness of measurement research needs to rely on designs that through specificstratagems (see Methodology section) are able to access "hidden" believes.

To exemplify, in 1937, the American public opinion poll (opinion polls captur overtly expressed opinions), Gallup Poll, reported that 64% of the population would not have voted for a qualified female president. The most recent Gallup Poll, held in 2007, reported that 88% percent of Americans would vote for a woman if their party nominated one. Regarding the observed inversion of percentages, one could say that a great improvement for female inclusion in politics has taken place, even if under-representation is still persistent. However, opinion polls like the Gallup Poll are tools used to measure only the superficial layer of a public's believes, while they miss the qualities to discover hidden expressions of prejudice (Krupnikov et al., 2016). A niche of research believes that for what concerned sensitive topics (topics on which social desirability has its grasp) these poles are not reliable sources of data as they are affected by SDB.

Going back to this study, historically, the closer to the top of the political hierarchy that candidates have risen, the more the public opinion expect them to possess typically masculine traits (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993). This makes high profile offices the best context to explore the influence of gender on suitability perceptions. This is particularly accentuated in certain western states rather than others. Ireland, for example, the number of female Teachtaí Dála (TDs) remains stubbornly low (McElroy, 2016). In the last general election (2016) the 22% of the elected TDs were female (n.a., 2018) . Interestingly, this percentage, although result of an improvement, is lower than the European average, despite the introduction of gender quotas in 2012 , while in the public opinion studies found no sign of gender bias (McElroy and Marsh, 2011). Under this circumstances, the choice of the research context fell on the Dáil Éireann - Irish lower house.

2. Literature review

While hidden bias in politics has been analyzed in relation to other factors of preference, including race discrimination (Redlawsk et al., 2010) and partisan identification (Klar and Krupnikov, 2016), literature regarding hidden gender bias in politics is sparse and recent (Streb et al., 2008). This literature review begins by examining the scholarly work on the ways in which gender stereotypes, which are agents that convey discriminatory beliefs, affects political careers, followed by an explanation of a common pitfall of this type of research, which results in a divided body of literature. Two recent studies that have explored hidden gender bias in politics are then reviewed, and an argument for a new research context is given.

Though plentiful, the literature about the effects of gender stereotypes on political careers is divided. Since stereotypes are a way through which discrimination is conveyed, the absence of a clear statement confirming or repudiating the existence of discrimination (in its overt as well as in its hidden presence) likely nurture the inhomogeneity of the points of view on this topic. Through the identification of discrimination in its hidden expression, it will be possible to create a clear base from which reconcile the discussion and direct future research on gender stereotypes. Stereotypes are cognitive tool that social actors use to navigate reality with greater ease (Hilton and Hippel, 1996). Gender stereotypes are based on the prejudice that individuals are the carriers of certain personality traits because of their gender (Glick and Rudman, 2010) —females are more empathic, compassionate and emotional, while males are more assertive, tough and competent (King et al., 2003). Although

this body of literature is large, it is not homogenous. Some scholars show that gender stereotypes have a strong influence on the public perception of a candidate's suitability to politics (Dolan, 2014); and gender expectations affect the policy-making areas in which a candidate is perceived as competent (Lawless, 2004). This was found also in studies focused on the Dáil Éireann (Connolly, 2013). Other scholars believe that to have an effect stereotypes should first be "activated" – for example by newspapers or other forms of media (e.g. by newspapers or other forms of media); otherwise, they are not present. Consequently to this idea, female candidate can plan a campaign in order to activate the male stereotypes exploiting the stereotypical connotations of both genders to her own benefit (Bauer, 2016). However, depending on the context, research found that stereotypes activation can cause a backlash on the general perceptions of female fitness to politics Krupnikov and M.Bauer (2014). Some studies report that gender stereotypes are not as strong as party stereotypes and these last are the one that ultimately guides public's preferences (Hayes, 2011). Given this summary, however, the common problem is that these studies do not establish the presence/absence of a gender preference from the beginning, while some of the data might be affected by SDB.

Streb et al. (2008) addressed the hidden expression of gender bias in politics for the first time. In the article "Social Desirability Effects and Support for a Female American President", the authors found gender discrimination in the presidential office —previously hidden through SDB— using an experimental design, specifically a List Experiment. Even though Streb, Burrell, Frederick and Genovese recognize some limits in their study, their List Experiment received great appreciation from academic peers; in fact, this design is gaining popularity in the research community because of is strong validity and logic (Nuno and John, 2015). Building on the success of this previous study, Claassen and Ryan (2016) addressed the subject of hidden gender bias for the second time. Their article, "Social Desirability, Hidden Biases, and Support for Hillary Clinton," used again an Experimental design (this time based on indirect questions) (Streb et al., 2008) to address biases on the specifics of both Hillary Clinton's campaign for the U.S. presidency and general gender discrimination in politics. It should be noted that in both 2008 and 2016, Hillary Clinton campaigned for the presidency, which has significant implications on the data collected. Given the salience of Clinton's campaign and the lack of referential examples of other "highly visible" female politicians, questions addressing a "possible female president" would likely illicit associations with Clinton rather than with a "general candidate" in the mind of the public (Maio et al., 2010) . In other words, the results published by Claassen and Ryan may also reflect the bias against Clinton specifically, so the gender dimension is not the only variable affecting their findings. This bias, which can be named "Hillary Effect" (HE), constitutes a problem for the generalization of results (Maio et al., 2010). US presidential campaigns are built to be highly "tele-visual" (Hayes, 2011). Even though the HE can affect the perceptions of female political leaders in many countries where women run or have run for high profile political positions (where although not Clinton, other candidates have the same power to influence the imagery around female politicians), worth mentioning that in the context of the U.S. presidency the great tele-visibility of the race can reinforce this effect. Therefore, these findings should be corroborated by research in other political contexts. Along the same lines, findings regarding the U.S. presidential office are inherently problematic, due to the unitary nature of the position. Findings coming from offices based on plural seats may be a better setting to isolate the gender variable. This is why the Dáil Éireann – Irish lower house – was chosen as a research setting.

Through the implications of its results, this study then contributes to the literature on female political ambition (or better, the lack of it). One first cause of lack of political ambition is female lack of confidence, or the undervaluation of professional skills and career achievement (L.Fox and L.Lawless, 2011). Women doubt they have the qualifications and traits necessary to go into politics (Fox, 2010). Another notable cause is women's perception of politics as a hostile environment. Studies report that the experience of bias in the political environment is one of the major causes of withdrawal (Blair and Stanley, 1991). This experience perpetuates a vicious cycle, reinforcing the idea that women are "not good enough" for politics (L.Fox and L.Lawless, 2011). Through a specific indicator (Q3 – see Methodology section), this study will make suggestions about women's self-perception of suitability and address the public's perception of the political environment.

3. Methodology

3.1 Overview

To identify hidden gender discrimination, it is necessary to use an Experimental research design (Bauer, 2016). The appropriateness of the Experimental Design is due to hiding the interest for the gender dimension, leaving the respondent oblivious to the aims of the research. The data obtained is, therefore, coming from an indirect

measurement of the gender dimension (Streb et al., 2008). Given the of ease of realization, strong logic and internal validity in this study, the Goldberg Paradigm (GP) was chosen.

Before going into the specifics of this research design, it is worth showing why the design choice was a crucial step in realising the aims of this study. As mentioned in the Literature Review section, most research on the topic achieved findings based on data sets collected through designs suited only for openly expressed gender biases. However, currently, this data might fail to capture the presence of discrimination because of shifts in its expression. As an under-researched component of discrimination, its hidden expression must be investigated, as well as considered the next phase in the research of female political representation. So far, no similar study has been conducted either in the parliamentary setting or in Ireland. By choosing the Irish Parliament, Dáil Éireann, as a research context, this study aims for the interpretation of data free from the so-called "Hillary Effect".

3.2 The Goldberg Paradigm

The design of the Goldberg Paradigm consists in sharing of a pair of identical CVs among two separates sets of respondent. The only manipulated variable is that one set carries a stigma (in this case, gender). This manipulation happens simply by changing the name attached to the CVs. Respondents score the CVs based on given indicators. Average scores are compared: if they are alike, discrimination based on gender does not occur, if scores are different, gender is a factor of influence in the perceptions of suitability to the office of TD. In order to create a variance in the expertise of the candidates, another pair of identical CVs was devised. While one pair was characterized by high experience and education, the other pair was marked by less experience and a stronger bound with business associations. Both CVs were running for a seat in the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Irish Parliament. Moreover, in order to compare the result of the Goldberg Paradigm with the results of a design not specific to a sensitive topic, in this study was introduced a parallel experiment explicitly showing gender interest by somministrating to the respondents CVs of both gender (this experiment is here referred to as "Mixed Experiment"). Respondents were randomly allocated not into two, but into four separate sets: two of them referring to the Goldberg Paradigm (one scrutinizing only female CVs; the other, male CVs), and two of them assigned to the Mixed Experiment (ME). From the comparison, it was possible to see whether gender preference is openly expressed or not. If gender preference is openly expressed, the results of the two experiments should be equal.

3.3 Recruitment

The responses were collected through the Facebook groups of students at University College Dublin and Trinity College Dublin, with a total of 158 responses. Statistical significance was proved through t-test and due to the small sample size, p was set to a significance level of 0.100; all tests that have a value $p < 0.100$ are therefore called statistically significant.

3.4 Questionnaire

To each CV was attached a brief questionnaire, which respondents scored on a 1 to 10 Likert scale, without the middle position; studies report that in the middle position nest responses that want to hide their real opinion, which might have been the case of the study of Claassen and Ryan (2016).

Questionnaire:

1) To what extent do you think this TD (legislator) fits the office? (labels: not fit at all – highly fitted);

2) Evaluate the richness of the CV (labels: poor – rich);

3) How likely do you think it would be to see this candidate in a real parliament? (labels: not at all likely – very likely).

3.5 Limits

A limit of this study is the absence of external validity, due to the non-representativeness of the sample and to the demographics of respondents (i.e. college students). However, the fact that respondents are randomly assigned to the subsamples, summed to the strong internal validity of the design itself, guarantee that if discrimination is here identified the result is still significant. Future research should corroborate these findings with results coming from larger samples with a less restrictive demographic.

4. Data Illustration

4.1 Being a woman makes you less suitable — The Goldberg Paradigm

Through question one, ”To which extent do you think this TD fits the office?”, this study directly asks respondents to express a judgement on the suitability of the CV. In the experiment following the Goldberg Paradigm (Table I) [Appendix A], the male CVs scored better than female ones: the male total score was 7,74, while the female CVs' one was 7,3. The highest score was given to the male/experienced CV (8,4), followed by female/experienced (8,1), male/connected (7,1) and female/connected (6,5). The difference between male/connected and female/connected is statistically significant (male/connected - female/connected = 0.59; p = 0.09).

These scores show the presence of gender discrimination in the legislative office. Observing scores based on the gender of the respondents, one can see that both male and female respondents attributed a higher score to male CVs. Male respondents scored male CVs on average 7,45 and female CVs 7,2. Female respondents scored male CVs on average 7,95 and female CVs 7,3. The fact that female respondents prefers the male CVs shows the presence of hidden self-discrimination. This result supports the scholarly finding that women perceive their self as less qualified than men, under-evaluating or even doubting their suitability the public sphere. Accademia reports that the female self-doubt is one of the causes of the lack of female political ambition L.Fox and L.Lawless (2011). Moreover, male CVs have the advantage over female ones, regardless of CV type; with parity of experience, the male scores are better than female scores (experienced:8,4>8,1; connected:7,1>6,5). At the same time, experienced candidates are seen by respondents as more suited to the office (male CVs — experienced:8,4> connected:7,1; female CVs — experienced:8,1> connected:6,5).

4.2 Being a woman makes you less suitable —The Mixed Experiment

In contrast to the Goldberg Paradigm results, in Q1 of the Mixed Experiment (Table II) [Appendix A], the female total score (7,4) is higher than the total male one (6,8). The female/experienced CV scores the highest (8,06), followed by male/experienced (8), female/connected (6,7) and male/connected (5,6). The difference between female/connected and male/connected is statistically significant (female/connected - male/connected = 1.11; p = 0.01). Patterns are inverted with respect to the Goldberg Paradigm, which confirms the presence of SDB and the effort to hide discrimination.

4.3 Experience means qualification: The Goldberg Paradigm

When asked to ”evaluate the richness of the CVs” in Q2 of the GP (Table III) [Appendix A], the pattern present in Q1 is confirmed: the male CVs have an advantage on female ones in the total score (the male CVs' total score is 7,9 while the female CVs' total score is 6,95). As in Q1, this advantage comes from both the male and female respondents' scores: male respondents scored male CVs on average 7,9 and female CVs 6,8. Female respondents scored male CVs on average 7,9 and female CVs 7,1. The male/experienced CV got the highest score (8,57), followed by the female/experienced (7,57), the male/connected (7,22) and the female/connected (6,35). Both the difference between male/connected - female/connected (= 1.00; p = 0.01), as well as that between male/experienced - female/experienced, are statistically significant (= 0.91; p = 0.01). The same conclusion of Q1 about the presence of hidden discrimination and the importance of experience can be drawn. Moreover, Q2 is also a validation tool for the quality of the CVs' writing and this scores show that there is a symmetry between what this study and the Irish public opinion understand to be a ”better experienced” and ”rich” CV.

4.4 Experience means qualification — The Mixed Experiment

In the Mixed Experiment (Table IV) [Appendix A], female CVs have an advantage over male ones: the male CVs' total score is 6,71, while the female CVs' total score is 7,33. The highest score is held by the female/experienced CV (8,1), followed by the male/experienced (7,8), the female/connected (6,5) and the male/connected (5,6). The

difference between female/connected and male/connected is statistically significant (female/connected - male/connected = 0.89; p = 0.02).

Again, this inversion confirms the conclusion drawn in Q1 regarding the presence of SDB and the effort of the public opinion to hide gender preferences.

4.5 Objection of the political environment —The Goldberg Paradigm

Q3, "How likely do you think it would be to see this candidate in a real parliament?" asks the sample for their judgement on whether the political environment welcomes women or not. Q3 has the nature of an indirect question because its output expresses the judgement of a first actor (the respondent) on how a third actor (the political environment) is evaluating the second actor (the TD). By not being the active subject of the evaluation, respondents are here free from the burden of their own opinion which lead to expect a greater transparency and a smaller SDB (Nuno and John, 2015). In fact, although in the GP (Table V) [Appendix A], the male CVs again have a higher total score from both male and female respondents, one can not find the pattern repetition present in Q1 and in Q2: it is the male/experienced (7,3) that carries the highest score, followed by the male/connected (7,05), and only then the female/experienced (6,7) and the female/connected (6). The difference between male/connected and female/connected is statistically significant (male/connected - female/connected = 1.05; p = 0.01).

Discrimination persists and here gender, not experience, is the greater separator of scores.

4.6 Objection of the political environment —The Mixed Experiment

Once again, in the Mixed Experiment (Table VI) [Appendix A], female CVs scored better than in the GP (ME: 6,4> GP: 6,3); however, the advantage remains for the male CVs (male total: 6,6> female total: 6,4) and the ranking sees the male/connected CV as first (7,3), followed by the female/connected (6,6), the female/experienced (6,2) and the male/experienced (5,85). This change is probably due to the indirect nature of the question, which as previously mentioned, already eliminates part of social desirability.

Experience is negatively associated with the likelihood to be a candidate in the real world

5. Conclusions

By investigating the influence of gender on the perception college students about the suitability for the legislative office, this study finds evidence in support of the main hypothesis: In Ireland, discrimination against female members of the parliament exists and its expression is hidden. Further research should corroborate this result by using a representative sample. However, this funding can already be considered as relevant, given that Accademia unanimously considers college students as one of the most liberal parts of the populations. It is, therefore, reasonable to expect the bias regarding this sample, to be present in a significant way in the whole population. An implication of this result is that women's presence in politics is not normalized and the public has not internalized the value of equality in the public sphere. The lower scores that female respondents attribute to female CVs in Q1 and inQ2 of the Goldberg Paradigm show that women are the first to doubt their suitability; self-exclusion is a logical consequence, which in turn leads to the problematic lack of interest for a career in politics. The findings of this study imply that women's interest in political careers may not significantly increase in the near future, due to simple inertia. Further, these findings show the need for ulterior support from external agents (e.g. systematic leadership training, improvement of quota design, etc.) to combat the perceived hostility to female participation in politics.

Through its analysis of hidden discrimination in the Irish public's perceptions, this study is an important contribution to the literature on female political representation, both for Ireland and internationally. The basic need for a design that prevents SDB is shown, given that social desirability influences the opinions expression of male and female respondents. Moreover, both the findings of female self-doubt and the hostility of the political environment contribute to the literature on the barriers to female political ambition, by showing the presence of two of the major causes of self-exclusion from the public sphere. This study suggests that scholars continue to make specific considerations on the opinion of female respondent, as they can help predict future female engagement and have practical implications for the activity of external agents.

Appendix A

Table I - fitness to the office "Goldberg Paradigm"

CV	Responses (n)	Average Score
Male/Experienced	40	8,4
Male resp.	18	8,3
Female resp.	22	8,5
Female/Experienced	35	8,1
Male resp.	11	7,8
Female resp.	24	8,2
Male/Connected	40	7,1
Male resp.	18	6,7
Female resp.	22	7,4
Female/Connected	35	6,5
Male resp.	11	6,7
Female resp.	24	6,4
Female Total	35	7,3
Male resp.	11	7,2
Female resp.	24	7,3
Male Total	40	7,74
Male resp.	18	7,45
Female resp.	22	7,95

Table II - fitness to the office "Mixed Experiment"

CV	Responses (n)	Average Score
Male/Experienced	48	8
Male resp.	13	7,8
Female resp.	35	8,1
Female/Experienced	35	8,06
Male resp.	11	8,3
Female resp.	24	8
Male/Connected	35	5,6
Male resp.	11	5,6
Female resp.	24	5,6
Female/Connected	48	6,71
Male resp.	13	7
Female resp.	35	6,6
Female Total	83	7,4
Male resp.	24	7,6
Female resp.	59	7,35
Male Total	83	6,8
Male resp.	24	6,7
Female resp.	59	6,85

Table III - Evaluate the richness of the CVs "Goldberg Paradigm"

CV	Responses (n)	Average Score
Male/Experienced	40	8,57
Male resp.(18)	18	8,5
Female resp.(22)	22	8,6
Female/Experienced	35	7,57
Male resp.	11	7,1
Female resp.	24	7,8
Male/Connected	40	7,22
Male resp.(18)	18	7,3
Female resp.(22)	22	7,2
Female/Connected	35	6,35
Male resp.	11	6,5
Female resp.	24	6,3
Female Total	35	6,95
Male resp.	11	6,8
Female resp.	24	7,1
Male Total	40	7,9
Male resp.	18	7,9
Female resp.	22	7,9

Table IV - Evaluate the richness of the CVs "Mixed Experiment"

CV	Responses (n)	Average Score
Male/Experienced	48	7,79
Male resp.	13	7,5
Female resp.	35	7,9
Female/Experienced	35	8.14
Male resp.	11	8,4
Female resp.	24	8
Male/Connected	35	5,63
Male resp.	11	5,6
Female resp.	24	5,6
Female/Connected	48	6,52
Male resp.	13	6,9
Female resp.	35	6,4
Female Total	83	7,33
Male resp.	24	7,65
Female resp.	59	7,2
Male Total	83	6,71
Male resp.	24	6,3
Female resp.	59	7

Table V - Likelihood to see this candidate in the real world "Goldberg Paradigm"

CV	Responses (n)	Average Score
Male/Experienced	40	7,27
Male resp.	18	7,3
Female resp.	22	7,2
Female/Experienced	35	6,69
Male resp.	11	6,5
Female resp.	24	6,7
Male/Connected	40	7,05
Male resp.	18	7,3
Female resp.	22	6,8
Female/Connected	35	6
Male resp.	11	5,5
Female resp.	24	6,25
Female Total	35	6,34
Male resp.	11	5,5
Female resp.	24	6,5
Male Total	40	7,16
Male resp.	18	7,3
Female resp.	22	7

Table VI - Likelihood to see this candidate in the real world "Mixed Experiment"

CV	Responses (n)	Average Score
Male/Experienced	48	5,85
Male resp.	13	6
Female resp.	35	5,7
Female/Experienced	35	6,23
Male resp.	11	5,8
Female resp.	24	6,4
Male/Connected	35	7,31
Male resp.	11	7,3
Female resp.	24	7,3
Female/Connected	48	6,62
Male resp.	13	6,1
Female resp.	35	6,8
Female Total	83	6,43
Male resp.	24	5,95
Female resp.	59	6,6
Male Total	83	6,58
Male resp.	24	6,5
Female resp.	59	6,7

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Gender and Research Productivity of Academics in South India's Higher Education Institutions

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Abstract: Conducting and publishing research is a very important aspect of any Higher Education System. In India, despite the rapid increase in the number of Higher Education Institutions (HEIs), students and staff, very few studies have been conducted investigating how various factors influence academics' Research Productivity (RP), especially exploring the gender differences in RP. Thus, this research aims to quantitatively and qualitatively explore the gender differences in RP and the factors influencing them. The quantitative results showed overall little differences in RP based on gender, whereas the interviews revealed a rich data on the various issues and the pressures female academics are under whilst conducting research. The inequity in terms of opportunities, ability and resources available were seen to be the major influencing factors. The research will be useful in formulating policies to decrease the inequities and increase the opportunities for the female academics to conduct research, especially considering the rapidly changing academic environment and the increasingly important role female academics play in Higher Education (HE) in India.

Keywords: research productivity, higher education, gender, research policies, cultural factors

1. Introduction

Academics are the key resource and means of RP and also play a pivotal role in the HEI achieving its objectives in teaching, research and its wider social contribution (Machado-Taylor et al., 2014; Machado-Taylor et al., 2011). As RP being seen as one of the crucial elements for promotion, pay rises, securing funds and also for institutional ranking and obtaining research grants etc. (Garwe, 2015 ; Ogbogu, 2009; Chen et al., 2006; Carayol and Matt, 2006; Ramsden, 1994), it is important to identify the various factors influencing both positively and negatively academics' RP .

2. Theoretical background

Research Productivity (RP) is a measure of conducting and publishing research (Abramo and D'Angelo, 2014; Hirsch, 2005; Zamarripa, 1993; Ramsden, 1994). As Fox (1983) points out, any research activity becomes tangible only when it is disseminated by publication or its equivalent, with publishing and sharing results being the fundamental social interaction in academia. RP is an accumulation of different research activities including: publishing papers at national and international levels, books, chapters, monographs, newspaper articles, securing grants, supervising research students, serving as a peer reviewer, being an editorial board member, offering presentations, lectures as a guest speaker, contributing to national and/or international level committees, filing patents etc. (Wootton, 2013).

There are several complex factors influencing academics' RP (Ramesh Babu & Singh, 1998). This is evident from the works of Subramanian and Nammalvar (2017), Times Higher Education (2016), Jasmine et al. (2011), Smeby and Try (2005), Prpic (2002), Bonaccorsi and Daraio (2002), Sax et al. (2002), Clark et al. (1996), and Allison and Stewart (1974), among others, who point out factors such as demographics, the type of institution they work in, the size of the research group, the research culture and environment, the presence of international post-docs, colleagues' research work etc. influencing academics' RP.

The influence of demographic factors such as age, staff qualifications and composition of the academic staff have been studied but with differing results (See Adams and Clemmons, 2009, Abbott and Doucouliagos, 2004, Dundar and Lewis, 1998, and Ramsden, 1994). Among the demographics, focusing on gender, several researches have pointed out the considerable differences in academics' RP, with female academics having fewer

publications, having lower h-index and a network of smaller co-authors compared to male academics and, consequently, influencing them progressing to senior academic positions within the institutions (See Warner et al., 2017, Holliday et al., 2014, and Hill et al., 2015). For instance, Prpic (2002) reports that young female academics publish an average of two papers less than their male counterparts early in their career. But as the number of years of experience increases, there are little differences in academics' RP (Hill et al., 2015).

Aksnes et al. (2011) report that, for all age groups, male academics were more productive than female academics. However, in a later research, Rørstad and Aksnes (2015) comment that men publish more than women only until the age of 55 to 59, after which women have a higher publication rate. They also maintain that the position held in the institution is a better reflection of RP than gender or age group. Even though several research studies point out that male academics publish more than female academics, in terms of job satisfaction, female academics are seen to be more satisfied with their job compared to male (Smeby & Try, 2005; Katoch, 2012, Karthik & Velavan, 2012).

Looking at the reasons for the differences in RP, Hunter and Leahey (2010) and Kyvik and Teigen (1996) comment that women academics having young children and a lack of research collaboration are two of the major reasons for them to have lower RP. This is supported by the works of Richards (2006), who reports that motherhood was associated with difficulties in career advancement for female assistant professors, whereas male academics were not reported to have these issues, with married men and those with children advancing quicker than single or men with no children. Under-representation of female academics, especially in Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) subjects is seen to be another reason for their lower RP. It is common across most nations to have gender inequality in STEM, with male members being more than female members, with India being no exception (Gupta & Sharma, 2002). This shortage of role models might also influence the research output of female academics.

Be it so in other countries, very few studies have been conducted in the Indian academic system regarding RP based on gender differences. This study aims to add to the discussion on the influence of gender on RP by studying engineering academics in south India's HEIs. Briefly introducing the rapidly expanding Indian HE system, from 2000 to 2017 alone, there has been an increase of 205% in the number of HEIs, a 269% increase in the number of academics and a 311% increase in the number of enrolled students (UGC, 2017), showing the rapid expansion of HEIs. Currently, there are more than 35.7 million students enrolled in HE (AISHE, 2017), showing the enormity of the sector. By 2020, India will be the second largest country overtaking the United States in terms of students enrolling in HE (British Council, 2012). Furthermore, by 2025, India is expected to have the world's largest student-aged population (Oxford, 2017), thus showing the future projections. Looking at the academics in HEIs, totally, there are more than 1.3 million HE academics, out of whom 59.4% are male and 40.6% are female (AISHE, 2017). Having 40.6% of female academics is much more equitable compared with other countries where the number of female academics is less than 20%. It also shows the importance of identifying and understanding the various factors influencing the different genders to conduct research and to publish. In addition, Paul et al. (2015) comments that studying academics' RP is a new area in India, strengthening the need for this research.

Bakthavatchaalam (2018), in his review of papers written from 1990 to 2017, found only 37 empirical papers that were written on Indian academics' RP. It is surprising that so little research has been conducted in the rapidly developing country of India and its expanding HE sector. Along with identifying several gaps in the literature, the review identified that, among these 37 papers, very few have explicitly looked at the differences in genders' RP, that too with differing results, thus emphasising the need for research to be conducted to understand the differences in the male and female academics' RP and the various factors influencing them. To do so, this paper will focus on RP of the academics in engineering HEIs of South India. This is the first study to explore RP of South India's engineering academics, specifically looking through the lens of gender differences, thus adding to the current literature and discussion.

This research identifies the factors influencing RP of both male and female academics and seeks to qualitatively understand how gender differences influence academics' RP.

3. Methodology

A mixed method approach was chosen so as to both quantify the various factors influencing academic genders' RP and also to understand the 'why' and 'how' these factors influence RP (Halcomb & Hickman, 2015; Watkins, 2015; Egbert & Sanden, 2013; Lund, 2012). The engineering institutions in Coimbatore were selected as the target population. Coimbatore is one of the big cities in South India and has more than 60 engineering HEIs founded over the years. The current research focuses on those institutions started after 1990. For quantitative data, a total of 624 questionnaires were handed to the academics by visiting the institutions. After two follow-ups, the total responses were 420, with a response rate of 67%. After discarding partially filled and illegible responses, a total of 307 questionnaires were used for quantitative analysis. Tests of association and differences were conducted, and standardised scores were used to compare the genders. Semi-structured interviews were used for collecting qualitative data. In total, 14 interviews were conducted. Interviewees include nine academics and five managers. There were five female interviewees in total, three from the academic level and two from the management level. Content analysis was used for analysing the data from the interviews.

For quantifying academics' RP, even though several schemes for scoring each of the Elements of Research Productivity (EoRP) are available (see Horodnic & Zait, 2015: Caminiti et al., 2015; Gibson et al., 2015; Wootton, 2013), this research uses the Academic Performance Indicators (API) scoring system, which is a centralised national level scoring system in India developed by the Government (NIRF, 2015). In this system, each of the EoRP is ascribed a particular score, which are then summed up to find the Overall Research Productivity (ORP) score. API was selected as most of Indian HEIs have started to follow this and that it is expected to be centralised across the nation. This research measures ORP as a summation of the last five year's Overall Supervision Score (OSS), Overall Conference Score (OCS) and Overall Paper Score (OPS). OSS is measured by the number of post-graduate and doctoral students supervised, OCS by the number of national and international conference presentations and OPS by the number of papers published in national and international journals.

4. Findings and discussion

The respondents' gender ratio was 65% male, 35% female, 46% single and 54% married. The respondents were mostly young professionals, with 81.1% of them being 35 years old or less and 95% of them were below 45 years old. 52% of them had less than five years of teaching experience and 84.7% of them had less than 10 years of teaching experience. The low number of older respondents reflects the actual demographics of the age group in Coimbatore's engineering HEIs, which has much more young academics.

The quantitative results show that the academics' ORP is very low, with very few academics conducting research and publishing, and with most of them having little to no research productivity. This contrasts with the nation's ambitions to become a research powerhouse in Asia. Exploring the possible reasons for the low RP, Altbach (2015) points out that most of the HEIs in the developing countries are teaching institutions and not research institutions. This is the scenario in India as well, with most of the institutions focusing on teaching. However, currently, there is a shift on the emphasis in Indian institutions from teaching to research, and they are trying to become knowledge hubs. This change in the emphasis can be seen from the introduction of the National University Rankings, API scores, etc., in which research is given considerable importance (NIRF, 2015).

Looking at the male and female academics' ORP, Table 1 shows no difference in their ORP. Looking at the constituents of ORP, there were no differences in their OCS, whereas males scored higher than female in the supervision of students (OSS: 4.597**) and for publishing papers (OPS: 9.309*). Whereas gender does not influence OCS, overall, the results show no difference in the ORP of both male and female, which can be seen from their mean ranks and the $\chi 2$ test ($\chi 2$ (1) = 10,445.5, P=0.993). This is similar to the results obtained by Vuong et al. (2017), Gonzalez-Brambila and Veloso (2007) and Bland et al. (2005), who, in their quantitative works, found no difference in RP between genders. However, these results contradict the conclusions of the works by Subramanian and Nammalvar (2017), Kyvik and Teigen (1996) and Aksnes et al. (2011), who suggest that there are gender differences in RP. It should be noted that among the above studies only the one by Subramanian and Nammalvar (2017) was conducted with Indian academics.

There were also no differences in the time spent by both the genders in teaching, research and administrative duties, with both spending approximately 60% of their time teaching and engaged in teaching-related duties, 10% of their time on research-related duties and the other 30% on administrative duties.

Table 1: Mann – Whitney U test of the difference in ORP between male and female academics

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The distribution of OVERALL_RESEARCH_PRODUCTIVITY_SCORE is the same across categories of Gender.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.939	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

The results also show that married academics in both the genders were more productive in their ORP, OCS, OSS and OPS compared to their single counterparts. This is almost certainly because single academics are generally younger compared to their married fellow academics and that the single academics are in the early stages of their carrier. Regarding the academics' age group, both the genders show an increased ORP as the age of the academic increases. A similar trend of increasing OSS, OCS and OPS was seen. There was no statistical difference in genders' RP at different age groups as well. Similar to the result from this research, Vuong et al. (2017) show an increase in RP with age, with RP being low in the initial stages of the academics' career and increasing from then on.

Looking at the quantitative results, it is surprising that there are no differences in genders' RP, as they contradict the works of several authors who found a substantial difference in RP between genders. Attributes such as parenting and bringing up the children, which Ogbogu (2009) and Hunter and Leahey (2010) found to influence RP, in this research quantitatively this is not seen to affect RP. Even though the quantitative analysis did not show any differences in genders' RP, the interviews revealed a range of differences, such as the absence of institutional support, colleague/research environment, and cultural factors influencing their RP. As one of the female respondents stated, "*There are definitely differences between the factors influencing male and female academics conducting research*".

Even though half of the male respondents acknowledge the existence of some difficulties for the female academics, the other half did not feel that there were any differences between the genders. Most of the male respondents commented that they were not completely aware of the various factors affecting female academics' RP. The female respondents commented that conducting research is more difficult for a female compared to a male academic, especially in an Indian context, and that female academics face more problems than their male counterparts, as explained by a female academic: "*Especially for a woman – they must go through the emotions of being a wife, of being pregnant, teaching and in addition they also must go through these emotions of an unsupportive supervisor*".

The female academics commented that there is a huge absence of institutional support for female academics to conduct research. This includes access to laboratory facilities during working time, receiving support for attending development programmes and flexible teaching hours to support their research activities. The academics commented that while male academics could choose to stay after working hours and access the library or the lab facilities, female academics cannot do that as they must go home and to attend family duties. This point was repeated several times by the female academics, connecting their lower RP to the unsupportive institutional policies and the Indian culture, where traditionally women dominantly take on the caretaking of the family. One female academic sustains that "*India being a more traditional country, taking care of the family, the children, the elderly and the chores usually fall on women. So, it is very difficult for them* [female academics] *to pursue a research career even if they want to. This is not so much of a problem for the male academics*".

They also commented that, currently, there is a lack of support mechanisms and models that take into consideration the gender differences for female academics in conducting research and in increasing their RP, especially having models that support those academics with young children. They further commented that having a full teaching load whilst being research active also hampers their RP and that the family responsibilities do not allow them to conduct research or prepare for teaching at home during the evenings, which is not much of a concern for the male academics. One of the suggestions that were pointed out includes lowering the teaching or the administrative loads for female academics conducting research.

Further research should be conducted that would squarely focus on and that would qualitatively explore the difficulties faced by the female academics and how the HEIs' research policies can counteract them.

A discussion should be promoted about the cultural factors, exploring how the marital status of the genders influences the ORP of the academics; being aware that females get married younger than male in India, which in turn influences their RP, as marriage adds more family responsibilities to female. A very interesting observation was how wanting a better husband or wife influences an academics' decision to pursue a research degree and how decisions on marriage affect the decision of the female academics, in particular, to start conducting a research degree, such as a PhD. A female academic comments that "*In India, arranged marriages are the norm. Women prefer not to do a PhD before marriage as the husband likes to have a higher degree than the wife. The man, however, starts a PhD so that he gets a better-arranged marriage*".

This result, albeit interesting from a research point of view, shows how marriage and cultural factors influence academics' RP. Models to improve RP that are based on western academics do not take into consideration such cultural nuances. This also means that the current models and the future models developed should take into consideration cultural factors and any indigenous factors that influence RP, rather than blindly following models developed in a different culture and country. A future study that looks at the influence of indigenous factors on academics' and of genders' RP would reveal rich data. Also, Bakthavatchaalam (2018) comments that there have not been any studies exploring the effect of indigenous factors on academics' RP in India. It is important to identify and analyse how cultural factors influence both the quantity and quality of the research.

Rather than exploring the influence of marital status, it would be better to look at the influence of the age group and the position in the HEIs that are correlated with the marital status. Though there is a trend towards its reduction in modern society, there still is a strong distinction of gender roles in the Indian environment.

Another interesting result was how the interaction between cultural factors and the department in which the academics worked influenced their research work. The respondents commented that female academics' preferences in terms of research areas do not include fields such as Mechanical, Civil engineering or research that involves a lot of travel or field work; rather, they choose to conduct research in humanities, computing or IT (Information Technology), which involve less travel and fieldwork. Though not explicit, female academics and their family do not feel comfortable travelling to a different city on their own. Hence, they choose to conduct research in fields that involve less field work as it is much safer. This again limits their RP, which is not an issue for the male academics. One of the male academics commented: "*Recently, a group of male colleagues travelled to various coastal fishing towns in south India for a few weeks to collect data on the efficient fuel usage by the fishing boats. They even went to the sea with the fishermen for observation. A female academic or a researcher would seldom do this. Even if they wanted to, their family will not allow them, as it is not safe*".

When asked if the institutions take any steps to mitigate or reduce such fears in female academics, the respondents commented that it is not about the institutions, but the current socio-cultural environment that is the problem. Whilst trying to formulate research policies, the institutions should consider these elements.

The interviews revealed how institutional Human Resource policies on maternity influenced female academics' RP. The respondents commented that, when they have a child and have to take time off for childbirth, female academics' academic positions are not put on hold, but that they have to resign from the post, and when they are ready to start working, they have to start job hunting all over again. The respondents commented that in public institutions there is much more job security during the maternity period, whereas in most of the private HEIs, which form more than 78% of the total HEIs in India (UGC-Report, 2017), the female academics' posts are not held secure and there is no job security when they return to work. This results in them taking a longer break before returning to work, thus limiting their RP, whereas this is not an issue for the male academics. Currently, there are no institutional policies that consider maternity in private HEIs and this paper also recommends that further research should be conducted to understand the reasons for such policies not in place and the type of maternity policies that should be put in place. Furthermore, the API scores could take into consideration such gender differences and give female academics more weightage that might make their RP more equitable.

Another factor that was mentioned by the interviewees was that the fact that female academics have a smaller research network compared to male academics hampering their RP. Having a smaller network or fewer contacts also means that female academics, when stuck in research or have some questions, are not sure of who and how to approach and find it difficult to get clarifications, whereas males find it relatively easy. This research suggests that providing career development, mentorship and encouraging female academics to attend more

conferences and research meetings would widen their formal and informal research network, which, in turn, would enhance their RP.

5. Concluding remarks

This research sought to quantitatively and qualitatively measure and understand RP of South Indian academics and to identify how gender differences influence RP. The quantitative results show no difference in RP based on gender, but the interviews revealed a plethora of factors, such as child-rearing, family life, the Indian societal culture, being able to access laboratories and physical resources off time, women getting married at a younger age compared to male academics, institutional maternity policies, etc., disadvantaging female academics compared to their male counterparts in terms of their RP.

It is essential that HEIs identify all the differences and develop policies accordingly so as to enable female academics to conduct research and increase their RP. Especially with more than 30% of the South Indian academics being female, it is important that more research is conducted to identify the differences and to design research policies that counteract the differences, thus providing equitable opportunities for female academics to conduct research and publish.

Along with the usually discussed factors in this sphere of research, this paper has managed to identify how cultural nuances play a major role in influencing RP between genders, thus adding to the discussion and opening up a new area for further research to be conducted It is encouraging that even though female academics face more issues than male academics, this research has identified no quantitative difference in genders' RP. The mechanisms by which female academics have the same RP as male academics at all the age groups, even though they face significant hurdles, should be explored in detail.

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High Growth Women Entrepreneurs Induces Women Entrepreneurship Theory

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Abstract: This conceptual paper argues the need for a theory that is specific for women entrepreneurship. Women are under-researched in the entrepreneurship literature because most studies within the literature use gender neutral conceptualization theories. The ignorance is brought about assumptions from prior research that classify men and women to have similar attributes such as demographic characteristic, business skills, and some psychological traits amongst others, thus clouding the importance of women in entrepreneurship. Women entrepreneurs face unique challenges because of their gender. Such challenges include lack of education, financial support, family support and the entrepreneurial ability to grow their businesses successfully from a necessity driven enterprise to growth driven enterprise. Even though women in recent times are better educated, skilled and start businesses that have growth potential, they are still challenged by stereo types that want women to prove themselves. Contrary to women's challenges, men tend to have easy access to education, business, family and financial support and their businesses are growth driven and perform very well financially. As indicated by various scholars, women have distinctive characteristics that define them as entrepreneurs. However, the conceptualization of them is still within the male perspective, and not unique to their specific needs. Some research has challenged the necessity to have a separate theory for women. However, most of their arguments are based on a theory that is tested on samples of men. We argue that these debates are based on masculine frameworks and do not cater for feminine experiences. From a practical view, most governments focus on entrepreneurship to stimulate their economies, particularly in emerging contexts. However, they fail to implement entrepreneurship policies that conceptualize women as sustainable drivers of the economy.

Keywords: women entrepreneurship, high growth women, high growth firms, women entrepreneurship theory, women entrepreneurship policy, sustainable development

1. Introduction

The recognition of women entrepreneurs in sustaining global economies in recent years has erupted a controversial debate amongst policymakers and women entrepreneurship scholars. The role of women entrepreneurship has in the past been overlooked because of women entrepreneur data limitation (Acs & Naude 2012). As a result, policymakers and academic scholars only rated the types of women entrepreneurial activity and overlooked the deeper problem, by ignoring the type of impact and social inclusion roles played by women entrepreneurs worldwide. The deeper problem means not highlighting women's success stories. Hence, a lack of a comprehensive and robust theory of "womentrepreneurship". Womentrepreneurship is an ambitious opportunity driven high growth women entrepreneur (Ahmad & Hoffmann 2008; Herrington & Kew 2016; Kelley et al. 2017; World-Bank 2016). Thus, this study proposes a "womentrepreneurship" theory because women entrepreneurs are unique (Sleuwaegen & Goedhuys 2002; Goedhuys & Sleuwaegen 2010; Yadav & Unni 2016; Kelley et al. 2017) from their male counter-parts.

Based on their uniqueness, women cannot be classified into the same population as men. That is, women do not have the same entrepreneurial attributes and influence tendencies as men (Minnitti and Naude 2010). They differ in terms of their background, how they were brought up, and access to opportunities, markets, and resources (Hughes et al. 2012; Kelley et al. 2017; Gartner 1985). In Addition, women are better educated, skilled and start businesses that have high growth potential as opposed to men (Sriram & Mersha 2010; Urban et al. 2008; Van Praag 1999).

Hence, attention is given to high growth firms (HGFs) which, for decades have been over-shadowed by necessity driven Small Medium Enterprises (SMEs). High growth firms are a small group of highly innovative firms that impact almost 80% of all economic activities (Urban et al. 2008). Necessity means unsuccessful businesses that do not grow beyond profit making. Scholarly research has shown that there is a plethora of research studies on necessity driven small business enterprises owned by women entrepreneurs. Hence, the research field of necessity driven "SME" has emerged, developed, and reached its maturity. Thus, recently the academic focus has shifted from the small medium enterprise (SMEs) to high growth firms (HGFs) from an economic and policy perspective (Mamburu 2017).

Despite the shift, critical and missing in the research are studies that focus on high growth women entrepreneurs (Kelley et al. 2017). Thus, new research questions are required to move the literature ahead to allow for "womentrepreneurship" theory development and high growth women entrepreneurs offers the ability to obtain fresh insights to formulate a theory of "womentrepreneurship" by incorporating different samples, which are more contextualised with focus on individual entrepreneurial attributes, to clarify the complexity of the entrepreneurial process.

Therefore, the argument of having a theory that focuses on the unique experiences of women resonates with calls for more focused research on women entrepreneurs and the general entrepreneurship literature alike (de Bruin et al. 2007; Hughes et al. 2012; Kelley et al. 2017; Herrington & Kew 2016; Herrington et al. 2017). In addition, research shows there is a paucity of empirical evidence focusing on the significant impact of entrepreneurship in general, currently characterized by a rate of three (3) to six (6) percent (Audretsch 2012; Herrington et al. 2017; OECD 2007; World-Bank 2016). This research extends knowledge by investigating high growth firms (HGFs) owned by women which is an area that is chiefly ignored, within the women entrepreneurship literature.

2. Literature review

Research contribution of this study is in women entrepreneurship literature. The contribution of this study was triggered by Yadav and Unni (2016 p. 1) when they mentioned that there is "an insistent need to investigate various dimensions of women entrepreneurship". This also includes the appeal made by the World-Bank (2016 p. 10) "to increase the evidence base available to clarify what the determining factors are for a high-growth firm to emerge and grow".

The contribution of this study is theoretical in nature. Responding to a call made by Yadav & Unni (2016 p. 1) that" the existing theoretical concepts need to be expanded to better explain the uniqueness of women entrepreneurship" in order to enhance our knowledge (Acs & Naudé 2012; Ahmad & Hoffmann 2008; de Bruin et al. 2007; Goyal & Yadav 2014; Gundry, Ben-Yoseph, & Posig 2002; Herrington et al. 2017; Kiggundu 2002; Smith-Hunter & Boyd 2004; World-Bank 2016; Yadav & Unni 2016). Thus, the study proposes a theoretical model SEGMO "Sustainable Entrepreneurship Growth Model", as a framework to conceptualize womentrepreneurship.

For decades, women have been operating successful businesses, however, literature has categorized and classified women under a single umbrella (Hughes et. Al 2012). Women have been classified as unentrepreneurial as most of them run unsuccessful businesses that do not grow beyond profit making. However, this has not been the case with women operating high growth businesses. High growth women run successful businesses that provide profit margins (35%) higher than that of men (Smith-Hunter & Boyd 2004; Singh & Belwal 2008; Yadav & Unni 2016; Kelley et al. 2017). But, the success of these women entrepreneur's stories is lacking in women entrepreneurship literature. Thus, this classification has been problematic as scholars have failed to understand that women entrepreneurs, in general, are different and comprised different categories (Hughes et al. 2012; Kelley et al. 2017; Gartner 1985).

Women run successful businesses and impact social lives worldwide through large numbers of newly formed businesses, creating employment, driving and shaping innovation, speeding up structural changes in the economy, boosting economic competitiveness and empowering other women in the entrepreneurial space even under duress stress (Brush 1992; de Bruin et al. 2006; Singh & Belwal 2008; Kelley et al. 2017). Through education and their entrepreneurial skill abilities women `start businesses that have growth potential than men (Sriram & Mersha 2010; Urban et al. 2008; Van Praag 1999). Also, women are the fastest rising population and making significant contributions in male-dominated industries across the globe, hence literature classifies women as unique (Brush 1992; de Bruin et al. 2006; de bruin, Brush, & Welter 2007; Kelley et al. 2017). For instance, in 2012, the GEM report noted 224 million women in 67 economies with established or new businesses and to date, there are 274 million women in 74 countries, which indicate an increase of just over 18% (GEM, 2012; Kelley et al. 2017) more than that of men.

In addition, women entrepreneurs are launching successful high growth firms and these firms provide a profit margin 35% more than that of men (Smith-Hunter & Boyd 2004; Singh & Belwal 2008; Yadav & Unni 2016; Kelley et al. 2017). That is, women entrepreneurs contribute 13% more in revenue than that reported by men. However, all these success stories go unnoticed and not celebrated in entrepreneurship circles (Kelley et al. 2017).

What differentiates women from men is the societal gender prejudice that they face, which facilitates the negative perception against women. Women entrepreneurs in developmental societies from a very young age tend to mend for themselves and their siblings, particularly in patriarchal societies. In addition, they tend to be resilient because of social and financial situations in which they tend to face in both their families and economically. Hence, it is not surprising that women across the world expect an increase of 61% in sustainable gross profit over the coming years (Herrington & Kew 2016). This is at the backdrop of literature suggesting that women entrepreneurs should be encouraged to change through education and networking etc. amongst others to improve their entrepreneurial success (Herrington et al. 2017; Robson, Haugh, & Obeng 2009; Tchamyou 2016). However, the difference lies in that, women think differently in that they are more educated than before, well versed in business knowledge and immersing so much knowledge already puts them at an advantage business wise to run firms that have growth potential.

Even though, entrepreneurship scholars continue to classify women as generic (Minnitti & Naude 2010; Hughes et al 2012). That is, men and women entrepreneurs posit similar attributes such as business skills and some psychological traits amongst others (Brush 1992; de Bruin et al. 2007; Yadav & Unni 2016). Meaning "there is no need to study women separately because women and men entrepreneurs would have similar characteristics" de Bruin et al. (2006 p.586). However, these classifications and assumptions ruled out the possibility that, these generic assumptions were tested primarily on samples of men and new samples of women are required to fully capture women's entrepreneurial traits and behaviour (Hurley 1991 & de Bruin et al. 2006). Thus, a study should provide data on women samples, consider new research questions and variables, to allow for a comprehensive and robust theory of "womentrepreneurship" formulation, which has been overlooked by various authors over the years.

2.1 Theory proposition

The paucity of theoretical frameworks leads this study to also propose a theoretical framework termed SEGMO which links entrepreneurship to economic growth driven by entrepreneurial attributes even when operating under severe constraints. SEGMO stands for "Sustainable Entrepreneurship Growth Model" which fully capture women's individual entrepreneurial attributes and behaviour which drive sustainable development and impact social lives (Hurley 1991; Brush 1992; de Bruin et al. 2006, 2007; Kelley et al. 2017).

SEGMO is an opportunity and results driven model for women who operate under severe constraints and uncertain conditions such as cultural, technological, economic and regulatory just to mention a few. These unfavourable conditions are what separate women entrepreneurs from men, as they can withstand uncommon conditions and still come out successfully. That is, women have different characteristics from men that motivate them to start successful high growth firms (HGFs), and such characteristics include the need for achievement and locus of control, which can be influenced internally (psychological traits) and externally (experience, skills, knowledge etc.) by the environment in which the individual and the firm are situated.

Thus, Sustainable Entrepreneurship Growth Model (SEGMO) in figure one (below) depicts the individual (entrepreneur), the organization (firm) and the process (outcomes and impacts) is affected by the formation of sustainable High Growth Firms. The model has four entrepreneurial pillars: "individual entrepreneurial factors"; "firm performance"; "high growth firm "and; "sustainable entrepreneurial impact". Individual entrepreneurial attributes serve as the independent variable (IEA: IV); Firm Performance is the dependent variable (FP: DV); High Growth Firm is the dependent variable (HGF: DV); and Sustainable Entrepreneurial Impact is also a dependent variable (SEI: DV).

The individual entrepreneurial attributes are identified by five (5) constructs adopted from the EP10 model, developed by Gallup Inc. which has been tested and validated in the United States of America (USA) using entrepreneurs and high school students (Badal & Streur 2014). The five (5) constructs of the individual entrepreneurial attributes as shown by the figure below are confidence, risk-taker, creative thinker, determination and relationship builder. The literature suggests at least four (4) to six (6) measured item variables for each individual entrepreneurial factor (Costello & Osborne 2005; Fabrigar et al. 1999). Thus, according to the figure below each construct is made up of five (5) item. The item measures for each construct are outlined below:

- Confidence item measures: (1) Know themselves and present themselves effectively and with confidence-even in the face of rejection; (2) Clearly understand others; (3) Build trust and invest in people; (4) Able to

articulate the competitive advantage of their firm in the marketplace; and (5) Align employee activities with their individual strengths, leading to business growth (Badal & Streur 2014).

- Risk-taker item measures: (1) Show a strong personality and are charismatic and confident; (2) Show enthusiasm and emotion in taking on challenges; (3) Have highly optimistic perception of risk; (4) Can easily make decisions in complex situations; and (5) Can easily establish emotional connections with customers, are more likely to understand what customers need, share new ideas with customers and are more likely to exceed customer expectations (Badal & Streur 2014).
- Creative thinker item measures: (1) Imagine beyond the boundaries of what exists now; (2) Explore options and can think their way through problems; (3) Are constantly thinking of creating new products and/or services for their customers; (4) Have minds that are typically firing with many different ideas; and (5) Are curious and quick learners (Badal & Streur 2014).
- Determination item measures: (1) Push to achieve more and have a tremendous work ethic; (2) Instigate the action to get something started; (3) Are eager to make decisions and quick to act; (4) Confront obstacles directly and overcome them; and (5) Are persistent and undeterred by failure and/or roadblocks (Badal & Streur 2014).
- Relationship builder item measures: (1) Have high social awareness; (2) Can attract and maintain a constituency; (3) Build mutually beneficial relationships; (4) Use their relationship talents to access internal and external resources; (5) Forge relationships with employees and customers that go beyond work or product or services; and (6) Have an open demeanor, positive attitude and personal integrity that helps build trust (Badal & Streur 2014).

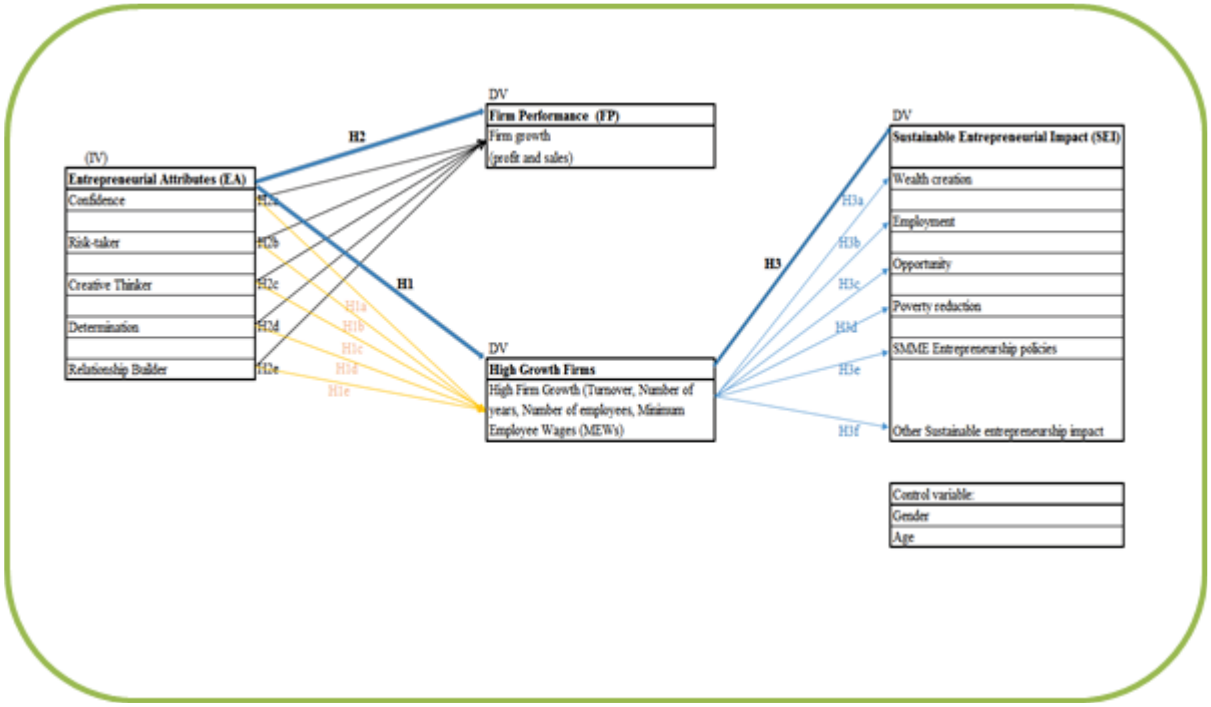
It is important to note that individually, individual entrepreneurial attributes are not intended to predict entrepreneurial success (Badal & Streur 2014). However, collectively these factors (attributes) represent what an entrepreneur needs to do when starting or growing a business into a high growth firm (Badal 2010; Badal & Streur 2014). Thus, positive Firm Performance (FP) measures are firm growth using profit and sales.

High Growth Firm (HGF) item measures are positive turn-over, number of years the firm has been in existence, number of employees and minimum employee wages. Sustainable Entrepreneurial Impact (SEI) item measures are wealth creation, employment, and opportunity, poverty reduction, formalizing the informal sector, SMME Entrepreneurship policies and other sustainable entrepreneurship impacts (Ahmad & Hoffmann 2008; Wennekers & Thurik 1999).

Building on the work of Gartner 1985; Wennekers and Thurik 1999; and Ahmad and Hoffmann 2008, the proposed theoretical model links the individual and sustainability impact (socially, economically and from an environment perspective) which operate under severe uncertainty and constrained situations. Gender and age serve as control variables.

In addition, the study has three (3) hypotheses (represented by the blue lines) as depicted by H1, H2, and H3 in the figure below. Where H1: Individual Entrepreneurial Attributes (IEA) are positively associated with the emergence of High Growth Firms (HGFs). H2: Individual Entrepreneurial Attributes (IEA) are positively associated with Firm Performance (FP). H3: High Growth Firms (HGFs) are positively associated with Sustainable Entrepreneurial Impact (SEI).

Thus, this framework proposes that the individual entrepreneurial attributes influence the organization (firm) and firm performance to achieve success, that is firm growth (profit and sales), which then influences firm performance, which might lead to a high growth firm and various sustainable entrepreneurial impacts likely to emerge out of high growth firm. Such impacts include job creation, poverty reduction, wealth creation, innovation, formalizing the informal sector (Ahmad & Hoffmann 2008), and population size decrease amongst others (statssa 2017). The model is very important, it understands the role that women entrepreneurs play socially and economically. These elements are vital as they drive women to run successful businesses that not only enhance their own economic lives but influence and impact sustainable social responsibilities worldwide. In addition, they also depict an ambitious opportunity driven high growth women entrepreneur (Ahmad & Hoffmann 2008; Herrington & Kew 2016; Kelley et al. 2017; World-Bank 2016). The goal of these women is to sustain economic development and create opportunities and innovate solutions to better the lives of others, through job creation and social inclusion.



Source: Researcher's own formulation adapted from Gartner (1985); Ahmad and Hoffmann (2008); Wennekers and Thurik (1999).
IV = Independent Variable
DV = Dependent Variable

Figure 1: Proposed theoretical framework ~ sustainable entrepreneurship growth model "SEGMO"

This framework was formulated by the researcher and adapted it from Gartner 1985, Ahmad and Hoffmann 2008, Wennekers and Thurik 1999. The reason being, the main focus is on the individual, then comes the firm and the impact that is associated with that firm and this was lacking in the literature, especially in high growth firms owned by a woman.

In order for women entrepreneurs to receive recognition, they need theories that specifically talk to them and not be consumed by theories that were tested primarily on samples of men. Hence, it has been noted with great concern that women entrepreneurs are an underrepresented and under-researched group in entrepreneurship studies (Leitch et al. 2010). In addition, scholarly interest and activity in the field of women entrepreneurship has neglected individual entrepreneurial attributes (Tchamyou 2016; Herrington et al. 2017; Mamabolo 2017; Mamburu 2017; World-Bank 2016). Such ignorance was brought about assumptions that an individual entrepreneur is "generic" (Brush 1992; de Bruin et al. 2007; Yadav & Unni 2016). That is "there is no need to study women separately because women and men entrepreneurs would have similar characteristics" de Bruin et al. (2006 p.586). Hence, there is no need for a theory of "womentrepreneurship".
However, the assumption ruled out the possibility that theories were developed on samples of men, by men, and ultimately tested primarily on samples of men (de Bruin et al. 2006), which did not fully capture women's entrepreneurial traits and behaviour (Hurley 1991). In addition, until such time that samples of women are tested, women will remain in the shadows of men (de Bruin et al. 2006). Hence, this study proposes to test samples of women entrepreneurs (de Bruin et al. 2006).

3. Recommendations

Therefore, I recommend the following:

- Women entrepreneurs are unique and drive sustainable development, thus it is of importance that their work, contribution, and socio-economic impact is recognized and celebrated worldwide.
- Due to the fact that women entrepreneurs are unique and not generic, there is a need for a womentrepreneurship theory that talks only to women, and not allow women to be consumed by theories developed on men samples.

- The proposed SEGMO theoretical framework to be adopted in entrepreneurship literature as it talks to women from an individual perspective and their influence on firm and economic performance, notwithstanding the impact role that women play socially in a global space.

4. Concluding remarks

In conclusion, women entrepreneurs are making their mark, changing the entrepreneurship game, they are unique, educated, skilled, and play a huge role in sustaining global economies through social impact and they are the entrepreneurship game changers, and their effort, significance, impact, and social cohesion roles deserve to be celebrated. What more other than now, now is the time for governments and the global village to target women in their strategies and place them at the forefront for sustaining global communities as a way forward. Thus, the need for a theory "womentrepreneurship" is not a mistake but a need, to remove all negative perceptions about the idea of a woman being secondary to men and their businesses being less significant.

Thus, there is a need to examine women operating high growth using the proposed SEGMO MODEL, and the need to take the proposal and test it into women operating high growth organisations. For example, the following questions can be looked at: 1) How individual entrepreneurial attributes (EA) contribute to the emergence of high growth firms (HGFs)? 2) How individual entrepreneurial attributes contribute to firm performance?

The limitations of the study to test the proposed theory are as follows:

- The study focus will be on individual entrepreneurial attributes employed by women entrepreneurs as opposed to human capital investments and skills applied comparatively as is the case in entrepreneurship studies (Mamabolo 2017; World-Bank 2016).
- The study will not focus on SMEs in general but high growth women entrepreneurs, as HGFs are not yet recognized for growth impact and possibilities it can offer global economies.
- To determine individual entrepreneurial attributes, firm performance and high growth firm the study should seek to adopt the Gallup EP10 Entrepreneurial Profile Assessment model developed by Gallup Inc. (Badal & Streur 2014). The EP10 model has been tested and validated, with ten (10) entrepreneurial attributes, however, the study should focus on five (5) (Badal & Streur 2014).
- In addition, growth is a multifaceted phenomenon and can be measured in many ways: sales, employment, assets, physical output, market share and profits or turnover (SBP 2011). However, the study should place focus on profit sales, employment, and turnover.

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From the Burnt to the Uncertain Generation: Transformations of Gender Roles Among two Generations in Tehran

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Abstract: This research considers two different generations of Tehran's middle class to understand whether and how their representations, ideals and behaviours regarding gender roles are changing. The first sample, defined as "Generation X", is made up of men and women born in the 1960s, who spent their childhood during the monarchical period and later experienced the 1979 Islamic Revolution and the eight years of war against Iraq. The second one consists of university students born in the 1990s, that have thus not experience of the above-mentioned events. We define them "Millennials". Through a statistical analysis of population demographic data and a series of in-depth interviews conducted on the field, I tried to understand what factors could have affected the transformation of masculinity and femininity's representations among these subjects, focusing particularly on youths born after the Islamic Revolution of 1979. If the so-called Generation X has lived the first phase of its life in a partially de-secularized monarchy, the Millennial Generation has grown in a nearly forty years-old Islamic Republic; however, a preliminary analysis of data and interviews' outcomes show how this new under 30 generation is slowly but decisively changing its trajectory regarding its gender models, relative attitudes and behaviours towards to the other gender. A greater openness towards gender issues, relationships and the usage of public space along with an ever-growing education and the tendency to postpone marriage and procreation are some of the trends that have emerged. But there still are other phenomena such as the persistence of stereotypes and a double behavioural standard for boys and girls, especially concerning sexuality. The outcome is what they themselves define as a yet incomplete transition from tradition to modernity where they lack strong and lasting reference models from which draw inspiration. An in-between state where norms, values, ideals and behaviours related to masculinity and femininity are integral components that come into play in a transition that struggles to find its own direction.

Keywords: Iran, generations, genders, transformations, youth

1. Introduction

The aim of the research is to investigate the representations and changes of gender roles and identities between urban middle-class individuals in Tehran belonging to two different generations: the first is made up of individuals born approximately in the 1960s who spent their childhood during the monarchical period and later experienced the 1979 Islamic Revolution and the war against Iraq. The second one consists of university students born in the 1990s, that have thus not experience of the above-mentioned events.

It is important to point out that this research is not exclusively about gender and modernity *per se* but rather about the local debates about gender representations and ideals and their impact with the modernization and globalization processes (Khosravi, 2008). The work, therefore, does not aim to generalize any evidence to the whole Iranian population, but hopes to contribute to a better and innovative understanding of a very relevant segment of it. Against the dominant Western view that Islam appears to be the determinant factor in shaping the identities of Middle Eastern people, I argue that social class, economy, sexuality, history and individual experience, along with relations with family and peers, are centrally implicated in the formation of gender identities (Adibi, 2006).

With this caveat in mind, I followed a two-pronged approach: a secondary analysis of demographic data related to Tehran's population from the monarchical period up to now, and a series of in-depth interviews with the two generations. Several months of fieldwork conducted between 2017-2018, in which I collected also informal conversations and notes, integrate the whole research. The data analysis allowed to frame the demographic, social, and economic transformations that configured the current society where these subjects were born and live, while the interviews caught a glimpse of their most intimate representations, ideas and experiences.

2. Genders' roles in Iran

Since its establishment, the Islamic Republic has pinned the redefinition of gender roles as one of its primary purposes; the proposed gender models and the policies aimed to implement them represent a unique case in the Islamic panorama. Together with the war against Iraq, the Revolution has led to the institutionalization of new models of femininity and masculinity which, though, are not completely detached from the previous ones. The revolutionary ideologies promulgated by all sides had a strong pro-male flavor and, according to Gerami

(2013) created different proto-types of masculinities that lasted well beyond the revolutionary stage: the martyr (*shahid*) as courageous, pure and innocent; the *mullah* as otherworldly and virtuous; the ordinary man as sexual and dominant citizen, rigorous and upright. This takeover contrasted an image of spartan, humble and sober masculinity, whose visual representations in the public space has been widely discussed by the literature, with the sophisticated and soft one of the Pahlavi's era, in concomitant with the decline of the social and economic status of its members (Gerami, 2003). However, Gerami has brilliantly pointed out how for ordinary men, life in the Islamic Republic had not become suddenly a clear path of only privileges, but most men suffered because of the strict policies of the regime as well. For their undisputed power over women, men had officially free reign at home and work. But these supposed men's rights came at a high cost exacted by the state. Men bore the social burden of economic hardship and faced the state's heavy-handed intrusion and oppression. In public, they faced scrutiny in terms of adherence to the mandatory Islamic codes. At the home front, the Republic's oppression of middle-class women added to other sources of tension and unhappiness. Middle-class women were dissatisfied, and men suffered too. The self-awareness and empowerment processes that have been involving women in the recent years have not affected men with the same speed and intensity, leading many of them to complain during my interviews to live 'in a *zansalari*', a regime driven by women, where men have lost their authority and are overwhelmed by economic and social burdens.

For what concerns women, their active participation in the Revolution has earned them the nickname of "soldiers of the revolution" (Rezai-Rashti, 2013), leading also Khamenei to state against 'the dominantly oriental delineation, [where] women are regarded as peripheral elements with no role in making history'. Here, is interesting to underline how since then, their social, political and economic role has been influenced by a mix of tradition and modernity definable as a "marginalization-mobilization process", according to which they were at the same time invited to take part in political life and exhorted to recover the traditional female roles (Jacoby, 2005; Guolo, 2007). This paradox is well exemplified the Iranian Constitution, that considers 'the occupation of women and their social and economic activities of great importance and significant for social well-being', emphasizing, at the same time, their position as 'mothers, and their importance in maintaining strong family ties and emotional relationships'. On his website, the current Supreme Leader Khamenei writes that 'Muslim Iranian women opened to the women of the world a new chapter in history that proved one can be a woman, maintain her chastity, modestly dressed and noble, and yet actively be at the center of the events […] One can protect the pure stronghold of the family and yet build new strongholds on the political and social arenas and make great accomplishments'.

Recognizing the constraints imposed on them, youth and especially young women have tended to pursue a different strategy to establish themselves as public actors, one that involves intimately the mundane practices of everyday life, such as pursuing education, sports, arts, music, or working outside the home, subverting so the conventional public-private gender divide (Bayat, 2010). In no other generation before, these attempts seem to have been so evident and successful.

3. Which generations? An irksome definition

This research focuses on a concept fraught with problems: that of "generation". A concept that proves even more difficult to deal with comprehensively in a context like the Iranian one, where the different cohorts have passed dissimilar historical-political contexts from the "Western hemisphere". Even within the Iranian scientific literature, there is no unanimous agreement on the definition and subdivision of generations. For this reason, I decided to refer to some classics of the sociology of generations, integrating them with the local literature and trying to apply also some ideas provided by Wyn and Woodman's generational theory's reflections (Woodman & Wyn, 2013; Wyn & Woodman, 2006).

Mannheim's theory is one of the most significant contributions to the study of the juvenile condition (Mannheim, 1923). His own theoretical view of the concept is closely related to that of social change: the birth and succession of various generations is one of the factors contributing to social change, although it does not follow a mechanical and predictable pattern. Mannheim defined generation as a historical-social class rather than a cohort or group of ages, as the set of individuals that are part of a concrete group that lives the same significant experiences and maintains a consciousness-based generation bond due to having shared paths and problems in a certain historical period. Likewise, Abrams (1982) linked and integrated this prospective with the concept of identity: rejecting the identification of a generation with its biological time, he defines generation as a social group that shares particular experiences, such as revolutions or wars, which blend together the history

of life and history of the world. The so-called "generation location", the historical and social placement of a generation, the participation in the same events in the same, approximate, phase of life, can lead to the formation of similar orientations and visions of the world; in other words, to a common *Weltanshauung*.

Although it has sometimes been labelled as more poured to marketing than to sociology and undoubtedly present many critical issues, Strauss and Howe's generational theory, used also by Farastakhvah in his study on Iranian universities (2016) can be a reference point for the labelling of our two generations (Howe & Strauss, 2007; A. W. Strauss et al., 2015; W. Strauss & Howe, 1981). Following them, I define "Generation X" the segment of individuals born approximately between 1961 and 1981; in the Iranian context, they represent a particularly relevant social actor because they spent their childhood and adolescence during the outbreak of the Islamic Revolution and the eight years of war with Iraq, in a period of their life full of social events and moments of transition. Within the Iranian sociology (Azadarmaki, 2009), but also in colloquial jargon, this generation is known as the "Burned Generation" *(nasl-e sukht-e*); many of the interviewees use this etiquette to describes themselves. For my research, I interviewed exclusively men and women born in the 1960s.

Following the scholars, for whom 'the year in which a person is born and the year in which he/she comes to age are important in defining the common age location of a generation' (Strauss, Howe, 1991, p. 65), Iranian youth born in the '90s are particularly interesting for their historical-political location: they have not experiences the revolutionary fervours or '79, nor the long years of the bloody conflict with Iraq, and neither the "grow and consume" mantra of Rafsanjani's era. However, it would be wrong to say that their identities have not been profoundly influenced by those facts, leading many scholars to speak of a paradox, inside the Iranian society, between tradition and modernity (Mehran, 1992; Moinifar, 2011) or "a sexual and gender anxiety" (Najmabadi, 2005). They have been the main target of the Islamization policies implemented after the Revolution which aimed, through the redefinition of the country's key institutions, to create the new ideal muslin citizens. The period of their lives they are facing involves countless transformations, associated with a high density of demographic events and social transitions that lead Rindfuss (1991, p 135) to define it as a "demographically dense period", emphasizing that most of the relevant events, such as the completion of studies, entry into the labour market, the transition to adulthood, and the creation of one's own family, occurs at this time. Azadarmaki uses the expressions 'Uncertain Generation', 'Anonymous Generation', or 'Generation of the Pastime', to indicate youths born after the Revolution and the war, whose main characteristics would be the disengagement towards social issues and the emphasis on the current moment, on the present. For them: 'Post-materialist values are the first priority and materialist values second, and the reverse for older generations. Regarding attitudes toward women, younger generations are more positive toward the participation of women outside the household. These new generations are also more open to new experiences and are more willing to go beyond traditions' (Azadarmaki, Ghaffari, 2005, p. 30). Renzo Guolo refers to them as 'outsiders of the system' (Guolo, 2008, p. 50), underlying the generational gap that divide them from the previous generation and the increasing discrepancy with the society and the government.

4. Preliminary results

4.1 Marriage, education, occupation: The emergence of an unusual generation

It is impossible to analyze and understand a social group without first studying the specificity and changes of the context they live in; for this reason, it has been necessary to examine preliminarily the demographic, social and economic transformations that have affected the Iranian capital in the last decades. The aim was to understand whether and how the two generations differ from each other and what changes have affected their status of men and women regarding the following indicators: demographic growth, fertility, marital status, education and employment.

The under 30 generation is the undisputed protagonists of the scenario: in 2016 in the urban areas of Tehran County, people born in the 1990s constituted about 30.4% of the total population. Result of the post-revolutionary boom, they are today the main actor of the Iranian society and has unprecedented specificity such as the postponement of marriage, the high rate of celibate and the low fertility rate. The latter trend deserves special attention to the extent of the phenomenon, unique at regional level, and reflects fundamental changes in the reproductive behavior of Iranians in the last twenty years; the gradual reduction of the size of households, passed from 5.3 members to 3.4 from 1986 to 2006, suggests a transformation of family ties and social networks along with economic, urbanistic and cultural changes. In Tehran Province, since 2006, there has been a steady

decline in the number of marriages and a parallel increase of divorces, showing that the new generations are gradually postponing marriage and having children. Values and practices related to marriage are still among the pillars of the Iranian culture and despite everything, family remains the cornerstone of the society and the major reference point against which identity is defined (Adelkhan, 1998; Debeljak, 2013). But at the same time, it has undergone the most manifest alterations, leading many analysts to define it as a "social problem" affected by the structural changes of the society and its values; a growing number of youth seems to think that the until now predominant narrative about marriage and family is no longer adequate to the times and their needs. The interviews I conducted confirm this phenomenon, with most respondents expressing their reluctance to marry, or the desire to do it later than their parents, after completing other experiences.

Consequently, I examined data related to education and economic participation. The link between education, marriage and fertility is complex and acts through multiple direct and indirect channels: an increased education, as istance, can influence the decision to create an independent family unit and to procreate. Mehryar and Aghajani (2002) and Abbasi-Shavazi et al. (2008) argue that the correlation between female education and fertility in Iran is very significant, and that about a third of the decline in fertility is attributable to women education's growth.

The rapid and widespread diffusion of literacy is certainly among the successes of the Islamic Republic. In the first few years after 1979, women became the object of a paradoxical transformation which on the one hand precluded their admission to numerous areas of study, mainly of a technical and engineering nature, and on the other improved their education quantitatively and qualitatively at all levels. This controversial female empowerment was a fundamental part of the government policy for the restoration of traditional gender roles and the creation of the ideal Muslim woman that should have been taught and transmitted by the education system, but has gone far beyond that (Rezai-Rashti, 2012). Data reveal how female literacy rate in Tehran County has increased from 52.5% (1966) to 76.6% (1986) to 87.9% (1996) to 93.4% (2016), faster than the male rate. The number of female university students has also increased, from 21.7% in 1966 to 52.1% in 2006 to 52.6% in 2011. The Islamic Republic won the skepticism and fear of religious and traditional families who once refused to let their girls study in the Pahlavi's secular system; if encouraging women's education was once considered a sign of transgression and modernity, it has become now the "*salem*", "healthy" path to follow even for the most intransigents and conservatives. Millennial generation is today the most educated ever, with the highest percentage of university students and girls enrolled in higher education in the country's history.

For what concerns the labor market and economic participation, the historical data series of Tehran County show two parallel and not optimistic trends: the high rate of youth unemployment, and the low percentage of women involved in the formal sector paid labor force (16.5% in 2016). Between 1996 and 2006, Iran's working age population grew more than twice the rate of growth of the general population (Salehi-Isfahani, 2011); although the economy enjoyed robust advance during this period, it was unable to keep up with the rapid inflow of new workers, exacerbated by the enter of more women in the labor market (Shaditalab, 2005). Iranian youth have emerged as important players on the country's political and social scene but remain marginal on its economic scene (Salehi-Isfahani, 2010). Entering into the labor market represents a pivotal event in youth's life and a recurrent topic in all the interviews; successful transitions from school to work and family creation depend critically on employment opportunities available. Nowadays, there is a profound employment divergence between youngsters and their parents, and their unemployment is one of the emergencies at the heart of the policies and electoral campaigns of recent years, which can be traced to four main causes: the rapid growth of the youth population, the prolonged schooling, the rigid labor market, and unfavorable economic conditions exacerbated in the last years also due to disastrous political choices. After completing their studies, often at very high levels, young Iranians must face an entry into the occupational world that is anything but easy. For women, obstacles are even greater. In 2011, in the whole county, 31.4% of unemployed men had a diploma, while as many as 59.5% of women were graduated. Percentages were even higher for under 30 years old youth, of which 50% of men and 31.7% of women had a diploma. The situation seems to have worsened in 2016, when 41.6% of men and 74.4% of unemployed women have a university degree.

4.2 The interviews

'Young people are the experts of themselves, the only ones who can tell us what is happening and what is changing in their culture, in their way of being, in their relationships with life and reality' (Melucci, 1998, p. 65). For this reason, 40 in-depth narrative interviews have been conducted with men and women belonging to both

generations, in order to get an inner look to their own representations, ideas, values and narratives. Each participant was asked to talk about his/her life and more generally, about his/her view of men and women in Tehran.

4.2.1 The generational gap

The interviews clearly showed the presence of a generational gap that seems to have intensified in recent decades, reaching its peak with the current university generation, and invests many spheres of everyday life; it manifests particularly in the field of gender patterns and behavior, where youngsters seem to express a greater and innovative openness compared to the previous generations (Najafiasl, 2015). Following Inglehart, according to which 'a person's fundamental values vastly reflect the conditions s/he has experienced in the years before her/his maturity' (Najafiasl, 2015), the roots of this gap should be sought in different spheres: primary socialization, within families; the secondary one, through education and the entry into the public sphere; the historical-political context in which these processes took place, with the rapid process of globalization and the diffusion, through new technologies, of cultural models distinct from the Iranian social fabric, which would have incorporated some traits without however fully adapting them (Sadra, Qanbari, 2008; Ingelhart, 1994; Azadarmaki, 2009; Sadra, Qanbari, 2008). Family remains undoubtedly the most important seat of learning but is more and more often also the place where values and attitudes are being renegotiated and questioned, flanked by the growing weight of other agencies such as the peer group, university and social media. The Tunisian sociologist Bouhdiba wrote that the Arab societies are 'a world based on the division between sexes, a world based on the dichotomy of ages' (Bouhdiba, 1975). It is possible to find these two fractures in the Iranian context too; the generational dichotomy legitimizes a sense of incomprehension and blame towards young people, their constructions and cultural representations, as well as their political, cultural and economic subordination to adults. The participants in the Generation X interviews describe the Millennials in mostly negative terms, such as rude, spoiled, unwilling and objective, materialistic and self-centered, contrasting their education and behavior with their own.

4.2.2 The 1960s' generation

Generation X members who participated in the research, born between 1960 and 1970, have spent their childhood and part of adolescence in a deeply traditional and religious society, where even in the more wealthy and educated families, social relations followed a rigid hierarchy that relegated the father to the authoritative and economic sphere, and the mother to the affective and educational one. Regarding relations with the other gender, they experienced reduced social spaces dictated by precise rules that worsened with the birth of the Islamic Republic, whose first years saw a total closure of public spaces and socialization opportunities.

Emphasis on economic struggles, responsibility, social pressure and unemployment are among the most recurrent topics among men of the Burned Generation. While the Millennials, not entered in the labor market yet, declare they have no certainties and guarantees regarding their future, men of the previous generation stress on the social pressures they feel to maintain their status. The fear of not "being up to" and the pushes are manifested both in the public sphere, where the need to have a good profit clashes with the widespread feeling of corruption and distrust towards others, and in the private sphere, where the male role is perceived as weakened and mistreated. This crisis is brought back to two main changes: the Iranian economic situation, and the changes in women's status. Many of the men I interviewed did not label the current Iranian society as "patriarchal", arguing that, on the contrary, economic and decision-making power belongs increasingly to women and children. Middle-class's men deal with women of the same status: wives, friends or colleagues who have achieved a good level of autonomy, are graduated, work and manage family life. Their right to good education and economic independence are no longer questioned, but their ever-greater public presence and affirmation seems to undermine men's masculinity, who certainly do not disapprove (at least consciously and explicitly) their emancipation, rather claim to feel increasingly pressed, relegated to mere economic engines of the family.

In interviews with women, the value fracture with younger girls, whose status in society has changed more intensely and abruptly, seems often deeper than the one with the men of their own generation. These women place emphasis on their own path of self-realization and on the efforts made to obtain it. Women are described as the real drivers of the society and the family, the actors who take the most responsibility and duties both in the private and public sphere, and who are gaining more and more power and visibility. Their experiences in the family of origin are heterogeneous: few of them have explicitly mentioned discrimination or obstacles suffered

as women, but some have recounted the difficulties of combining family life, the duties imposed by the society and their own career.

4.2.3 The 1990s' generation

Young people in Iran, like in other countries in the MENA region, constitute more than two-third of the total population. While transition to adulthood is an inherently difficult period for youth everywhere, Middle Eastern youths face greater obstacles than their peers in other parts of the world. Literature on Iranian youth has documented how the period between adolescence and adulthood has over time become longer and filled with more frustration and anxiety, a condition common enough to have received its own label: "waithood" (Salehi-Isfahani, 2011), a prolonged liminal phase in which the passage to adulthood and its benchmarks -economic independence, marriage, creation of a family- are postponed in comparison to the previous generations (Garcia Sanchez, Pàmpols Feixa, & Laine, 2014).

Ordinariness, uncertainty, fun and temporarily: when questioned about themselves, these are some of the traits youths used to describe their own generation. At a first glance, the labels coined by Azadarmaki fit perfectly the youths of my research too. However, I agree with Hashemi and Wyn: it would be wrong to approach this cohort with a mere fatalistic look, classifying them as a "generation in wait" that has no agency and self-determination; many of my participants integrate their university careers with part-time jobs or other activities attempting to build a multidimensional approach to their future. When transition is understood simply in terms of successful or deviant individual trajectories through study and into the workforce, it impoverishes policy frameworks that seek to bring about social inclusion (Woodman & Wyn, 2013). Many of them are already taking language classes dreaming about a future abroad after the university. Most of the girls consciously dedicates time, money and energy to their education, aware that it could be their most precious tool for the future. Azadarmaki himself described this social group as more optimistic, successful and determined than the previous one.

This specific generation, not adolescents anymore, but not fully adult yet, lives in a society that has not escape the general process of globalization, even though its involvement is of a special sort because of the nature of the regime and the strength of its identity derived from its own civilization (Adelkhan, 1998). Although undoubtedly more in touch with the international scenario and aware of the impact of globalization on their lives, youths of the 90s' cannot be considered exempt from oxymoron and contradictions. The outcome is what they themselves define as a yet incomplete transition from tradition to modernity where they lack strong and lasting reference models from which draw inspiration. An in-between state where norms, values, ideals and behaviours related to masculinity and femininity are integral components that come into play in a transition that struggles to find its own direction. They used to flirt with their peers on Yahoo Messenger and dream about a perfect wedding with the prince charming; grew up in secular families where men consume alcohol and do not do housework; many girls work but refuse to share their income with the husband.

5. Conclusions

A very preliminary analysis of the data show a dichotomy between men and women that can be explained by a narration of gender roles profoundly distorted even among the educated middle class, who seems unable to escape a series of gender-biased stereotypes. At the origin of this representation there seems to be the construction of the female role that is taught to children since birth within the family and, subsequently, in the public sphere. Girls are assigned multiple roles: woman, wife, mother, daughter, sister, emotional support and organizer of the family as well as moral guidance for their consorts, while men often remain without real organizational tasks except that, as adults, to provide financial assistance to the family. The female conquest of public spaces previously reserved to men does not seem to have turned into an equal redistribution of burdens and tasks in the private one. This representation can be accounted for the perceived crisis of the male role that seems incapable of evolving and coping with the increasingly manifest transformations of women's status, and which is underlined by both genders.

Young people are considered unanimously the engine of a profound change which presents its own contradictions and takes different forms for men and women. There are more and more positive examples such as the growing awareness among boys on the discrimination suffered by women, but also controversial cases like the double standards regarding women's sexuality and behaviours. They are all symptomatic of the fluidity and porosity of this process of awareness and the confusion it may create: while many of them define it a linear and ineluctable path to a western-inspired way of life, I agree with Adelkhan (1998) in saying that 'the social

being is in a position to choose his life style, a major characteristic of contemporary modernity according to Anthony Giddens, especially as the existence of multiple milieux of action allows to operate "segmental" choices according to contexts, and to adhere temporarily to life style sectors according to circumstances'. We may consider it a nuanced and mellifluous dimension where subjects pick more or less consciously the values and references more in their own chords and become confident with new ways of being. Girls wearing chador who refuse to marry before they find a job, or proclaim themselves feminist, are not being "westernificated", nor they are giving up their identities and values; rather, they are experimenting different categories of subjectivity, because 'to be modern in Iran, or in any other society, is to reinvent its difference' (Adelkhan, 1998).

The larger the gap, the more extensive are the possibilities for cultural changes. It looks like the expansion of these demands, along with changes in attitudes, is leading to the emergence of a different value system and social behaviors among this segment of Iranian youth, the most educated, techno-savvy and globalized in the Iranian history. Although the future of social changes is not easy to predict, it is possible to expect more convergence in cultural attitudes on gender issues (Shaditalab, 2005). Youngsters, and women in particular, are the engine of this change, which does not seem to want to stop and indeed leaves room for optimism.

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Isolation and Onboarding: Gender Bias in Aviation Training Documents

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Abstract: There is growing interest in male-dominated industries and the challenges women face finding their place within the workplace community. Yet, there seems to be little research on how training documents, generally created by technical communicators, may isolate and limit women who seek to pursue careers in these fields. Technical communication and gender scholars have examined women in the technical communication field and gender bias in male-dominated industries but there has been limited examination of gender stereotypes in training documents. Training documents are designed to provide written instructions and a reference guide for job functions, workplace rules, orientation, and company policies. This is sometimes the first opportunity for an employee to better understand the culture of the company and what it offers. Technical communicators, such as instructional designers, generally create the training material based on the goals of an organization with input from subject matter experts. This study examines FAA (Federal Aviation Administration) technical training documents, specifically focusing on manuals, handbooks, and guides found on the FAA website. The documents analysed were published between the years of 1941 and 2017 and were all accessible on the FAA website at the time the documents were chosen. Factual and implied gender reference categories emerged from the data. A number of biased gender references were prevalent in documents created as recent as 2017. Gender bias was not only isolated to the role of the pilot but was also present in the description of other roles, including examples of professions outside the field of aviation. Qualitative analysis further revealed complex and frequently stereotypical portrayals of aviation roles and examples found in curriculum. The results highlight how technical writing functions as gender bias and serves as the basis for further investigative studies of gender bias in technical documents.

Keywords: gender stereotypes, technical writing, technical communication, aviation, gender bias, curriculum

1. Introduction

Training documents are meant to provide written instructions and act as a reference guide for job functions, workplace rules, orientation, and company policies. This is sometimes the first opportunity for an employee to better understand the culture of the company and what it offers. Technical communicators, such as instructional designers, generally create training materials based on the goals of an organization with input from subject matter experts. As women continue to strive toward the glass ceiling of inequality at the workplace to shatter it, instructional designers must continue to identify opportunities to remove gender barriers from technical documents.

Segregation in the workplace based on gender, as well as gender inequity in leadership roles and wages have been previously observed and documented (Padavic & Reskin 2002). Additionally, research has identified workplace discrimination as a primary impediment on gender equality (Gorman 2005). There is a growing interest in male-dominated industries and the challenges women face finding their place within the workplace community. Yet there seems to be little research on how technical training documents may isolate and limit women who seek to pursue careers in these fields.

In recent studies on gender bias, gendered pronouns (e.g., she, he) have been identified as excellent markers for gender in text, because they are easy to detect, and occur with a very high frequency in most contexts (Pennebaker et al. 2003; Twenge et al. 2012). This study attempts to identify the use of preferred gender nouns and pronouns in the FAA's technical training documents in order to further the understanding of gender bias in technical documents and provide tips for how to create inclusive rhetoric.

Because of its online availability of training documents for the aviation field, the FAA website creates a unique opportunity to examine training documents recommended by a government agency for a male-dominated field.

2. Review of the literature

Scholars have extensively researched gender stereotypes in occupations. Men and women have always had distinct roles to play in society, with women's roles historically associated with the home-caretaking sphere (Emslie & Hunt 2008). Jobs are thought to become gender-typed as male or female based on either job responsibilities that are believed to be gender-linked (Heilman 1995) or on the sex of the usual job-holder (Cejka

& Eagly 1999). Male-dominated fields tend to not welcome females by creating a negative environment compared to other disciplines (Ward, 2008). In these environments, women face a host of obstacles to their career success, including social isolation from male peers (Xie & Shauman 2003), less opportunities for advancement, and less representation at top levels (Valian 2004).

In the automotive industry, for example, the percentage of female employees remains stagnant at just 17% of all employees (National Automobile Dealers Association, 2016). According to Women in Automotive (WIA), although a major recruiter received over 1,000,000 resumes, of which over 40% were from women, only 1 out of 4 was actually hired by dealers (2018). In the organizational culture of police work specifically, control and segregation severely limit a woman's ability to enter the field; feel accepted, valued, and capable; bond with peers; advance through promotion; and ultimately be retained by the department (Anker, 1997). According to the Federal Aviation Administration, there are 700,000 certified pilots, 6% of whom are women (Hamilton, 2013).

These gender studies in different male-dominated occupations point to several conclusions. First, gender-specific job stereotypes still exist and impact the job outlook for women in certain industries. Second, there are more negative stereotypes of women in male-dominated industries than positive stereotypes. Third, women are interested in careers in fields historically represented by men, but face discrimination as early on as the hiring process and throughout their careers, even at the executive level.

Technical communication researchers have identified sexist language in several studies, including masculine bias in a stun gun owner's manual (Sauer, 1994) and gender bias in naval fitness reports (Shenk, 1994). Researchers continue to analyze the degree to which gender identity has affected technical writings, in order to continue to reduce limitations of gender role to meet the growing demands for equality in business.

Results concerning gender in technical documentation reinforce the need for additional research. Scholars have researched bias as the enemy of a good audience analysis (Ceccio & Rossi, 1981) and the differences in language usage by men and women (Lynch & Strauss-Noll, 1987). However, this study seeks to add to the body of research of gender bias and the technical communication field by identifying gender bias in technical documents and identifying ways to overcome bias by creating more inclusive writing. Technical documents should serve the reader and provide an inclusive learning experience, regardless of gender.

In their research, Miller and Swift introduced sexism in language by noting that resistance to more nonsexist ways to communicate is blanketed by the idea that changing language can be seen as an affront to the purity of language (1988). Double-pronouns (his or her) were identified as a substitute for male pronouns but, as Miller and Swift note, these can be wordy and distract from the message. While this is a better option than assuming male pronouns as a generalization, ultimately Miller and Swift agree that eliminating pronouns is the preferred action to create non-sexist content (1988). In her research, Dr. Wilcoxon noted that when discussing both subtle and blatant sexism in language, "failing to recognize even the subtlest demonstrations of linguistic sexism could impede one's service to clients, one's professional reputation, and one's self-awareness of blind spots concerning gender prejudice or stereotyping" (1989).

In Wendy Martyna's study (1978) of the generic use of "he," she concludes that even if the writer intends for "he" to be generic, there is no guarantee that it will be understood that way. Because "he" is ambiguous, exclusive, and inequitable, the use of the term as a universal pronoun is not only confusing, but also regularly misunderstood by the reader, leading to bias (Martyna 1978).

Because the English language doesn't currently have a gender-neutral third-person singular personal pronoun, "they" has been argued by English and Communication scholars as an alternative for the generic use of "he" and the clunky "he/she" alternatives. The singular use of "they" is widely accepted as appropriate for anyone who does not identify as male or female or when gender may identify someone who would like to remain anonymous. Formal writing and style guides have made several changes recently but are inconsistent in their acceptance of "they" as a singular pronoun. Instead, all recommend rephrasing the statement to eliminate confusion. The APA specifically does not recommend using combinations (s/he, (s)he, and he/she), "he" or "she" alone, or alternating between "he" and "she" because of the confusion it causes the reader (The Use of Singular "They" in APA Style n.d.a).

As a primary frame that structures social relations (Ridgeway, 2001), gender operates at multiple levels to shape the experience professionals have in the workplace. Gender is one of the primary means for differentiating and categorizing individuals in order to create shared knowledge that transcends situations and groups (Ridgeway, 2001). Scholars have used framing theory to explain the ways that information is framed to influence the way that audience members think about identity categories including age, gender, race, and nationality (Atkinson & Herro, 2010). Gitlin (1980) defines frames as devices that facilitate how writers organize enormous amounts of information and package them effectively for their audience.

Entman (1993) furthers the discussion of framing by explaining that, "to frame is to select some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described." Framing demonstrates that accentuating certain considerations in a message can influence individuals to focus on those particular considerations (Druckman 2001). Frames magnify particular aspects of a situation while excluding other elements, which could lead to both intentional as well as unintentional persuasion of the audience.

3. Research design and methodology

The presence of gender bias, no matter how subtle or blatant, in male-dominated training material deserves the attention of scholars. Research has also indicated the existence of gender bias in the aviation field (Germain, Herzog, & Hamilton 2012). Researchers have not focused much analysis on the representation of gender-specific nouns and pronouns in training materials and taken into account how older documents exists as a current recommendation, which is problematic. As a first step, this study examines the FAA's list of recommended aviation handbooks, manuals, and guides, addressing two research questions: (a) How frequent are male-specific pronouns used in training documents compared to female-specific pronouns? and (b) Does the training material have a tendency to tilt toward the preference of male pilots based on the language used within the documents?

The Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) remains the principal federal agency responsible for providing the largest, safest and most complex aerospace system in the world. Since 1958, the FAA has overseen all aspects of civil aviation in the United States, ensuring the safety of the traveling public. A safe aviation system is the lifeblood of our nation's economy. Every day, more than 50,000 commercial airliners and general aviation airplanes take off and land safely in the United States, connecting people and ideas. Aviation has become the international language of commerce, and runways have enabled inland cities to become vibrant ports. As stewards of this remarkable industry, the FAA shares an enormous responsibility to run today's aviation system while charting a safe course for our nation's airspace of the future (faa.gov n.d.a).

To obtain the technical documents, the researcher located the documents posted on the FAA website by selecting "Training & Testing" on the homepage. Next, "Get pilot training information" was selected. Finally, "Aviation Handbooks & Manuals" was selected from the bulleted list. The researcher recognizes that there are other documents on the FAA website that are worthy of analysis, but these documents were chosen for their location under "Aviation" and their placement as a list of training resources. Of the initial 38 documents listed, 22 documents were selected because they were listed as "manual", "handbook", or "guide." Documents range in date of publication from 1941 to 2017. Each was downloaded for further analysis on January 16th, 2018.

First, training documents were read to better understand the material being covered. While the researcher acknowledges that he is not a pilot and some of the aviation terms were foreign, reading the documents were not meant to learn processes, but instead to get an idea of the samples and scenarios used within the texts. Using the "Find" function of the Microsoft Office Word software, each document was searched for key terms and phrases to identify the instances of gender mentioned. Terms were searched as a single word and with punctuation including: period (.), colon (:), question mark (?), and semi-colon (;). Using the coding process from similar research in aging, two major categories emerged: factual gender and implied gender (Atkinson & Herro, 2010). Factual gender was identified as gender as a description of an actual person that was being cited or mentioned in the text (using "he" as a pronoun for Aristotle). Implied gender was defined as any use of gender where the context was fictional (hypothetical examples and scenarios).

Content analysis is a research methodology that has been widely used in the social sciences in general (Stock, 2007). It is a way of asking a fixed set of questions unfalteringly of all of a pre-determined body of writings, in such a way as to produce countable results (Carney, 1972). Researchers, using content analysis, can search for patterns that occur in selected texts. Analyzing quantitative content revealing how many pronouns there are in a given context may say something about gender status (Twenge et al., 2012). Gendered pronouns (e.g., she, he) are excellent markers for gender in text, because they are easy to detect, and occur with a very high frequency in most contexts (Pennebaker et al., 2003; Twenge et al. 2012). Terms that were initially used to identify gender bias in the chosen documents were: he, him, his, himself, she, her, hers, and herself. Lastly, a qualitative analysis helped identify many sexist ideas about pilots and uncovered sexist terms used to describe professions outside the aviation field. For each document I attempted to determine if there was a preferred gender listed. In particular, the research looked for:

- The use of male pronouns (he, him, his, himself) versus female pronouns (she, her, hers, herself)
- Analysis of illustrations in the technical documents
- Expectations that team members are male (using he-pronouns to describe other roles)

Based on the above information, quantitative and qualitative content analysis, and similar research looking at age bias using frame theory (Atkinson & Herro 2010), three major themes were established. Gender preference based on age and relevance of document, gender as information only, and gender with judgement were the identified themes that emerged. The first was preferential male gender pronouns in each document based on the age and relevance of the document. Second, gender as information only. Nouns, pronouns, and illustrations were analysed in relation to factual identification of male and female historical figures found in the content.

Finally, the use of gendered pronouns was analysed for judgements associated with the mention of gender, thus illuminating any gender bias in the training documents. Researchers have used a qualitative approach in similar studies to illuminate stereotypical ideas about gender, and in certain cases uncovered a complex linguistic strategy in which negative stereotypes of gender were used to compliment the opposite sex (Burkley, et al. 2015). As past framing scholars have identified in their research (e.g., Atkinson & Herro 2010), references to gender and the associated judgements tell aviation students and instructors not only what to think about the preferred gender of a pilot, but also how to think about gender (whether it be the gender of a pilot, instructor, aviation professional, or other professional). Similar findings were noted in this research and are discussed below.

4. Results

The first research question asked how many references were made to gender, and overall, there were 1,720 references to gender found in the documents. 987 occasions of male nouns and pronouns were identified while 733 occasions of female nouns and pronouns were noted. A total of 72.91% nouns and pronouns were coded as gender neutral due to the use of subjective, objective, and possessive double pronouns that were gender inclusive (ex: “he or she”, “his or her”, “him/her”, “himself or herself”) and 27.09% were coded as gender specific. Of the 22 documents examined, 81.8% (18) contained gender identification while 18.2% (4) contained no mention or implication of gender. There are more consistent attempts to be gender inclusive in documents after 2011 but bias is still found in documents as recent as 2017.

The second question asked whether or not the learning documents had a tendency to tilt toward the preference of male pilots based on the language used within the documents, and the simple answer to this is absolutely, though not always. The qualitative analysis that follows investigates various themes that arose from the presence of gender in the technical aviation training documents listed on the FAA website.

Some of the gender references provided examples of bias by assuming that the student was exclusively male. For example, one scenario read, “You are a 32-year-old, 325-hour, non-instrument-rated private pilot. You have about 75 hours on long cross-country flights including one less than 3 weeks ago. You and your wife are planning to leave after work for a 400 (nautical mile) flight to attend your wife’s best friend’s 11:00 AM wedding the next day. You will take off about 30 minutes before sunset” (Risk Management Handbook 2009, p. B-1). In this reference, the implication is that the student would have a wife. It is important to note that there were no examples where the student would have a husband, therefore disproving the argument that “wife” does not always equate to a male gender preference.

There are several examples of attempts to be gender neutral but in the same example that has gender neutral pronouns, the student is implied to be male by a masculine pronoun that is isolated from a female pronoun. An example is, "A student obtains his or her pilot's license with the minimum number of hours…now, with a new license, the pilot visits his parents in the middle of the high desert of Colorado (Weight-Shift Control Aircraft Flying Handbook 2017)." The example begins gender neutral but then uses the male pronoun "his" when identifying the parents. It's important to note that of all 1,687 gender pronouns listed in the training documents, there was no examples of content defaulting to female pronouns after gender neutral pronouns were used.

There are also examples of stereotypes for other professions found in different training documents. On page 4-5 of the "Helicopter Flying Handbook," an example of an ice skater is described discussed, "As the skater moves her arms in, she spins faster because her inertia changes but her total energy remains constant (neglect friction for purposes of this explanation)." This statement stereotypes ice skaters as female which is the only time a title is defaulted to a female gender. In contrast, "Remote Pilot—Small Unmanned Aircraft Systems Study Guide" uses the example of a quarterback, "A good example is a quarterback whose actions are based upon a highly fluid and changing situation." He intends to execute a plan, but new circumstances dictate decision-making on the fly. This type of decision-making is called automatic decision-making or naturalized decision-making (p. 59). This example assumes that a quarterback will be male based on stereotypical images of football players.

Other noted gender bias included preferred male pronouns for other aviation roles found in the technical documents. In "Flight Navigator Handbook," the example, "The operator identifies radar returns on his radar scope and measures the range and bearing to the return" (2011 p.16-3) refers to an operator as male when the correct pronoun should have been gender inclusive in order to accurately portray an operator as able to be either gender. In "Instrument Procedures Handbook" (2017), an example is, "The pilot told the controller that the reason for the descent was to cross the VOR at 17,000 feet. ATC (air traffic control) advised the pilot that he did not have clearance to descend" (p. 2-51). In this example, even though it is a made-up scenario, the assumption is that the pilot is male, and a stereotype immerge.

Finally, there were examples identified where gender-specific terms were used in the curriculum. In the "Aviation Instructor's Handbook," (2008) one note for the instructor is, "Instructors should keep in mind that they are often salesmen of ideas, and many of the best sales techniques that attract the attention of potential clients are well worth considering" (p. 4-23). The more commonly used "salesperson" was abandoned for a term that specifically identified the gender of the instructor. In another example from the same training document,

"Pilots who think, What's the use?" do not see themselves as being able to make a great deal of difference in what happens to them. When things go well, the pilot is apt to think that it is good luck. When things go badly, the pilot may feel that 'someone is out to get me,' or attribute it to bad luck. The pilot will leave the action to others, for better or worse. Sometimes, such pilots will even go along with unreasonable requests just to be a "nice guy." (p.8-17)

Again, a gender stereotype emerges that the pilot is male and therefore, identifies as being the "nice guy."

Across the span of 76 years that these technical training documents represent, gender bias can be identified in the majority of documents, including the documents published in 2017. All of these examples indicate clear, consistent and stereotypical frames for the gender of pilots (and sometimes the gender of other aviation professions). The emphasis on male pronouns creates a set of technical documents that assume pilot instructors and students are, by default, male. There does seem to be attempts to be gender-inclusive, but stereotypes still emerge, sometimes in the same document and even within the same example.

5. Discussion and conclusion

This study revealed that there was gender-specific terms used throughout the curriculum. If gender identifications were for fact only, then consistency would be expected or, at least, a pattern of increased gender-neutral pronouns over time. As framing scholars have found in communication studies (Entman 2007), the gender reference and the associated contexts tell the reader what and how to think about the gender of aviation professions. Stereotypes of women as stress-inducing and not physically compatible with piloting a plane emerged from the analysis. These samples were used to explain scenarios where pilots must make decisions and

choose safety over disappointing a spouse. These stereotypes have the ability to create conflict amongst staff members, instructors, students and pilots.

Stereotypes of other professions generally considered masculine and feminine indicates that the authors gender bias is not specific to aviation only, but gender stereotypes in general. The stereotypes are not new, but what is new concerns the implications of gender bias in training documents. These documented biases have the ability to influence the audience's attitudes toward women entering aviation and the overall training process. Documentation like this is powerful in recreating bias and creating a feeling of unwelcome for newcomers who don't fit the stereotypical "pilot" mold. While proving a cause-effect relationship could be suggested for further investigation, it is safe to conclude that documentation is merely one additional way in which minorities in aviation are reminded that they are "other."

There seems to be subtler ways that the writers encouraged gender bias. The default to male pronouns in this study does just that. These references, being found in government-suggested training documents, could create a significant, negative impact. The scope of this study did not include examining the impact these documents have on gender bias in the aviation field since the influence of gender bias in aviation has been supported by other studies (Germain, Herzog, & Hamilton 2012).

This study has limitations that could possibly be addressed for future research. There were themes that emerged, but further examination of those themes was not in the scope of this research to explore including implied language regarding the behaviors of pilot's wives as well as implied gender bias of jobs in the aviation field other than the pilot. This research focused on specific bias, which meant that it excluded bias of race, age and nationality. Another study could identify the race of characters in the photographs in order to frame bias in a different, but significant way. Finally, contextual analysis does not illuminate the effect on the audience (Atkinson & Herro 2010). Do the readers of these documents identify bias based on the terms found within the text? Do female aviation students think that the training documents fail to represent them as pilot and pilot students? How do these gender stereotypes impact the appeal of being a pilot for female prospects?

Framing theory suggests that how the gender of the pilot is presented to the reader influences how the audience process that information. Frameworks of aviation students and instructors constitute a central element of its culture (Goffman, 1974). The online training documents found on the FAA website provides an interesting case in which to examine gender framing in technical documents. Instructional designers are in a position to impede the damage that is done through the hidden, and sometimes intentional, messages that gender bias creates. Instructional designers should strive to critically analyze their own attitudes and behaviors about gender roles.

Based on the current recommendations of scholars and style guides, the use of editing and revising in order to create sentences that do not require a gender-neutral third-person singular personal pronoun is the ideal way to create gender-inclusive technical documents. When a term is necessary, scholars agree that combining bother singular pronouns (he or she, she or he, his or her, her or his, etc.) is the most acceptable way to remove bias in gender from technical documents.

The significance of this study expands beyond the aviation industry and instructional design. Any company that claims to be an equal opportunity employer must take the necessary steps to create and maintain recruiting, hiring, and onboarding technical documents that are inclusive.

The ability for technical communicators, such as instructional designers, to identify and remove gender bias from training material will help create inclusion and diversity. This study furthers the understanding of how frames created within technical training documents may reflect and/or perpetuate stereotypical attitudes toward gender. The analysis identified and introduced a new and important examination of gender stereotypes and how technical writers can identify and avoid writing that implies preference to a specific gender.

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Women School Leaders: Gender and Identity

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Abstract: Gender and leadership within educational leadership in England has previously had a greater lens focussed upon secondary education. With a critical shortage of primary headteachers this research aims to investigate the impact of gender and identity on female deputy/assistant headteachers within primary schools, when deciding upon whether to consider take up a headship role. This paper will set out an exploratory and qualitative approach to research using an epistemological approach, in which narratives surrounding school leadership are explored. Social identity theory will be used as a theoretical framework for the study, with a focus upon gender and identity. Research questions will seek to gain greater understanding on how deputy and assistant heads identify as leaders and how gender has and continues to shape their career path. The examination and analysis of the concept of gender and identity amongst women school leaders and identification of emergent themes uses a post positivist reflexive stance. Interviews for this study followed the Biographical Narrative Interpretive Method (BNIM) and this specific narrative approach sought to engage the participant in sharing their experiences rather than their position and to facilitate both the expression and sharing of previously forgotten perspectives, forming a rich narrative for interpretation. The structure of the BNIM enables the researcher to have a dual focus: the personal meaning behind the biography and the wider context of socio-cultural processes. There is a need to use this knowledge to build our capacity for female leadership in schools, if we are to meet the demand for headship and sustain it within the longer term.

Keywords: gender, identity, biographical narrative interpretive method, deputy/assistant headteachers, primary education

1. Introduction

Primary schools, within the last fifteen years, have experienced difficulty recruiting and retaining headteachers (Rhodes & Brundrett, 2005; Edge, 2013; Lynch & Worth, 2017). The key leadership role of deputy/assistant headteachers previously supported a natural recruitment ladder for aspiring heads. Yet in more recent times some female deputy/assistant heads are deciding not to continue their leadership journey to headship. The research questions for this study are:

- How has gender shaped the career trajectory of women primary school deputy/assistant headteachers?
- How do female primary school deputy/assistant headteachers identify as leaders?

Relatively little has been written regarding the role of deputy/assistant headteachers in primary schools in England. Indeed Ribbens' (1997) earlier research remarks upon the plethora of literature regarding headteachers but how little has been written about female deputy/assistant heads. More recently Cranston, Tromans and Reugebrink (2004), Chagger (2013), Gould (2016) and Guihen (2017) undertook research relating to the role of deputy/assistant headteachers but with a greater focus upon secondary schools. A decade ago Rhodes and Brundrett (2005) drew attention to what they considered to be a '*looming recruitment and retention crisis in the United Kingdom*'. However very little has been published regarding the motivational reasons why their primary colleagues choose to pursue or decline headship roles. During 2015, the Future Leaders Trust and Times Educational Supplement surveyed 286 headteachers. Of these 28% stated they were planning to leave headship within the next five years and over half said they did not expect to be a headteacher in the next ten years. This study is distinctive in two ways. Firstly, because it opens the narrative related to the leadership choices of female primary deputy/assistant headteachers through a social identity lens and secondly because it seeks to unpack the issues of gender and leadership for female aspiring heads.

1.1 Social identity theory

Social identity theory premises that individuals define their identities according to social groups (Tajfel, 1972 & Burr, 2015). These identities then seek to protect and support self-identity through a sense of belonging. Hogg, (2001) describes the significant role social identity theory exerts upon the way individuals construct meanings to describe themselves by self-categorisation. Hogg (2001) examines social identity theory of group leadership from a constructionist viewpoint, as leadership is viewed as a group process. Social identity theory of leadership suggests prototypicality is a significant basis for leader trust in groups (Giessner & Knippenberg, 2008; Giessner, Knippenberg & Sleebos, 2009; Hogg, 2001).

1.2 Gender and leadership

Gender and leadership are considered by many to be contestable. The term gender is used within a wide range of meanings and constantly evolving. Glover and Kaplan (2000) describe gender as '*a busy term'*. Gender is a social construct; categorised to enable humans to make sense of the world around them. Societal changes over the last three decades has caused both a growth and decline within a range of theoretical discourses, viewing women either as a gauge for leadership, using the traditional parameters of male leadership or within their own right (Jones, 2016). Whether you identify as a man or a woman it inevitably affects our looks, relationships with others and language.

Marshall & Young (2013) suggest greater research should be undertaken within macro level policies and practices for women in leadership and how this shapes their careers. Jones (2016) acknowledges the last thirty years has seen a focus upon explanatory frameworks, discourse and comparisons between the sexes. She suggests leadership styles and qualities are generally reviewed within a male perspective and this in turn has resulted in the discourse of leadership being perceived as a masculine construction. Historically gender has been viewed as a barrier for women within leadership roles. Women consider the impact of the wider role of being a headteacher with undertaking the personal role of being a mother, often with additional family responsibilities (Jones, 2016). A woman has a 1 in 14 (Jones, 2016) chance of becoming a headteacher and a man has a 1 in 6. Jones's research (2016) agrees with the earlier research undertaken by Thornton & Bricheno (2006). They noted that whilst the primary teaching profession has more women teachers employed within it, the more senior leadership posts were held by men.

Leadership could be described as a relationship in which people seek to influence others in pursuit of a goal, which is not reliant upon gender. This relationship relies on a multi-layered process and requires deputy/assistant headteachers to embody, challenge, generate and embed a shared sense of social identity for the staff they lead (Haslam, Reicher & Platow, 2011; Hogg, 2001; Reicher, Haslam & Hopkins, 2005; Turner & Haslam, 2001; van Knippenberg & Hogg, 2003; van Knippenberg, van Knippenberg, De Cremer & Hogg, 2004). Leadership has in the past been considered at odds with feminine stereotypes (Foschi, 2000; Heilman, 2001).

To ensure they are viewed as leader's, professional women might behave with untypical gender behaviour and therefore face '*backlash*' from others. Their competency is more likely to be negatively judged than similar behaviour displayed by a man. Rudman et al. (2012) state professional women need to portray an agentic identity if they are to be perceived as qualified for the role of leader. Agentic is described as competent, confident and assertive (Glick, Zion & Nelson, 1988; Dodge, Gilroy & Fenzel, 1995; Eagly & Karau, 2002;).

Work and home life balance remains a popular topic for discussion. All employees in school need to ensure they have a work-life balance to ensure productivity, better health and socialisation (Brasdovich, 2016). Whilst many factors are considered to impact upon work-life balance including gender, flexible hours and children. For the purposes of this study work-life balance is defined as '*attention and energy that can be spent on both work and personal domains*' (Gregory & Milner, 2009). Schools are considered by many to be a 'greedy institution' (Coser, 1974). A greedy institution is a social institution that demands total commitment from those working within it through the dominance of social life in to different spheres e.g. work, family etc. Once an institution begins to make more demands upon our time at the detriment of our need for family, hobbies etc. then it could be described as a greedy institution. This subtle pressure of voluntary compliance to dominate a daily timetable of family life can for some become all consuming, to the detriment of other wider activities. School staff can place and be placed under enormous strain to complete a multitude of tasks in an extended day, to meet in-house targets or expectations for Ofsted. This can impact upon opportunities to spend time for their own needs. Sullivan (2014) argues that workplaces are becoming greedier due to factors such as cost-cutting and constant connectivity. This constant and persistent electronic access inadvertently extends the working day and can encroach upon family and wider personal activities. Gronn (2003) describes schools as breeding '*greedy work practices'*. Indeed Thomson (2009) states the reason school leaders often give work-life balance as a concern is that they work for a greedy organisation that will keep demanding more and this in turn gains reward. This can lead to greater recognition and increases the likelihood of the work-reward cycle continuance, which Gini (2001) suggests implicates heads in creating their own demise if they are not circumspect and aware.

1.3 Identities

Identity refers to a wide range of meanings attached to oneself by self and others (Gecas, 1982; Gergen, 1971). Identity remains a contested concept within the social sciences. Identity is about self-understanding and is socially and actively constructed, but not at will. Identity is not fixed. A more contemporary view around identity is that it is forever changing, people, context and adapting in the moment and individuals can have multiple identities throughout their life and related to their roles, both professional and private (Alvesson et al. 2008).

Identity theories shape our individual personas. These personas vary depending upon the situation we find ourselves in, whether that is as a mother, a leader or a member of a club. Personal identity is the concept you develop about yourself, which evolves over a lifetime. Each person has identities beyond a professional identity. The study of professional identity is not new. Professional identity is considered by Sutherland, Howard & Markauskaite (2010) to be concerned with self-perception and legitimisation by others. They describe professional identity as both self-perception and legitimisation by others (Sutherland, Howard & Markauskaite, 2010). Indeed, it shapes our individual position with society, how we interact with others and how this is interpreted (Gee, 2000) and shared with others. Most scholars agree that identity is a shifting concept dependent upon the situation and context involved and hence changes over time are expected. So therefore, if identity can be viewed as a dynamic process, deputy/assistant headteachers should be provided with opportunities to explore how their interaction with others helps to support recruitment, training and the professional development of the other staff that they lead.

1.4 Context and methodology

The female deputy/assistant headteachers taking part in this study worked within Local Authority or Academy primary schools (including special schools) within England (June 2018 – September 2018). The ten women ranged in age from 30 – 55 years old and had been teaching for between 12 and 29 years. They were from a range of diverse ethnic backgrounds. The primary source of data collection for this study was one to one narrative interviews, lasting on average 1.5 hours. The interviews were based upon the BNIM (Wengraf, 2013) and was recorded, with identifying features removed or replaced.

1.5 Main principles of biographical narrative interviewing

To gain an in-depth understanding of women leaders regarding gender and identity the BNIM was used as a tool to elicit narrative. BNIM is based open conceptual open-ness and the interviewer does not seek to test a specific hypothesis. The interviewer's principle role is to listen to the interviewee's communication within the concept of active listening. The interview followed '*A Single QUestion aimed at Inducing Narrative*' (SQUIN): *Can you tell me about your career within teaching?* This method is designed for analysis of biographic narratives. The BNIM lightly structured interview procedure is comprised of three sub-sessions (Wengraf, 2001). After the initial SQUIN no further questions during the initial interview, the interviewer supporting the process through non-verbal gestures. Brief notes are taken but only using the keywords the participant used, which Wengraf (2001) describes as 'Situation Happening Event Incident Occurrence Time' (SHEIOT) noting. Once the interviewee has given their response to the initial SQUIN themes are then followed up. No additional themes or topics are raised. This specific narrative approach seeks to engage the participant in sharing their experiences rather than their position and as such can facilitate both the expression and sharing of previously forgotten perspectives, forming a rich narrative for interpretation. This knowledge may or may not be 'the truth', but rather how the interviewee perceives the question and the information they choose to share with their answer. The narrative interview seeks to encourage the interviewee to recall what they experienced from their own perspective and not the specific facts themselves which Mulaert, Sarubbi Jr, Gallo, Neto and Reis (2014) describe as past versus history.

2. Data analysis

During the ten lightly structured interviews a great deal of unstructured qualitative material was produced and Bryman (2001) and Briggs, Coleman and Morrison (2012) acknowledge the narrative can be difficult to analyse. Analysis took place whilst data collection was occurring due to the iterative process (Cresswell, 2014) and led to SHEIOT noting to identify specific words or phrases linked to the research questions. Specific events during the narrative were also re-visited if clarification was required regarding responses. All data was electronically recorded and transcribed verbatim, with pseudonyms used for participants. A note of linguistic devices, body language, rhythm, tone or facial expressions was also noted during the interview and merged within the coding process. The BNIM requires the interviewer to remain silent except to seek clarification and as such it was

important not to affirm or give clues to the participant about their interview responses and remain impartial with responses.

3. Findings and discussion

The participants articulated through narrative three main areas that define their views of themselves as women leaders and the influence of gender upon their careers.

3.1 Gender

Four of the participants felt that as a woman leader they needed to prove they could commit fully to the job and this was usually with working longer hours either in the building or remotely from home. Two of the women gave explicit examples of men being promoted to deputy/assistant heads far quicker than female counterparts and that they were often less organised or knowledgeable than the women in the school. Additionally, the women tended to reflect upon specialising within an area of interest and six of the deputy/assistant heads held specialist roles e.g. Special Educational Needs Co-ordinator (SENCo) or leading a coaching school because they felt that as women they needed an additional skill to make them stand out from their male counterparts. For three of the women, they stated it would be easier for men to forge a career as a head because they were likely to have greater home support with family, due to a partner taking those roles on. This is also a concern which is discussed within Jones' research (2016). With more women seeking to continue working, taking career breaks to have children or taking time off for caring for family members it seems likely that might be a barrier towards becoming a senior leader for some women. Reasons included wanting a home/work life balance, choosing to work part time to bring up a family yet also being professionally satisfied within the role currently undertaken.

3.2 Leadership

Leadership could be described as a relationship in which people seek to influence others in pursuit of a goal, which is not reliant upon gender. Half of the participants said they did not set out to be a headteacher and most of them were promoted from within their school, to a leadership role. Three participants had been an NQT in their current school and gone on to become leaders, with one about to move to headship within the same school.

Six participants disclosed that they were not looking to move to headship due to increased accountability and of the remaining four participants only one woman was considering applying for a headship outside of their current school. This woman did not have children and as such she felt she was more able to move around to find a suitable post. A theme which did emerge quite strongly was the need to accept a headship in a school which was known to them, usually their current school.

Eight participants cited OFSTED and the increasing accountability for negatively affecting their perception of the role of headship, whilst identifying the role of leaders being more important than data. However, the accountability in itself was not the issue, but the expectation of the hours of work required and the impact on their wider families. Mandy was the only participant without children and she was considering a headship outside of her current school, but she felt the expectations for headship were too high to allow time for relationships. Kate and Cerys whose children are now grown up felt that their career had had a negative effect on family and both gave specific situations when school had come first, which as mothers, they regretted the need to prioritise, however they felt they had no choice if they wished to climb the career ladder.

3.3 Identity

It can be more challenging to gain narrative stories from participants particularly if they might perceive their story lacks interest or significant events. Some participants are more able to use their storytelling abilities more successfully than others (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). During the interviews over half the participants either stated they didn't think they had a story to tell or asked me if what they were telling me was helpful. Two of the participants used more of a storytelling narrative of their life, including specific voices for characters. However, two of the participants gave a more formal account of their teaching career and despite the use of probing questions linked to their previous responses, their answers were more perfunctory. Marla stated that she had never ever told anyone her story and that it had made her quite emotional looking back over her career and remember what she considered to be both her own and other headteachers positive leadership qualities.

Holloway and Jefferson (2000) consider these to be faded out memories which are brought forth during the narrative.

However, for over half the participants the words 'Ofsted' and greater accountability resonated. The need to ensure better leadership through organisational performance, efficiency and effectiveness was generally agreed by the participants but over half the participants stated lack of money within schools and the relentless drive for standards was demoralising both teachers and senior leaders (Collinson & Grint, 2005; Davies & Thomas, 2001; Exworthy & Halford, 1999; Ferlie, Pettigrew, Ashburner, & Fitzgerald, 1996; Ford, 2005 and Pollitt, 1993). All the leaders agreed on accountability but for three teachers they felt the constant striving for improvement had a negative effect upon their identity, seeking them to question their career choices

Four participants described their leadership role as negatively influencing their identity both as a teacher and as a woman. Cerys, Carly and Miranda spoke of their partners viewing them as different characters during term time and how this impacted negatively upon family life. Burr (2015) describes a plethora of discourses constructing, producing and shaping our identity. This can support multiple identities which shift and morph through the discursive world. Several participants also spoke about how becoming a deputy/assistant head had changed their relationships with the teaching staff and felt that if they were to continue to headship this would become an even more isolating role, which they did not wish to seek.

4. Conclusion

The career trajectory of the female deputy/assistant headteachers has been shaped by the commitments to their leadership role, whilst having additional duties as partners and/or mothers. Being a female leader impacted upon their family considerably. Participants spoke of changes within relationships at home and at school as they sort to balance their complicated professional and personal roles. In addition, the majority of the women felt they had to prove themselves more as leaders than their male colleagues which seems incongruent with societal expectations today.

Ofsted accountability, lack of money and a relentless drive for improvement and efficiency caused greater in school working pressures but in addition impacted upon their personal life both.

The findings indicated whilst the role of headship remains aspirational the affect upon the women's identity both professionally and individually impacted negatively across their personal lives. If the role of headteacher is to be aspirational for female leaders in the future there needs to be a greater research focus upon home/work life balance for women leaders and consideration of shared responsibility for headteachers, possibly within co-headship or part time headship roles emerging.

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Don't Leave me This way: Retaining Older Women Care Workers in Scotland

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Abstract: Why do so many women over 50 leave health and social care work? Government policy pension rules and employers want women to stay in work longer, but turnover in health and social care is high – 12 % in Scotland and 30% in England. Women dominate public sector employment in the UK and are 75% of the health workforce. Demand for health and social care services is increasing as populations age. However, the care workforce is also aging, many women over 50 are leaving care roles and turnover has consequences for the quality and cost of care. This doctoral study considers the retention of women workers through the lens of gendered organisation theory and will use urban and rural case studies in Scotland. The research will explore the experiences of women currently or recently working in low-paid, demanding and often precarious work in health and social care to help inform policy and practice. It will consider how retention rates and working lives could be improved. Much of what we know about the careers and barriers facing women at work over 50 is based on research with professional career women. The research will seek to generate new insights into the impact of the intersections of gender, age and class on work and retention. This paper presents work in progress from a systematic literature review of 116 articles. Research questions to be explored include: what influences women's decisions to leave or stay; do theories about older women's careers apply across occupations; why do women leave health and social care work and how can employers influence retention rates?

Keywords: retention, women, gender, gendered organizations, age, Acker, Britton, inequality, intersectionality, health and social care, retirement, extended working lives, systematic literature review

1. Introduction

This research is timely because of the unfolding impact of change in policy on work and pensions on the options and choices available to older women working in health and social care which has a largely female workforce and poor retention rates of older women.

1.1 Definitions

The project adopts a practitioner definition of retention as there is limited evidence that managers use academic research on turnover (Holtom et al., 2008). Employee retention is the extent to which an employer retains its employees measured as the proportion of employees with a specified length of service, expressed as a percentage of overall workforce numbers (Chartered Institute of Personnel Development).

This research uses the chronological age 50 to mark entry to a later stage of working life, and that is consistent with significant policy discussions and reliable data sets in the UK. (Altmann, 2015) (The Scottish Commission on Older Women, 2015)

2. What do we know?

2.1 Retention

Retention is an aspect of employee turnover, and turnover behaviour critically connects individual actions to the theory and practice of human resource management. Turnover theory and research methodologies have evolved considerably during their 100 year history (Hom et al., 2016)(Holtom et al., 2008), but may have "hit an invisible ceiling" (Lee et al., 2017). Theories have tended to be built and applied to whole populations (Hom, 2017) and gender is often treated as a variable (Aaltio, Salminen and Koponen, 2014).

2.2 Retirement and extended working lives

Retirement policy is highly relevant for the retention of older workers. The UK Government and other EU countries (European Commission, 2012) have responded to population ageing and financial failures with policies to extend working lives and reduce financial support for retirement (Phillipson, 2013)(Foster, 2017). The pace and scope of policy changes for women over 50 "promise a more precarious aging"(Biggs et al., 2016) and are "unprecedented", (Phillipson, Vickerstaff and Lain, 2016) "powerful and relatively swift" (Loretto and Vickerstaff,

2013). Retirement is a complex decision making process and Wang and Shulz (2010) are critical of over-simplification. The gendered nature of retirement theories was identified in 1995 (Sawyer and James, 2018) and since around 2010 there has been some increase in attention to gender in theories.

2.3 Gendered organization theory

Joan Acker's theory of gendered organizations argues that organizational structure is not gender neutral and that inequality and gender segregation of work are created through organizational structures and processes which invent and reflect gender norms and ideals (Acker, 1990). Acker argued that the abstract gender neutral worker around whom work is organised and expectations set, is actually an idealised *male* worker, unencumbered by caring responsibilities. The theory created a "paradigm shift" (Britton and Logan, 2008) and has been deployed to reveal how women workers experience disadvantage and inequality despite organizational processes seeming genderless, neutral and fair.

3. What did I do?

I conducted a systematic literature review adapting the principles for evidence-based management research (Tranfield, Denyer and Smart, 2003). I collated 290 articles from four electronic databases (EBSCO, ABI, Psychinfo and Scopus). I then systematically reviewed 116 articles which met the quality criteria I established to increase review coverage. Feminist scholars have long been concerned about limited academic coverage of gender and organisational theory in highly ranked journals (Hearn and Parkin, 1983) (Calas and Smircich, 1989). Concerns include organization theory being "blind and deaf" to gender (Wilson, 1996) and presuming gender neutrality (Martin, 2000), gender bias and arbitrary citation practices (Johansson and Śliwa, 2014)(Ahmed 2017). This more inclusive approach increased the relevant material reviewed by 12%.

4. Initial findings

Theories about retention, retirement and extended working lives seldom address gender, or explore differences in the needs of older women and older men at work, with a few notable exceptions (Loretto and Vickerstaff, 2013)(Loretto and Vickerstaff, 2015)(Grady, 2015) (Ni Leime and Street, 2017) (Wainwright et al., 2018).

Loretto and Vickerstaff's (2013) influential work dissolves the boundaries between paid and unpaid work to bring the domestic and gendered context of older women's working lives into theory. The limited adoption of gendered organisation theory in management and organization studies (Nkomo and Rodriguez, 2018) means that many such studies remain insensitive to gender. In research involving working women, the experience of professional women is privileged over the experience of women working in low-paid, precarious work and age is seldom addressed. This casts doubt on 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 (Earl and Taylor, 2015)(Loretto and Vickerstaff, 2015).

Seventy articles on gendered organisation theory were reviewed. The theory remains relevant across many occupational and geographical settings and the idealized male worker persists and evolves to disadvantage those who are 'encumbered' by domestic or caring responsibilities. However, only three of the 70 articles addressed age and gender. Even feminist scholarship may be susceptible to "pernicious ageism"(Calasanti and Slevin, 2006).

The health and care sector is nominally, inherently and symbolically gendered according to Britton's typology (Britton 2000). Care work has struggled to move beyond patriarchal, gendered assumptions and binary narratives about the role of love or money in care, and those narratives may suppress pay (Palmer and Eveline, 2012). The retention crisis in the sector may reflect some of these issues, but we have yet to hear enough from the women themselves about their choices and pressures.

5. Opportunity

If society reflects older women back at half their normal size (Woodward, 1999), the literature has shrunk them further and their voices and experiences are largely absent. 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 with research underpinned by gendered organization theory to make visible the impact of the intersections of age and gender for older women.

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Everybody's Game: Aligning Feminist Approaches to 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development

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Abstract: The current context of feminist paradox calls for feminist strategic re-orientation towards Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Despite the proliferation of feminist scholarship, activism, and gender mainstreaming policies, progress on gender equality is underwhelming, while dominant discourses define feminism as fragmented and ineffective. This article draws parallels between feminism and international development, asserting that scholars and activists should resist temptations to embrace single definitions of feminist concepts and strategies in the name of disciplinary cohesion. Instead, much like international development, feminism should nurture its diversity of thought, insisting on strategic feminist solidarity and social justice objectives. Synergies between feminism and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (Agenda 2030) are highlighted while arguing for contextualized, locally-rooted feminist action. This strategic alignment offers tools of feminist empowerment including platforms for feminist exchange of expertise, flexible and long-term funding for local movements, and greater institutional accountability for gender-transformative policies. On the other end, feminist interventions and activism are needed to supplement Agenda 2030's limited definition of inclusivity, counter its tendencies of feminist de-politicization, and integrate a reflexive approach to the translation of global commitments to national initiatives. This article affirms that diverse, locally-interpreted, and globally coordinated feminist efforts are needed to ensure truly inclusive, economically fair, and environmentally responsible future envisioned by Agenda 2030, but also strengthen linkages between feminist theories and their effective political and social applications.

Keywords: gender mainstreaming, international development, feminist empowerment, Agenda 2030, SDGs

1. Living in the area of feminist paradox: Between theoretical fragmentation and diversity

We live in the age of feminist paradox: a period in which feminist goals are consistently discussed, mainstreamed, and implemented, but also largely co-opted, disputed, and ignored. Decades after the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Platform for Action (BPA), we have witnessed gender mainstreaming reforms and the creation of gender machineries in over 100 countries across the globe (True and Mintrom 2001). This prompted post-feminist debates about the obsoleteness of feminism, despite ostensible and ubiquitous representations of patriarchal power. The 2018 report *Turning Promises into Action* states that progress on gender equality has been unacceptably slow (UN Women, 2018). UN Women approached Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) from a gender perspective to show continuous gender inequalities: e.g. "750 million women and girls were married before the age of 18 and at least 200 million women and girls in 30 countries have undergone Female Genital Mutilation" (ibidem, p. 91).

Despite such grave violations of women's rights, incessant criminalization of LGBTQI+ individuals around the globe, a recent poll estimates that 54% of US young women do not describe themselves as feminists (Harnish, 2018). Albeit methodologically limited, this poll is well-aligned with feminist scholarship pointing at the fragmentary nature within the movement (Aronson, 2003; Taylor, 2011). Yet, recent overviews of the feminist progress clearly show that gender inequality persists even in the Global North. For example, the maternal mortality ratio in the United States increased by 14% between 1990 and 2015 (UN Women, 2018, p.81). Lastly, recent scandals exposed by the #metoo movement, and the public outcry against the prevalent culture of sexual harassment are all signalling the urgent need for more effective gender equality efforts and a more strategic and unyielding feminist agenda (Weldon, 2018). By framing diverse approaches to feminist theory as fragmentary, scholars are questioning the ability of feminist movements, national or international, to effectively contribute to greater gender equality (Grant, 1993).

This article warns against the tendency of "branding" feminism as a unidirectional field and movement and, instead, suggests that feminist scholars and activists would benefit from aligning the feminist agenda to that of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (Agenda 2030). This would help to (i) unite, but not conflate, feminist calls for redistribution and recognition, (ii) institutionalize their policy-influence, advocacy, and research efforts, as well as (iii) frame feminist objectives as human rights strides. Firstly, this article will argue that feminist studies should be more aligned with international development, instead of yearning for a disciplinary agreement on its core concepts. In doing so, the present article will review feminist literature on eclectic approaches to

redistribution, recognition, and critical social theory. Secondly, parallels between Agenda 2030 and feminist agenda will be drawn to explain why repositioning gender debates along those of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) would benefit both gender and development efforts, which are fundamentally inseparable. Lastly, this article will argue that strategically oriented feminism must insist on feminist reflexivity, resist essentialization, and merge feminist standpoint with critical social struggle against androcentric and heteronormative oppression.

1.1 The value and the role of feminist paradoxes

Feminist paradoxes cannot be reduced to contentious positions of various strands of feminist thought. Instead, as Redclif argues, feminist concepts of equality, justice, and even gender, are all intrinsically mired in paradoxes, which represent values, and not merely points of discord (qtd. in Jackson and Pearson, 1998). Basing feminist thought on the experiences, interests, and objectives of a single group of feminist actors has been proven flawed: radical feminist definitions of oppression based on privileged and whitewashed notions of empowerment have been supplanted by re-interpretations of gender roles and agendas. That should not be dismissed in the name of cohesion and political agency. In fact, it is the bureaucratic exercise of categorizing feminist concepts into androcentric frames of global governance and development that has resulted in their de-politicization (Jackson and Pearson, 1998; Caglar, Prügl and Zwingel, 2013).

Feminism, as a scholarship, should ignore tendencies to co-opt its diversity in favor of streamlined disciplinary foci and approaches. Instead, rooted in critical social theory and political activism, feminist scholarship should follow the example of development studies, whose core concepts of *development*, *progress*, *responsibility* and *sustainability* are consistently re-negotiated, amended, but never fully fixed, considering the complexity of development challenges, cultural sensitivities, widespread inequality and interests, and intellectual orientations of development scholars. The value of such field of development lies precisely in its ability to encapsulate diverse economic, social, cultural, anthropological, environmental and other frameworks.

Another reason why feminist scholarship must resist tendencies towards disciplinary cohesion is because it often results in co-opted, liberal feminism whereby feminist goals get reduced to merely include women in exploitative systems of capitalistic oppression (Hartsock, 2004; Collins, 2008; Hooks, 2014). Focusing mostly on issues of gender pay gap, exclusion of women from leadership positions of multinational corporations, government offices, academia, and other elite domains seems to suggest that the existing socio-economic and political systems simply need more women in leadership positions, regardless of the fact that the systems, themselves, are often incompatible with feminist concepts of collective power (ibidem). As Fouque puts it, we should not be focusing on integrative approaches to women's empowerment, rather questioning the "phallic masculine economy" (Hooks, 2014, p.8). In the field of international development, approaches that merely added gender components to existing frameworks have been supplanted with those of gender-transformative approaches, whereby gender considerations require fundamental reconceptualization of development strategies and aims: from high-level policy making to program design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation (True and Mintrom, 2001). To ensure these transformative gender approaches truly trickle down to national levels, feminist actors must insist on more gender-oriented national plans.

1.2 Towards eclectic feminist pursuits of redistribution and recognition

While distancing themselves from exclusionary and narrow second-wave literature, scholars such as Grant (1993), Young (2011), and Fraser (Fraser, 2009, 2014) warn against discounting the justified, strategic, and ultimately necessary quest for redistribution radical feminists engraved in the feminist agenda. Feminist calls for redistribution are all but obsolete. Data exemplifying economic gender inequality is effective in portraying just how much of the feminist agenda has been limited to high-level policies that lack implementation. International development studies remind us what happens when feminist strategies end at judicial reforms and policies (Caglar, Prügl and Zwingel, 2013). Unsuccessful land reform, prohibitions of female genital mutilation, forced and early marriage all prove that even drastic policy shifts are frequently not translated into effective change of rights, resources, and capacities of women, girls, and other marginalized groups (ibidem).

However, Fraser clarifies that amalgamation of feminist strategies of redistribution and recognition is mired in some of the deepest feminist paradoxes of identity and difference (2009). While redistribution often leads to a degree of essentializaton and recognition of values of gender roles as defined by androcentric frames, recognition objectives highlight specific feminist experiences, intersectional approaches, and in the case of

postmodernist thinkers, deconstruction of those very categories of gender and sex. The answer, thus, lies in avoiding overly ambitious feminist conceptualization of social justice and feminist agency and, instead, as Spivak suggests, accepting a degree of feminist essentialization, needed to strategically build solidarity platforms using pillars of fundamental joint political interests (1999). As Fraser finds: "we need to cultivate the eclectic spirit (…) of neo-pragmatism. This means adopting theoretical conceptions that permit both dereifying critique and normative critique, as well as the generation of new emancipatory significations" (Fraser in Behnabib et al., 1995, p. 166). One such solution is proposed by standpoint feminists, who insist on fundamental linkages between feminist theory and practice, where the former is consistently informed and impelled by everyday experiences of feminist struggle as key frames of feminist collective solidarity (Harding, 2004). Building on critical social theory, these feminist scholars are leaving enough space for contextualized and de-colonized interpretations of feminist empowerment and strategies (Ahmed, 1998; Mohanty, 2003).

Within this framework, feminist scholars are insisting on redefining the feminist concept of solidarity, which embraces strategic solidarity created through (as opposed to resulting from) the process of practical feminist coalitions (ibidem). This locally-rooted and contextualized understanding of feminist solidarity should be leveraged under Agenda 2030, which recognizes the role of local knowledge and national capacities. These strategic alignments are needed to capitalize upon the existing commitments of international institutions and national governments. As McRobbie warns, "much ground is lost to women when active feminism goes into abeyance" as sorely contested cultural and political victories can quickly dissipate (2011, p. 183). Agenda 2030 can offer sufficient political and social legitimacy to actively pursue clearer synergies between feminist scholarship and movements, which operationalize debates of agency and structure, combine recognition with redistribution, and effectively shift those on the margins towards the core.

2. Agenda 2030 as a new feminist battlefield

In September 2015, all United Nations (UN) Member States adopted and committed to implementing Agenda 2030, considered a global development framework of 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) linking objectives of environmental protection, social inclusion, and economic prosperity. As such, Agenda 2030 will guide efforts of virtually all governments, UN agencies, and national and international civil society actors, many of whom had participated in its elaboration (United Nations, 2015). Out of the 17 SDGs that will be pursued over the next 11 years, 12 of them have specific gender components. Moreover, SDG 5 directly addresses gender equality concerns that range from discrimination and violence against women and girls, early and forced marriage and female genital mutilation, reproductive rights and health, participation in educational and market structures, as well as empowerment of women and girls through access to new technologies and improved gender equality policies (ibidem). In this way, dual gender mainstreaming approach is employed, with gender both integrated in the majority of development efforts but also directly addressed, using a combination of rights-based discourse and strategic and outcome-oriented approach. As such, Agenda 2030 can be leveraged by feminist movements looking to institutionalize their structures, increase government accountability for feminist agendas, and strategically employ economic and political resources this framework has mobilized. At the same time, considering fragile accountability mechanisms, the need for greater national and regional support and coordination of SDG efforts, as well as translation of SDG norms, values, and objectives, feminist movements and academics can play a significant role in strengthening this global framework for international development. National civil society organizations, grassroots feminist movements, think-tanks and academics are already engaged in gender transformative work and empowerment on a local level, which is why they are vital for contextualized, nationally-adapted, and strategically viable implementation of Agenda 2030 (Caglar, Prügl and Zwingel, 2013). Feminist scholars and movements should capitalize on their competitive advantages in order to further institutionalize their efforts, normalize feminist claims in hostile environments, and ensure government accountability of social justice initiatives and commitments.

Fields of international development and feminist studies share fundamental, strategic, and normative characteristics, which makes alignment of feminist agenda with development frameworks particularly fruitful. Five core similarities that should be leveraged include the fields': (i) eclectic foundations that shape further debates; (ii) vital ties between scholarship and activism; (iii) power dynamics between national and transnational scholarship and movements; (iv) delicate balance between their rights-based and strategic outcomes; and (v) the split between policy-making and accountability, monitoring, and knowledge sharing. Throughout all of these alignments, feminist scholars and activists will need to maintain consistent vigilance in terms of positionality and

reflexivity, to avoid co-optation of effective grassroots movements and ethnocentric re-interpretation of localized gender strategies.

2.1 Valuing contentious and diverse conceptual frameworks

Much like feminism, where notions of sex and gender categories are sorely contested, international development is mired in debates about what *development* should represent (Peet and Hartwick, 2015). In both cases, ethnocentric and whitewashed streams of thought have dominated the fields, proposing androcentric Enlightenment ideals of economic development. While feminism often covets an unequivocal strategy of the field, theorizing on criteria for a "true feminist revolution", more recent development theory denies the possibility of a single idea of "development" and expresses its strategic objectives as a process rather than an end goal (Kabeer, 1994; Caglar, 2013b). In fact, scholars working on international development strategy for gender equality – gender mainstreaming – insist on shifting feminist definitions of mainstreaming as a process, instead of an outcome (Lombardo, Meier and Verloo, 2012). A framework of feminist alignment with Agenda 2030 is thus needed to break away from de-politicized, outcome-oriented and integrative gender-mainstreaming, and create strategic agendas for transformative action. Some of the foundational concepts guiding feminist-development synergies should thus acknowledge (i) the collective and strategic (rather than essentializing) feminist solidarity, (ii) the value of local knowledge and expertise; (iii) empowerment and capacity development of feminist actors, including girls, non-binary individuals, minority groups, disability advocates, and other disadvantaged groups, and (iv) the need to shift resources and opportunities to feminist scholars and movements to developing countries themselves. Such a malleable, yet inclusive, framework would need to be fully operationalized using already existing, but also innovative, tools of coordination, planning, and knowledge management and mobilization.

2.1.1 Closing the theory-practice gap

Viewing empowerment as an iterative process, development efforts tend to dedicate greater attention to strategic planning, measuring, and implementation of its efforts. Arguably, this is due to strong influences of economics and related disciplines to the monitoring and evaluation components of development planning, monitoring, and evaluation. Admittedly, feminist development scholars such as Kabeer (1994) and Rai (2004) show that these positivist interpretations of international development have resulted in androcentric and fundamentally flawed approaches to deeply structural challenges of inequality, poverty, and even economic development. Similarly, Stone problematizes quantification, enumeration, and measurement represented as "neutral" or "scientific" exercise of monitoring and evaluation, highlighting ideological, self-interested, and often implicit set of values, goals, and biases behind such phenomena (2002). As dependency scholars warn, such manipulations have been particularly devastating for operational components of international development, mired in geopolitical and economic interests, identities, values, customs, and worldviews (Amin, 2011).

Moreover, New Public Management reforms that have reduced project cycles, decimated core funding of non-profit organizations, imposed a set of outcome-based indicators for impact measurement, have all been particularly nefarious for advocacy and gender-transformative efforts (Evans and Shields, 2010). This shift is exemplified by the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which offered a reductionist approach to gender, approached development through top-bottom efforts, and failed to offer actionable tools for country-level implementation (Kabeer, 2015). Instead, Agenda 2030 is shifting the focus to nationally collected, inclusive, sex-disaggregated data for region- and country-specific indicators. While these initial steps are likely to be clumsy and unsupported (due to lack of national transparency and accountability, lack of resources and past country-level data, difficulty of comparison (to name but a few obstacles) feminist scholarship and movements should participate in setting the terms in which this data is collected, interpreted and compared. None of these requirements are new or unique to Agenda 2030. Scholars have been calling for participatory gender-transformative efforts for decades, pointing to the practical fallacies of an approach that aims to transform women's lives (for instance) without involving them in the process (Guijt and Shah, 1998; Cornwall, 2003). However, after numerous calls for increased national engagement, Agenda 2030 was elaborated in consideration with a wide range of stakeholders (Rosche, 2016).

Agenda 2030 thus legitimized already triggered shifts towards greater engagement of national civil-society organizations (CSOs). The report of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) highlights that, out of already small percentage of funding going to civil-society organizations (28 percent), only eight is directed at CSOs based in developing countries (OECD, 2016). One of the key tools of feminist alignment

with Agenda 2030 will, thus, regard more ambitious, but also more flexible and long-term funding for these organizations, able to influence local norms and contribute to lasting gender transformative changes (ibidem). Operationalizing concepts of local expertise and bottom-up empowerment will require changes in the volume and type of funding – but it is feminist groups, including grassroots movements, that must strategically leverage Agenda 2030 for funding and empowerment opportunities. Examples of similar transformations are offered by FRIDA The Young Feminist Fund, which fosters inclusive grantmaking whereby feminist movements themselves decide who will receive the funding and in what way (Frida: The Young Feminist Fund, 2015). Overall, advocating for feminist epistemology, re-politicization of gender, and feminist-led data collection and measurement of development objectives is more likely under a framework that, at least formally, prioritizes local knowledge and nationally-conceptualized frameworks.

2.1.2 Strengthening national and transnational strategic cooperation

One of the most celebrated aspects of Agenda 2030 is that all countries must commit to development efforts (Fukuda-Parr, 2016). This is the core innovation for the sector of international development, but this approach is hardly a novelty for feminist scholars and movements. Long before the #metoo movement, feminist scholars and activists have both rallied for social and political changes within their national borders, and supported movements of women around the globe, engaging in solidarity efforts, sharing tactics and knowledge, and working to alter patriarchal discourses that characterize realities around the globe (Grewal and Kaplan, 1994; Lorde, 2007). As Basu (2000) and Eichler (1991) point out, feminist transnational movements are moving away from neo-colonial idea of globalization whereby transnational approaches supplants national ones. Instead, they are building on national strategies and experiences through transnational repositories of knowledge, support, and amplification of voices of marginalized groups. Feminist movements should strongly engage in a nationally-led global development structure by leveraging Agenda 2030 to empower local feminist actors and de-colonize feminist movements from their modernizing and imperialistic tendencies.

Past critical feminist strides, such as CEDAW, achieved and coordinated on an international scale, are in fact a monument of engagement and mobilization enabled by local and national women's movement, their activism, strategic action, and political bottom-up pressures (Zwingel, 2013). In fact, once strategies of gender mainstreaming have been institutionalized, international actors and national machineries have largely ignored women's movements, which has eventually led to underwhelming implementation of those policies and concepts (ibidem). Faced with such limited progress on gender equality, one should acknowledge that gender transformation must begin with the engagement of local movements, relying upon regional and global feminist networks.

Such an engagement will require inclusive and flexible funding that allows for capacity and institutional development of civil society organizations and movements (OECD, 2016), Agenda 2030 can be leveraged by global feminist movements and scholars to insist on national prioritization of gender-specific indicators and data. So far, the SDG Gender Index, although launched in 2018 by a UK-based organization Equal Measures 2030, has offered optimistic approaches to tools and platforms for measuring gender efforts. The SDG Gender Index foresees data collection in consultation with local experts (which should not be the end goal but is an improvement from top-bottom global initiatives alone), measures both gender outputs (e.g. gender equality in terms of political participation) and inputs (e.g. gender transformative policies) and informs both strategic and rights-based approaches to gender mainstreaming (Equal Measures 2030, 2018). This improved frameworks certainly leaves room for national accountability mechanisms but also global initiatives, donors, and partners.

2.1.3 Reconciling rights-based and instrumental objectives

Considering increasingly frequent tendencies to instrumentalize feminist objectives and represent gender equality as a "quick fix" for development (Denney, 2015), Agenda 2030 has been especially lauded for its rights-based approach (Koehler, 2016). As Carella and Ackerly note, the rights-based approach emphases processes, rather than outcomes, and focuses on the empowerment of local actors (2017). By framing gender efforts as human rights issues, Agenda 2030 is offering enough space for feminist actors to re-politicize gender and feminist agency, pointing to the power mechanisms and systematic exploitations (ibidem).

However, the text of numerous SDGs frames gender equality as a requisite for development as a whole, pointing to economic, social, and environmental benefits of empowerment of women and girls. This neoliberal influence is evident in the text of Agenda 2030, which tends to conflate gender with the social category of women and

exclude references to non-binary individuals as well as marginalized groups based on religion, class, race, ethnicity, and/or ability (Mills, 2015). However, even critics of Agenda 2030 point to the fact that crafting a document to which all UN member states are able to commit meant employing at times broad categories of language. For Goetz and Jenkins, broad rights-based language of Agenda 2030, along with references to inclusivity of SDGs, indeed leaves enough space for leveraging this framework to empower non-binary individuals, address ableism, and confront instances of systematic marginalization (2016).

Nevertheless, feminist scholars and movements should carefully navigate rights-based discourses and narratives, particularly when amalgamated with neo-liberal focus on the private sector. First of all, the unproblematized framing of feminist agendas as human rights issues ignores both androcentric, geopolitical, and ethnocentric iterations of human rights (Cornwall and Nyamu-Musembi, 2004). As Young (2011) and Fraser (1990) have noted, the human rights approach, and its dogma of universality, have been used to justify and deny androcentric and systematically oppressive paradigms and social states. Furthermore, Grewal further highlights how the human rights agenda has been used to orientalise developing countries, cultural practices, and that it is being used, to this day, to represent women as a consistent, homogenous category with unidirectional interests, challenges, and objectives (1999). Therefore, she suggests moving beyond human rights discourses and, instead, focusing on social justice efforts, which transcends universalistic rules and proposes a more contextualized, strategic platform for feminist engagement (ibidem). To shift international and national efforts towards such agendas, significant coordination will be required.

2.1.4 Boosting accountability and knowledge sharing

Feminist critical theories, in particular, can be crucial for re-conceptualizing notions of equality, inclusion, and justice that Agenda 2030 evokes in its motto “Leave No One Behind”. Vague calls for inclusion of Agenda 2030 must be strengthened on a national level, working with context-specific power dynamics and addressing practical needs of marginalized individuals and communities. In fact, feminist notion of a more collective power, based on empowerment of subaltern voices is needed from the global SDG framework. Country-led focus of Agenda 2030 leaves space for national scholars, individual researchers, consortia, non-government organizations, and other actors to institutionalize their efforts and seek resources to generate contextualized, sex-disaggregated, and independent data. As Zwingel reminds us, the implementation of gender-specific policies and frameworks depends on continuous processes of norm translation and interpretation (2013). Feminist actors around the globe, therefore, represent the right actors to reposition and frame their work within Agenda 2030 and thus (i) control the narrative on development concepts including those of gender, and (ii) seek financial and institutional empowerment conferred to those implementing the global agenda. International actors such as UN agencies and international NGOs also represent key avenues of empowerment, as SDGs have shifted their mandates towards increasing capacities of national actors, feminists included.

Feminist scholars, and even more so, feminist movements, can leverage its rather strong tradition of knowledge sharing as a vehicle of strategic feminist solidarity, nationally and transnationally. Feminist movements have a long tradition of capacity development, coordinated advocacy, and solidarity, and feminist care (Moghadam, 2005). These transnational linkages and synergies can ensure feminist accountability systems are in place in order to ensure national accountability, in light of loosely defined, highly bureaucratic, government’s national voluntary reviews that are generally written with little inclusion of the civil society (Rudge, Reed and Martinez-Schutt, 2018).

3. Conclusion: Aligning feminist scholarship and activism with Agenda 2030

As argued above, feminist outcomes are central to the current development agenda. Feminist movements can build on Agenda 2030 to leverage their efforts, and they can act as watchdogs of national government and international actors implementing SDG 5, as well as mainstreaming gender throughout the framework. As Agenda 2030 recognizes the value of contextualized and sustainable solutions, national civil society actors can act as policy influencers, but also key actors in data generation and reporting on gender-based outcomes, thus fundamentally reinforcing the progress on SDGs as a whole.

With increased capacity, efforts and responsibilities of feminist scholars and movements should come funding. While it is unlikely to expect an automatic transfer of authority and funding to national CSOs, feminist, NGOs, researchers and think-tanks, should be looking at Agenda 2030 as an avenue of economic empowerment. Regrettably, Addis Ababa Action Agenda (AAAA) on Financing for Development has not allocated additional

development funding to support Agenda 2030 (UN, 2015). However, feminist organizations can still engage in a dialogue with governments, international donors, and agencies on programme design, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of gender mainstreaming activities (Caglar, 2013a; True and Parisi, 2013). In fact, donor institutions have recognized the importance local grassroots movements and their innovative approaches, national think-tanks and NGOs working in their specific contexts (OECD, 2016; Sida, 2016).

Moreover, even if all else fails, the change in discourse towards inclusive development efforts should be leveraged to strengthen the overall mandate of national and local actors working in this area. Policy-related discourses often create a multitude of interpretations about problem definition, which holds already ingrained discourse about problem cause, actors, as well as possible solutions (Bacchi, 2009; Lombardo, Meier and Verloo, 2017). Discourses created by Agenda 2030 should, thus, be continuously re-examined based on local interpretations, as well as leveraged to institutionalize gender transformative objectives in more mainstream national development priorities.

As previously recognized, Agenda 2030 does not explicitly address diversity and marginalized groups (Stuart and Woodroffe, 2016) and even its rights-based approach should be carefully examined for ethnocentric and androcentric bias. However, building on the language of Agenda 2030, feminist actors can influence norm translation, insisting on the value of contextualized, bottom-up gender transformations. Similarly, by pressuring governments to uphold their gender-transformative commitments, by monitoring and analyzing policy changes, by evaluating gender-transformative work of international actors and sharing data about SDG efforts within each country, feminist actors can contribute to gender-transformative approaches in the upcoming 12 years of international development. This will require reflexivity, regular re-adjustments and re-evaluations of feminist agendas, and de-colonized dialogues within transnational feminist movements.

By recognizing both development and feminist objectives as a process of constant reinterpretation, re-invention, amelioration towards a more equitable, just, and inclusive future, feminist movements and scholars can strongly position their work as that of human rights advocates and strengthen national and international pillars of an imperfect, but the most inclusive and holistic, international development so far. In the words of Angela Y. Davis, despite bleak forecasts of both feminist and development future, "we have [no] alternative other than remaining optimistic. Optimism is an absolute necessity, even if it's only optimism of the will as Gramsci said, and pessimism of the intellect" (Davis 2016, p.49).

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The Spectrum of Fatherhood in Latin American men

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Abstract: Latin America is a region in which families have adapted to a restructuring of their contexts and the evolution of the economy, including the diversification of activities that were previously considered strictly the domain of either men or women. On the one hand, the percentage of women who have precariously integrated themselves into the labour market has increased. Consequently, these women have a double workday. Meanwhile, the men haven't necessarily integrated themselves into the sphere of unpaid domestic labour. Fathers, to some extent, have become involved in the care of their children, albeit in an uncomfortable manner. Taking into consideration that public policies and practices oriented toward fatherhood are emerging, it seems there is an invisible yet palpable wave that is upsetting the definitions of fatherhood in Latin America, where the monolithic figure of the father is, in some cases, a mere memory, now being replaced by newer models of paternity. These are manifesting due to government promotion, or in response to contextual needs. The aim of this work is to examine the following question: How have the different versions of fatherhood in Latin America changed? To this end, texts pertaining to the issue were reviewed through the lens of gender and the study of masculinities. As a result, the text focuses on the contemporary currents through which the forms of fatherhood, their characteristics, and their implications have been framed. This work can be useful to students, researchers, or professionals in the social sciences who are interested in interrogating the subjects of fatherhood and masculinity in Latin America, either to contrast them with other regions, or to further relevant proposals.

Keywords: fatherhoods, Latin America, masculinities, new fatherhoods, emerging fatherhoods

1. Introduction

When it comes to Latin America, it seems likely that the reader has, on more than one occasion, encountered information suggesting significant inequalities in a context of violence and poverty. However, it is also possible that the reader has an idea of the great diversity and cultural richness that help to define the region. With these ideas in mind, this paper seeks to affirm that, when considering the forms of fatherhood, we must take into account both the precariousness and the multiculturalism in which they unfold.

We will present, in broad strokes, the way in which researchers have approached the study of fatherhood through the frame of forms of masculinity. With respect to studies of the forms of masculinity, we will make reference to the efforts that deal with the gender-oriented perspective raised by different modes of feminism (Núñez, 2016), which have the purpose of promoting social change, dismantling the universal perspective of the male, decontextualizing it, limiting it, and providing evidence of the privileges that have been socially constructed as natural (Ramírez, 2012). Although forms of masculinity are not the point of this work, we will note that fatherhood turns out to be a central axis of masculine identity, which is externalised through the various modes in which this role is exercised (Fuller, 2000; Montesinos, 2002).

The objective of this work is to describe how fatherhood has changed in Latin America. In this regard, it is important to clarify that throughout this document, we use the plural term 'fatherhoods.' This is wholly intentional, as it assumes that the meanings of being a man and a father change over time (Lugo, 2017).

In order to fulfil this objective, the methodological process included a search for Latin American texts that mainly focused on three subjects. We first looked for descriptions of the different fatherhoods using categories and typologies. Next, we sought out works that investigated the differences between traditional fatherhoods and emerging fatherhoods. Finally, we looked for texts emphasizing the characteristics of fatherhoods with a clear orientation toward gender equality and masculinities. Afterwards, we proceeded to seek out similarities and differences among the works, as well as identifying the authorship (determining whether the works were produced by researchers, research groups, civil organizations, or governments). Finally, we identified analytical entry points that helped us to formulate proposals for change in Latin American fatherhoods through the results and conclusions of the authors we reviewed.

The work is structured in four parts. Firstly, we will address the different ways in which fatherhood can be understood and defined. The second section describes some of the forms in which fatherhood is expressed

throughout Latin America. Then, we will reflect on new and emerging fatherhoods, before ending with a discussion section and conclusions.

2. Defining the fatherhoods

This section aims to provide an inclusive overview of the understanding of fatherhoods. It is tempting to assume that the concept is universal and univocal because of its common and everyday use in our discourse. To wilfully continue to promote this notion would be inconsistent with the purpose of the work itself.

To be sure, when trying to define fatherhoods, we will encounter motherhoods, sometime as exclusive concepts, where being a father is defined as not equal to being a mother, as polar dyads of the masculine and feminine in an asymmetrical bond, with both defined by the biological potentiality of reproduction. By contrast, Bonino (2003) proposes that fatherhood and motherhood are cultural constructions, roles that for centuries have been attributed to men and women. Palomar (2005) proposes them as multi-determinate cultural practices that depend on the norms and needs of social groups at a given historical moment.

In this contemporary historical context, the question is: What are our needs and expectations regarding fatherhoods? The answers to this question can be found in the definitions supplied by international organisations, civil organisations, and groups of experts. In 2002, the Economic Commission for Latin American and the Caribbean (ECLAC) defined fatherhood as a direct commitment by fathers to their children, regardless of the existing arrangement with the mother. In this definition, we find an attempt to highlight the indissolubility of the paternal bond.

Aguayo et al. (2017) affirm that biological parents are not the only kinds of parents; adoptive fathers also qualify, whether or not they reside with their sons or daughters. Also qualifying are social fathers (De Keijzer, 1998) and stepfathers, provided that they fulfil the functions of permanent care—for example, uncles, brothers, grandfathers, or family friends.

In short, the proposed concept of fatherhoods extends beyond a man's biological capacity for production. It includes social bonds that are not necessarily familial in nature, and covers practices broader than material protection and provision. The following section will deal with this subject in greater depth.

3. A brief overview of fatherhoods in Latin America

Building on the previous section, we can say that fatherhoods are socio-historical constructions which encompass, in addition to biological qualities, the social expectations placed fathers—that is, the expectations that on the one hand describe the present, and on the other, possess a gradual and transformational potential with regard to the social bonds surrounding fatherhoods, whether intentional or not.

It should be clarified that the particularities of the situations of each sector, region, set of customs, age group, and economic status, among other characteristics, make fatherhood multiform (Bonino, 2003) and difficult to classify. Consequently, we will present a journey that will help us to understand the difference among the various regions.

The reference for this section will be De Keijzer (1998), whose work in Mexico will provide a foundation for structuring the following paragraphs. Of course, we will encounter Latin American authors who describe similar modalities in their own countries. These will be cited as the reading progresses.

First, we examine the idea of traditional fatherhood. The father is a man who acts as an authority, biological procreator, protector, and provider of material resources (Fuller, 2000; Tena & Jiménez, 2008). His shadow extends over the entire family, exercising an unquestioned and distant dominion. He is described as a figure who believes showing affection to his children means undermining his authority.

Closely related to this description are absent fatherhoods—a term that refers to more than just physical distance. We encounter fugitive fathers, men who abandon the relationship in the event of an unwanted pregnancy. There are also divorced fathers, who are potentially absent given that contact with their children usually depends on an arrangement with the mother. In some cases, they will cover shifts on weekends and evenings. In other cases, they lose contact with the mother and children altogether.

Migrant fatherhoods also represent part-time forms of the concept, in which physical access in generally possible only for short periods of time. Authority is exercised through the mother, to whom has been delegated the overseeing of compliance with rules imposed by the father (Tena & Jiménez, 2008). This delegation is not exclusive to migrant fatherhoods; it can occur in any situation wherein the father is absent.

Szil (2008) speaks of a functional absence, in which the father participates and shows affection without necessarily assuming an equitable share of the housework or childrearing. Generally, the father does not dedicate additional time specifically devoted to his children, but is present when free from work-related commitment, even if the mother also works (Rojas, 2008).

To this end, some authors (Palma, 1990; Montecino, 2017) point out that the process of miscegenation in Latin America has ingrained in some men the importance of procreating, while at the same time deemphasising emotional attachment. Fathers become figures who, although absent, command an almost mythological admiration in the eyes of their children. For example, Tena and Jiménez (2008) point out that young people who criticise their fathers' distance, coldness, and violence, also remember their upbringings and thank their fathers for their current achievements, while still expressing a desire to be different from them. In part, it is this desire for change that gives rise to the modifications to the exercise of fatherhood already being observed, with the dominant stereotypes of masculinity and fatherhood.

It is important to recognise that changes have also arisen for reasons other than the desires and expectations of the population. The processes of democratisation demand the elimination of violence and the promotion of equality and equity. As a result, laws and international agreements favour the well-being of women, children, and, consequently, men. In the following section, we examine how social expectations and mobilisations manifest in evolving fatherhoods.

4. Emerging fatherhoods

Reflections on emerging fatherhoods have taken place simultaneously throughout Latin America. Countries such as Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, Peru, Colombia, and Mexico have produced novel theoretical perspectives for our consideration (Aguayo et al., 2017). Two of these constructs are particularly noteworthy: the changes in gender relations and the diversity of families (De Keijzer, 2006; Monroy, 2014), which go hand in hand with changes in the economy, the inclusion of women in the workforce, the rise of feminist movements, the precariousness of employment, and increased life expectancy, among other factors.

Emerging fatherhoods are spaces of reconfiguration (Lugo, 2017) towards what ends we still don't know. What we do know is that, as they emerge, the new fatherhoods also move away from traditional fatherhoods. It is very possible that proposals toward an ideal of more democratic, affectionate, and involved fatherhoods exist in constant feedback with the models of emerging fatherhoods already observed in the men of today. The same is true of future and present fatherhoods, passing through neo-patriarchal fatherhoods and arriving at peripheral fatherhoods (Rebolledo, 2008). All of these are based on greater or lesser involvement in the tasks of raising and caring for children, gradually abandoning traditional attitudes toward the exercise of patriarchal power.

In Latin America, we find two main conceptual proposals based on the emergent circumstances of fatherhoods, which describe an ideal concept of a new fatherhood: responsible fatherhoods and active fatherhoods. The two have similarities, but the conceptual implications of their respective names tell us something about their differences.

Responsible fatherhoods are the expression of the possibility of consciously choosing the number of children one wishes to have, providing said children with sufficient resources, and promoting favourable environments (ECLAC, 2002). The notion of responsibility is the key factor in this definition, since it refers to the need for men to assume the consequences for their reproductive and sexual behaviours, legally recognising the children conceived.

Active fatherhoods focus on the role and presence of fathers in a physical and active way in the lives of their children. It means that the fathers are co-responsible participants in the daily upbringing of the children, assuming a share of the domestic and childrearing tasks equal to that of their partners (Aguayo & Kimelman, 2015). Not only does this construction emphasise emotional and unconditional interaction with one's children,

it also places attention squarely on maintenance-related tasks such as dressing them, feeding them, washing their clothes, and so on.

Both approaches agree that men should take part in the lives of their children even before they are born, via involvement in pre- and perinatal care of both the mother and the baby. Another common factor is the idea that child care and parenting must be shared in a co-responsible manner. Co-responsibility implies an equal and equitable distribution of the tasks pertaining to the maintenance of family life and the family space. In addition to economic contributions, fathers must guarantee that their children have access to health care and education.

In both perspectives, affection and warmth through play and contact are necessary for the children acquisition of beneficial social and motor skills. Both perspectives agree that fatherhood should serve as an example of equality and respect with regard to daily care and activities. In this regard, neither of the two positions addresses the issue of violence. Active fatherhoods imply the need for rearing children respectfully and treating them well, obviating the absence of violence in the children's upbringing. Responsible fatherhoods do not cover the subject explicitly; they take it for granted. Although the two proposals focus of the early lives of children, only the active fatherhood concept emphasizes that participation is necessary at every stage of a child's lives, even when he or she is older.

In order to understand these initiatives, it is a good idea to consider the times in which they were conceived. The first proposal, responsible fatherhoods, emerged in the 1990s and was promoted mainly by health institutions. It responds to a concern on the part of international organisations pertaining to the provision of well-being during childhood. Attention is paid to sexual and reproductive indicators in which men are not generally taken into account, in addition to the concern for the conditions of precariousness and abandonment in which some children live. For this reason, the term responsible is used in order to characterise fathers as participants in their actions and the consequences of same.

Concepts which exist beyond the responsibility of procreation, such as affection, education, and involvement, soon emerged. In response to the responsible fatherhood approach, civil organisations, academia, and, more recently, national governments promoted active fatherhoods. These do not exist in opposition to responsible fatherhoods, but rather integrate the psychosocial well-being of both the child and the father.

With the conclusion of this section, the reader is invited to question the models described above. Naturally, there will be questions: Are there better proposals? Is it true that the trend is actually moving toward participatory and affectionate fatherhoods? Why would men be willing to change, and what would this change entail? In the next section, we will attempt to answer some of these questions and open the space for reflection.

5. Final reflections

Beyond a documentary review, this work encourages the reader to question what is written and to contrast it with his or her own contexts. It is true that there are currently more proposals that focus on fatherhoods than we can explore here. We recognise that the works cited are almost exclusively related to Westernised environments, even if they focus on Latin America. In fact, it is very likely that more inclusive and diversity-conscious perspectives are currently developing, perspectives which account for factors like fatherhoods in situations where there is a disability, sexual diversity, and the particularities of indigenous peoples.

Returning to the second question of the previous section, evidence indicates that in many areas, the trend is changing to various degrees to favour fatherhoods with greater affective interaction and involvement in parenting. It would be idealistic to think that changes in the social bonds surrounding fatherhoods are the exclusive products of feminist movements, studies of masculinities, or the very questioning of our identities. Changes in gender relations and activities expected of both men and women are largely due to economic and social transformations (Franzoni, 2014). As such, it would be logical to investigate these changes in men of different socio-economic backgrounds.

For example, in Latin America, a consequence of austerity policies is the widening of the socioeconomic gaps between the different social classes. These gaps are reflected in the precariousness of employment, health, and education, which in turn exacerbate gender inequality. The precariousness of employment, for example, has prompted some men to become involved in household and childcare tasks due to the fact that they can no

longer count on the unpaid labour of women, who now spend more time working outside the home. Although men have become more involved in domestic life, this does not necessarily mean that elements of their masculinity—for instance, violent behaviour toward women and children—are modified. As a matter of fact, another feature of the region stems from the observation of violence as experienced in social contexts, which is then reproduced in private life, sometimes as domestic violence and the damaging of the father–child relationship. It is still common in some regions of Latin America to hear of discipline rooted in abuse. This is because it remains a common practice and is even validated in some contexts.

There are works that suggest that the changes are related to the socio-economic strata and the education of the mother and father, as well as to generational changes (Núñez, 2013; Franzoni, 2014). And all of them observe a greater inclusion of more affective—though not necessarily more egalitarian—forms of fatherhood.

Both young fathers and older fathers from working-class background hew closer to the traditional model of fatherhood, disciplining their children with scoldings and even beatings (Rojas, 2008). These fathers hold that childcare tasks are primarily the responsibility of the mother, although in the case of the youngest fathers, they recognise that due to economic circumstance they must also perform some domestic tasks (Rojas, 2008). Meanwhile, young middle-class fathers are more open to dialogue and negotiation with their partners in terms of parenting, and assume a more equal share of household chores (Rojas, 2008; Franzoni, 2014).

For upper-class fathers, it is important to promote children's personal and economic autonomy, and to maintain more equal relationships among the family members (Franzoni, 2014). Some childcare and nurturing tasks are delegated to third parties. These third parties are paid to perform these tasks, and are usually women.

With this, the central question of this work—how have the fatherhoods of Latin America changed?—is answered. The answer is that they have changed unevenly, gradually, and slowly (Rojas, 2008, Franzoni, 2014), depending on generations, economic environments, and education levels. However, the quality of the conditions of this change speak to an imbalance of power.

It is true that there are men whose empathic potential impels them to establish important affective bonds with their children (De Keijzer, 1998). However, this affective potential is not the only thing required for the construction of more egalitarian relationships. There is also a need for greater involvement in the tasks of household care and the preservation of the children's well-being in all stages of their lives, particularly in the early years (Aguayo et al., 2017).

This leads us to our final two questions: Why would men be willing to change, and what does this change entail? Generally speaking, whether fathers are willing or not, these changes in family dynamics, the precarity of living conditions, and the economy have occurred gradually, and their adaptation in response to these changes has also been slow, but visible.

One approach to the implications of these changes can be found in the way fathers feel, in how they express the fact that they can no longer—or no longer want to—be the same as their grandparents or parents were. This is an indicator of profound cultural change, whereby fathers experience greater difficulty than women in assuming a more equitable commitment (Montesinos, 2002).

Sometimes, health can also be a factor, due to social changes, the performance of parental duties, job insecurity, and economic demands. In response to these pressures, some fathers experience a loss of sexual desire, a feeling of being defeated, cardiovascular conditions, and depression (Tena, 2007; Figueroa, 2014).

Taking into account the different perspectives on the study of fatherhoods, it has been concluded that there is an imbalance or sense of discomfort produced by the clash between traditional masculinity and expectations regarding new ways of expressing forms of masculinity (Rocha & Lozano, 2016). Part of this understanding is the fact that women and men, particularly the latter, encounter a gap between fathers refusing or not wanting to renounce the authority of the father figure, and wanting to avoid the authoritarian practices that can lead to conflict and violent situations within the family. One source of discomfort relates to the introjection of masculinity through the devaluation of the other—that is, other men, women, and children (Montesinos, 2002). This devaluation results in violent behaviour.

In this regard, the way in which traditional fatherhood is exercised also carries implications in terms of violent behaviours in child rearing, which exists in opposition to the proposals of emerging fatherhoods that demand nonviolent upbringings. When these perspectives collide, it can create tensions within the very construction of fatherhood. In addition to this, there are pressures created by the social context for a shift to more democratic scenarios of parenting practices without the opportunity for formal training or education toward these ends.

This last idea brings us to our conclusion. Firstly, there is an invalidation on the part of a culture that asks for more nurturing and affectionate fathers while at the same time asking for good providers who do not lose control of their families or fail as protectors. At times, fathers are being reprimanded for both being and not being what is expected of them. It is not that being affectionate and being a provider exist in opposition, but rather that for these two conditions both to occur in an adequate fashion will take time—along with proper regulations for new families and a general awareness on the part of governments, markets, and society.

The new ideals of fatherhood do not exist separately from the new forms of exercising motherhood; both are predicated on the recognition of fairness and equality in the rights of women and men (Bonino, 2003). Therefore, studies of masculinities specify that it is necessary for men to be seen as both allies and key actors (Nascimento & Segundo, 2011). Although it may seem that throughout the work this is posited as being in opposition to the providing and protective aspects of fatherhoods, there is no desire to deny these conditions. Rather, we aim to criticise their obligatory nature in conditions under which the role cannot always be fulfilled. That being said, it is possible to provide affectionate care and be responsible while also practising greater equality.

We can also think of implications that, rather than producing discomfort, validate an affectionate approach with children, emotional availability, and the assumption of domestic tasks as positive experiences and as an exercise one's rights as a father. This means making use of the rights conferred through the birth or adoption of one's children. The point is that the expression of the different fatherhoods is not an experience of suffering, but rather of liberation.

Fatherhoods are not contemplative lifestyles. They require actions, behaviours, and in many cases, profound and multifaceted reflection that ranges from fathers' own felt needs to the work of those who study fatherhoods to those who propose initiatives that manifest in the form of social policy.

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Threats for Women in Cyberspace: Be Protected Using Internet

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Abstract: Often, women are vulnerable in their daily lives, so many activists nowadays are trying to influence the society in order to understand how to deal with different situations and how to deal with women in those situations. However, it should not be forgotten that additional threats and problems appeared with the advent of technology. It's hard to trace criminals and perpetrators in cyberspace, because there is no border here, and it takes just a few clicks to reach the victim. On a daily basis using the Internet, various websites and social networks are faced with various threats, such as cyberbullying, sexting, bossing, etc. Especially vulnerable are women here. Often women are shy to reveal to others that there is something bad or has already occurred, they do not want to be publicly embarrassed, so still a very large number of women who are subject to attacks in cyberspace are unidentified. The author wants to see various cyber threats and crimes happening in the Internet environment both in the world and in Europe. Preventive measures that will allow women and Internet users to feel safe in this environment will also be addressed. The article is to present the main threats to the Internet among women and to offer opportunities for how to be safe. The main tasks are to identify among all threats in cyberspace direct threats against women, to find the opportunity to protect women and raise their awareness of issues. The paper mainly uses empirical methods, as well as analysis of literature and scientific research, legal aspects of different countries. The results can be used both theoretically and practically. They will help women around the world become aware of the dangers of cyberspace and protect themselves.

Keywords: cyberspace, cybercrime, women protection

1. Threats in the cyberspace

The Internet today has become an integral part of the lives of people of any age and gender. It can serve in good. With the help of the Network, people can communicate, have fun, surf for the right information, and even make money. However, the Internet is known and the mass of negative manifestations. They apply to both children and adults, women and men. There are certain dangers on the Internet.

Unwanted content, violence, pornography, obsessive communication can negatively affect the psyche. Also, a long stay in front of the computer affects the physical condition of the body. It is necessary to learn in more detail how not to become addicted to virtual reality and to protect yourself from the negative effects of the World Wide Web.

The author points out, that many older people do not understand what is interesting on the Internet. However, there is a tendency that grandparents begin to actively use the advantages of the Network. It is the Internet that allows them to communicate with friends and relatives who are currently in another city or even a country. On the Internet anyone can find almost all interesting information. It should be stressed out that the games of the older generation cannot remain indifferent. Young people are worried that their parents and grandparents can become victims of scammers using the Internet.

The author wants to explain, that a lot of adult Internet users are afraid that their computer will be affected by a malicious virus. Therefore, people are afraid to open unknown letters, messages. They do not go to sites with advertising and take other similar actions. As well adult Internet users are afraid of spying on them using the Web. And people believe that there is a real threat to lose a certain amount of money. Especially about this experiencing the younger generation. They believe that their older relatives may, through ignorance or inexperience, become victims of fraudsters by sending real money to an account of an unknown company. Also, children show carelessness. It is for this reason that the Internet poses more threats to them.

The author of the paper intends, that the danger of the Internet to a person can be significant if elementary safety standards are not followed. And some adverse factors when working with the Network may occur regardless of age. Both adults and the younger generation may become addicted to virtual reality. Today, there are many games, platforms for communication, etc. They may seem more interesting, brighter than ordinary life. Therefore, adults and children can sit for hours at the monitor of a computer or laptop. At the same time, development in the real world can be inhibited. Unfavorable dating can trap both adults and children. Strangely enough, but adults as trustfully can make appointments with strangers, as well as children. Some scammers can

take advantage of this. Another form of danger that may lie in the virtual reality of both adults and children is harassment using the Internet. Confidential information, insults can significantly affect the emotional state of a person. At any age, such actions can lead to a breakdown. No matter how old you are, you need to be careful in communication, do not open confidential information to the interlocutor.

As it is already figured out, the Internet is a place where everyone can get very easily. Moreover, this one can also put everything he wants on the Web. It is impossible to control, it is impossible to look at everything, it is almost impossible to catch by the hand. And, unfortunately, there are "clever men" who are entertained by doing nasty things to the maximum number of people. It is these “geniuses” who write virus programs. The author wants to show, that the Internet have no boards and a victim and a criminal can be in different countries with different legislation and level of knowledge. According to Goodman et al. the Internet is the largest single component of cyberspace, with a presence in over 200 countries and something approaching a billion users (Goodman et al., 2006).

The author of the work points out that very many dangers on the Internet do not spare anyone, but it is necessary to understand that many cybercrimes are aimed specifically at women of different ages. The author believes that it is important to identify this group separately and to consider, what dangers the women may face in cyberspace.

2. Threats for women in cyberspace

Next the author of the paper wants to indicate precisely the dangers that occur in online broadcasting among women. As it is mentioned in the European Institute of Gender Equality that despite the lack of data, EU estimates show that one in ten women have experienced some form of cyber violence since the age of 15.

Experts warn us not to think of cybercrime as a single phenomenon of real forms of violence. Women and girls who are sexually harassed, harassed or abused in a "closed", intimate partnership are often the victims of the same person's online violence. Like all forms of violence, violence against cybercrime has a strong impact on the lives of victims and occurs in many ways.

For example, cyber stalking refers to a person who sends unsolicited emails again. People who are online or unwilling are harassed. One of the most disturbing forms of pornography is that it is often a partner. This means posting or distributing sexually explicit images or videos online without personal permission. Studies have shown that up to 90% of pornography, which is not unanimous.

The EU does not yet have a common approach or even a common definition of cyber security, which means that each country defines and penalizes it differently. Some do not even regard it as a crime. In addition, many cases of violence in cybernetics are not reported to the police. In cases where victims report cybercrime, the police and the judiciary can perceive it as seriously as real violent incidents. All this leads to a lack of data and a lack of comparable statistics at EU level, which means that we cannot show the types of decision-makers how often this happens. This is a serious concern, because it means that victims often have to deal with inadequate or even zero protection.

Gender-based violence in the World Wide Web takes many forms, such as abuse exerted by a partner using technology, sexual aggression and rape when information communication technologies are used to monitor and control women's activities, sexist violence culturally condoned when technologies serve as a tool to excuse, accept and perpetuate violence against women and violence addressed at oppressed individuals because of their sexual identity (Fialova & Fascendini, 2011).

In order to better investigate this growing problem, EIGE (European Institute of Gender Equality) has published a document focusing on the need for gender-disaggregated data on cybercrime. They found that while cyber-bullying violence against women and girls has a different impact on men and boys, research does not want to distinguish between women and men, victims or perpetrators. The author wants to share the results of EIGE research.

This report is based on interviews with 42,000 women across the 28 Member States of the European Union (EU). It shows that violence against women, and specifically gender-based violence that disproportionately affects women, is an extensive human rights abuse that the EU cannot afford to overlook.

The report has a lot of useful information that should be more promoted on the Internet for women to read and understand the importance of the problem. But the author wants to highlight the main findings of EIGE report:

Extent of the problem

- An estimated 13 million women in the EU have experienced physical violence in the course of 12 months before the survey interviews.
- An estimated 3.7 million women in the EU have experienced sexual violence in the course of 12 months before the survey interviews.

Overall prevalence of physical and sexual violence

- One in three women (33 %) has experienced physical and/or sexual violence since she was 15 years old.
- Some 8 % of women have experienced physical and/or sexual violence in the 12 months before the survey interview.
- Out of all women who have a (current or previous) partner, 22 % have experienced physical and/or sexual violence by a partner since the age of 15.

Characteristics of physical violence

- Some 31 % of women have experienced one or more acts of physical violence since the age of 15. While women are most likely to indicate that they were pushed or shoved, excluding this form of violence has only a limited effect on the overall prevalence of physical violence, bringing it down from 31 % to 25 %. This result reflects the fact that many women who say they have been pushed or shoved have also experienced other forms of physical violence.

Characteristics of sexual violence

- In total, 11 % of women have experienced some form of sexual violence since they were 15 years old, either by a partner or some other person.

Details of intimate partner violence

- One third of victims (34 %) of physical violence by a previous partner experienced four or more different forms of physical violence.
- Whereas in most cases violence by a previous partner occurred during the relationship, one in six women (16 %) who has been victimised by a previous partner experienced violence after the relationship had broken up.

Details of non-partner violence

- One in five women (22%) has experienced physical violence by someone other than their partner since the age of 15.

The author believes that such statistics are devastating, as much of this kind of crimes against women takes place in the Internet space.

In the same report there are described cyberharassment — this is harassment, which involves usage of the Internet, email or Cell phones. In this context, the following three elements of the survey can be considered as cybercrime:

- Sending emails, text messages (SMS) or chat messages that are offensive or threatening;
- publication of offensive comments about the respondent on the Internet;
- exchange of intimate photos or video clips of the defendant, Internet or mobile phone.

According to the FRA (The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights) survey, 5% of women in the EU have experienced one or more forms of cybercrime since 15 and 2% have experienced it 12 months before the survey.

Also, cyberharassment means: receiving unwanted, offensive, sexually explicit emails or SMS messages; inappropriate, offensive advances on social networking websites or in internet chat rooms.

The observed differences in the prevalence of cyberharassment across age groups is likely to be at least partly related to the fact that younger women and their male peers use the internet more actively than older women do. Although not directly comparable, Eurostat Information Society statistics show that the proportion of individuals aged 55 to 74 years using social networks stands at 11 %, in contrast to the 80 % recorded for those aged 16 to 24 years. Statistics from the UN Economic Commission for Europe indicate that 93 % of 10 women aged 16 to 24 years in the EU use the internet at least once a week, as do 76 % of women aged 25 to 54 years and 35 % of women aged 55 to 74 years. Younger women are, thus, more active on the internet, including on social networking sites, and are therefore also more exposed to unwanted and inappropriate advances online. (United Nations)

However, according to a study by the PNP Anti-Cybercrime Group (ACG), online harassment has taken. It was reported that cases related to online harassment rose from 53 cases in 2013 to 800 cases in 2016 – a 70% increase. As well as, the ACG also mentioned that cases of cyberbullying in 2016 have increased by 70.74 from 2015. A majority of the cases involved online libel – 498 such cases, an increase of 60.12 % compared to the previous year's 311 cases. Next is online threats which increased by 96.22 %, 106 cases (2015) to 2018 last year (2017). Cases of unjust vexation spiked by 39.39 %, from 33 (2015) to 46 last year (2017) (Ofianga, 2018).

The author emphasizes that often it is young women who are exposed to hazards in cyberspace. This is one of the conclusions after the statistical data and theoretical analysis.

On the Internet, women often also face sexting that can be understood simply as sending or inserting sexually suggestive images, including nude or bold photos using mobile phones or the Internet (Coopera et al., 2016). However, given the wide and varied definitions of work, there were significant social and legal implications for sexual behaviour (Drouin et al., 2013)

Girls have more negative sexual experiences. Although in some cases, girls undoubtedly agree to accept and send self-employed sexual images, this does not mean that the activity always takes place under non-coercive conditions (Hasinoff, 2013). Many women not only find that the potential negative consequences of sex tourism (Samini & Alderson, 2014) but may also be vulnerable to sexual harassment online and offline, as men are likely to force or impress upon girls (Walker et al., 2013). The adolescent's choice of expressing his gender and sexual identity takes place in a social context.

The author of the work is confident that it is important to identify the problem and look for its solutions both in international laws and in each one of us. It is necessary to obtain information and be able to analyze it in order to rely not only on the forces of the law, but also on oneself.

3. Women protection on the internet

The author of the paper finds out some examples how to stay protected while using Internet. According to the Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence definitions:

> *"Violence against women" is understood as a violation of human rights and a form of discrimination against women and shall mean all acts of gender-based violence that result in, or are likely to result in, physical, sexual, psychological or economic harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life;*
>
> *"Women" includes girls under the age of 18. (Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence)*

In this case, the author of the work points out the United States of America separately, where in almost every state takes actions regarding crimes in cyberspace. Accordingly, almost every state has laws that directly address cyberstalking or cyberharassment (State Cyberstalking and Cyberharassment Laws). United States address this new crime by either creating a brand-new law or adapting current stalking and harassment law to include online conduct. There are two main types of online behaviour that states have addressed: cyberstalking and

cyberharassment. The fact that thirty-nine states have recognized the importance of directly criminalizing cyberharassment is a large step in the right direction (State Cyberstalking and Cyberharassment Laws).

Also, several EU legislative actions contribute to the fight against cybercrime. These include:

- 2013 – A Directive on attacks against information systems, which aims to tackle large-scale cyber-attacks by requiring Member States to strengthen national cyber-crime laws and introduce tougher criminal sanctions. In 2017, the Commission has published a Report assessing the extent to which Member States have taken the necessary measures in order to comply with the Directive.
- 2011 – A Directive on combating the sexual exploitation of children online and child pornography, which better addresses new developments in the online environment, such as grooming (offenders posing as children to lure minors for the purpose of sexual abuse)
- 2002 – ePrivacy Directive, whereby providers of electronic communications services must ensure the security of their services and maintain the confidentiality of client information. In 2017, the Commission has proposed to repeal the Directive and replace it with a Regulation concerning the respect for private life and the protection of personal data in electronic communications.
- 2001 – Framework Decision on combating fraud and counterfeiting of non-cash means of payment, which defines the fraudulent behaviours that EU States need to consider as punishable criminal offences. On 13 September 2017, the Commission has proposed a new Directive aiming at updating the current legal framework, removing obstacles to operational cooperation and enhancing prevention and victims' assistance, to make law enforcement action against fraud and counterfeiting of non-cash means of payment more effective (European Commission).

The author wants to share some important actions that will help stop cyber-attacks for men or women in any age:

- Beware of physically accessing your computer and other web-enabled devices, such as mobile phones. Cyberstalkers use software and hardware devices (sometimes attached to the back of the computer, even without knowing it) to monitor their victims.
- Be sure to use good password management (link to the article with passwords) and security. Never give passwords to others. And do not forget to frequently change your passwords! It is very important.
- Delete or create private online calendar calendars or itineraries - even on your social network - specify the events that you plan to visit.
- Social networks display a lot of personal information, such as your name, date of birth, where you work and where you live. Use the privacy settings on all your online accounts to limit online sharing to those who are not in your trusted circle. You can use these options to refuse to create your profile when someone searches for your name. You can also block users from viewing your posts and photos.
- If you post photos on the web using social networks or other methods, be sure to turn off the metadata in the photo. Metadata displays a lot of photo information, where and when it was taken, what device was used and other personal information. Basically, metadata comes from photos captured on a cell phone. It can usually disable the function of the geotag in your phone's settings, as a rule.
- As always, use a security program (How to protect yourself from cyberstalkers, Northon).
- Educate yourself - read and study information that can help cope with various dangers on the Internet. You need to know who to discuss the problems with or who to report suspicious activity on the Internet.

The entire security policy should begin with the understanding that the technology is not secure, and user actions are the most likely source of data disruption. Unfortunately, users will often react negatively to procedural changes no matter how reasonable they are about security. This should be resolved by implementing cyber security. Additional considerations are as follows:

- New security measures will not work if they affect the ability of people to do their jobs. Whether the business suffers, or employees find ways to escape control, which will make the organization vulnerable again.

- Learning alone is not enough: only the fact that people do something does not allow it. Users should be fully aware of the dangers that are supposed to be prevented. This should include crisis modeling or other means to ensure their direct experience with threats.
- It is difficult to maintain eternal readiness. If security measures are effective, the risk seems to be reduced. No one has the experience of the threats that they were warned about, and perseverance creeps. Therefore, the rules must be strictly observed to prevent any attempts to destroy them, and all guarantees must be regularly checked and constantly checked to ensure their effectiveness (Eddolls, 2016).

If we talk about the protection of women of any age on the Internet, then, of course, you must follow the above points on Internet security, but you should not forget about the specifics of the problem. Women should not only understand what risks can be, but also how to use the Internet for their own benefit. The author notes that various actions in the network to support women are very effective, during such actions millions of women tell their stories. In this case, knowledge is power.

The author of the work is confident that having at least basic theoretical knowledge on this topic will help women of different countries and ages to feel safer and more secure when using the Internet.

4. Conclusion

- The Internet itself is very interesting and a good thing, through which you can make a lot of useful things. However, people often use it not at such positive intentions. You must understand that intruders have many options for how to cause trouble. Therefore, you need to know how to protect yourself on the Internet.
- Women are much more likely to be subjected to various attacks in the Internet space. Based on statistics, young women and adolescent girls use the Internet much more often. They are respectively the most vulnerable targets. It is they who first need protection.
- We can conclude that sexting, cyberstalking, cyberharassment, are currently very topical issues and it is necessary that there is a clear understanding that such crimes are not only in the ordinary world, but also on the Internet. Many laws recognized these crimes and singled them out separately, and this is a big step forward.
- In addition, there are various laws that will preserve security on the Internet, you need to remember to take care of yourself. So, you need to understand how to use the Internet using various technologies. You need to know how to properly store information and data in cyberspace and how to act if trouble has already happened.

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Masters Research Papers

Forced Freedom and Veiled Values

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Abstract: This paper examines femonationalism and female agency in Danish policy making, through policy analysis of the covering ban law (CBLP) published by the Danish government. Using Carol Bacchi's approach for policy analysis 'What's the Problem Represented to Be?' as inspiration as well as narrative interviews with four Danish women wearing the niqab, this research paper examines the following research question: *How is the covering of the face is problematized in the CBLP? What does it fail to problematize? How does this ban affect women wearing the niqab?* The analysis shows that while the CBLP and the surrounding debate draws on discourse of gender equality, the CBLP has negative effects on the interviewees' well-being, resulting in aspersion, mental health issues, victimization, and alienation. This shows a discrepancy between the CBLP and the everyday lives of the women who are affected by it, as the liberation of women is a central argument for the implementation of the CBLP. This is found to be a sign of femonationalism. Thus, this paper concludes that covering of the face is problematized through femonationalist assumptions, and the CBLP fails to problematize that it will force women to undress based on Western ideas of female liberation.

Keywords: femonationalism, female agency, covering ban law, policy analysis, intersectionality

1. Introduction

> *"The burqa and the niqab are tokens of the spearhead of sharia (...) I believe that it's alarming, because it itself creates parallel societies and is simply a threat to a free and open Denmark (...) I simply think that it [burqa and niqab] is a repression of everything I think is valuable in terms of the equality of the sexes" (Langballe, Folketinget, 2017b, 13.58-14.02).*

This quote stems from a parliamentary debate surrounding the covering ban law proposal (CBLP) that was presented by the Danish government in early 2018. In 2009, a similar law was proposed, only then it was called a burqa ban. Eventually it was not approved, as it was found unnecessary and possibly unlawful (Andreassen, 2011). This time around the law is called a covering ban, in theory targeting all types of facial coverages. However, the discourse in the media and the debate surrounding the proposal is mostly focused on the Muslim full veil, and the proposal is still often referred to as 'the burqa ban' (Eriksen, Vestergren, & Redder, 2018).

This type of law proposal is not a new phenomenon in Europe. France was the first European country to ban the burqa and the niqab in public. The first prohibition came into force in 2004 and was concerned with any religious symbols within state-run schools. This prohibition was in 2011 expanded to include a total ban of any full veils in public. Former president Nicolas Sarkozy said:

> *"The problem of the burka is not a religious problem, it's a problem of liberty and women's dignity. It's not a religious symbol, but a sign of subservience and debasement. I want to say solemnly, the burka is not welcome in France" (Sarkozy cited in Chrisafis, 2009)*

According to Sarkozy, the subject of the Muslim full veil is thus not only limited to a question of religion, but is also discussed as a gender issue.

Austria is also highly engaged in the debate around the Muslim full veils. Even though Austria has traditionally had a rather tolerant approach to the display of religious symbols, the debate around the Muslim full veil is heated and accompanied by racist discourse and restrictive immigration policies (Kazim, 2017).

In Denmark, much of the debate is centered around the Muslim full veil being incompatible with Danish values (Lægaard, 2016). The Muslim full veil is often presented as being in direct opposition to gender equality, in turn painting a picture of perfect gender equality in Denmark. Because the niqab and burqa are often referred to as being oppressive, it is often argued that women who wear them could not have chosen to do so themselves (TV2, 2007). Although the CBLP is supported by many citizens and political parties, some remained critical of the proposal. The party Liberal Alliance, which is part of the Danish government, argued that the proposed ban was against the right to freedom of religion, siding with some of the left-wing parties (Olsen, 2018). Moreover, a

group of women who wear the niqab, have formed the organization 'Women in Dialogue' with the goal to inform about and demystify the Muslim full veil (Kvinder i Dialog, 2018).

It can be argued that the CBLP is a potential violation of freedom of speech, because it prohibits people to express themselves through their clothing, and a violation of freedom of religion, because Muslims in specific seem to be the target. However, this paper examines the law proposal from an intersectional gender perspective as it consists of assumptions about gender equality in Denmark, women who wear the Muslim full veil, and female agency. We thus find it important to take a critical stance to the law proposal and question how it affects the women who wear the niqab in Denmark. Consequently, this paper asks:

> *How is the covering of the face problematized in the CBLP? What does it fail to problematize? How does this ban affect women wearing the niqab?*

At the time of research conduction, the covering ban was a law proposal and not yet approved.

2. Burqa debate in Denmark

In a Danish context, the discussion about the full veil and the narrative of Islam as being oppressive has been around since the 70's. Islam has often since then been set in contrast to gender equality rights among ethnic Danes (Andreassen, 2011). As mentioned, a law similar to the covering ban law was proposed in 2009 by the Conservative People's Party. At the time, the main argument for the prohibition of the full veil was that it signals the oppression of women, and that it in itself is un-Danish (Andreassen, 2011).

The burqa ban was opposed by the liberal party, Venstre, for which reason the parliament decided to establish a governmental task group to investigate the magnitude of burqa related issues. The task group found that very few women in Denmark wore the burqa, and that 100-200 women wore the niqab. Moreover, most covered women had chosen to wear the veil themselves (Socialministeriet, 2009).

3. The CBLP

The CBLP was proposed on February 6th 2018 by the Danish government, and was approved on May 31st. All members of Venstre, the Conservative People's Party, and the Danish People's Party supported the law, while only one member from the Liberal Alliance voted for it. Moreover, the Social Democrats, voted in favor of the law. In total, 75 members of the parliament voted in favor of the law, while 30 voted against it. As a result, the covering ban law was implemented on the August 1st 2018 (Folketinget, 2018a).

To analyze the CBLP, two related documents are included. The first is a statement published on April 2018 by the Department of Justice made by the government and the Social Democrats (Justitsministeriet, 2018). This statement argues that with the approval of the CBLP there should be actions taken against social control. This document is referred to as *the statement on social control* throughout the paper. The second document is a parliamentary debate between Christian Langballe from the Danish People's Party and Mette Bock from the Liberal Alliance (Folketinget, 2017b). This specific debate is included, because it contains assumptions, presuppositions, and femonationalist tendencies, which are not explicitly mentioned in the actual CBLP, but which we argue are present, and which the interviewees describe. Henceforth, this document will be referred to as *the parliamentary debate*.

4. Methods

This paper includes a critical policy analysis of three documents published by the Danish government; the CBLP, the parliamentary debate and the statement on social control. Furthermore, four narrative interviews with women who wear the niqab contribute to the data set. This paper takes a constructionist approach to the analysis of both the documents and the interviews and it is structured with inspiration from Carol Bacchi's (2009) *What's the Problem Represented to Be?* framework.

5. Recruitment of interviewees

We contacted the activist group Kvinder i Dialog (Women in Dialogue), which is a group of women who wear the whose goal is to better the image of the niqab, and to create a conversation between niqabis and the general population. When attending an open house event hosted by Kvinder i Dialog, we met and talked to several women wearing the niqab. These conversations formed the basis for our data set and interview guide. One of the founders, Dilara, was a great help in organising and contacting possible interviewees. Not all of the

interviewees are part of the group. The four interviews conducted were with four women; Amina, Sophia, Elena, and Dilara[1]. They all wear the niqab either every day or on special occasions. Dilara has been acting as the gateway person and helped organize interviews and provide contact information for the other interviewees. Amina, Elena and Dilara have grown up in Muslim families, but with no other family members wearing the niqab. Sophia grew up in a catholic family and converted to Islam later in life. They are all either students, employed or on parental leave.

6. Limitations

Dilara's function as a mediator results in limitations. Firstly, there was a selection bias as all of our interviewees were chosen by Dilara. She is an outspoken activist against the CBLP, and could be argued to have an interest in choosing interviewees whom she trusts and whom she expects to answer questions about the law proposal in a certain way. One could argue that a sample size of four interviewees could be deemed too small to provide a nuanced dataset. However, as there are only between 100-200 niqabis in all of Denmark (Socialministeriet, 2009) and because there is no register or other type of way to locate these women it was beyond challenging to establish contact with the women, and we accepted this possible selection bias.

It could also be argued that this paper should include voices of involuntary niqabis. However, we were not able to find anyone. Whether they did not wish to talk to us or whether they do not exist in Denmark is difficult to say. In 2009, however, the report by the governmental taskgroup concluded concluded that no women in Denmark were forced to wear the niqab or burqa (Socialministeriet, 2009). Furthermore, most importantly our objective is not to discuss the use of niqab itself, but rather the use of coercion to enforce an interpretation of liberation onto these women. Therefore, our interviews discuss only briefly the reasoning behind the choice of being a niqabi and more thoroughly the reactions of the women to the law itself.

7. Reflexivity

We are students in culture, communication and globalization with special focus on global gender studies, and we have previously studied and researched the conditions of migrants and refugees in Denmark. This might influence our opinions before even starting the research process, as we expected to find issues regarding the conditions for minority groups (Berger, 2015). We are therefore likely to take side with our interviewees. As we cannot discard our sympathy and empathy, we will be aware of our own opinions and feelings, and challenge and develop them in the process, as we conduct data and gain new knowledge. We are aware that our personal understandings and approaches to the field influence our findings.

8. What's the problem represented to be?

In her book *Analysing Policy: What's the Problem Represented to Be?*, Bacchi (2009) challenges the commonplace view that a policy is the best attempt for governments to deal with real, clear-cut 'problems'. Bacchi suggests that every policy holds a specific understanding of a 'problem' to be a particular sort of 'problem', hereby presenting the problem in the subjective way that is most profitable and beneficial for the government. Thus, Bacchi argues, governments create problems, rather than reacting to them, and policies give shape to problems, rather than solving them (Bacchi, 2009). From this understanding of policy analysis and the construction of a 'problem' this paper is inspired by the questions presented i Bacchi's framework.

9. Analysis

9.1 Problem representation and assumptions of the CBLP

9.1.1 Niqab and burqa are symptoms of social control

Although not mentioned explicitly in the law proposal itself, discussions surrounding the proposal associate facial covering with social control. An example hereof is the statement on social control, proposing that, when enforcing the ban, there should be specific attention to the detection of cases of social control. It says, that if the police establish contact with a woman, who breaks the covering ban, they should be able to

[1] All names are changed to protect the identity of the interviewees.

> *"refer the women to a women crisis center, if it is informed that the woman has been exposed to violence, threatened with violence or similar crises in relation to her family- or relational situation" (Justitsministeriet, 2018)*

Furthermore, it states that the police must assess whether the well-being of the children of the respective woman's household is affected, or whether they are exposed to threats or violence in the family. Thus, it can be concluded that the government assumes that wearing the niqab or burqa can likely be connected to social control.

9.1.2 Women wear niqab and burqa against their own will

The CBLP assumes that women who wear the Muslim full veils do so against their will. This is explicitly referred to in the statement on social control, when it says that the police must judge whether the person breaking the covering ban law is forced to wear the face covering attire. This assumption is inconsistent with the experiences of our interviewees, who all describe their motivations for wearing the niqab, as an independent choice. None of the interviewees grew up in families where niqab or burqas were present, and none of them were supported by their families in their decision to wear the niqab. They even experienced resistance from the families, and some even describe the decision as destructive for their family relations. Additionally, none of the four interviewees were married when they started to wear the niqab. However, both Sophia, Dilara and Elena have had several encounters with people, who do not believe them, when they say that they are wearing the niqab of their own free will.

9.1.3 Niqab and burqa is in opposition to liberation

Another assumption of the CBLP is the assumption that Muslim full veils contrast with female liberation. An example of this is expressed in the parliamentary debate, when Langballe argues that facial covering is a women's rights issue, and when he says that it is *"an oppression of everything I find valuable in relation to gender equality"* (Langballe, Folketinget, 2017b, 14.02).

Sophia states that the CBLP operates from a Western idea of the 'liberated woman', and that she would not feel liberated by being pressured to undress. She says that it should be an individual choice for her to take it off, just as it is an individual choice for her to wear it. Likewise, Dilara argues that politicians cannot imagine wearing the niqab, and therefore they think that everyone, who does, is forced.

Their reasons for wearing the niqab stand in opposition to the assumptions of them being oppressed, because they all describe the niqab as liberating. Sophia says: *"Islam raises women and their status. I used to think that women wore headscarves because of men (…) but there is so much more to it".* Amina describes that wearing the niqab gives her a feeling of freedom, and she feels like "*this is me*", suggesting that she is more herself when wearing it. Common to all four is that they associate the niqab with liberation. The problem for the interviewees is not that they are forced to wear the niqab, but that they will be forced to take it off. Sophia calls this a double standard: "*The argument of the covering ban is that no man should force us to dress like this, but now men – and women – are forcing us to take it off*". She also says that *"even though the niqab is not something that everybody wears, it is still my clothing, and the state is telling me to undress. That is so insulting".* However, like Elena argues, if someone is forced to wear the niqab, the law will only result in that person no longer leaving the house, for which reason the law is not the right mean, if the aim is to prevent anyone from being forced.

10. The effects produced by problem representation

10.1 The public and political attitudes towards Muslims experienced by the interviewees

While the politicians behind the CBLP consider Muslim full veils a threat, the interviewees express being threatened or negatively approached as part of their everyday life when wearing the niqab. Sophia mentions an incident where a man yelled at her across a parking lot, and a woman threatening to take her niqab off her face in a supermarket. Dilara tells about strangers spitting after her as a matter of course, and Elena's decision about not wearing the niqab daily is substantiated by this kind of hostility. She says that she would wear it every day, if she would feel safe walking around in the niqab. Thus, it can be argued that parallel societies, which the politicians behind the CBLP blame the women wearing full veils for, is caused by the division between perceived Danish cultural values and the perceptions of Muslim cultural values.

The above are all examples of the women's feelings of being different and unwelcome based on different parameters, such as cultural background, religion and/or the wearing of the niqab. Dilara expresses how she experiences having to prove something when meeting new people:

> *"Every time people meet each other for the first time they are both at zero, but I start in the negative, because there is so much prejudice that I must prove wrong first. I am not on cash benefits, I am not oppressed, I have chosen to wear the niqab myself. I am not under any form of social control, and so on. So okay, now we can start as equals"*

She finds that people often feel uncomfortable around her, and she has experienced harassment. Elena explains how she is used to being called slurs in public, which she finds to be worse when wearing the niqab, although it also happens when wearing the hijab. She has felt a change in attitudes in her hometown from when she started wearing the niqab four years ago and up until now. Over the last year, she has experienced more extreme reactions to her in public than before. The interviewees have all experienced a change in political and public attitudes over the last few years. Whether this is due to their cultural or religious background, or the fact that they wear the hijab or the niqab, something else, or a mixture of them all, is not possible to distinguish.

10.2 Effects of the CBLP experienced by the interviewees

The four interviewees plan to handle the CBLP differently. Sophia states that she will stop wearing the niqab, even though she would be sad to do so, but because of her children, she will not risk anything. Dilara says that she will keep wearing the niqab, while Elena will still wear the niqab whenever she feels like it, just as she used to. The interviewees experienced changes in their lives that can be linked to the law proposal. Dilara has experienced a return of frequent anxiety attacks, and she feels stressed about the future. She says that she has been working hard to get good grades in school, so that she would be able to get into the study programme she is passionate about, but now she is no longer sure whether that will ever be achievable for her, if she is not allowed to wear the niqab in public. More than anything, she wishes to live a "*normal life*" and keep to herself.

Elena considers the covering ban an attack on her personally, and she feels like she cannot be herself. She would prefer to wear the niqab every day, but because of the political and public attitudes, she finds it safest not to. She has considered how to convince people that she is not a problem to society, but she finds it difficult when politicians repeatedly talk about Muslims in a negative way, and present their opinions as facts.

Both Sophia, Dilara and Elena express that they will lose confidence in the Danish state because of the CBLP. Sophia says that taking off the niqab would not be the worst part of the covering ban, but rather the violation of her personal freedom. She has always thought that Denmark was a good place to be, but it will not continue to be that for her, if she is prohibited from wearing the niqab. She compares the current situation to a witch-hunt and the persecution of Jews during the Second World War.

Elena says, that the approval of the CBLP will make her disappointed in the Danish society, and that she has come to realize how hypocritical the system is. She used to think that the system was there to protect her, but now she does not feel like that is the case anymore. She says:

> *"If it gets approved, I don't know what Denmark is to me anymore. I think there would be a giant emptiness from all the years that I have spent trying to find a place in this society. I would have to start all over. How can I be myself then? I can't (…) It is disgusting that someone wants to decide what I should be wearing!"*

Elena adds that she has never felt like a victim before, but now she feels forced to become one.

11. Femonationalism and female agency in the CBLP

11.1 Femonationalism

Sara Farris introduces the term *femonationalism,* which is understood as misusing women's rights and feminism for strengthening nationalist agendas in European politics and activism (Farris, 2017). In recent years, the increasing support given to far right wing parties resulted in fear for a return of fascism. According to Farris, far right parties have successfully addressed this fear by creating a new fear of Muslim men and Islam, who are said to oppress women. Thus, by holding a very vague and contradictory gender policy, these parties now have developed a gendered agenda, arguing that they wish to protect and save Muslim women and Europe from

Islam, "*in the name of women's rights"* (ibid). These far right parties seek to promote women's rights by leading a nationalist and xenophobic rhetoric and policy. According to Farris, femonationalism refers to the outspoken dichotomy between women's rights and Islam, and the use of this assumption to legitimize an Islamophobic discourse.

When analyzing the CBLP, there are several different examples that could be argued to be signs of femonationalism. Langballe is a member of the Danish People's Party, which is a party that seeks to protect *"Danish culture*" (Dansk Folkeparti, 2018) and does not want Denmark to be an "*immigrant country*" (ibid). In the parliamentary debate, he says the following about Muslim full veils:" *The other thing is the rights of the women. I simply think that it [burqa and niqab] is a repression of everything I think is valuable in terms of the equality of the sexes*" (Folketinget, 2017b). We argue that Langballe uses, perhaps not deliberately, women's rights to introduce laws that can strengthen his and the Danish People's Party's nationalistic agenda.

Femonationalism can also be found in the statement on social control. The government and the Social Democrats use this statement on social control to strengthen the argument for the CBLP via women's rights and combating domestic violence and social control. In conclusion, by representing the veiled women as being oppressed, the Danish majority population is represented to be in contrast to the veiled women and thus represent the idea of liberated women and an equal society. This allows the CBLP to present the niqab and burqa as the 'problem'.

11.2 Female agency

Duits and Van Zoonen (2006) investigate the discourse on female agency and sexuality in the context of contemporary Europe. They describe similarities between two seemingly completely unrelated and opposed types of clothing for women and girls: The porno-chic attire, which refers to visible g-strings and crop tops, and the headscarves, which refer to Muslim veils. They construct and apply what they refer to as the *decency continuum*, illustrating the balance of women's sexuality and bodies to be either too showing, which makes a girl 'a whore', or too covered, which makes a girl 'a virgin'. This dichotomy indicates, that "*acceptable sexuality does not seem to exist for girls, as both 'decent' and 'decadent' behavior can cause the label 'slag[1]': damned if you do, damned if you don't"* (Duits & Van Zoonen, 2006, p. 111). Not only are girls judged if they do not live up to the 'nice girl' ideal, but there is a general tendency that they are denied autonomy and agency. This is expressed in the assumption that they do not choose how to dress themselves: If wearing sexually provocative clothing, they must have been forced by a man or other mechanisms in society to do so, and if covering hair or face with a veil, the same must be prevailing. These assumptions are dominant in the public debate, in spite of studies showing, that most girls actively choose to wear headscarves and porno-chic attire, just as the *Report on the use of niqab and burqa* (2009) showed that the Danish women chose to wear the niqab themselves. In juxtaposition to the views on female clothing, deviant clothing for boys is oftentimes excused or explained with the right to freedom of speech, while, according to the authors, the freedom of speech does not seem to assert the same way when the deviant cloth is worn by women. Instead, women's choice of dress is often seen as a cultural issue, while men's choice of dress is a political statement (Duits & Van Zoonen, 2006). Thus, in the case of the CBLP, the Muslim full veil is constructed as a representation of what is considered wrong with Islam.

We argue that it is assumed in the CBLP that the women wearing the burqa or the niqab are oppressed, and that they do not choose this way of dressing and living themselves. However, all our interviewees say that wearing the niqab is their own independent decision. These statements are supported by the *Report on the use of niqab and burqa* (2009) that established that there most likely were no women wearing the Muslim full veil in Denmark, who have been forced to do so. All our interviewees account for multiple incidents where people have not believed them, when they said that it is their own choice. Duits & Van Zoonen (2009) argue that there is a structural inequality when interpreting the statements made by boys and by girls in terms of clothing. Because of the perceived lack of female agency of Muslim minority women, the CBLP argues that it combats social control. We argue that Muslim women are not granted agency in the CBLP, and consider this neglection highly problematic.

This paper argues that femonationalism, and lack of female agency in the Danish society have contributed to legitimize the representation of Muslim full veils as the 'problem' in the CBLP. As we take an intersectional approach to this research project, it is not always possible to distinguish between the different types of discrimination present in the data, because multiple discriminatory parameters exist simultaneously (Bo, 2016).

12. Conclusion

On February 6th, 2018, the Danish government published the CBLP, suggesting that it should be prohibited to cover the face in public. We used the WPR theoretical framework as inspiration to conduct the policy analysis and used the narratives gathered through our interviews with four women wearing the niqab to answer the research question.

Through the analysis of the CBLP, it became evident that it was based on a number of assumptions about Islam, women who wear the niqab and also the Danish society in general. These assumptions lead to a problematization of the Muslim full veil as being oppressive in itself. This assumption leads to a narrative of the women who wear the Muslim full veil as being in need of liberation. This becomes especially apparent in the statement on social control and the parliamentary debate. We argue that it is a paradox that women should be forced to take off their clothes to be liberated. It is also not problematized that it is never asked whether the women need liberation at all. We argue that this is a sign of femonationalism as women's rights are used by the government, The Danish People's Party, and The Social Democrats through a gender equality discourse to enforce a nationalist agenda.

Throughout the CBLP it is not questioned whether burqa and niqab are actually destructive for Danish culture and values, nor is it questioned where the negative perception of women wearing full veils comes from. It is never questioned whether the Muslim full veil is in fact oppressive or how the women who wear them feel about it. Furthermore, the demand of physical accessibility in public is also left unproblematic. The interviewees all say that it is their own choice to wear the niqab, yet this perspective is left completely silent in the CBLP, the statement on social control and the parliamentary debate surrounding the CBLP. Thus, we conclude that this disbelief and disregard of both the Report on the use of niqab and burqa (2009) and the statements made by women wearing the niqab are signs of the perceived lack of female agency.

All of our interviewees express concerns about safety when walking on the street wearing the niqab, and they have all experienced harassment and threats. The CBLP has had a significant, negative impact on all of their lives. They fear for the future, feel a loss of confidence in the Danish state and are frustrated because they feel that their opinions and perspectives do not matter. The CBLP blames women wearing the full veil for parallel societies, but we argue that this division between cultures is rooted in the fear of Islam and Muslims and is reinforced by policies like the CBLP.

In conclusion, the covering of the face is problematized through femonationalist rhetoric and fails to problematize that the CBLP forces women to undress based on Western ideas of female liberation. It uses misogyny, fear and misconceptions about Islam and about gender equality in Denmark to strengthen nationalist agendas, while greatly limiting the rights and freedom of Muslim women.

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Exploring the Glass Ceiling Factors for Females in the IT Industry of Pakistan

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Abstract: Despite making up 48% of the population, women in Pakistan represent only 24% of the workforce. Only 3% of these form the top management according to World Bank's report of 2014. The problem studied in this paper revolves around lack of female participation in the management sector of the IT industry, less space for growth of female managers, prevalence of discriminatory practices in organizations. The research aims to explore the factors of the glass ceiling phenomenon and gender discrimination at workplaces in Pakistan. The organizations and the society as a whole is suffering from a lack of potential growth and success as females stay under-utilized as a resource despite having the required skill set and qualifications. A sample of 50 females working in the IT sector from various cities of Pakistan was collected using purposive sampling. A focus group discussion was conducted to gain insights that were used to form a questionnaire survey answered by the 50 respondents. In addition, 3 male CEOs were also interviewed for cross checking of the gathered data. Results are discussed under three categories i.e. the individual/personal, cultural and organizational issues acting as deterrents for females' professional advancement in the IT sector. The most commonly identified barrier is the mindset of the male members of the society that impedes females from progressing smoothly. Discrimination in the organization and lack of opportunities follow as the second most common. Lack of confidence and emotional stability of the female form the personal barriers. The research objective is to help diminish the problem by enumerating factors leading to less participation and issues in career progression, serve as a guide in workplaces to help reduce discrimination and help in empowerment of women and ultimately help create more opportunities for female career growth. It will also facilitate the organizations in devising relevant policies and make changes in system. Moreover the females will be assisted in identifying their shortcomings and guide them how to overcome them in order to succeed in their professional life.

Keywords: glass ceiling, women in management, glass ceiling in Pakistan, female managers, IT female managers, women's career progression

1. Introduction

1.1 The glass ceiling

The term denotes the subtle barriers that hinder the growth of women/minorities above a certain level. The first time of its use can be trailed back to 1986, in special report on corporate women by Wall Street Journal (Jackson, 2001). The report exposed how the traditions and chauvinism acted as barriers for women in the corporate world. Since then the term has been coined to symbolize the same.

The Department of Labor (1991) defined the glass ceiling as,

> *"… Those artificial barriers based on attitudinal or organizational bias that prevent qualified individuals from advancing upward in their organization into management-level positions." (p. 1)*

1.2 Background

According to World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap report (2014), Pakistan was ranked second worst in terms of gender equality. The report measures the severity of gender inequality in 142 countries in areas of economic participation and opportunity (salaries, participation and highly-skilled employment), educational attainment (access to basic and higher levels of education), political empowerment (representation in decision-making structures), health and survival (life expectancy and sex ratio).

With only 3 percent of women in management positions, Pakistan was ranked among the lowest in the 108 countries studied by ILO in terms of employment equality (World employment and social outlook, 2015). This shows the huge gap between the two genders in terms of career. The lack of participation of women in the workforce ultimately leaves a void in the possible economic growth of the country. It can be implied that gender equality and economic growth are proportionally related (Pervaiz et al 2011). Studies also show that the lack of female participation in the management causes the organization to stay behind in competition as they prove that the organizations that promote women in their culture consistently outperform the competitors in terms

of profitability. It is also seen that the presence of women in the top management of an organization impacts its bottom line and risk management positively (Johns, 2013).

The World Economic Forum also reports that the worldwide gender gap in the workplace has barely narrowed in the past nine years. While women are steadily decreasing the gender gap with men in areas like health and education, inequality at work is not expected to be erased until 2095.

It was observed that the women held 6.4% CEOs roles in the Fortune 500 Companies. In the companies that make up the 2018 Fortune 500 list, just 24 CEOs are women. That number has dropped by 25 percent from the previous year's record-breaking 32 female CEOs. Which was the highest share of women since the Fortune's first 500 list in 1955 (The Global Gender Gap Report, 2017).

Women in general have been perceived to be less competent in almost every corporate field. While equal work opportunities for both genders have been discussed for decades, still a significant disparity is seen in advancement opportunities and compensation for the same work (Sampson & Moore, 2008). Some researchers claim that the glass ceiling is falling apart gradually due to the number of females in the pipeline increasing. Which means more women graduating, joining the workforce and swiftly securing higher jobs than men do (Appelbaum et al. 2011). However a research by Bass &Avolio (1994) concluded that the glass ceiling is encountered by women while trying to progress to the higher ranks regardless of the number of women entering workforce in the past decades. A study published in a book by an organizational behavior and psychology theorist, Cary L. Cooper, suggested that women had progressed in the two decades before the book was published, but the glass ceiling still persists (Bell, 2013).

At lower level however, since gender balance is rather quickly attained, we see more female managers on lower levels of management as compared to the upper management where they advance at a decreasing rate. Yet balance can be achieved if organizations change the hiring policies that discriminate (Fain, 2010).

The progress of women in the corporate sector is just a delusion and there is nothing more to it than that. Organizations do not fully attain the success that they have aspired due to the fact that they cannot use the talent which is present in the organization, due to the gender bias that exists. They fail at valuing the talent within the organization in the form of female workers, hence remaining at a loss even in this day and age of a diverse culture (Carter & Silva, 2010).

Contrary to popular belief the discrimination between genders due to the inequality has seen a drastic increase after the era of the 1990's (Scarborough, 2018). This was attributed towards three major reasons: the varying behaviors of the individuals, occupations started to focus more on men than women and thirdly there was a significant gap in the wage rates being offered to men and the wage rates being offered to women. In order to remove gender discrimination, it is believed that one should not just focus on removing gender gaps but also on the unequal pay systems that exist and are promoting discrimination (Scarborough, 2018).

Many organizations in the corporate sector, including Google Inc. have tried to cope with the diverse culture within an organization. However their multiple efforts much to their surprise, have always gone to waste. It is due to the unfair practices of the managers at work these days which impose more challenges for the working class women. In order to satisfy the women the managers require to work with equal attention being paid to both genders, that is the incentives being offered to both and also the work that is being assigned (Williams & Malthaup, 2017).

Harvard Business Review concluded in one of their studies that even though women tend to have the same amount of resources and input as men in an organization, such as the networking skills and the working behaviors do not have much to be differentiated by, they still have differing pay scales for the two genders because the prevailing gender bias all around the globe (Carson, 2017). Gender discrimination cannot be fought against at work places until awareness is created as to how and what is causing the discrimination to arise. Harvard Business Review has done a relatively recent study on the gender equality that is present within an organization and focuses on how the men and women in an organization tend to act similarly but they get treated differently. This unfair behavior can be tackled through programs that aim to improve the leadership skills of women and try to change the element of bias that exists within the places of work (Mercado, 2017).

Many organizational leaders have tried to develop strategies which cost them a lot of time, energy and most importantly money on their development. Such a strategy that can aim to eliminate discrimination at the workplace and adapt a culture that provides equal opportunities for both the genders. However, they follow an approach to developing these strategies that most often fails each time. (Ibarra, Ely & Kolb, 2013).

Some may blame the lack of ambition on part of the females as the barrier that causes them to leave their careers midway. In an article published by Bonnie Marcus in Forbes, she describes this phenomenon in detail using her experience of 20 years and that of her female clients that she coaches, she admits witnessing gender bias every day though some of it would be covert and makes one think twice if it does relate to biases or just insensitivity.

She went on to conclude that it is the workplace conditions and not the lack of ambition that causes females to opt out. Her study consisted of 615 professional women, 74% of which stated that they are extremely ambitious. The waning of their ambitions is attributed to the lack of opportunities, lack of acknowledgment, lack of supportive managers as well as lack of a female role model. One third of the women reported the following workplace situations to be sabotaging their ambitions: Workplace bias, corporate culture, difficult managers, colleagues, lack of opportunities, unsupportive women and motherhood penalties (Marcus, 2016).

1.3 Related theories

Quite a few theories link to the career progression factors and elements supporting the glass ceiling. Three types of theories are seen pertaining to this issue, they are based on human-capital or structural bottlenecks or negative bias that have been reported by Morrison and Von Glinow (1988) as well. These theories explain the sexual differences within management of organizations.

A theory regarding structural barriers as highlighted by Alderfer (1986), called the “intergroup theory” pinpoints two types of groups in organizations. One are the identity groups that are based on identification based on race, ethnicity, family, gender, old boys' network or age. The second one are organizational groups, where individuals are grouped based on similar work related tasks, experiences and positions in the organizational structure. The theory suggests that tension is created when the membership of the two groups does not change concurrently. That is, the organization group membership changes but the identity group membership remains the same. Then the women (or minorities) face biases and discrimination in evaluations as men dominate in high status positions (Peace, 1991). The theory suggests that the secondary labor market associated groups such as women and blacks are mostly restricted and the discrepancy is justified as economic efficiency. It is also noted by Morrison and Glinow that within the management, secondary jobs that may not only be at lower levels or also those in staff functions are where women and blacks are given placements in small numbers.

Another theory related to the structural barriers is “the situation-centered perspective”. It focuses on the sex-ratio as a determinant for women’s glass ceiling encounters. It says that the sex-ratio of groups within an organization causes this barrier in upward mobility for women and renders them as “tokens”. Thus the majority, i.e. men get to point fingers at the shortcomings in the light of their stereotypical beliefs about women (Peace, 1991).

Some theories focus on the traits of the women such as their human capital to be the deficiency in qualifying as managers. One such theory is the “human capital theory”, endorsed by Blan & Ferber(1987). It postulates that employees are rewarded or promoted based on the past investments they have made on education, training and skills. As Morrison and Glinow (1988) put it, women themselves opt for the occupations as per their preference and make investments in their human capital accordingly. This refutes any change in the policies in the organizational setting, rather the educational process needs to be checked; which imparts the person-centered theory as invalid for explanation of this issue at hand (Morrison & Glinlow, 1990).

A psychological theory, “the rational bias explanation” claims that labor markets discriminate even though women are beneficial economic replacements for men in the corporate sector. More specifically, it suggests that discrimination is influenced by the contextual circumstances in which the biases result in career rewards or upwards (Power et.al 1992).

According to "Gender organization system" theory by Fagenson (1990), there are three factors that interact with each other adhering to the corporate advancement of women. The first one gestates the gender of women as personal/internal attributes like lack of self-confidence, and success is attributed to external factors. The second one revolves around the derogatory organizational structures and practices, being a part of which shapes the behaviors and future of women. The third factor covers the broader social as well as institutional system that affects the treatment of women in organizations as employees.

2. Research design

This study is exploratory in nature. This phenomenon has been explored a lot in the world but not in the context of Pakistan. A few Pakistani studies that were seen, only focus on sectors other than the IT sector. Thus this topic is novel in its inception.

The research design makes use of different methods for data analysis that include interviews, focus groups, conversations, analysis of texts and other personal scriptures. The methodology was designed to be more open ended and less structured for the participants to openly share their experience without researcher interference. The goal was to maximize the depth of the information collected. Multiple Data Collection techniques were used in this research in order to get in depth information about the subject, rather than relying on one single method.

2.1 Sample population

The sample size of the study consists of 57 female respondents currently working in the IT industry for more than 2 years and 3 male CEOs with more than 5 years of experience in the IT industry. 50 females responded through the online survey, while 7 were participants of the focus group discussion.

2.2 Methodology

The research methodology used is a mixed methodology. Which essentially means that it is neither completely qualitative nor completely quantitative rather it uses both the methodologies. This research design incorporates philosophical assumptions as well as methods of inquiry. Both kinds of data are a part of the study, qualitative as well as quantitative. Therefore the modes of data collection had to cater both. The combination of these methods provides a better understanding of the problem rather than using a single approach. Nvivo software was used to analyze and derive results from the qualitative data collected from the focus group discussion, interviews and descriptive questions in the survey.

2.3 Methods of data collection

Focus group discussions were used as the primary data collection of qualitative nature. This was done because in this kind of studies of exploratory nature, the researcher is usually not sure about the questions that need to be asked. This is due to the newness of the topic. Therefore it was best that the variables, questions and theories that need to be studied should qualitatively be explored first hand. The panel consisted of 7 female managers of various designations working in different IT firms.

The insights gathered from this discussion were transcribed and coded to form themes, on the basis of which a questionnaire survey was designed that collected quantitative data and included some qualitative questions as well. A second research method was added to enhance the understanding of the research. Researchers applying the mixed methodology usually enhance the quantitative design by adding qualitative data or at quantitative data to qualitative design. In either cases the second method is nested within or embedded with the primary research method. The participants of the survey consisted of 50 females working on various ranks and designations in the IT industry. The questionnaire survey was made using Google docs, and circulated online after formally introducing the research and its purpose to the participants.

In addition, to cross check the validity of these findings and to look at the problem and observe it from another stance, 3 CEOs were interviewed as well, that included open ended questions and was semi-structured. All three of these CEOs were male.

3. Results

The results from all three data collection methods were studied individually as well as comparatively. The themes were found to be overlapping. The factors identified were in line with the ones pointed out by the literature review.

The factors found as a result of the study broadly consisted of three themes:

- Organizational barriers
- Cultural barriers
- Personal barriers

After analysis of data collected by three methods, it is concluded that glass ceiling does exist in Pakistan's IT industry and the most common barrier pointed out is the mindset of the male gender in the society. It is observed that the perception of Pakistani men about working women has an enormous impact on the career accomplishment of the females. Whether they are male family members, male managers, colleagues or subordinates, the mindset of each affects the career of a female in various ways that have been discussed by the participants.

Regarding barriers on part of the individual female, lack of confidence was the most recognized among personal characteristics acting as hurdles, emotional instability being the second.

Lack of family support was seen as the major cultural barrier. The misogynist cultural practices in Pakistani society and the brought up of the females act as barriers as well.

Females have to balance their work and family life and outperform in their organization as well in order to succeed, which is a huge barrier. The family commitment is expected more from females than from males and thus they face a diversion of attention that affects their work performance.

The organizations fear that the females might leave due to marriage/ childbearing or other familial responsibilities; or they would not be able to put in extra hours due to these responsibilities. Thus assuming falsely and not giving enough opportunities to the females to prove their worth.

The females also have the pressure to outperform so they can prove themselves, in addition to the stress of balancing work and family life.

Males on the other hand do not face this diversion as much as to affect the work performance.

The organizations also do not provide opportunities often as they do not trust the capabilities of the women, hence they are unable to prove themselves. The females in the study felt their skills are underestimated by the male colleagues. Discrimination on the basis of gender is common in organizations at different levels and in various forms, subtle or covert.

On a personal level, the upbringing of the females plays a part in the confidence building and emotional stability that are critical factors for becoming a manager. Given the cultural norms and limitations, females are unable to socialize with the male colleagues without being scandalized or questioned. Inequality in terms of salary is also observed. However 2 out of 3 CEOs that were interviewed, did not agree to this.

The themes pointed out during the focus group discussion are shown in the following figure:

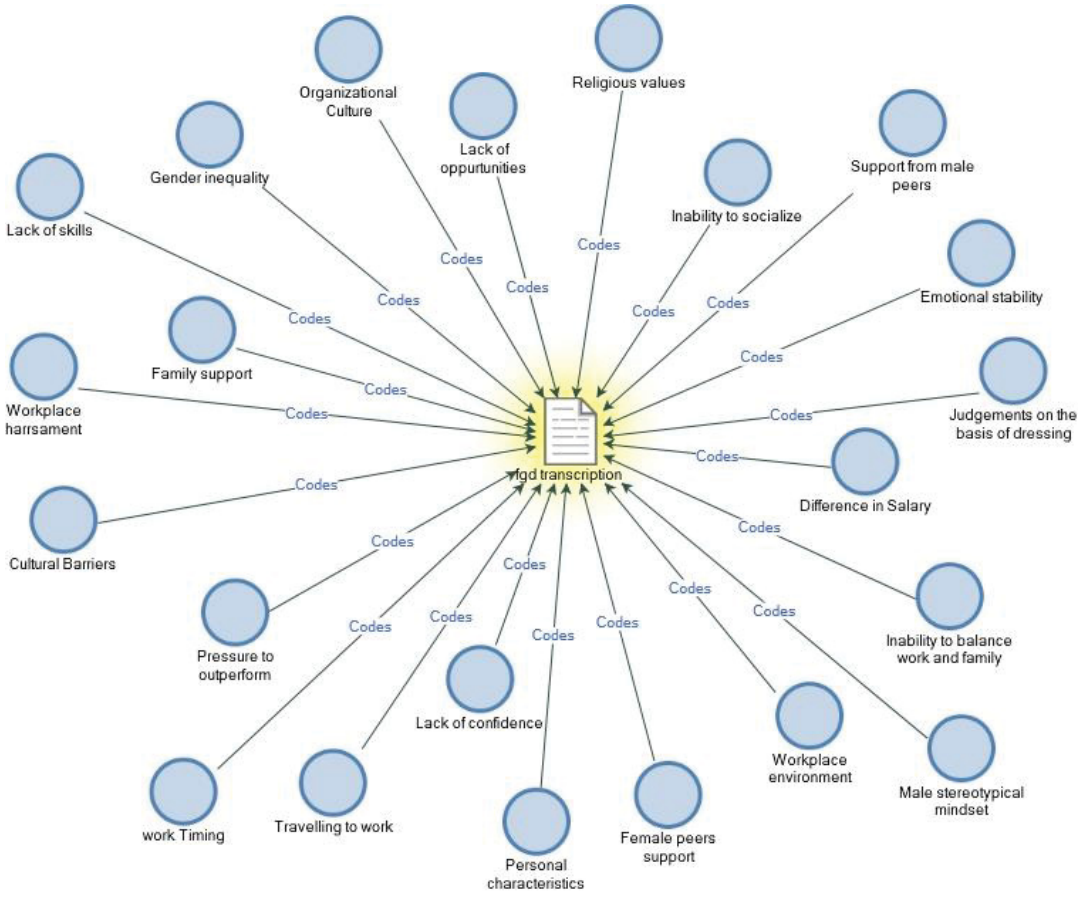


Figure 1: Themes indentified in focus group

In addition, the themes identified by the interviews of the CEOs can be summarised in the following points:

- Personal characteristics of the females acting as barriers
- *Lack of confidence on part of the female*
- *Inability of balance work and family*
- *Conditioning and brought up of the female*
- Cultural barriers
- *Gender inequality in the society*
- *Family support*
- *Religious values used as obstructions*
- *Stereotypical mindset of the males*
- Organizational culture
- *Inflexible work timings*
- *Workplace harassment*
- *Workplace environment*
- *Lack of support from male/female peers*

The following figure shows the collective representation of the factors leading to the glass ceiling that were explored in the context of the IT industry in Pakistan.

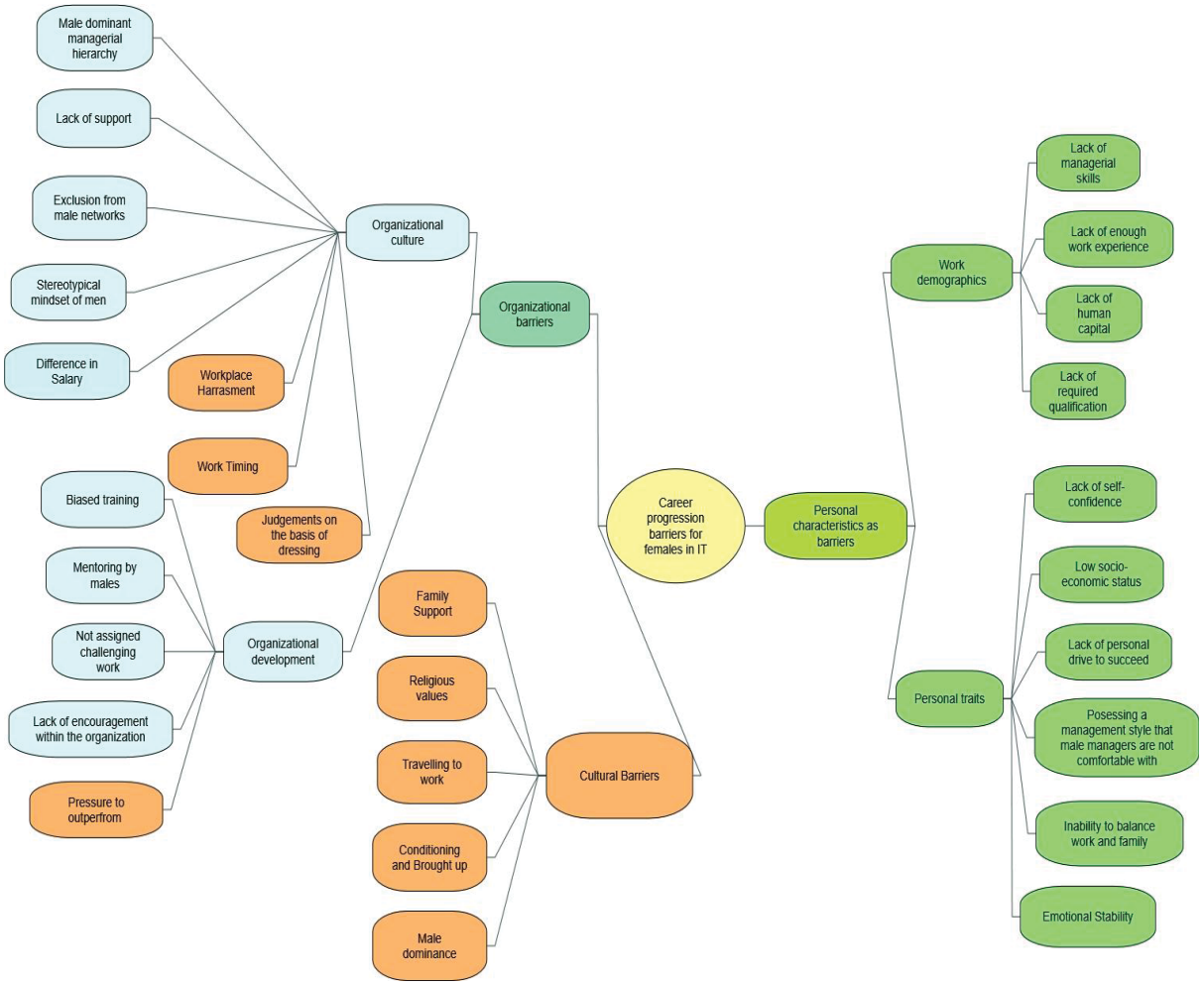


Figure 2: Framework of factors leading to the glass ceiling explored by study

4. Discussion/recommendations

Most of the barriers observed from data findings are in line with the findings in literature.

The ones specific to the Pakistani society that had not been stressed upon by literature included:

- Religious values barring women from working
- Lack of family support
- Lack of emotional stability of the female
- The stress caused by the pressure to outperform
- Workplace harassment

It is suggested that the females should concentrate on their skills and self-confidence. Being emotionally strong plays a vital role in obtaining a flourishing career. Strong communication and problem solving skills are crucial for achieving and maintaining a good position in the organization and to be open to new opportunities. These should be practiced and polished over and over with time.

Organizations should be open to provide more opportunities to women so they can prove their capabilities. A conducive environment and culture is required for females in the organization in order to help them grow professionally. Women working in this field need to be accepted and welcomed by the male gender so they can work with their greatest potential. HR policies should be introduced in all organizations that cater to the needs and issues of the women.

Women should be more open to challenges and face them confidently, be more emotionally strong and stop seeing themselves as victims. Families, especially the male members should be supportive of their career once they get into it.

The change needs to be initiated at the governmental level. A Glass Ceiling Commission needs to be initiated in Pakistan as well; which should make a set of rules for eliminating gender discrimination and foster the progress of females and make the implementation successful in organizations. The society needs to be more open to the concept of females working in the industry and welcome them as useful resources. If the amount of negativity and bias against this gender decreases, Pakistan will be a much happier place to live in.

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The Dynamics and Intersections of Gender, Disability* and Queerness in Thelma

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Abstract: This paper examines the dynamics and intersections of gender, disability* (the '*' sign marks disability* as an ever fluid term, which finds itself in a constant political and social change) and queerness in the movie 'Thelma' (2017), shot by Norwegian director Joachim Trier. Theoretically it is based on Gender – and Queer Studies, Disability - and Crip Theory as well as Intersectionality. Drawing on a combination of Werner Faulstich's filmanalytical method with Anja Peltzer's and Angela Keppler's sociological filmanalysis and Jens Eder's character-analysis, this study will especially focus on the main character Thelma, her queer desires for fellow student Anja and the other female gendered characters in the movie. This paper aims to outline the importance of mass media, when it comes to the representation of gender, disability and non-heterosexual desire in societies worldwide and how intersectional research can be a very helpful tool to investigate different perspectives and power structures.

Keywords: intersectionality, gender, disability, queer(-ness), desire, agency

1. Introduction

Mass media, and movies in particular, influence viewers by reflecting social values and norms. They also work as tools of socialisation. The portrayal of people with disabilities in movies and television, which is often very stereotypical, shapes the public perception of disability* worldwide. Often characters with disabilities are labelled as 'other' and are reduced to their disability*, which causes other characteristics, such as gender, and (sexual) identity/ desire, to disappear completely. The display of desire and disability*in movies is (still) a rare occurrence for individuals with disabilities*.

This research builds on the grounds of a master thesis, which examines disability* and desire in the movie 'Thelma' (2017), shot by Norwegian director Joachim Trier. 'Thelma' is a mainstream production which premiered at the Toronto International Film Festival 2017, one of the largest public film festivals worldwide. The film was also the Norwegian submission as 'Best Foreign Language Film' at the 90th Academy Awards 2018, which ensured much attention from different media outlets. The international press categorized 'Thelma' as explicitly queer only on rare occasions. It has been however, listed in a variety of other genres ranging from Drama to Thriller (IMDB), and Art House & International to Mystery & Suspense (Rotten Tomatoes). Others called 'Thelma' on the one hand a "supernatural romance […] with telekinetic powers" (Stolworthy 2017) and on the other hand a "coming-of-age story" (Rossing Jensen 2016) and a "[…] spooky-movie sweet spot where body horror meets erotic thriller" (Hans 2017).

Theoretically this research will be based on Gender – and Queer Studies, Disability - and Crip Theory as well as Intersectionality. Drawing on a combination of Werner Faulstich's filmanalysis method, Anja Peltzer's and Angela Keppler's sociological film analysis, and Jens Eder's character-analysis the goal of this research project is to examine the ways the intersections of (queer) desire and disability* are expressed in the film.

This study will focus especially on the main character Thelma, a shy young student who has just left her religious family in a small Norwegian town to in order to study at a university in Oslo. During the movie she experiences what seems to be epileptic seizures that start soon after she develops feelings for fellow student Anja.

This essay will first explore the topics gender, disability and queerness, which are essential elements of Thelma's personality and identity and are invaluable elements to the movie itself. This gender analysis focuses on the main character's religious upbringing and how the dynamics of the family result in personal alienation between herself and her inner feelings and desires.

Disability* as a, of not 'the' big subject of the movie is portrayed very complex. Thelma's powers seem out of control at times and vary from good to bad. Disability* and mental health are strictly feminized and only women in this film are presented as disabled, which fuels the existing stigmatisation regarding this issue. Thelma, her mother, and her grandmother fall into this category. The following chapter addresses queerness. These themes

and subjects intersect with each other and merge into a dynamic that allows Thelma to deal with religious-upbringing aftershocks, and (newly discovered) desires and powers.

2. Religious upbringing and family structures

Thelma was raised in a fundamental Christian family. Religion worked as a tool of regulation and control. Due to her as a very innocent child-like woman at the beginning of the movie it can be conjectured that she was unaware, of how her upbringing was restrictive. It seems normal to her that her parents call her daily and know her schedule and her whereabouts by heart. At this point there is no privacy. Constant supervision from above (regarding the family hierarchy, but also God as a witness) makes her a victim of this conservative system and suppresses her development in multiple ways.

Thelma's upbringing makes her an outsider. Her mom and dad keep her locked out from 'normal society' by literally locking her in. Therefore Thelma experiences exclusion from a very early age.

When the time comes for her to study at university, her parents are concerned she may compromise her morals like so many young people do as soon as they leave home for the first time. But Thelma, even at college stays socially isolated and without any close friends. During the course of the movie, her only connection to peers is through pressure (drinking, smoking, going out etc.).

In 'Thelma' religion is used by her parents as an instrument of power to suppress their daughter and to make her feel ashamed about her true self. Many of the symbols and metaphors shown in the movie are of religious meaning, for example the film uses the symbol of the snake, which in the bible symbolises the devil or temptation and seduction in general. In other cultures and religions however, this animal stands for knowledge. Following this train of thought, the scene in which the snake crawls into Thelma's mouth could be interpreted as her gaining knowledge about herself, her sexual desire and her identity. Another example is the ending of the movie when Thelma dives through water (and seemingly different realities) and then spits out a living bird which then flies away. It is reminiscent of a Christian baptism, thought in Taoist tradition water is considered an aspect of wisdom, and for ancient Greeks water holds an aspect of transition. Both interpretations fit in this context.

Thelma's powers cover a whole spectrum from evil to 'divine'. She 'heals' her mother's disability, but kills her father by burning him to death almost simultaneously. Still, the movie doesn't criticise religion itself, but it being used as an instrument of power.

3. Disability, magical powers and witchcraft

Thelma's disability* is described by the media in many various and sometimes even ambiguous ways (disability* and powers are used as synonyms in this essay). They range from magical or telekinetic powers (Robey 2017) to witchcraft. Even the term 'divine disability' comes to mind, standing for a natural divinity. But it is important to point out that "for the protagonist, having incredible powers isn't exciting. It's harrowing and lonely, and it isolates Thelma from those around her, just at the moment she's most eager to fit in" (Bishop 2017).

When looking at the main character's disability* it is essential to call her family structure to mind. Disability* and mental health are strictly gendered as female, which fuels the already existing stigmatisation regarding this issue even more. Only women in this film are shown as disabled. Thelma herself, her mother and her grandmother fall into this category.

The grandmother's appearance comes as quite a surprise, because Thelma's parents told her that the grandma died many years ago and because she seems to have the same powers as her granddaughter. Due to the possibility of a feminine lineage, the story has the potential to shift from Thelma being the only one to a mutual destiny. The intergenerational aspect of the powers involves a lot of potential for the development of Thelma's character. Sadly she can't communicate with her grandmother, because she is under strong medications and seems to be just a bodily presence at this stage. The old woman is and has been at the mercy of the medical staff of the clinic for years with little to no chance of ever getting out.

This train of thought leads to another character in the medical field: Thelma's dad. The male gaze and the medical gaze melt together in the figure of the father. As a doctor and head of the family, he has an increased male power.

In the first half of the movie Thelma is unable to take ownership of her disability* because of her parents. They make Thelma 'the other', by keeping her drugged and away from having a social life. Due to this Thelma lacks agency within her identity.

Due to this lack of agency, her powers could be a coping mechanism for all the abuse she has gone through or her epilepsy could also be a side effect of her powers. Thelma's disability can be interpreted as a link between her body and her mind, also there is the possibility of generative power of her disability. Though it could also be a symbol of the way in which lesbianism been labelled as a mental illness in the past and has been correlated with seemingly anti-social aspects.

The relationship between mother and daughter seems more distant than the one between father and daughter. Thelma's mother, Unni, is shown as a very complex and complicated figure. Mother-daughter scenes include the breaking of a mug in the kitchen and the hateful look Unni shoots at Thelma, as her daughter picks up the pieces from the floor. Another scene which represents the way in how Unni is not the protective and motherly type at all is when she tells her husband to kill Thelma.

A problematic aspect of Unni's representation as a woman in a wheelchair is that she fulfils the often shown stereotype of the 'Evil Crip'. A big problem with stereotyping is that it works in society on one side to establish and to maintain the hegemony of the dominant group and on the other side to marginalise and exclude other social groups. Furthermore, it produces "[…] sharp oppositions between social groups in order to maintain clear boundaries between them" (Smelik 2000, p. 134). They create and reproduce norms. May it be about sexual orientation, where gay men are portrayed as 'queens' and lesbians as 'mannish women' (most of the time there is no separation between gender identification from sexuality) or about the disability of a specific character.

Just as the institution of heterosexuality defines all sexuality, the institution of the abled (healthy) body defines all bodies (in a physical and psychical way). Robert McRuer points additionally out that "[…] little notice has been taken of the connection between heterosexuality and abled-bodies identity. Able-bodiedness, even more than heterosexuality, still largely masquerades as a non-identity, as the natural order of things" (McRuer 2006, p. 1).

Another important critique is that at the end of the movie Thelma's powers lead to her mother to be able to walk again. The ableist idea of Thelma's mother Unni just walking out of the wheelchair earns a lot of criticism when crip-reading this scene. It takes up the old argument that being in a wheelchair is bad and every disabled person has to be 'cured', 'healed' or made 'normal' (i.e. abled bodied).

4. The function of queerness, agency and genre-bending

The movie and its portrait of queerness is reminiscent of Michele Aaron's introduction to New Queer Cinema, when she describes queer as "[…] not just about gender and sexuality, but the restrictiveness of the rules governing them and their intersection with other aspects of identity. To be really queerly there is to apprehend 'the complexity of what actually happens "between" the contingent spaces where each variable [race, class, gender] intersects with others" (Aaron 2004: 7). Following this train of thought, Thelma's queerness doesn't limit itself to her sexual desire, but also as her being outside of the norm. Although she wrestles with her identity as a queer person, being gay is not 'the problem' of this character in the movie. Still, Thelma's will over others (which is mostly out of her control, specifically at the first two thirds of the movie) could identify her as a 'queer monster' and linking the queer to the dangerous.

The main character was psychologically and pharmacologically abused for years. Her father, a doctor forces medication on her without consent and stands for a culture, where medicine is seen as an authority that polices boundaries and often leaves patients with no agency, e.g. (Chase 1998, p. 193). Similar to the discursive production of sexed bodies regarding intersex people, disability* is often "[…] literally inscribed upon individuals; patients became their diseases" (Spurgas 2009, p. 97). In both cases Western medicine plays a huge role on the medicalization of the body and thus an effacement of identity, e.g. (Spurgas 2009, p. 112).

Thelma's grandmother and the indication of a feminine lineage create an interesting paradox of difference and similarity. It could be possible that Thelma develops agency, because otherwise she would be afraid to end up like her grandmother. The knowledge of her being alive could have empowered Thelma to shift the narrative and stand up for herself.

An interesting aspect produces the witchcraft potential of the story. The magical agency of Thelma allows a "[…] modern look at witchcraft, and an attempt to solve the mystery of whether she will choose to be a good witch or a bad one (Hans 2017).

'Thelma' is often compared to the movie 'Carrie' from 1976. In Brian De Palma's horror classic the title character is also raised in near isolation in a strict religious household. "Carrie's psychic powers are triggered by her first period, linking her "affliction" with womanhood. In the Trier film, Thelma's telekinesis is awakened by desire and exacerbated when she goes to university and falls in love with another woman, Anja" (Barton-Fumo 2017).

The discussed topics surely contribute through their very complex and diverse dynamics and intersections to the genre-bending character this movie inhabits. As mentioned in the introduction 'Thelma' was not only shown at LGBT Film Festivals, but mainly at commercially much bigger ones. This resulted in a lot more attention from the media, a wide variety of viewers and mainstream culture altogether. Remarkable in this regard was how the coverage of the feature classified it into various and sometimes almost conflicting genres.

5. Conclusion

Through a very conservative upbringing Thelma is a young woman who has learnt to suppress her feelings – and through that, also her supernatural powers. In the course of the movie gender, disability and queerness merge with each other and create a dynamic that allows her to deal with her religious upbringing aftershocks, (newly discovered) desires and powers. At the end her development can be read as one of female emancipation and empowerment. She finds her agency.

The genre-bending character of the movie and the Sci Fi and fantasy elements helped viewers to see the complexity of Thelma's disability* in a way that her disability* is represented as powers and/or magical abilities. This helps also to see disability* and desire as constantly changing categories, which have a mutual relationship with each other.

It has also been shown that stereotypical portrayals of disability* in movies have been reproduced. Without exception characters with disabilitys* are gendered female, they are 'the other'. But while Unni's disability* is more likely shown as a deficit or defect, which (following the medical model of disability*) gets 'healed' by her daughter, Thelma's primal motive can be seen as freeing, because "as a whole the film is an urgent fable about the empowerment of "finding oneself"" (Sødtholt 2017).

While the relationship between Anja and Thelma opened up a heteronormative concept, which is often shown in movies, binaries concerning dis_ability* or rather male-female stayed unquestioned.

The movie sometimes seems like a patchwork of themes, but they intersect so beautifully that "Thelma can be seen either as a self-empowered adult, a relentless monster, or even the hapless victim of otherworldly forces. Perhaps she's a combination of all three, but either way, there are no clear, easy moral takeaways, just shades of grey" (Bishop 2017). In the end, the viewer is still not able to put all the pieces of the puzzle together, "the film becomes an open-ended saga about rejecting family to pursue your own independent path" (Robey 2017).

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Work in Progress Paper

Female Teachers and Sexual Harassment at School: Cases From South Korea

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Abstract: Several female teachers from South Korea have reported verbal and physical sexual harassment at school and even more cases have been revealed due to the recent #MeToo movement. Sexual harassers in these reported cases include school administrators, colleagues, and students—surprisingly, even early elementary students have participated in sexually harassing their female teachers. However, schools and educational research have yet to actively address female teachers' struggles with being sexually harassed and objectified, even by their students. No related policy currently exists that could provide a safety net for female teachers. This collective case study focuses on experiences shared by female teachers in South Korean schools, and what should be done to support them by sharing female teachers' own voices. In-depth, one-on-one interviews with four female teachers working in an elementary and middle school in South Korea were analyzed to focus on the gender-based violence the participants have experienced and how they perceived, understood, resisted, and accepted the situations. The present paper argues that (a) female teachers have clearly experienced gender biases and sexual violence in schools; (b) gender privilege is even greater than teacher-student power relationships, so it disrupts power dynamics in the classroom; (c) teachers and school administrators attempt to avoid any (potential) conflicts; (d) female teachers are asked to take responsibility throughout all related processes (which often includes victim-blaming and perception of opposing women as "incompetent"); and (e) all stakeholders lack gender sensitivity. The experience of being sexually harassed in school has arguably changed female teachers' gender sensitivity; they are also socially forced to remain silent; those experiences have affected their teaching practices, often in negative ways including being passive in teaching and caring for students. By closely analyzing female teachers' voices and their experiences, new light can be shed on the neglected issue of female teachers being sexually harassed in schools.

Keywords: female teacher, sexual harassment in school, sexual objectification of women teachers, gender discrimination, gender and education

1. Introduction: Why focus on female teachers in South Korea?

Teaching is a very popular employment option in South Korea because it guarantees highly stable employment. Only the most competitive students enter colleges of education, and the teacher selection process is even more rigorous and competitive. With this condition and the historical idea of "nurturing," more women work as teachers than men in South Korea. This leads to a relevant question of whether female teachers are established leaders or marked objects in education.

Female teachers are often at a disadvantage compared to male teachers. Sexual discrimination occurs not only in relationships amongst colleagues but also in female teacher-student relationships. In recent news, male students were reported to harass, ignore or disparage female teachers because of the teachers' gender, but the public tended to explain this by stating "that's what boys do." Also, historically, publicizing the issue on sexual violence has been forbidden. Accordingly, solutions to prevent sexual harassment of female teachers have not been investigated thoroughly. This collective case study aims to investigate female teachers' experiences of being sexually objectified by students and the influence these experiences have had on female teachers' lives.

2. Literature review

Studies on power and education have been carried out by focusing on issues such as race, socioeconomic status, and so on. The critical pedagogy regarding the manner in which teachers resist or negotiate institutions was the representative background theory. Foucault (1982) even suggested that teachers, in pursuing pedagogical objectives, bring modern power into play through normalization procedures.

There are situations, however, where a power disruption occurs between the student and the teacher due to the female teachers' gender. In general, teachers are admired and considered powerful, but some students use

inappropriate behavior or language with female teachers. If a large number of students regard the teacher's gender as a significant element and act in this manner, it is possible to infer how the social context of sexual discrimination influences their behavior.

In this context, Woods (1998) argued that the two power bases of gender and occupational status are at work and that gender tends to exert the greater influence on floor apportionment. This result is connected to the case of patients' interruption and the subversion of female doctors' authority (West, 1998).

Hence, we need to examine what has been studied about sexual discrimination or objectification through female teachers' experiences. Most research has tended to deal with teachers' lives and identities (Goodson, 1997; Connelly & Clandinin, 1999; Estola & Syrjala, 2002) and not specifically focused on gender. Only Lee and Kim (2017) investigated female elementary school teachers' experience of multiple roles in South Korea and found female teachers were feeling distressed at having to assume full responsibility for child rearing and housework; therefore, revealing female teachers' experience of role incongruity.

3. Methodology

3.1 Collective case study

A case study "investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-world context" (Yin, 2009). This research aims to explore the sexual harassment female teachers have experienced in schools. Rather than getting statistical findings from a larger population, the present study focused on each female teacher's voice in depth given how the topic could be difficult to share through a survey intended for a larger population. The research questions that guided this study were as follows: (a) what types of sexual harassment have female teachers experienced? and (b) how have those experiences affected female teachers?

3.2 Participants

Four female teachers were recruited for semi-structured interviews. All four teachers were in their 30s with more than 10 years' teaching experience working in elementary or middle schools in Seoul and nearby big cities. It is highly competitive to work as teachers in these particular cities with rapid societal change and development. Snowball sampling was used to recruit teachers, meaning that each teacher who was interviewed recommended a next possible interviewee. Two elementary teachers and two middle school teachers agreed to participate in this study.

3.3 Data collection and analysis

Semi-structured, one-on-one interviews were conducted to collect data. Three researchers developed a questionnaire to initiate an in-depth conversation around each teacher's experience. The questionnaire asked teachers to reflect on their experiences of being harassed in schools due to their gender, specifically about how it happened, how the female teachers and other stakeholders (students, parents, and schools) responded, and what they thought the responses should have been. Researchers conducted in-person interviews first, and follow-up interviews were conducted via phone or email when needed. All the interviews were recorded and transcribed with the participants' consent. Transcripts were open-coded, then axial coded, and finally thematic coded.

4. Findings

The researchers were all surprised during the interview process by the high amount of sexual harassment female teachers had to endure from students as well as the school culture itself. The teachers who were interviewed shared that there were no in-depth investigations, counseling or other protection measures for the teachers or the attacking students after the issue was reported. In most cases, schools responded to sexual violence by (a) dismissing the female teachers rather than the student from the classroom; and/or (b) blaming female teachers' gender as the cause of the violence, often followed by framing women as "incompetent."

4.1 The sexual harassment female teachers experienced

The female teachers said that they have experienced sexual discrimination from students and parents. Some students said they passed degrading remarks on women in front of teachers and spoke about having seen nude photographs in class. In some cases, the students failed to obey or actively ignored female teachers' instructions,

which differed from their behavior toward male teachers. Discrimination against female teachers by students was similar to that of the students' parents, and there were cases in which the problems caused in class by parents' power were replaced with male parents' complaints about female teachers. In previous research studies, other teachers and administrators were not interested in sexual discrimination experienced by these female teachers and did not take any special follow-up actions. Rather, the school promoted gender discrimination, for example, helping a person who advises female teachers to receive subsidy aid (Participant B), and the teacher was advised not to be overly sensitive in counseling about discrimination (Participant A).

4.2 Recognition and response of female teachers

Teachers who have been sexually discriminated by students and parents said they did not recognize themselves as victims or they hesitated to publicize their claims. They reported that other teachers who suffered sexual harassment were framed as incompetent teachers who were unable to manage students. In addition, they thought that it was a "disgraceful thing" (participant A) to publicize the gender discrimination they faced from male students. The female teachers wanted to hear students admit that "the teacher is as strict as a male teacher" (Participant B). Female teachers also said that they self-censored their clothing and selection of teaching materials. Teachers wore clothes that are "neat and unobtrusive" at school (participant C) and avoided sensitive topics, such as sex, in the classroom (Participant D). When researchers asked about a solution to the gender discrimination issue faced by female teachers, they replied that it was not easy to find a solution because the participants did not wish to be identified, and thus the issue was not publicized because there was no proper response to the problem.

5. Concluding remarks

In South Korea's educational field, gender issues and the voices of female teachers have been silenced despite the current global #MeToo movement. The researchers, however, learned from these courageous teachers that silence does not suggest that nothing has happened. The present research is significant in revealing the sexual harassment teachers have experienced in schools by focusing on female teachers' unheard voices in educational research in South Korea. These female teachers have suffered from various forms of sexual harassment from students, parents, colleagues, and from schools, and in many cases the female teachers have been accused of being responsible for the situation.

This paper argues that gender should not be an issue when teachers do their work, suggesting that (a) a detailed educational policy should be established nationwide against any kind of sexual harassment to protect and support women in education; (b) gender education should be made available for students, parents, teachers, and administrators, to open up discussions around gender issues, including sexual violence, from grades pre-K to 16; and (c) a structured social support system for teachers and students involved in sexual harassment, including counseling, should exist. Further research on sexual violence in the educational field is needed. Last but not least, it must be noted that framing female teachers as powerless victims was the last thing this study planned to do. Without any structured support, female teachers tried their best to cope with the situation and continued to offer best teaching practices to their students. Their work ethic and courage should be commended.

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