

# **An Exploration of Gender and Academic Management in Irish Institutes of Technology**

**Fiona Malone**

**BSc, PGDip, PGCE, MA, ACMA**

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**The School of Policy and Practice, Institute of Education**

**Dublin City University**

**Supervisor: Dr Shivaun O'Brien**

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## Declaration

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of Doctor of Education is entirely my own work, and that I have exercised reasonable care to ensure that the work is original, and does not to the best of my knowledge breach any law of copyright, and has not been taken from the work of others save to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my own.

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ (Fiona Malone)

ID No.: 12211543

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

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**Fiona Malone**

## **Abstract**

### **An Exploration of Gender and Academic Management in Irish Institutes of Technology**

This research is situated in the area of gender. The impetus of this research is based on the significant lack of women at the higher echelons of academic management in the Irish Institute of Technology sector. Such a study is important in order to develop an understanding of how academics experience gender in the workplace and how such experiences impact on their careers. Identifying a philosophy is essentially about identifying truth and for this study truth is the lived experience of participants.

Contextually this study is conducted in an Irish Institute of Technology setting, within the naturalistic paradigm, using an exploratory case study research design. Secondary data is collected in the form of observations and documentations. Primary data is collected through seventeen semi-structured interviews with thirteen women and four men. A stratified, purposive, non-probability sampling approach is used which includes academics at different grades and disciplines from lecturer to senior academic managers. A qualitative methodology is employed using several phases of iterative thematic analysis using inductive and deductive approaches.

Key research questions addressed in this study provide evidence of the existence of gendered bias speculated in the existing literature at three levels, organisational, group and individual. This study builds on previous research as it unbundles and extends the analysis of gendered practices and highlights variations in gender related issues in the IoT sector, such as, structural placement and control of women. Specifically, there is some evidence that, as a result of gendered bias, academic women face an additional barrier, shame.

There is a need to develop new norms at each level, such as, the introduction of: Gender Equality Initiatives; accountability; alternate markers of success; cultivation of community partnerships; gender workshop and development of the individual.

## Acronyms

AL	Assistant Lecturer
DES	Department of Education and Skills (2010-present)
ECF	Employment Control Framework
EU/IMF	European Union/ International Monetary Fund
HEA	Higher Education Authority
HEI	Higher Educational Institution
HoD	Head of Department
HoS	Head of School
IoT	Institute of Technology
L	Lecturer
SET	Science, Engineering and Technology
SL	Senior Lecturer
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics
TUI	Teachers Union of Ireland

# Chapter 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Introduction

This study is situated in the field of gender in the workplace. Gender inequality in organisations is many-sided with respect to structures, processes, rituals and traditions (Stamarski & Son Hing, 2015). Both men and women perceive gender bias differently, with women stating greater obstacles than men (Bulger and Mellor, 1997).

This chapter is organised with section 1.2 outlining the background to this research and section 1.3 presenting the rationale from both an international perspective and an Irish perspective. Section 1.4 describes the profile of the Institutes of Technology sector within the Irish higher educational landscape, the case study itself and the participants taking part in the study. Section 1.5 portrays the aim of this study and the research objectives and questions and section 1.6 outlines the structure of the thesis. Section 1.7 summarises the chapter.

## 1.2 Background to Research

Although the number of women occupying lower-level management positions has been rising (Eagly & Carli, 2003) women continue to face obstacles in terms of being recognised and accepted as legitimate leaders (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Ridgeway, 2001). If women are not accepted as legitimate leaders, then their effectiveness across all types of leadership, both formal and informal, will be constrained, making gender bias a significant problem for organisations.

Research shows evidence of gendered experiences within organisations; (Acker, 1990; Lester et al., 2017; Erikson, 2012; Bailyn, 2003; Acker, 2010; Deem, 2003; Goode & Bagilhole, 1998; Bagilhole, 2002; Pyke, 2013; Moss-Racusin et al.,

2012; Van den Brink et al., 2010; Shields et al., 2011; Beddoes & Schimpf, 2016; O'Connor 1999, 2000, 2009, 2011, 2014; O'Connor & Goransson, 2015; Goulden et al., 2011). The consequences of these gendered experiences have affected women psychologically and physically affecting job satisfaction, organisational commitment and performance (Stamarski & Son Hing, 2015), limiting ambitions and as a result, have led to the refusal of suitably qualified women to seek senior positions (Bagilhole, 2002; Acker, 2010; Bagilhole & White, 2008).

For women in higher education, research carried out in higher education institutions (known as HEI forthwith) globally highlights how a workplace can be an uncomfortable place due to certain gender inequalities that may be present. For example, research in areas, such as, gender and management in HEIs in Australia, Ireland, South Africa, New Zealand, Turkey and Portugal (Ozkanli et al., 2009); gendered structures in Irish Universities (O'Connor, 1999, 2000, 2011); EO policies in a British University (Bagilhole, 2002); gender equality programmes in German universities (Muller, 2000); women in lower middle management in Canadian Universities (Acker 2014); interdisciplinary engineering (Erickson, 2012); career development of female academics in a Greek University (Asimaki, 2016); gender discrimination in an Israeli university (Husu, 2000); mentoring in a British University (Priola, 2007); gender and feminine identities (Priola, 2004); senior management posts in an Australian University (Chesterman et al., 2009); Acker's (1990) framework in a USA university (Lester et al., 2017). All the above research highlights the absence of women in top university leadership positions.

The datasets on women in HEIs within the twenty eight member states of the European Union (known as EU forthwith) collated by the European Commission, are known as the She Figures reports. Statistics for the years 2009 (Morley, 2013, pp.119-121) and 2013 (She Figures, 2015, p.6) are presented in Table 1.

According to the information presented in Table 1, gender inequalities still persist when it comes to career advancement across European HEIs. This underrepresentation reflects missed opportunities for women to contribute to higher education (She Figures, 2015).

*Table 1 : Information on the percentage of women in Higher Educational Institutions across Europe*

	<b>2009</b>	<b>2013</b>
<b>Percentage of HEIs headed by women</b>	13%	20%
<b>Percentage of Universities that award PhD degrees headed by women</b>	9%	
<b>EU Country's with highest share of female Vice Chancellors</b>	Sweden, Iceland, Norway, Finland, Israel	
<b>EU Country's with lowest share of female Vice Chancellors</b>	Denmark, Cyprus, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Hungary	
<b>EU Countries (7% at most) with the lowest percentage of female Rectors</b>	Romania, Austria, Slovakia, Italy, the Netherlands, the Czech Republic, Belgium, Germany	
<b>Overall difference with men at Professor level</b>		58%
<b>Overall difference with men at lecturer level</b>		10%
<b>Percentage of females at Professor Level by discipline</b>		13% Science and Engineering, 30% Humanities, 23.5% Social Science
<b>Percentage of women as Scientific and Administrative board members</b>		28%
<b>Percentage of women as overall board members</b>		22%

*Source: Morley (2013, p.119-121); She Figures, European Commission (2015, p.6)*

In the university sector in Ireland in 2011, the number of female university Presidents was 0% which contrasted with Sweden who had 42% female university Presidents. There were between 82-86% male Vice-Presidents and

75% male Deans (O'Connor, 2011, p.87). The absence of women in senior positions in universities in Ireland has received considerable attention in recent years (O'Connor, 1996, 1999, 2000, 2009, 2013; Grummel et al., 2009; O'Grada et al., 2015).

### 1.3 Rationale of Research - An Irish Context

Although Ireland has legislation for equality and non-discrimination (Office of the Attorney General, 2015), the European Report on Policy on Gender Equality in Ireland for 2015, identified Ireland as one of the twenty-eight EU countries with high underrepresentation of women in national political structures. Only 16% of those in national parliament, and twenty-four percent of those in national administration, are women. The year 2016 saw the introduction for the first time of a new quota system under which at least 30% of candidates of political parties in the general election were required to be female (European Report, 2015).

This gender problem continues to be reflected in Ireland's higher education system. Higher education in Ireland is provided mainly by seven universities, fourteen Institutes of Technology, seven colleges of education and a number of other higher level institutions provide specialist education. This gives a total of forty-three higher educational institutions (Department of Education and Skills, 2015).

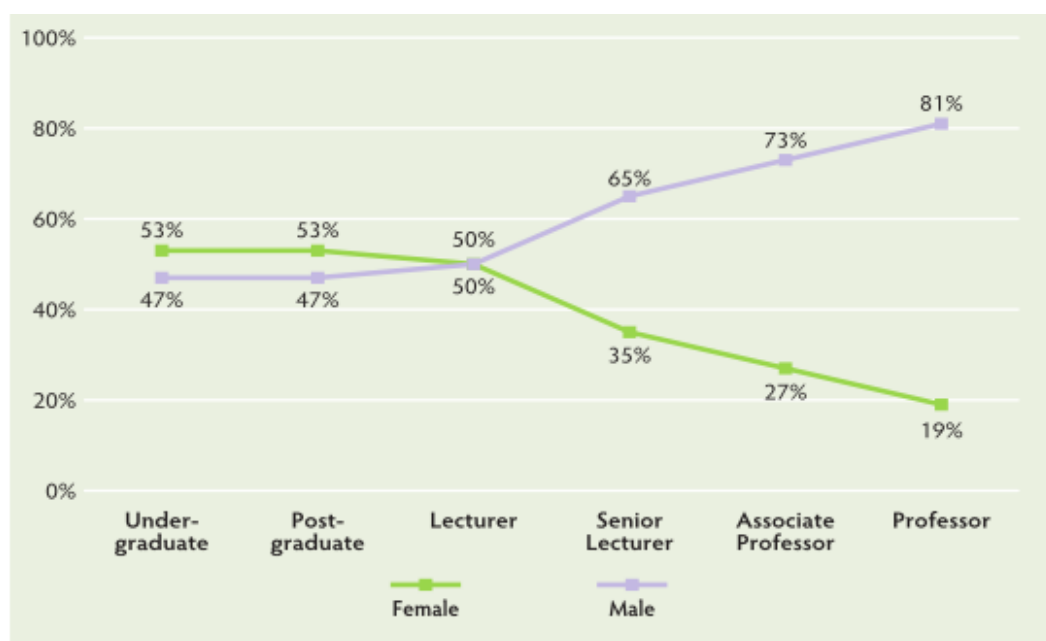
In 2015, a review of gender equality in the Irish higher education sector was carried out by the Higher Education Authority (known as HEA forthwith ), the body who is responsible for overseeing the higher education system in Ireland. The output of this review is the *Report of the Expert Group HEA review of Gender Equality in Irish Higher Education Institutions*, published in June 2016. It reports that in December 2015, only two of the seven universities had 40% or more

women on their executive management team, ranging from 46% in Trinity College Dublin (TCD) to 22% in University of limerick (UL) and a sector average of 32% women (p. 30). Only three out of fourteen IoTs had 40% or more women on their executive management team, with the Institute of Technology Blanchardstown (ITB) the highest at 53% women and a sector average of 23%. Two Institutes of Technology (known as IoT forthwith) had no women on their executive management teams (Athlone Institute of Technology (AIT) and Dublin Institute of Technology (DIT)) (p.30).

Figures 1 and 2, highlight the percentage female senior academic and lecturer staff in all Irish universities for a three year average from 2013-2015 and a comparison between the years of 1997/1998 and 2003/2004 respectively. When comparing both graphs gender balance has been achieved at the lecturer grade increasing from 33% in 1998 to 50% in 2015. However, as the positions rise in seniority, the percentage of women holding those posts decreases with only 35% (Figure 1) of senior lecturer grade filled by women in 2015, decreasing to 27% (Figure 1) for associate professors and 19% (Figure 1) for professors across the universities. There has been an increase of women since 1998 in all four grades increasing by 17% at lecturer level, 19% increase at the senior lecturer level and associate professor level and the lowest of 13% at professor level.

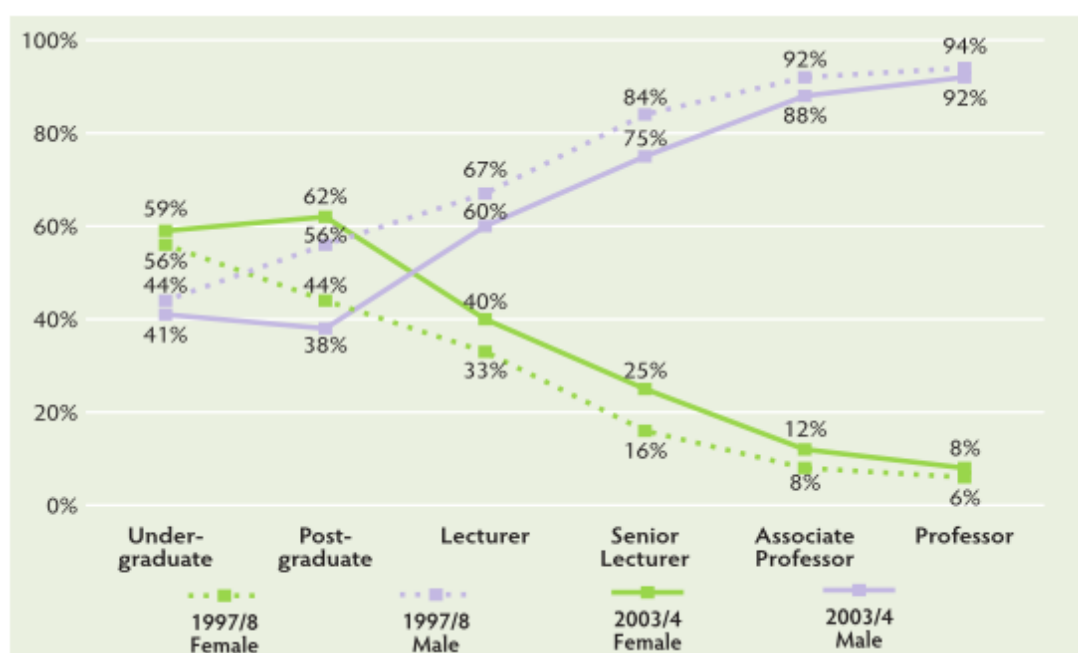


Figure 1 : Percentage of female senior academic and lecturer staff in all Irish universities for a three year average from 2013-2015



Source: Report of the Expert Group HEA review of Gender Equality in Irish Higher Education Institutions June 2016 p. 31.

Figure 2 : Percentage male and percentage female senior academic staff in all Irish universities (1997/1998 and 2003/2004)

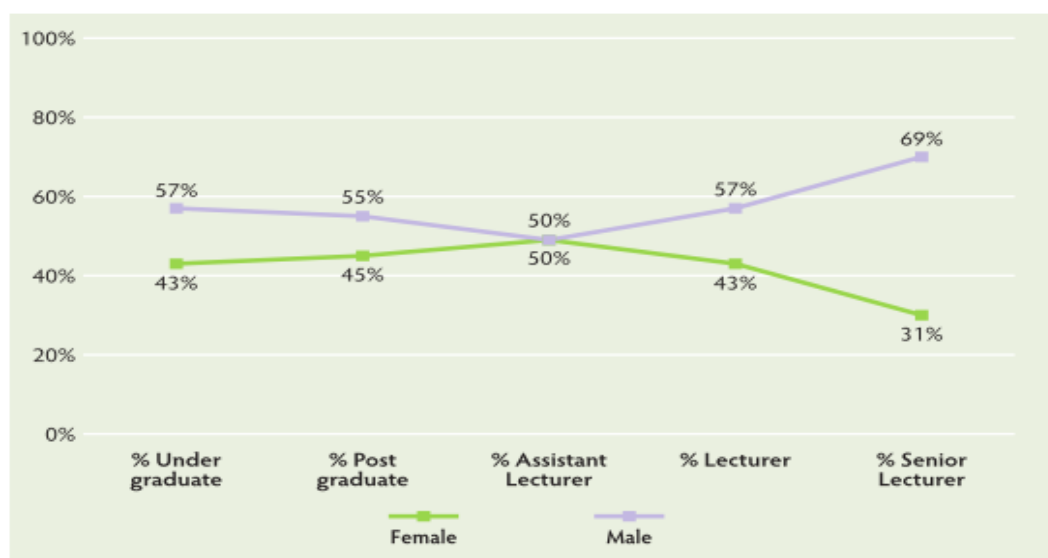


Source: Report of the Expert Group HEA review of Gender Equality in Irish Higher Education Institutions June 2016 p. 32

The academic structure in the Institutes of Technology are different to the university sector. The academic hierarchy is made up of Head of School (Senior Lecturer 3 or SL3), Head of Department (Senior Lecturer 2 or SL2), Senior Lecturer 1 (teaching post or SL1), Lecturer (L) and Assistant Lecturer (AL) although the structure can vary across the Institutes.

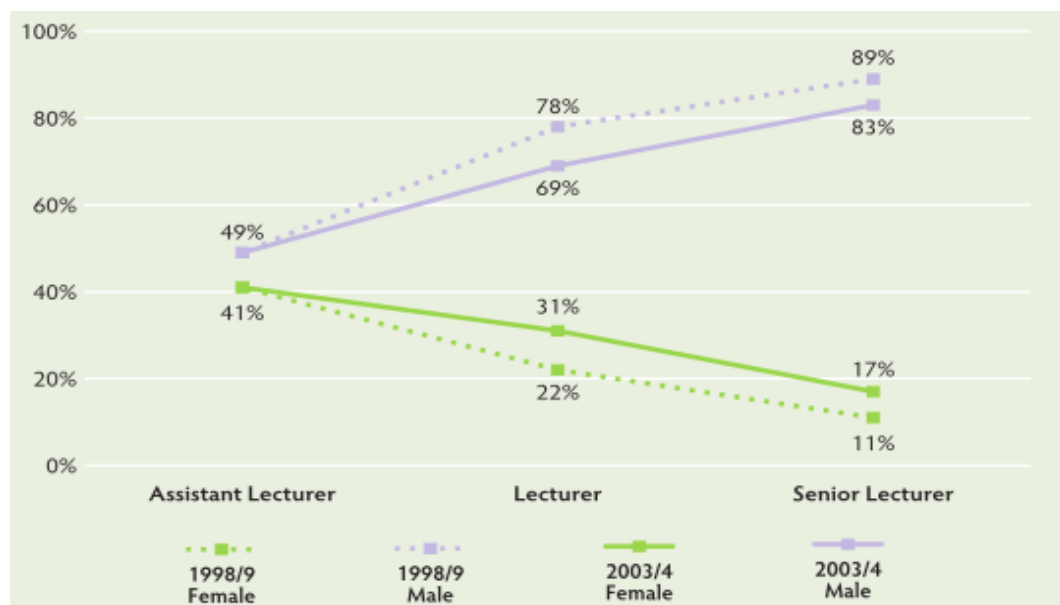
Figures 3 and 4 below display the percentage of female academic staff in all Irish IoTs for a three year average from 2013-2015 and a comparison between the years of 1997/1998 and 2003/2004, respectively. When comparing both graphs gender balance has been achieved at the assistant lecturer grade increasing from 41% in 1998 to 50% in 2015. However as, the level rises in seniority the percentage of women holding those posts decreases with only 43% (Figure 3) of lecturer grade filled by women in 2015, decreasing to 31% (Figure 1) for the total senior lecturer grades (SL1, SL2 and SL3 levels) across the IoT sector. There has been an increase of women since 1998 in all three grades increasing by 7% at assistant lecture level, 21% increase at the lecturer level and 20% at all three senior lecturer levels.

Figure 3 : Percentage female senior academic and lecturer staff in all Irish Institutes of Technology for a three year average from 2013-2015



Source: Report of the Expert Group HEA review of Gender Equality in Irish Higher Education Institutions June 2016 p. 36

Figure 4 : Percentage female and male senior, lecturer and assistant lecturer staff in all Irish Institutes of technology (1998/1999 and 2003/2004)



Source: Report of the Expert Group HEA review of Gender Equality in Irish Higher Education Institutions June 2016 p. 37.

Up to date statistics in 2015 from the HEA website were not available at each senior lecturer academic grade (senior lecture 1, 2, 3) which has added to the Irish problem (O'Grada et al., 2015). However, at the time that this research began, data collated from across the fourteen IoT websites in 2013 showed that the ratio of female to male academic management (President, SL2 and SL3) ranged from twenty-four percent to thirty-six percent. This data is presented in Table 2.

*Table 2 : Ratio of Male to Female Academic Management across the IoT sector in 2013*

	Male	Female	% female to male
<b>President</b>	9	5	35.7%
<b>Head of School (SL3)</b>	39	12	23.5%
<b>Head of Department (SL2)</b>	82	40	32.8%
<b>Overall</b>	129	57	30.6%

*Source: collated from websites of IoTs in 2013 (Appendix A) for further information*

This data shows that women disappear in the higher grades, that is, when power, resources, rewards and influence increase (David, 2015). The grade with the lowest percentage of women is at the head of school level and according to O'Connor (2011) a glass ceiling is apparent when women hold few senior management positions. Since 2013, three of the five female Presidents have stepped down from their posts permanently or temporarily and all have been replaced by males. The percentage for females at Presidential level in 2017 stands at 14.3%.

What explains the persistence of these inequalities? These accepted work practices may support 'deeply entrenched divisions and disparities between men and women, often in subtle and insidious ways' (Ely & Meyerson, 2002 p. 104-105).

Most studies on the lack of women in senior positions in the Irish higher education in the last two decades have concentrated on the university sector (O'Connor, 1996, 1999, 2000, 2009, 2014); Grummel, Devine & Lynch, 2009; O'Connor & O'Hagan, 2015; O'Grada et al., 2015). However little research has been carried out in the Institutes of Technology in Ireland. This provides further impetus for this research where little research has focused on exploring the factors that academic women experience in the IoT sector which impact on their career aspirations. Hence, the reasons for the underrepresentation of women in this higher education sector warrant further investigation. This study aims to extend the current literature by exploring the gendered organisational practices and challenges facing academic women working in Institutes of Technology and provide a better understanding of why so few of them reach academic management positions.

## **1.4 Profile of the Institutes of Technology and Participants**

### **1.4.1 The Institutes of Technology in context**

Currently there are fourteen Institutes of Technology (IoTs) within the Irish higher education system. The IoTs are agencies in their own right and report directly to Higher Education Authority (known as HEA forthwith), the body who is responsible for overseeing the higher education system in Ireland. Each IoT is responsible for sending in annual reports on employment statistics, statistics for funding, governance and performance. Institutional budgets and spending are closely monitored by the DES, and unlike universities, they receive no baseline for funding research. The influence of the Department of Education and Skills (known as DES forthwith) remains strong where all academic contracts continue to be negotiated at the national level by the DES, sectoral management and the Teachers Union of Ireland, (TUI) (O'Byrne, 2015).

Teaching is the main focus in the IoT sector. The lecturing posts are Senior Lecturer 1 (teaching post), Lecturer and Assistant Lecturer.

The academic management structure in the Institutes of Technology is generally made up of President, Head of School (Senior Lecturer 3), and Head of Department (Senior Lecturer 2) as per Figure 8 (p.60), although this can vary in certain institutes. The Head of School (Senior Lecturer 3) is normally strategic in their role, whereas the Head of Department (Senior Lecturer 2) is normally operational in their role, although this can vary between institutions. They are also contracted to teach a certain number of hours per annum and these posts are normally permanent.

#### **1.4.2 Profile of the Participants**

The selection of the four case sites for this study is based on Yin (2009) and Flyvberg's (2004) use of exemplar or extreme cases. An overview for each IoT within this study (known as IoT1, IoT2, IoT3, and IoT4 forthwith) is provided below, based on information collated from each of the fourteen IoTs' website in 2013 (Appendix A);

1. IoT1 is classed as a male dominated institution for this study.
2. IoT2 is classed as a male dominated institution for this study.
3. IoT3 is classed as gender balanced at head of department level for this study.
4. IoT4 is classed as a gendered balanced institution at senior academic management level for this study.

Seventeen of the invited twenty participants, both male and female, are represented from the following academic grades; - lecturer (L), senior lecturer (SL1), Head of Department (Senior lecturer 2, HoD) and Head of School (senior

lecturer 3, HoS) from each IoT, from across a wide range of discipline, and at different stages of their academic career (Table 3 and Table 4). Some participants have been successful in promotion to management, some have not, others have chosen to step down from management and some have never applied for promotion. The purpose is to generate theoretical positions from multiple perspectives and future research questions that would not be unique to one discipline (Beaman-Smith & Placier, 1996).

*Table 3 : Breakdown of Interviewees by Gender by IoT*

		Head of School (SL3)	Head of Department (SL2)	Senior Lecture 1	Lecturer
<b>IoT1</b>	<b>Female</b>	1	1	1	1
	<b>Male</b>				1
<b>IoT2</b>	<b>Female</b>	1			2
	<b>Male</b>				1
<b>IoT3</b>	<b>Female</b>		1	2	
	<b>Male</b>	1			
<b>IoT4</b>	<b>Female</b>	2	1		
	<b>Male</b>		1		

One male participant was included from each institute to give an overview of their perspective of gender in the workplace and to strengthen credibility of the study.

Table 4 : Participants by grade, case number (Institute), discipline and gender.

		Lecturer	Senior Lecturer	Head of Department	Head of School
Case 1 IoT1	Female	*Paula (Engineering)	Orla (Humanities)	Margaret (Science)	**Rose (Humanities)
	Male	Norman (Business & IT)			
Case 2 IoT2	Female	Alice (Engineering) Brenda (Science)			Donna (Engineering)
	Male	*Colm (Engineering)			
Case 3 IoT3	Female		Faye (Engineering) Hilary (Business)	Glenda (Humanities)	
	Male				Edward (IT)
Case 4 IoT4	Female			Isobel (Social Science)	Lisa (Business) Cate (Social Science)
	Male			John (Humanities)	

\*Current grade but former Heads of Department

\*\*Left the IoT sector but former Head of School

## 1.5 Aim of the Study and Research Objectives

### 1.5.1 Research Aim

The overall aim of this research is to advance the understanding of how gendered practices are experienced by academic staff, particularly in relation to the impact on the career progression of academic women into academic management in the IoT sector. The impetus of this research is based on the significant lack of women who have reached the higher echelons of academic management (Table 2, p.9).



### 1.5.2 Research Objectives and Questions

To achieve the research aims, the research objective and questions are:

Research Objective: *Explore academic staff experiences related to gender in their workplace and identify how these experiences impact on their career choices*

Research question one: *How is gender bias experienced by academics in their workplace?*

Research question two: *How do these experiences impact on their career direction?*

The intended contribution from this study is descriptive and theoretical. Identifying a philosophy is essentially about identifying truth and for this study truth is the lived experience of participants. Following Patton (1985) (cited in Merriam, 1998 p.6) the study strives to

*Understand situations as part of a particular context and the interactions there. This understanding is an end in itself, so that it is not attempting to predict what may happen in the future necessarily, but to understand the nature of the setting- what it means for participants to be in that setting, what their lives are like, what's going on for them, what their meanings are, what the world looks like in that particular setting, - and in the analysis to be able to communicate that faithfully to others who are interested in that setting. The analysis strives for depth of understanding [p.1].*

Key research questions used when interviewing participants explores their values, views and perceptions in relation to gendered issues.

## 1.6 Structure of Thesis

Chapter one introduces the rationale for undertaking this study and describes the relevance of the study within an Irish context. It outlines the objective of the study and the research questions.

Chapter two traces the previous research carried out in the area of gender and higher education which has been used to produce a conceptual framework to scaffold this study, and to assist making meaning of the qualitative data collection that evaluates key research questions. Chapter three sets the scene for the research while Chapter four details the interpretative research approach, case study methodology and methods used in this study. Chapter five presents the findings to research question one and chapter six presents findings for research question two. Chapter seven discusses the findings within each case analysis and then presents a cross case summary. Chapter eight provides a conclusion to the study.

## 1.7 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter outlines the rationale for undertaking this study and the background to the research which portrays researched evidence of gendered experiences in relation to organisational practices in both European and Irish HEIs. It presents a short profile of the IoT sector, the four Institutes of Technology case sites and participants taking part in the study. It concludes by identifying the aim, research objectives and research questions of the study and provides an outline of the structure of the thesis.

## Chapter 2 Literature Review

### 2.1 Introduction

*Women are forced to overcome barriers to advancement and inclusion within male-dominated occupations, where some women in these fields have likely learned that certain environments are more hostile toward women than others. Being vigilant for cues, altering them to the possibility of future negative experiences is important for future occupational success (Gaucher et al., 2012 p.121).*

The purpose of this chapter is to review the literature relevant to the conceptual framework for understanding how gender bias is experienced by academics in an Institute of Technology (IoT) setting and how it impacts on their careers. Thus, the review intends to cover the field in terms of gendered practices at organisational level and group level, highlighting how some practices are often invisible and underground but when accumulated, can impact on women's ability to see themselves as leaders and make the workplace an uncomfortable place to be in (Ibarra et al., 2013).

Previous research has highlighted that gender bias in organisations is an inter-individual multilevel phenomenon (Acker, 1990; Kanter, 1977; Risman, 2004; Gelfand et al., 2007) that affects leadership through a complex set of processes involving a complex, dynamic, intricate network of relationships (Hogue & Lord, 2007). Although Kanter (1977) deems that there are great variations in the patterns and extent of an organisation's gender bias, men are almost always in the highest positions of organisational power and managers' decisions often initiate gender divisions (Cohn, 1985) with organisational practices maintaining them. The structure of the labour market, relations in the workplace and the control of the work process, are always affected by symbols of gender, processes

of gender identity, and capital inequalities between women and men (Acker, 1990, p.145) where men receive a 'patriarchal dividend' (Connell 1987). It is the conscious (or unconscious) precedence that a society places on the welfare of its males over its females, and the trend towards favouring "maleness" over "femaleness" (hegemonic masculinity) (Huppertz, 2012, p.1).

In academia, the under-representation of women at senior levels and the range of challenges and constraints with regard to opportunities to promotion and access to resources, suggest that higher education systems remain gendered organisations (Agarwala, 2015; Caplan & Caplan, 1994; Bagilhole and White, 2011). Risman (2004) states that gender bias can be perceived at three levels within an organisation:

1. At organisational (or institutional) level, where explicit regulations regarding resource distribution and capital goods are gender specific which are maintained and reinforced through leadership, structures, and organisational culture;
2. At interaction level or group level, where interactions on the job, between colleagues and those at different levels of power, both men and women face different cultural expectations even when they fill the identical structural positions;
3. At the individual level where employees share their perception of the organisation's cultural environment for the development of their gendered work identity and careers.

Within each of these levels is a gendered subtext as part, referring to texts explicit or implicit, written or just common practice, which shape the gendered, processes and structures (Acker, 1990; 2012).

Figure 5 displays a conceptual framework which is discussed in detail in this chapter. The diagram highlights the relationship between the organisational level processes and actual levels of gender bias which is mediated by individual cognitions and group behaviours. This should provide a better understanding of why so few academic women reach leadership positions in the IoT sector.

This chapter begins with section 2.2 which reviews the existing literature on the underrepresentation of women at senior management and examines current understandings of the challenges women face at organisational level. There are four themes to this section. The first theme examines the role of leadership and its influence on gender bias in the workplace. The second theme looks at how structures (formal and informal) can add to forms of consciousness in an organisation, highlighting the negative influence caused by absence of senior management women, which can lead to low aspirations of women as a result of opportunity structure (Howe-Walsh & Turnbull, 2016). Theme three appraises the culture of an organisation in relation to gender, role congruity, cultural climate, symbols, and images. The fourth theme examines three HR Systems, the recruitment process, performance appraisal and the grievance process.

Section 2.3 outlines the interaction at group level of gendered practices such as, discrimination, sexism, workplace incivility and backlash.

Section 2.4 describes interpersonal effects as a consequence of gender bias and examines the responses of women to constant challenges which can affect them both psychologically and physically.

Section 2.5, highlights the impacts and consequences of organisational practices on the careers of female academics.

The final section, Section 2.6, summarises the literature in the above sections.

Figure 5: A conceptual framework for analysis of gender bias at organisational and group level, and their impacts at individual level and career direction



## 2.2 Organisational Level

The main elements at organisational level that gender interplays with are leadership which includes strategy and management; structure, both formal and informal; organisational culture and human resource (HR) systems. The identification of these in no way implies that they are independent of each other. On the contrary, Figure 5 shows how they interact with each other; identifying them as separate is merely for convenience of exposition.

### 2.2.1 Leadership

The concept of leadership is described as a process of non-coercive social influence where members of a group are guided in their activities, attitudes and values towards common objectives and goals in an organisation (Thompson, 2000). One of the most powerful acts of a leader is to shape what the organisation pays attention to, in other words, what is counted (Zairi & Whymark, 2003). Hence, leaders set culture, set policy, set strategy and set the tone for the behaviour of employees (Gelfand et al., 2007).

*In short, there are important top-down and bottom-up processes that combine to produce gender-related leadership bias (Hogue & Lord, 2007, p.371).*

This is particularly evident in challenging how gender bias works within an organisation. One tangible and salient sign that gender bias is not tolerated within an organisation is the gender composition of its leaders which can convey a mismatch between how women are seen and the beliefs people tend to associate with leaders (Ibarra et al., 2013; Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990). So if the top leadership promote a positive climate for women (Konrad et al., 2010), it can affect the degree to which there is gender discrimination, gender supportive

policies and a gender diversity supportive climate within an organisation (Ostroff et al., 2012). Women are more likely to see the benefits to the organisation from these policies and procedures, whereas men are more likely to see less value for themselves in policies that affect the power structure and resource allocation (Mor Barak, 1998).

One important diversity policy that all organisations should have is an Equal Opportunities Policy as per legislative requirement. However, there can be confusion as to what equal opportunities actually means. Ryan & Haslam (2004) argue that simply giving women the opportunity to be leaders is not the same as enacting equal opportunity. Bagilhole (2002) highlights a lack of understanding between equal opportunities policies and their implementation due to confusion as to what equal treatment and equal opportunities means. In her study, she examines the relative ineffectiveness of equal opportunities policies in an academic setting in which observed responses are classified into four types: confusion, collusion, cynicism and contrariness. The first three can be seen as accommodation to equal opportunities policies whereas contrariness can be considered as overt resistance. Bagilhole (2002, p.31) describes the university in her case study as an 'active/avoiding organisation' (Vince & Booth, 1996). Although the university is seen to improve equality, by not wanting to 'open a can of worms' it demonstrates a 'confused commitment' by having good intentions but avoiding equality at the same time, thus leading to ineffective implementation of the policies (p.31). This is supported by McKeen & Bujaki (2007) who state that some gender supportive policies integrate women into the dominant discourse while being seen to deal with the problem of gender inequity. This individualised response to problems may require more collective or structural solutions (Colley, 2001; Devos, 2008; Morley, 2014). Fix the woman (Schiebinger, 1999), Equip the



women (Meyerson & Fletcher, 2000), Celebrate difference, Create equal opportunity (Kolb et al., 1998) and the use of legitimising agents (mentoring) have been traditional approaches used in an effort to encourage leadership development and gender equity at individual level (De Vries et al, 2009, p. 576; Bowles, 2012, p.191; Priola, 2007; Morley, 2014). Other more direct methods such as, the use of legislation in the form of quotas, have been viewed as “protective, harsh, insider/outsider status” (Whittenburg-Cox, 2013, p.1). However for most organisations, the reality is that successful gender balancing requires more than a “simple statistical push” (Whittenburg-Cox, 2013, p.1).

Although, the upper level of leadership are likely to transform gender supportive policies and a gender diversity supportive climate through decision making, in academia the key function of the middle management or head of department is to implement these policies. Research has shown that it is the middle management who are seen as key figures in the production of the ‘culture’ of the institution, estimating that 80% of administrative decisions made within academia are made by them (Carroll & Wolverton, 2004; Wolverton et al., 1999; Goode & Bagilhole, 1998). The symbolic role of the head of department is particularly important, as he/she can establish an inclusive organisational culture through persistent communications and visible support through his/her own behaviour (p.34). In other words, the head of department sets the tone of what behaviours are acceptable (Yukl & Van fleet, 1992). He/she also has authority over key decisions that can influence academics’ lives in significant ways, including job security, workload, recruitment and helping employees manage work-family issues by communicating their awareness and support of family-friendly policies (Beddoes & Schimpf, 2016; Thompson et al., 1999). Quinn et al., (2004) believes that academics are less likely to take advantage of family-friendly policies if they

work in departments in which the manager does not know about the full range of policies or views them as unimportant or intrusive. Some heads of department may see their actions and beliefs as motivated by a positive goal (collective good) rather than by gender biases (Benschop & Brouns, 2003; Ecklund et al., 2012; Maatta & Lyckhage, 2011). This becomes one mechanism through which gender inequalities are perpetuated (Beddoes & Schimpf, 2016) which should be addressed through training programs in gender bias. However, research has shown that heads of department receive little or no training to prepare them for their new responsibilities (Aziz et al., 2005; Gmelch, 2004; Nguyen, 2012; Wolverton & Ackerman, 2006; Beddoes & Schimpf, 2016). This is especially salient in the area of managing gender. Training is effective by communicating the importance of work-family balance and organisational climate, but Bunch (2007) reports that training programs in gender bias are being constantly devalued by heads of department (Shields et al., 2011; Badheshi, et al., 2008; King, Gulick & Avery, 2010; Lam, et al., 2011). Such training may be particularly effective in increasing the representation of female faculty members in many STEM departments.

If change is to be effective, it needs to happen at organisational level. Morrison (1992) believes that implementing accountability and making rewards contingent upon meeting diversity goals, adds to the effectiveness of any diversity policies. Efforts must be made in identifying hidden barriers, working steadily to remove and/or restructure each of them, and evaluating the initiatives is crucial to assessing their success (O'Brien et al., 2015).

## 2.2.2 Structure

### 2.2.2.1 Formal Structure

The structures of power, hierarchical arrangements, the length of post appointment and the style of leadership within an organisation can affect a person's professional advancement and work experience (Conrad et al., 2010). Gender bias is implicit in the fundamental ongoing processes of creating and conceptualising organisational structures (Acker, 1990), specifically the context surrounding women's participation in leadership and the nature of the positions they are appointed to. This is referred to as the 'gendered structural placement' of women where women are placed into dead end jobs with no power or authority (Kanter 1977, p.250).

**Participation in leadership.** Leadership is represented at both the individual and the structural level, because it is understood and valued differently at each level. At the individual level exercising leadership, which women do every day in an array of different contexts, is often invisible and not counted. At the structural level, positional leadership is highly visible and can be counted (Leberman & Hurst, 2016)

The absence of women in structural positional leadership in an organisation's hierarchical structure is a salient sign that gender inequality exists, thus perpetuating gender inequality. However, as numerous women still see leadership as inextricably linked to position, which is often associated with a type of career that is either unattainable or unattractive, they may not see themselves as leaders or believe they fit the leadership mould (Madsen, 2016). According to O'Connor (2011) a 'glass ceiling' is apparent when women hold few senior

management positions where power, resources, rewards and influence increase (David, 2015).

Authority has always been associated with men with women being 'token' managers (Kanter, 1977, p.250). They have been classed as insiders with institutional power and authority standing outside the 'masculine ethic' and are often left exposed in many ways (Blackmore, 1999, p. 107). As they are often in the minority, women then come under the spotlight from appearance to performance. As a consequence of this exposure, women can be subjected to increased stress that derives from higher performance pressure because they are so exceptional and noticeable and therefore, they become wary of opening themselves to such close scrutiny (Tapia & Kvasny, 2004, p. 88).

Traditional hierarchical organisations offer fewer possibilities to women than flatter networked organisations with a transformative philosophy (Newman, 1995; cited in Deem, 2003). This may lead to low ambitions due to a lack of opportunity structure for women. For example, Conrad's et al. (2012) study reported that both men and women saw the hierarchy in medicine affecting inclusion, reducing transparency in decision making and impeding advancement. However, women saw it as more consequential as they are accustomed to thinking of relationships in terms of support affiliation, whereas men are accustomed to competition and hierarchy and so experience this as less of an obstacle to advance (Bickel et al., 2002). The indeterminate length of post appointments also creates a calcified structure that is difficult to change (or avoid) (Conrad et al., 2010).

**Nature of the position.** When it comes to the nature of a job and how it is carried out, gender enters as roles that carry characteristic images of the kind of people that should carry them (Acker 1990 p. 143, Kanter 1977, p.250). Effective leadership has always been commonly associated with masculinity, such as

independence, decisiveness, assertiveness, and ambition (Prime et al., 2009; Schein, 2007) whereas women's leadership styles have been based on traditional feminine traits, such as being intuitive, collaborative, empathetic and understanding (Loughlin et al., 2012). They are also stereotyped as innate caretakers (Caprino, 2015) with 'inflated expectations for caring (Acker, 1999; Acker, 2014) frequently carrying out unrecognised 'glue work' (Eveline, 2004, p.79). It is because of these characteristics and traits that women have found themselves shoehorned into middle management roles i.e. structurally placed below the 'glass ceiling'. Leathwood (2005) states that academic institutions are misleading, increasing opportunities for women to gain management positions but only up to middle management level.

As a general rule, the greater the number of men in positions of authority in a setting, the greater work roles become more gender stereotyped and segregated (Ely, 1995). Shain's (2000) study of the British further education sector shows that women are enlisted to do the 'dirty job' (p.224) of the newly constructed middle management positions which require 'feminine' people skills required to 'smooth the passage of managerial work' (Deem et al., 2000; Peterson, 2016; Prichard & Deem, 1999, p.20). This can be seen as an example of what Walkerdine (2003) argues is the new professional femininity, 'created in the image of the middle class' with the qualities of 'emotionality, caring and introspection' (p.242).

Leberman & Hurst (2016) also found that women negatively link positional leadership with personal sacrifice, particularly to family life and personal well-being and so move towards exercising leadership on a day-to-day basis, which is often hidden. This hidden leadership shifts the focus of leadership as an individual act to leadership as the process of people working together to accomplish an outcome (Raelin, 2011, 2016).

Peterson (2016) believes that due to women's increased access to middle management, the type of work has become administrative, undervalued, with a loss of prestige and status that was previously attached with the status of 'King to a servant', which, as a result, has ultimately become less attractive to men (p.123-124). Morley (2013) describes how women HE leaders in Woodward's UK study reported 'unmanageably large workloads' (Woodward, 2007, p.11). In addition, the type of work women academics tend to be assigned involves heavier courses and a higher pastoral work in comparison to their male counterparts who can focus more on research and external networking (Thomas & Davies, 2002; Pyke, 2013; Gardner, 2012). This concurs with Kochan's et al. (2000) study, which highlighted that women academic administrators are more likely than men academic administrators to identify an overwhelming workload as a major dilemma. This can leave them in a bind where the experience necessary for progression to senior roles is hampered, as a consequence of lack of availability and energy to carry out high profile work (Hannum et al., 2015).

**Context of the promotion.** Research illustrates that gender stereotypes include beliefs that link women with change and men with stability (Brown et al., 2011). In light of women being stereotyped as innate carers, organisations may feel impelled to promote women when they are running out of alternatives, or experiencing either an external or internal crisis, under circumstances different from those of men (Caprino, 2015). Women are then brought in to come clean up the mess. Ryan and Haslam (2005) posit these unpopular and precarious management areas as 'glass cliffs' (Morley, 2014, p.120) which are associated with increased risk, increased accountability and blame, involve less authority, are less likely to lead on to more senior appointments, offer less rewards and are

less valued in the organisation. Basically more demanding and less beneficial cases than men (Ryan & Haslam, 2006).

In academia, the appointment of women managers can signal that an HEI is innovative and progressive and seen to deal with the problem of gender inequity (Eagly & Carli, 2003; McKeen & Bujaki, 2007). However, women believe that glass cliff appointments are due to sexism and set up for failure (Peterson, 2016; Haslam & Ryan, 2008) whereas, men do not grasp the glass cliff phenomenon (Ryan et al., 2007). Thompson's (2013) research found that while women managers struggle to survive is not necessarily linked to their position, those in middle managers seemed to experience most conflict within their management roles and that glass cliff appointments tend to be particularly stressful for women involving more relational encounters (Haslam & Ryan, 2008).

Overall, the presence of more women in leadership facilitates the erosion of stereotypes (O'Connor, 1996) which can affect decision making and recruitment decisions (Kanter 1977; Conrad et al., 2010), leading to an increased transparency in decision making in gender diverse boards, committees and teams (Woolley & Malone, 2011) and the overall advancement of women in an organisation.

#### *2.2.2.2 Informal Structure*

Along with formal structures there are also informal structures, such as access to networks, resources and allocation of visible assignments and jobs.

Assumptions that "men have families to support" and that "mothers do not want stretch assignments" also play a role in how assignments or resources are distributed (Williams, 2014, p. 1). According to Mor-Barak et al. (1998), men and women differ when seeking out allocation of resources. In some organisations,

men may still use existing structures through gate keeping to allocate resources to each other to advance each other's careers (even where positions of managerial authority are rotated); for example even men at low levels, can improve their chances of promotion by creating ties through networking with other males managers [*ibid*]. Every workplace has high-profile assignments that are career-enhancing "glamour work" (Williams & Dempsey, 2014, p.1) and low-profile assignments that are beneficial to the organisation but not the individual's career (Figure 6). Research shows that women do more "office housework" (Williams & Dempsey, 2014, p.1) than men which can include literal housework (ordering lunch), administrative work (scheduling a time to meet), and emotion work ("she's upset; comfort her"). Misallocation of the glamour work and the office housework is a key reason why leadership across most industries is still male-dominated. Williams (2004) wrote that women face a 'maternal wall' of biases and stereotypes when they announce that they are pregnant (p.1). Assignments can differ before and after maternity leave receiving fewer or poor quality assignments even when women discuss their current and future employment status and plans for maternity leave with their supervisors before they take leave. If these expectations are realised upon return to work, all is well; if these expectations are breached following return from maternity leave, dissatisfaction results (McIntosh et al., 2012). This maternal wall bias can lead to women quitting (Williams, 2004). Examples of housework vs glamour work by industry type can be seen in Figure 6.



Figure 6 : Housework vs Glamour work

INDUSTRY	HOUSEWORK	GLAMOUR WORK
High tech	Managing projects	Writing the code
Law firms	Being a "service partner" who does the actual legal work	Bringing in clients
Consulting	Managing projects, delivering work, mentoring colleagues	Developing new business, managing C-suite relationships, serving as subject matter experts
Investment management firms	Handling logistics on pitches, working for low-profile clients	Making investment decisions, executing high-profile deals, managing key client relationships
Academia	Being dean of students or on the admissions committee	Publishing in prestigious journals
Architecture	Detailing bathrooms and elevators	Visiting sites, pitching to clients, being the lead in design competitions
Surgery	Managing patient care outside the operating room	Performing surgeries
Science	Organizing and executing lab work	Strategic planning of future research direction, publishing in prestigious journals

Source: Williams, October 2014 (p.1), Harvard Business Review

### 2.2.3 Organisational Culture

At organisational level leadership, structure and practices, are combined with strategy to create a distinctive organisational culture which can emphasise the ways that produce and reproduce gender distinctions and inequality (Wharton, 2011). Organisational culture has been referred to as the character of an organisation, with distinct understandings and patterns of belief and expectations (Schein, 2010). These are often subconscious (Gelfand, 2007; O'Connor 1996), manifested in behaviours and organisational climates (Schneider, 2000) and material symbols such as images and dress (Lester et al., 2017; Pratt & Rafaeli, 2001). These are constituted through discourses which have a 'normalising' effect on individuals in organisations, defining what, and who, is normal, standard and

acceptable. They establish what is valued, what is to be rewarded, who is to be promoted and what is to be done (Thomas, 1996, p.143). This is where women experience diminished symbolic capital that keep women separate from men by what Bourdieu refers to as the 'negative symbolic coefficient' (Bourdieu 2001, p.93).

**Role Congruity Fit.** A strong culture is characterised by one dominant group as the norm and any other approaches to work would not be accepted, especially in terms of inappropriate behaviours. Weak cultures have contrasting norms and values, where each person is free to act based upon his or her own particular desires or prejudices without regard for organisational priorities (Cox, 1994). Organisational cultures are not neutral with regard to what types of employees fit and which employee behaviours are valued (Bouton, 2015). Williams (2014) reported that senior men typically staff their teams with people they feel comfortable with, people like themselves, referred to as in-group favouritism (Brewer, 1999) or gate keeping. Gate keeping controls which women have access to leadership positions and the extent of women's authority, usually those types of employees that they believe are a best fit and are willing to fit into the male culture and not cause trouble (Leberman & Hurst, 2016). They also tend to reward employees who behave most consistently with their stereotypes (Ilgen & Youtz, 1986; Goode et al., 2005). For example, leaders and leadership tend to be described using male traits and behaviours (Benschop and Brouns, 2003). Therefore, women who are assertive are seen as too tough and not likable or not feminine (*'women should be gentle'*), while women who are compassionate (*'woman are gentle'*) are seen as too soft and not a leader, creating a no-win situation for some women (Oakley, 2000). A woman cannot violate the perceiver's view of femininity as the consequence can be detrimental to her credibility as a

leader (Eagly, et al., 2003; Oakley, 2000; Morley, 2013). The conflict of identity between gender and her hierarchical position has been described as that of the 'outsider on the inside' (Gherardi, 1996, p. 190; cited in Priola, 2007). So the prevalence of gender stereotypes support the circumstances in which a male or female leader is preferred (Caprino, 2015).

**Cultural Climate.** An organisation's cultural climate is most accurately viewed as employees' shared perceptions of the policies, practices and procedures that implicitly and explicitly communicate what is valued at leadership level in a top down, bottom up process that affects collective beliefs and behaviours (Bedau, 2003; Sawyer, 2003; Nishii & Raver, 2003; Martell et al., 2012).

The treatment of co-workers serves as cues to employees about what is fair and what is just in an organisation (Tyler & Lind, 1992; cited in Miner & Cortina, 2016). In organisations where all employees are encouraged to attain their full potential, there are usually consistent HR policy enactments, transparency in decision making and a positive level of trust and fairness which results in low discrimination (Schoorman et al., 2007 p. 351). For example, policies that do not take account of career interruption, can be seen as unjust (Winchester et al., 2006). Women are less likely to apply for promotion and less likely to be successful than men, as men normally have uninterrupted, full-time careers. Grummell, et al (2009) stated that equal opportunities policies are not care-free as women are normally the primary child carers outside of work. McIntosh et al. (2012) reported that motherhood remains a barrier to career progression, even in a female-dominated profession such as nursing and mothers are rated as less competent than fathers or people without children (Cuddy et al., 2004). In addition, pregnant women who see their manager as more supportive of families are more willing to announce their pregnancies (Jones et al., 2013). There is a need to address principles for

women and men where commitment to the family and caring more generally is seen as an important mark of good citizenship rather than being perceived as a lack of commitment (Cornelius & Skinner, 2008).

According to Beddoes & Schimpf (2016) concepts of fairness are subjective and often gendered: what is fair for women is often perceived as unfair for men or the department as a whole (Beddoes, Schimpf, & Pawley, 2013; Weststar, 2012). The problem is that fairness is based on perception and what counts as fair for the collective good in the organisation can be detrimental for women. For example, Beddoes & Schimpf (2016) looked at the policy of parental leave which can be perceived as unfair or selfish and not being a team player. This is a double bind for female academics who are traditionally expected to take on most of the family responsibilities but yet may be perceived by some of their colleagues to work against the collective good (Hecht et al., 1999; Buller, 2006). Climate can reinforce stubborn gendered roles of caretaking and care-work within academia, which is a symptom of a gendered culture.

Trust is also linked to sense of fairness and justice. Mor-Barak et al. (1998) suggests that experiences of mistreatment of women are related to perceptions of injustice and, as a result, can affect the employees' well-being. According to Lind (2001) a sense of justice and fairness involves feelings of positive regard, respect, social inclusion, and dignity (cited in Miner & Cortina, 2016). In contrast, a sense of injustice involves feelings of disrespect, inconsideration, abuse, rudeness, and humiliation (Jones et al., 2013). Researchers have also linked workplace mistreatment such as sexual harassment to organisational commitment; withdrawal intentions to job performance (Barling et al., 2001); abusive supervision to subsequent employee aggression (Burton & Hoobler,

2011; Wang et al., 2012); and working in a climate of workplace incivility to the intention to remain with the organisation (Griffin, 2010; Miner & Cortina, 2016 p.3).

**Symbols and Images**. The use of physical symbols in an organisation can be viewed as a 'rich, potent, non-verbal language' that can produce gendered interactions between men and women (Pratt & Rafaeli, 2001, p.93), by conveying certain meanings to identity and status in the workplace. Like verbal language, physical symbols have accepted elements and structures that can be used to increase diversity or can reinforce divisions along lines of gender (Lester et al., 2017, Van Wijk & Finchilescu, 2008).

Research in symbolism, relationships, and self-categorisation theory, shows that physical symbols can also influence how others in the organisation view someone as an insider or an outsider (Kantola, 2008). For example, the constant visible image of the worker as male in photographs (Bleijenbergh et al., 2012; Kemp et al., 2015) and how they are on display (public space) (Fotaki, 2012, p. 192). Comparing this to the "the lack of woman's own symbols and systems of signification [which] positions her in the category of the stranger, the outsider and the other in academia" (Fotaki, 2012, p. 192) allows women to be the non-represented, overlooked, and "un-visualised" (private space) (Allan, 2011; Fotaki, 2012, p. 192). This concurs with Haynes & Fearfull (2008) who believe that the lack of women's images in the workplace emphasises that "women tend to adopt a more feminine position by being more private, invisible" (p.193). Other examples include, academic fathers who do not associate with feminine images or roles to maintain their positions as serious academics (Sallee 2012); and a study on women PhD candidates, examines how gendered symbols defined how a political scientist is supposed to look and act (Kantola, 2008). Kantola discovered that gendered symbols, such as, narrow topics for theses, calling female PhD scholars

'girls' and being young, resulted in discriminatory effects and professional diminution of women (Benokraitis & Feagin, 1995, p.78). The men in her study did not have the same problems. This reinforces the lower representation and rank of women in academia, "especially among the senior faculty" (Verhaegen, 2005, p. 813; Chanana, 2003). Other symbols, such as academic titles 'masters' and 'fellows', are masculine (Husu, 2001, p. 52) as well 'male heroes, gentlemen's clubs', men's networks' which also can add to gendered images and forms of consciousness in an organisation (Kantola, 2008, p.206).

Women are still frequently held to account for their appearance (Stavrakopoulou, 2014; Chimba & Kitzinger, 2010). For example, Marissa Mayer, who was on the cover of *Fortune*, was the subject of unending interest in the media because she was young, had her children when she was still CEO of Yahoo and wore designer clothes just like a celebrity (Reingold, 2016). However there are women are often pressured to forego symbols of feminine status as this can detract from their expertise and experience and challenge their credibility (Chimba & Kitzinger, 2010; Husu & Tainio, 2014) in order to fit in with a male image. For many women, their working lives constitute a continuous struggle to manage their position as managers and their feminine identities (King, 1997; cited in Priola, 2007).

#### **2.2.4 Human Resource Systems**

Human resource systems is significant in shaping the careers of women. They can influence the level of discrimination experienced. For example, by unequal access to opportunities or mentoring and training which all affect promotion (Gelfand et al., 2007). However the most influential HR function on women's careers is recruitment.

**Recruitment Process:** For women, some of the most harmful gender inequalities are carried out within the hiring, training, pay, and promotion of women (Stamarski & Son Hing, 2015). For example, a recruitment process that is not transparent or where managers are chosen from a small, closed circle (gate-keeping) can result in gender discrimination (Husu, 2001) which can instil in women a sense that senior positions are too elusive and subsequently they do not apply (Bagilhoe & White, 2008; Ozlem et al., 2009). So policies must limit the effects of biases on employment outcomes as 'bias is greatest when decision makers have full discretion over their selections' (Stamarski & Son Hing, 2015, p.1).

Ball (1993) stated that policies which are interpreted differently, can lead to inconsistent outcomes. Discrimination may be covert; by the gendering of senior posts; in the framing of advertisements; in the importance attached to vague criteria at critical access points; in loose marking schemas; in general assessments of a candidate's 'style' as well as ideas that men are more 'natural' management material or that they 'need' promotion more (O'Connor, 2000, p. 94). This concurs with Heilman (2012, p.118) who also believes that ambiguity permits expectations to flourish and is heightened when:-

- the information available about a target is impoverished, inconsistent or irrelevant leading to more necessity for inference (Nieva & Gutek, 1980);
- there is poor definition of the criteria for evaluation;
- there is a lack of specificity concerning the evaluation process;
- there is confusion about the source of performance outcomes.

**Advertising.** Reality is constructed and interpreted by what is said and how the written word is presented (Semin, 2000; Hodel et al, 2017). Language can be considered one of the most covert ways to preserve traditional gender

arrangements, as it can be used to communicate and sustain stereotyping (Sczensy et al, 2016; Hodel et al, 2017). Research conducted in Europe examining the effects of using “gender-fair” languages in the description and advertisements of traditionally male jobs, have been shown to have a variety of bias-inhibiting effects (Horvath & Sczesny, 2011; Heilman, 2012; Hodel et al., 2017, p.384). For example, Hausmann et al., (2012) show that in those countries with a greater level of gender equality (Switzerland and Austria,) gender-fair language is used more frequently. This corresponds to Hodel's et al. (2017) findings that in the male-dominated branch of their study, gender-biased forms were still common and had equal visibility, proving how difficult it is to challenge the existing gender hierarchy. Table 5 shows examples of stereotypical masculine and feminine words.

*Table 5: Stereotypical Masculine-coded and Feminine-coded words*

<b>Masculine-coded words</b>	<b>Feminine-coded words</b>
Head	Support
Lead/leader	Responsible
Ambitious	Understanding
Challenge	Dedicated
Objectively	Intuitive
Analysis	Excellent
Technical	Collaborate

*Adapted from Siofra Pratt, 2015, SocialTalent*

**Shortlisting.** In the shortlisting and selection processes, ambiguity, loose marking schemes (Heilman, 2012) and the type of interview questions can add to the “exclusive club” (Bagilhole, 2000 p.142). As previously stated, leaders and leadership tend to be described using male traits and behaviours (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Benschop & Brouns, 2003) and so the concept of “think manager, think



male” is prevalent (Heilman, 2012, p.116). However, the supply of detailed job-relevant information can help to diminish the use of expectations or stereotyping to ‘fill in the blanks’ (Heilman & Haynes, 2006; Heilman, 2012, p.121).

**Selection.** In the selection of the successful candidate, descriptive stereotypes serve as shortcuts to form impressions quickly about people (Macrae, et al., 1994) and have been known to influence decision-making especially in recruitment and resource allocations (Rudman & Phelan, 2008). Descriptive stereotypes create problems for women when there is a perceived “lack of fit” (Heilman, 2012, p.114) between a woman’s attributes (to be modest and not self-promoting) and the attributes believed to be required to succeed in traditionally male occupations and organisational positions (Rudman & Phelan, 2008). Although self-promotion can demonstrate competence for both men and women, it has been seen to present women in a less appealing manner (Rudman, 1998). Preferred candidates can be selected for a particular position, which is surrounded by, what Bourdieu (2005) described as a “cloak of clear election” (cited in Asimaki et al. 2016, p.152). According to Martell (2012) women and men are more likely to hire a man, even with the same academic record as a woman, due to gender bias in performance assessment. This results in more favourable work performance assessments of men than women (Martell, 2012).

**Performance Appraisal.** According to Coens & Jenkin (2001) ‘poor appraisal is better than no appraisal as this means no feedback’ (p19) which can lead to lack of awareness of how employees perform. Gatekeeping and lack of accountability also flourish in the absence of performance appraisal. It is argued that gender bias in performance assessment poses significant obstacles to women to excel in traditionally male domains where research has found that gender differences in evaluations of work performance favour men over women (Eagly & Karau,

2002; Heilman & Eagly, 2008; Lyness & Heilman, 2006; Martell & DeSmet, 2001; Martell, Parker, Emrich, & Swerdlin, 1998; Valian, 1998). These result in less favourable performance-based expectations of women and more favourable work performance assessments of men. The role of performance appraisal in promotion decisions and job assignments signal the perceived value of an employee to the organisation and so it is thought that biased performance ratings will adversely affect leadership advances of women (Martell, 2012).

**Grievance procedures.** In organisational cultures with greater gender inequality, women may perceive that they cannot appeal their outcomes (Kanter, 1977). Research demonstrates that even when women do experience sexual harassment or discrimination in the workplace, they are unlikely to report it (Diekmann, 2013; Howe-Walsh & Turnbull, 2016). This is particularly evident in environments dominated by men as it can be very difficult for women to talk about their experiences. It is important that the grievance procedure itself is not biased in that it favours certain groups. For example, the policy and procedure may have a bias in that it is not sensitive to diverse concerns among employees, and so needs to be structured to allow employees to file complaints and provide redress and protection to those who avail of it (Howe-Walsh & Turnbull, 2016).

### 2.3 Group level

An organisation's culture refers to the way in which people are grouped and the way in which they interact carrying out the activities of the organisation. Certain covert and overt behaviours can be accepted as normal and natural especially in relation to gender bias where discriminatory cultural beliefs, values and assumptions may be manifested in cultural artefacts, HR practices, and physical arrangements. Gender bias may be communicated directly through the use of

derogatory language when referring to employees (Heilman et al., 1992), or through backlash and sexual harassment (Schneider, Hitlan & Radhakrishnan, 2000), or using inappropriate jokes (Siehl & Martin, 1988), or through workplace incivility (Morrison, 1992).

**Discrimination.** Although there are laws protecting women from blatant bias, overt discrimination is often, but not always, intentional, visible or easy to document in the workplace. For example, some UK universities in response to equality legislation, have reported that gender equality has been accomplished, however disguised through micro-politics, biases are now difficult to tackle and see (Deem, et al., 2005; Teelken & Deem, 2013). The individual discriminated against finds it offensive, while the person doing the discriminating may find it amusing and harmless. Husu (2001) refers to these practices as 'hidden discrimination' (Kantola, 2008, p.15). Examples include

- Challenging expertise and competence: 'playing around'; referring to women as 'girls'; questioning women's competence in their field of expertise (Kantola, 2008, p.15);
- Diminution of accomplishments (Benokraitis & Feagin, 1995; Husu, 2001; Priola, 2007) by downplaying and downgrading research, particularly within a feminised discipline (Kantola, 2008);
- Difficulty in accepting women as experts reflecting the male-dominance in the department or institution;
- Stalling and containment of women's careers (gatekeeping) (Kantola, 2008);
- Excluding, forgetting and marginalising women (Kantola, 2008).

**Backlash and Sexism.** Sexual harassment or sexism is a form of backlash that serves as a powerful warning to women who work in traditionally masculine roles (Bingham & Gansler, 2002; Gutek, 1985). Sexism is normally hostile in nature, however, benevolent sexism is more subtle (Glick and Fiske, 1996; Stamarski & Son Hing, 2015). Hostile sexism is normally directed towards agentic women. In contrast, benevolent sexism involves positive but paternalistic views of women as highly communal. There is evidence that if men in male dominated environments feel threatened, they may attempt to curb a woman's power (Yoder, 1991). Ely and Thomas (2001) note that when women achieve top positions, backlash can occur due to a perceived lack of fit and increasing numbers alone is not likely to be sufficient to reduce backlash. However, Rudman & Phelan (2008) found that if women occupy at least 15% of leadership posts, it decreases the perceptions of 'imposter syndrome', and as a result, the perceptions of illegitimacy are reduced (Ely, 1994; Clance & Imes, 1978). Although a greater number of women in leadership roles should reduce the lack of fit barrier to female authority, backlash and sexism might actually increase. For this reason, backlash and sexism is likely to be exacerbated in male-dominated occupations because women are more likely to be viewed as "intruders" or "female interlopers" who threaten an exclusively male culture due to stepping outside their stereotyped roles (Rudman & Phelan, 2008, p.71). Where more institutional discrimination is present, there is a higher expectation of higher levels of sexism, such as the police force, the military and Wall Street can demonstrate (Rudman & Phelan, 2008). There is much evidence that women who experience sexism at work can feel marginalised which can be intensified by other factors such as age (Anderson & Williams, 2001; Howie & Tauchert, 2002; cited in Chesterman et al., 2009).

**Workplace Incivility.** More recently, researchers have become interested in lesser, more subtle forms of maltreatment such as rude, disrespectful behaviour (Miner & Cortina, 2016). One type of behaviour is workplace incivility which violates norms for mutual respect and is characteristically rude and discourteous, conveying an absence of regard for others (Andersson & Pearson, 1999). Examples of workplace incivility include interrupting colleagues, addressing others in an inappropriate way, and making jokes at another's expense. Numerous research studies have documented that personal experiences of workplace incivility can affect a person's well-being (Cortina et al., 2001, 2002; Pearson & Porath, 2005; Lim et al., 2008; Cortina & Magley, 2009; Miner & Eischeid, 2012; Miner et al., 2012; Porath & Pearson, 2012).

Women may also be restricted with respect to when and how they contribute to a conversation. One way is a low tolerance for women who express a view that is different from the group, or find it challenging to communicate in ways that is accepted by men. This is what Diehl & Dzubinski (2016) refer to as 'control of women's voices' (p. 273).

Observed workplace incivility toward other women can also affect occupational well-being and be perceived as unjust, particularly toward female co-workers which can lower the female bystander's job satisfaction and feelings of safety (Miner & Cortina, 2016) which could be another reason that women will not go for promotion in a workplace that tolerates the mistreatment of others and women specifically (Cunningham et al., (2012).

**Disciplinary Groupings.** In academia, Finch (2003) states that for progress to be made in promoting more women to senior levels, the power of disciplinary groupings is a key factor. Silander et al. (2013) analyse what they call "the different worlds of academia" (p.173) and conclude that Swedish academia is not

a unitary system when studied from a gendered perspective, emphasising how women in academia face very different situations depending on whether they are active in a male-predominated or a female-predominated discipline (Silander et al., 2013). Gender-based discrimination and sexual harassment still exist in certain disciplines such as academic medicine as higher values are placed on hierarchy, authority, and traditional hegemonic structures. The women surgeons in male-dominated specialties are more likely to be sexually harassed than women in primary care, due to lower numbers (McIntosh et al., 2016). Women are also exposed to sexism and harassment from male counterparts and senior colleagues within other predominated male disciplines of Science, Engineering and Technical (SET) environments (De Welde & Laursen 2011; Rosser & Lane 2002; Settles et al. 2006). Due to a similar-to-me bias, women who work in departments that are headed by a man report experiencing more gender discrimination compared with their counterparts in departments headed by women (Konrad et al., 2010; Tsui & O'Reilly, 1989) particularly, in the areas of rewards and promotions (Davison & Burke, 2000; Roth et al., 2012). Even in feminised disciplines such as nursing and the humanities which do not attract large research grants (Winchester et al., 2006), men are more likely to ride a “glass escalator” that accelerates them into management positions in these disciplines (Maume, 1999; Williams, 1992).

Thus, gender inequalities in leadership affect women's experiences in the workplace and their likelihood of facing discrimination. Such experiences may account for why some women leave altogether (Howe-Walsh & Turnbull, 2016).

## 2.4 Individual Level

Gender bias in an organisation and behaviours at group level can affect a women's workplace identity and also impact on her well-being.

According to Bourdieu (1986), to gain advantage in the academic field, an academic needs to accumulate academic capital, linked to the position of hierarchy and intellectual capital based on 'renown and recognition' (Acker, 2014, p.73) in order to participate with some chances of success in the game (Asimaki et al., 2016). Evidence in research highlights the challenges facing female academics in an attempt to accumulate the necessary capital to progress, in particular where their identities are valued and to feel comfortable within its "patriarchal system" (Todd, 2008, p. 767) due to the dominant masculine surroundings and symbols (Ramarajan & Reid, 2013).

Work place identity is derived from social identities which can be based on gender, race, class, religion or profession to name but a few (Goode et al., 2007). When these various identities interrelate, the experiences are shaped simultaneously by each identity. According to Henri Tajfel's (1979) social identity theory, people categorise themselves into social groups in an attempt to belong (McLeod, 2008). This can lead to in-groups and out-groups, where the in-group will seek to find negative aspects of an out-group which can lead to prejudice, i.e. them and us mentality. Social identity threat can evoke concerns in individuals about a group they belong to. Stereotype threat (Steele & Aronson, 1995) evokes concerns of individuals about themselves (Derks et al., 2008). The fallout from constant concerns or challenges can affect women psychologically and physically. Psychological effects can be devaluation, fear, anxiety, shame and a sense of isolation, which in turn can lead to physical effects such as burnout

(Goldenhar et al., 1998; Schmader et al., 2008; Borrel et al., 2010). They can affect job satisfaction, organisational commitment (Hicks-Clarke and Iles, 2000) and performance (Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001; cited in Stamarski & Son Hing, 2015).

**Devaluation.** In certain situations identity may be devalued, and can evoke concerns of individuals about themselves and/or evoke concerns in individuals about their groups (Derks, et al., 2008). Research has shown that situational cues, such as the proportion of people in a setting who share (or do not share) the same social identity, can activate the stereotypes associated with one's social identity, for example, a lone woman in a senior management meeting (Steele, 1995). Women's workplace identity is lessened because their contribution is not rated as "real" business (Haynes & Fearfull, 2008), and women's identification with the academic workplace will be negatively affected when their work is undervalued.

Marx, et al., (2005) show that heightening the sense of 'we-ness' improves the performance of women in a stereotype-threat condition. They demonstrate that when they provided women participants in their study with examples of successful women from within that domain, the women's collective self was heightened and the threat decreased, concluding that women could actually perform better under stereotype-threat conditions given the relevant information (Gill, 2004). However, research carried out by Konrad et al. (2008) also suggests there needs to be a substantial increase to the relative number of out-group members in the setting to see any benefits (Hannum et al., 2015).

**Anxiety.** In response to stereotype or social identity threat, individuals might not be able to regulate their emotions effectively causing anxiety, stress and fear. These negative emotions may compromise performance (Blascovich, et al., 2001;



O'Brien & Crandall, 2003; Scheepers & Ellemers, 2005) and increase the fear of failure and anxiety. Some women tend to blame themselves for the problems believing they are over sensitive as they see men don't encounter the same problems. Other researchers have drawn on Imposter Phenomenon (IP) to help explain the internal struggle women in academia face (Imes & Clance, 1984; Taylor, 2009; Jostl et al., 2012) who believe they are not intelligent enough, despite being high achievers (Maranto & Griffin, 2011). This has been referred to as the 'psychological glass ceiling' (Diehl & Dzubinski, 2016, p.281) and can lead to an identity conflict which has previously been described as that of the 'outsider on the inside' (Gherardi, 1996, p.190). This can leave women feeling marginalised and disadvantaged compared to their male counter-parts.

Some women fear reprisal and that paying attention to the gender equality problems could make 'life difficult'; or the 'situation might turn nasty'; or they are labelled as 'difficult'; or bringing it up is emotionally demanding (Husu, 2002a, p.51; Kantola, 2008). This has been referred to as 'conscious unconsciousness' (Diehl & Dzubinski, 2016, p.280). Others may have a fear of confirming a stereotype as some women may not like to see themselves as a victim of discrimination.

Sexism is more likely than other threats to increase the production of cortisol, a hormone that corresponds to feelings of threat (Moss, 2016). For example, in one study, conducted by Townsend, et al., (2011), female participants were prevented from being involved in a task by being replaced with a male or a female. When the male was chosen to replace them, the women believed it was due to sexism but when the female was chosen to replace them, their reasoning indicated merit or capability instead. Those female participants who were exposed to sexism had higher levels of cortisol, a biophysical correlate of threat and anxiety, reflecting

sensitivity to conflict and regulation of emotions, a sense of fight or flight. This finding aligns to the proposition that stereotype threat diverts attention from productive tasks to the regulation of emotions and monitoring of performance (Wraga, et al., 2007; Moss, 2016). When individuals feel stereotyped because of their group, they become anxious about errors they could commit or the failings they might demonstrate and so work harder. Stereotype threat may also cause the female senior manager to speak less convincingly than she is capable of speaking thus causing underperformance, evoking anxiety, and depleting effort (Steele, 1997; Steele & Aronson, 1995; Steele et al., 2002; Schmader et al., 2008). This is called a prevention focus (Seibt & Forster, 2004; Grimm, et al., 2009).

**Shame.** According to Wheeler (1997) shame and gender are inextricably bound up together in society. Brown (2006) describes shame as a psycho-social-cultural construct and that relates to the emotions, thoughts, and behaviours of one's self. Brown's (2006) defines shame as:

*An intensely painful feeling or experience of believing we are flawed and therefore unworthy of acceptance and belonging. Women often experience shame when they are entangled in a web of layered, conflicting and competing social-community expectations. Shame leaves women feeling trapped, powerless and isolated (p.45).*

Brown in Tucker (2004) defines trapped as having an unreasonable number of unrealistic expectations put upon someone, with very few options; powerless is described as being immobilised and isolation is described as the product of being trapped and powerless. In addition, due to low numbers in leadership, women can feel exposed as they come under intensive or hypercritical examination (Kanter,

1977; Blackmore, 1999; Tapia & Kvasny, 2004). According to Tucker (2004) woman learn how to move forward by appeasing and pleasing. Wiseman (1996) cited in Tucker (2004) states that empathy and support helps shame lose its power. This emphasises the importance for mentoring, role models and networks for women. Brown also refers to the feelings of guilt, entrapment or judgement that makes shame so powerful and complex (Tucker, 2004). Participants in Brown's (2006) research contrasted shame with *guilt*, which they defined or described as a feeling that results from *behaving* in a flawed or bad way rather than a flawed or bad *self*.

Lewis (1971) identified shame as the dominant emotion experienced in her research, exceeding anger, fear, grief, and anxiety. Shame is triggered in women on an individual basis, due to cultural expectations, such as, appearance, sexuality, motherhood, professional identity in work, and mental and physical health. As this is often difficult to overcome women use withdrawal, hiding, silencing themselves and secret-keepings as means to deal with these feelings. Shame demands that woman hide their 'shamed selves" from others in order to avoid additional shame (Tucker, 2004 p.45). What makes women vulnerable to shame in these areas are the unwanted identities associated with them.

**Burnout.** Stereotype threat can lead to responses such as a racing heart and as a consequence, mental energy is exhausted leading to the likelihood of burnout (Moss, 2016; Hall, et al., 2015). These responses consume working memory which are not available for other simultaneous tasks (Schmader et al., 2008). This limited supply of mental energy is called ego depletion, which is essential for self-control which can compromise individuals to maintain discipline and concentration later as well (Inzlicht & Kang, 2010).

In a study, when female engineers did not feel accepted or respected by their male counterparts, they felt threatened and their actions influenced the way other people interacted with them leading to a state of constant vigilance. These feelings were positively associated with exhaustion and burnout (McLeod, 2008).

It has been argued, further, that women need to be seen to work even harder to prove their capabilities and acquire higher levels of qualifications than their male colleagues if they want recognition and career success (Sheppard, 1992; Miller, 1994; Lester et al, 2017) leading to burnout. This concurs with Bowles (2012, p. 191) who stated that the few women who climb, against expectations, to the highest rungs of the hierarchy commonly experience social resistance from others and social identity conflict with themselves (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Ely, 1994; Heilman, 1983; Kanter, 1977) with a need to outperform male peers to demonstrate their fit and worth (Lynes & Heilman, 2006).

**Isolation.** Women feel that work organisations create or tolerate barriers that prevent them from feeling included in information, resource or peer networks (Miller 1986; Morrison & Von Glinow 1990). The absence of other women in a work group may decrease a woman's ability to adapt and feel a sense of belonging and visibility, thus leading to isolation and invisibility. For many, *"the loneliness and a feeling of being a stranger in a strange land were the costs of their success"* (King, 1997, p.92, cited in Priola, 2007 p.31).

One way to reduce the effects of social isolation and lack of peer support is to have access to a mentor or sponsor within the system. This has been shown to increase promotional prospects, increase incomes (Dreher & Ash, 1990), increase career satisfaction (Fagenson, 1989; Turban & Dougherty, 1994), and increase career mobility (Scandura, 1992). Unfortunately, women face greater barriers to developing a mentoring relationship than their male counterparts, for

example, those working in male-dominated organisations are more likely to be partnered with men (Ragins & McFarlin, 1990) which can add to a further sense of isolation (Steinpreis et al., 1999).

## 2.5 Impact on Careers

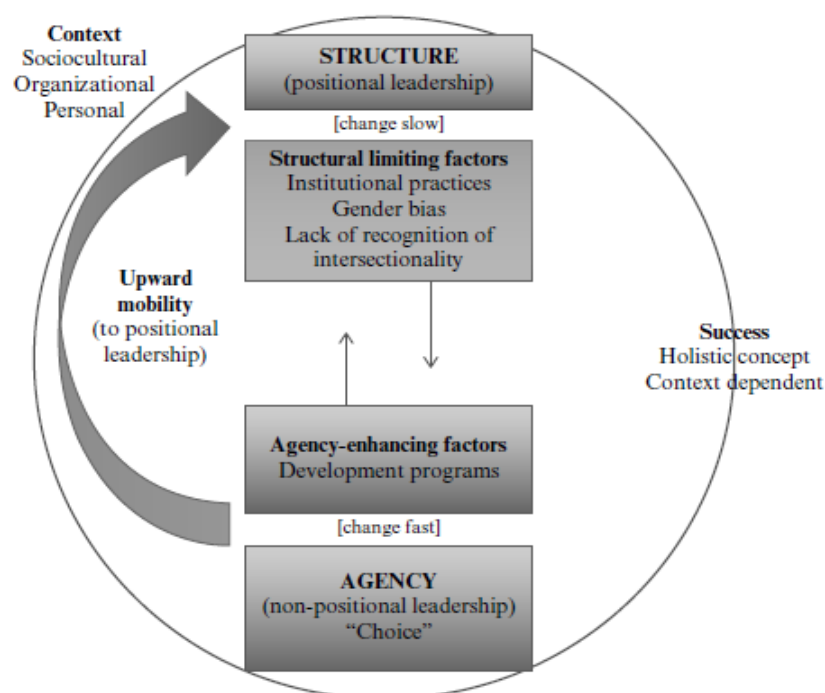
The concept of a career can be defined as an “unfolding sequence of a person’s work experiences over time”, with a successful career focused on the “accomplishment of desirable work-related outcomes” (Arthur et al., 2005, pp. 178-179, cited in Leberman & Hurst, 2016).

Most career paths are traditionally linear, where positional leadership is characterised by a ‘gender neutral abstract worker’ (Acker, 2012, p.218). This is a gendered concept that favours men due to stability of employment, long working days, an ability to travel, and sacrifice of personal and family time (Cabrera, 2009). Women’s careers tend to be non-linear, more opportunistic and more likely to be interrupted for family reasons (Doherty & Manfredi 2010). This makes the metrics of success less relevant to women. While the responsibility for developing meaningful and productive careers rests with both individuals and organisations (Van den Besselaar & Sandström, 2016), career direction is also affected by organisational practices and gender bias, confined by structures within which women operate, thus affecting the level of their agency (freedom to choose) (Leberman & Hurst, 2016). For example, a scarceness of role models, gendered work and stereotypes, lack of access to networks and resources, the role incongruity between women and leadership, and personal circumstances, can lead to informal exclusion, devaluation, and marginalisation which function to exclude women from the work environment (Maranto & Griffin, 2011; Nguyen, 2012). This exclusion can affect a woman’s professional identity making an academic environment an uncomfortable place to be in, causing a redirection in

their career path as a form of protectionism, as a consequence. Although it may benefit their self-esteem in the short-term, it can have long term consequences, such as low representation and success in a stereotyped workplace (Goode, et al., 2007) and consequently leads to the refusal of a great number of woman to go after positions of power in the academic field (Bagilhole, 2002; Acker, 2010; Bagilhole & White, 2008). In a gender context, women may become ‘stuck’ at middle management levels which might lead to a confidence and self-belief issue, believing that senior positions are beyond their reach (Cornelius & Skinner, 2008; Brockbank & Traves, 1995). They argue that for women, in particular, the choice of career direction may be implied rather than real.

Figure 7 presents Leberman and Hurst’s model that highlights the interrelationship between success, choice and leadership on women’s careers within the organisational context within which they are located.

*Figure 7 Conceptual framework: the interaction between success, choice and leadership on women’s careers: S. I. Leberman and J. Hurst*



Leadership is represented at both ends because it is understood and valued differently at each level. At the individual level (agency end) women exercise leadership in various contexts which are often invisible and not counted. At the structural level, positional leadership is highly visible and can be counted (Leberman & Hurst, 2016). So a combination of individual and structural change is essential to address gender inequality. More has been done to 'fix the women' at the individual level which can effect change quickly, whereas, change can be slow to recognise and also implement at the structural level. Hence, a woman's choice may be perceived to be independent but *'it is situated within a discourse that hides structural gender bias and is very much contextually bound'* (Leberman & Hurst, 2016, p.263). However, women have broken through the glass ceiling, gaining upward mobility, through the use of the affirmative action programs. By having theses gender champions in upper levels of leadership, should change structures and redress values and behaviours, and subsequently narrow the gap between structure and agency, in the pursuit for gender equity.

### **2.5.1 Career Direction**

There are three main directions for any career pathway; advance, adapt/stay or abandon.

#### *2.5.1.1 Advance*

Gray (1994) suggests that to participate more fully in the academy would involve 'accepting the rules and procedures and engaging in constant personal and professional negotiation and making some compromises along the way' (p.79). Bowles (2012) states that women use both navigation and pioneering techniques to legitimise their claims to positional leadership positions. Navigating is described as following established high performance career paths and self-advocating with

the gatekeepers in senior management where pioneering is described as expressing a strategic pathway and establishing support to carry out their strategic ideas and leadership. Women must constantly engage in narrative identity work to revise their ambitions and legitimising strategies by shifting between both navigating and pioneering (Bowles, 2012).

#### 2.5.1.2 *Adapt/Stay*

Women are exercising leadership in the work environment, but many of the ways they do it are hidden. However, numerous women still see leadership as positional and structural, and this is often associated with a type of career that is either unattainable or unattractive. Hence, they may not see themselves as leaders or believe they fit the leadership mould (Leberman & Hurst, 2016). Some women believe they have an interesting job and are successful in their current job and choose not to go for management (Chesterman, 2005). Success is not the same for everyone and it may be choice rather than repression when a woman does not apply for management posts (Cornelius & Skinner, 2008). Women may decide to limit their ambitions to areas where they have greatest control by exercising leadership which they do every day in numerous contexts, which is often invisible and not counted. In other words, where they have the greatest positive impact on people or the areas where they are most passionate about, for example, the lecture hall or one's own desk (O'Connor, 2011, p.214). This concept of hidden leadership was raised in a review of the New Zealand Women in Leadership program, where one female participant believed that *'you could be a leader without necessarily being in a leadership position - you can lead from your desk'* (New Zealand Women in Leadership, 2015, p.17). Gray (1994) suggests for women academics who keep their investment in academia at a safe



level are a source of knowledge and engagement, while still remaining as semi-outsiders.

#### *2.5.1.3 Abandon*

Previous studies have shown that when women are critical towards the masculine culture they sometimes opt for a strategy of withdrawal. This can occur at three levels: abandon the process, abandon the role or abandon the organisation.

**Process.** Cockburn (1991) and Poiner and Wills (1991) highlight the existence of organisational "disadvantaging processes", for example, within recruitment and hiring. Sturges (1999) determine that women respond to the traditional, male-dominated nature of many organisations by not applying for management positions as the processes themselves can exclude and/or marginalise women, limiting their access to employment opportunities.

**Role.** In gendered organisations, some women have found working in the prevailing culture so difficult they have left the management role. Some women are placed in positions of the dominated, and not the dominating and some prioritise their personal and family life by taking a position where a lower level of responsibility and commitment is required (Lewis & Simpson, 2010; Wharton & Estevez, 2011). However, when they do move into senior positions within organisations, the stresses, strains and guilt attached to this, can lead them to leave that role.

**Organisation.** Gardner's (2012) study about women faculty departure is another example that includes multiple aspects of gender bias. She found that women faculty often experienced sexism, did not get the credit due for hard work and were often expected to more heavily engage in tasks perceived as feminine such as teaching and service which led to a gender inequitable culture. This is what

Sandler, Silverberg & Hall (1996) refer to as the 'chilly climate' or what Rowe (1973) names "micro-inequities." These behaviours interact repeatedly unnoticed or not understood, and have a damaging cumulative effect by creating an environment that is indeed chilly. This chilly environment stifles women's self-worth, assurance, ambitions and eventually, their involvement (Sandler, 1999). Some women have found fitting into the dominant discourse and culture so difficult they, what Sheryl Sandberg refers to as, "leave before they leave" (Sandberg, 2009; cited in Sellers, 2009) already reducing the scope of their work, by not seeking out or accepting new opportunities.

The result of these interactions can contribute to the decisions of women ultimately leaving the workplace

## 2.6 Summary

At organisational level, the role of leadership can influence gender bias in the workplace and organisational structures (formal and informal) add to forms of consciousness in an organisation, by the absence of senior management women. The culture of an organisation is appraised in relation to gender, role congruity, cultural climate, symbols and images. HR Systems, in particular recruitment process, performance appraisal and grievance process are reviewed in relation to due process and gender stereotyping.

At group level, overt or covert behaviours can be enacted in organisational practices. Overt behaviours are defined as blatant and observable whereas covert behaviours are hidden and can sometimes be detected through inference. The behaviours for gender bias in this study have been presented as discrimination, sexism, backlash, and workplace incivility.

At individual level, the fallout from these constant challenges can affect women, both psychologically and physically. In some instances, individuals might not be able to regulate their emotions effectively. That is, anxiety, shame, devaluation and burnout and other states might persist, which can subsequently impact on the careers of women academics.

Drawing together the insights from the previous research portrayed in this chapter, a conceptual framework (Figure 5 p.19) is created to present the pre-determined categories necessary for analysis. As this study is both inductive and deductive, its purpose is to contribute to the theory by allowing the tenets of existing literature to be integral to the deductive process, while also drawing on themes developing directly from the data (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006).

This framework identifies the key areas to be studied and how they relate to each other. It is not intended to be a cause and effect process or a theory for the purpose of testing. It represents a mapping out approach and remains open to new insights that may emerge from the data.

Using the conceptual framework presented in figure 5 (p.19) and the research questions as well as *a priori* constructs, a code manual was produced (Crabtree & Miller, 1999) (Appendix A) to analysis the data.

The next chapter, chapter three, describes the IoT sector which sets the scene for this research.

## Chapter 3 Setting the scene - an introduction to the Irish IoT sector

The research discussed in this study sets out to examine the nature of gender bias across four Irish Institutes of Technology (IoT). Fundamental to understanding gender bias is an understanding of the context in which it is employed.

### 3.1 Institutes of Technology External Environment

Most higher education in Ireland is offered at Universities, Institutes of Technology and other Colleges. Currently there are eight Universities, fourteen Institutes of Technology (IoTs) and six partly funded other Colleges within the Irish higher education system (HEA, 2017).

The Institutes of Technology were originally designated as “Regional Technical Colleges” (RTCs) in the 1960s, to advance the technical education sector in Ireland. They received independent status under the Regional Technical Colleges Act (1992) from the Vocational Education Committee. The current title of Institute of Technology was conferred on them in the 1990’s and most have been awarded delegated authority to confer their own awards, possibly up to doctoral level, however, their autonomy remains limited under the Institutes of Technology Act, 2006. Dublin Institute of Technology (DIT) has a separate act set up under previous legislation, Dublin Institute of Technology Act, 1992. The oldest IoT is DIT, then Carlow and Athlone, where the newest IoT is Blanchardstown which was established in 1999.

These higher educational institutions are agencies in their own right, reporting directly to the Higher Education Authority (known as HEA forthwith), who is

responsible for overseeing the higher education system in Ireland. The HEA is accountable to the Minister for Education and Skills, for the achievement of national outcomes for the higher education sector. Each HEI is responsible for submitting annual reports on employment statistics, statistics for funding, governance and performance. The governance framework for the higher education system provides robust assurance of compliance with legislative and other requirements and timely and responsive interventions to address any issues arising under the Institutes of Technology Act, 2006 (HEA, 2017).

Institutional budgets and spending are closely monitored by the DES, and unlike universities, the IoTs receive no baseline for funding research. This constrains the IoTs substantially, in terms of programme development due to the vocational remit of the IoTs (O'Byrne, 2015). This also limits the IoT academics' potential as teaching is prioritised over activities such as research.

The design and implementation of recruitment practices in the Irish education sector are constrained by a variety of employment laws which collectively prohibit discrimination on nine grounds which includes gender (Office of the Attorney General, 2015). The influence of the Department of Education and Skills (known as DES forthwith) remains strong where all academic contracts continue to be negotiated at the national level by the DES, sectoral management and the Teachers Union of Ireland, (TUI) (O'Byrne, 2015). As the academic contracts are strongly teaching focused, academic holidays are still in line with the secondary level education, especially summer holidays which begin on 20<sup>th</sup> June and end on 1<sup>st</sup> September.

Economic conditions may influence an organisation's willingness to devote attention and resources to combating discrimination (Kahn, 2001). In the past six years, under the National Recovery Plan 2011-2014, and in accordance with the

Programme of Financial Support for Ireland agreed with the European Union /International Monetary Fund (EU/IMF), the Government has been committed to reducing the cost of the public sector pay bill by, inter alia, reducing public sector numbers over a 4 year period. In this context, the Employment Control Framework (ECF) produced ceilings for all staff in the public sector and academic appointments had to be sanctioned by the DES with the teaching hours for lecturing grades in all IoTs being increased by two hours.

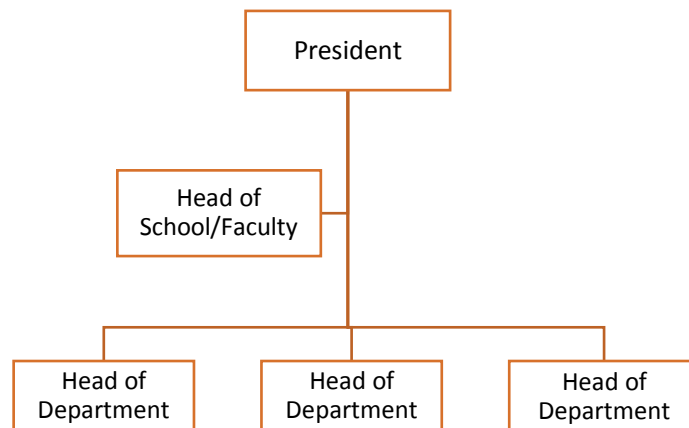
### 3.2 Structure

The governing body is appointed to each IoT by the IoT themselves which means that women and men are normally represented in these boards.

The academic management structure in the Institutes of Technology is generally made up of President, Head of School (Senior Lecturer 3), and Head of Department (Senior Lecturer 2) as per Figure 8, although this can vary in certain institutes. The Head of School (Senior Lecturer 3) is normally strategic in their role, whereas the Head of Department (Senior Lecturer 2) is normally operational in their role, although this can vary between institutions. They are also contracted to teach a certain number of hours per annum and these posts are normally permanent.

The Presidents positions in the IoT sector are publicly advertised. The posts are normally for 10 years but there are cases where Presidents have been in office for longer than 15 years.

All other permanent academic posts are publicly advertised.



*Figure 8 : Typical academic hierarchy structure of an Institute of Technology*

Teaching is the main focus in the IoT sector. The lecturing posts are Senior Lecturer 1 (teaching post), Lecturer and Assistant Lecturer.

Assistant lecturers currently teach 18-19 hours with a 10 point pay scale whereas Lecturers currently teach 16-17 hours with an 8 point pay scale. Moving from assistant lecturer to lecturer is known as progression rather than promotion. There is inconsistency in the criteria applied to progress across the IoT sector.

The next promotion after lecturer is Senior Lecturer 1 (teaching), known as SL1. The next promotion is Senior Lecturer II, known as SL2 which is at head of department level and then Senior Lecturer III known as SL3 which is at head of school level and is considered senior management in most IoTs with the exception of DIT, who have an added layer of Dean.

Table 6 presents the gender composition for the Institutes of Technology for Academic Managers and Presidents for the years 2012/13, 2013/2014 and 2014/2015. Up to date statistics in 2013 from the HEA website were not available at each senior lecturer academic grade (senior lecture 1, 2, 3), so data was collated from each IoT website in 2013 for the year 2012/2013. The statistics for

the years 2013/2014 and 2014/2015 are extracted from report of the Expert Group HEA review of gender inequality in higher education in Ireland in 2015/16.

Table 6 also highlights the disappearance of women in the higher management grades across most of the IoTs thus underlining gender inequality in the IoT sector in Ireland.

Only six out of the fourteen IoTs have 40% or more women at Head of Department (SL2) level, and only three out of the fourteen IoTs have 40% or more women at Head of School (SL3) level. Dun Laoghaire Institute of Art and Design (IADT) has women at both management levels, whereas Athlone Institute of Technology (AIT) has no women on their management team.

Seven out of fourteen (50%) IoTs have no women at senior level, Head of School (SL3). According to O'Connor (2011) when there are no women at senior management level it represents a glass ceiling.

### 3.3 Future

The landscape of higher education in Ireland is about to change. Under the *National Strategy for Higher Education to 2030*. The strategy has made recommendations for the creation of technological universities and the process and criteria for designation as a technological university are set out in the *2012 Landscape document* (HEA, 2017).



Table 6 : Institutes of Technology Gender Staffing Information for Academic Managers and Presidents for the years 2012/13, 2013/2014 and 2014/2015

<b>Institutes of Technology Gender Staffing Information 2012/13, 2013/2014, 2014/2015</b>																		
	<b>AIT</b>		<b>ITB</b>		<b>ITC</b>		<b>CIT</b>		<b>DIT</b>		<b>DKIT</b>		<b>IADT</b>		<b>GMIT</b>		<b>LYIT</b>	
	<b>Head Count</b>		<b>Head Count</b>		<b>Head Count</b>		<b>Head Count</b>		<b>Head Count</b>		<b>Head Count</b>		<b>Head Count</b>		<b>Head Count</b>		<b>Head Count</b>	
	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
<b>Web data 2012</b>																		
President	100%	0%	0	100%	0%	100%	100%	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%	100%	0%	100%	0%
Senior Lecturer 3	67%	33%	100%	0%	67%	33%	80%	20%	73%	27%	50%	50%	50%	50%	50%	50%	75%	25%
Senior Lecturer 2	100%	0%	50%	50%	83%	17%	76%	24%	61%	39%	67%	33%	57%	43%	67%	33%	43%	57%
<b>HEA data 2013</b>																		
President	100%	0%	0	100%	0%	100%	100%	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%	100%	0%	100%	0%
Senior Lecturer 3	67%	33%	100%	0%	67%	33%	80%	20%	73%	27%	50%	50%	50%	50%	75%	25%	75%	25%
Senior Lecturer 2	100%	0%	50%	50%	83%	17%	65%	35%	74%	26%	77%	23%	50%	50%	50%	50%	33%	67%
<b>HEA data 2014</b>																		
President	100%	0%	0	100%	0%	100%	100%	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%	100%	0%	100%	0%
Senior Lecturer 3	100%	0%	100%	0%	67%	33%	73%	27%	73%	27%	50%	50%	50%	50%	60%	40%	75%	25%
Senior Lecturer 2	100%	0%	50%	50%	71%	29%	66%	34%	63%	37%	69%	31%	50%	50%	43%	57%	38%	63%
	<b>LIT</b>		<b>ITS</b>		<b>ITTD</b>		<b>ITTra</b>		<b>WIT</b>		<b>Tipp Inst</b>		<b>All IoTs</b>					
	<b>Head Count</b>		<b>Head Count</b>		<b>Head Count</b>		<b>Head Count</b>		<b>Head Count</b>		<b>Head Count</b>		<b>Head Count</b>					
	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>				
<b>Web data 2012</b>																		
President	0%	100%	0%	100%	100%	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	64%	36%				
Senior Lecturer 3	60%	40%	100%	0%	100%	0%	67%	33%	100%	0%	100%	0%	74%	26%				
Senior Lecturer 2	60%	40%	62%	38%	78%	22%	29%	71%	67%	33%	50%	50%	65%	35%				
<b>HEA data 2013</b>																		
President	0%	100%	0%	100%	100%	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	64%	36%				
Senior Lecturer 3	67%	33%	100%	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%	77%	23%				
Senior Lecturer 2	55%	45%	80%	20%	75%	25%	25%	75%	75%	25%	50%	50%	67%	33%				
<b>HEA data 2014</b>																		
President	0%	100%	0%	100%	100%	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	64%	36%				
Senior Lecturer 3	67%	33%	100%	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%	76%	24%				
Senior Lecturer 2	55%	45%	80%	20%	75%	25%	43%	57%	62%	38%	100%	0%	64%	36%				

\*\* part of LIT

Source: Higher Education Authority website for 2013/2014 and 2014/2015 and each Institute of Technology's website for 2012/2013 (Appendix A)

Also following the much-publicised legal disputes between the University of Galway (known as NUIG forthwith) and several female members of staff, gender inequality in Irish higher education institutions has quickly become one of the biggest issues in higher education. This led to a review of gender across all HEIs in Ireland. In 2015, a review of gender equality in the Irish higher education sector was carried out by the HEA. The output of this review is the *Report of the Expert Group HEA review of Gender Equality in Irish Higher Education Institutions*, published in June 2016. One of the recommendations is working towards gender equality in the area of research funding. According to Science Foundation Ireland, the Irish Research Council and the Health Research Board, each Higher Education Institution is now required to have Athena SWAN Gender Equality Accreditation in order to be eligible for research funding by 2019.

A government taskforce is also examining the possibility of introducing gender quotas in colleges and universities, the latest response to several years of statistics showing worrying levels of gender inequality in the higher education sector (O'Connell, 2017).

The next chapter details the interpretative research approach, case study methodology and methods used in this study.

## Chapter 4 Research Design

### 4.1 Introduction

The purpose of the chapter is to map out the decisions taken in the study and demonstrate how they serve the objective of the study and the other components within the research design. Influenced by the research questions and an interpretivist paradigm, the study will use an embedded case study methodology.

The chapter is structured as follows. First, the research context is outlined before identifying the research objective, research questions, the qualitative approach, the philosophical perspectives and the theoretical framework that underpins the study. In addition, the chapter discusses the research methodology which includes case study design, data collection, data analysis methods, research evaluation and ethics. The chapter concludes with a review of the decisions made as they relate to the research objective and questions.

### 4.2 Research Context

As discussed in chapters one, this study is carried out in the Irish higher educational Institutes of Technology (IoT) sector. Yin (2009) and Flyberg (2004) discuss the use of exemplar and extreme cases in public interest and national importance settings (Yin, 2009). The IoT setting is considered 'problematic' (Flyberg, 2004, p.425) based on the fact that there are a small number of women in senior positions indicating clear evidence of a glass ceiling (O'Connor, 2011).

## 4.3 Research Aims and Objective

### 4.3.1 Research Aims

As presented in chapter one, the overall aim of this research is to advance the understanding of how gendered bias is experienced by academic staff particularly in relation to the impact on their careers in the IoT sector. The impetus of this research is based on the significant lack of women who have reached the higher echelons of academic management (Table 2, p.9; Table 6 p.62).

### 4.3.2 Research Objective and Questions

Research Objective: *Explore academic experiences related to gender in their workplace and identify how these experiences impact on their career choices.*

Research question one: *How is gender bias experienced by academics in their workplace?*

Research question two: *How do these experiences impact on their career direction?*

The intended contribution from this study is descriptive and theoretical. In line with Patton (1985), identifying a philosophy is essentially about identifying truth and for this study truth is the lived experience of participants as part of the IoT context and the interactions therein. This research makes no claims of hypotheses or generalisable findings, nor does it seek to quantify workplace enablers or constraints.

#### 4.4 Research Approach

Existing research on workplace practices and gender equality in higher education tends to adopt both quantitative and qualitative approaches to investigation (O'Connor, 1995) with various philosophical roots. Quantitative research takes apart a phenomenon to examine component parts (which become the variables of the study), whereas qualitative research reveals how the parts work together to form a whole (Merriam 1998).

This study strives for 'depth of understanding' (Patton, 1985, p.1) and therefore a qualitative approach is appropriate and consistent with the research objective, the questions posed and the intended contribution (Eisenhardt, 1989; Whetton, 1989).

#### 4.5 Role of the Researcher

All parties in qualitative research bring their own histories, values, assumptions and perspectives into the research process which will inevitably be reflected in the knowledge produced. The concept of reflexivity requires the researcher to critically reflect on his/her role and the process which includes his/her insider/outsider positions on the knowledge that is produced and how he/she has influenced it (Gallais, 2008). Insider status is when the researcher shares the same group identity as the participants (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

A female academic head of department role is brought by the researcher to the study (Acker, 2011). The researcher recognises and values the knowledge that is co-constructed between her and the participants (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Diehl & Dzubinski, 2016) and therefore is sensitive to any bias that may arise throughout the study.

#### 4.6 Philosophical approach and its influence on research strategy

Denzin & Lincoln (2005, p.21) state that the qualitative research process has the following generic but interconnected activities:

- A set of ideas, a framework (*theory, ontology*),
- That specifies a set of questions (*epistemology*),
- Which he/she then examines in specific ways (*methodology, analysis*).

This chapter presents the research design of the study, including the methodology and research methods employed. The methodology is a qualitative case study which is underpinned by interpretivist philosophy. The research methods and data analysis approach are linked to the theoretical underpinnings derived from the philosophical issues, such as, epistemology and ontology (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

From a theoretical point of view Lather (1992) examines qualitative research from three perspectives with explanations in terms of *understanding* (interpretive), *emancipation* (critical and feminist) and *deconstructionist* (postmodern) (Merriam, 2002 p.4). Critical and feminist perspectives are transformative or emancipatory, and have the need to change the status quo rather than simply to understand it or interpret it (Denzin, 1989; Haig, 1999; DeLaine, 2000; cited in Merriam, 2002). The postmodern–deconstructionist perspective deconstructs, problematises and forgets past influences. As the intended contribution from this study is descriptive and theoretical, in adopting a critical perspective or feminist perspective, the language used by academics would need to be challenged with respect to having gendered connotations. Identifying philosophy is essentially about identifying truth and for this study, truth is the lived experience of participants. Therefore, based on this contribution, both of the above approaches are excluded since the current study seeks to *understand*, rather than deconstruct or transform how

academics experience workplace practices and their impact on the careers of woman academics.

From an ontological and epistemological point of view, this study is conducted within a naturalistic-interpretivistic paradigm that is subjective. The interpretivist paradigm hinges on multiple perspectives, that seek to learn how individuals experience and interact with their social world, and the meaning it has for them (Merriam, 2002, p4; Cohen *et al.*, 2011). The study is naturalistic as it contains 'rich thick descriptions' (Geertz, 1974) of raw un-coded data that contain the messiness of life (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; cited in Braun & Clarke, 2016, p.33). Departing from reductionism associated with quantitative approaches, the use of Geertz (1974) rich thick descriptions are essential in interpretative studies as they are described as detailed descriptions with context of behaviours and should be included to highlight the 'complexity of the situations' (Cohen *et al.*, 2011, p.17).

The subjective epistemology focuses on meaning which is socially constructed by individuals in interaction with their world and where their multiple interpretations of reality are in a constant flux (Merriam, 2002; Cromby & Nightingale, 1999). The study also depends on human interpretation and knowledge (Braun & Clarke, 2016) to make sense of it all.

Merriam (2002) explains that interpretivism is also underpinned by phenomenology and symbolic interaction. Together these perspectives examine: how people interpret their experience; how they construct their worlds; and what meaning they attribute to their experiences (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p.24). In other words, they attempt to understand how people make sense of their lives and lived experiences (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Phenomenology is concerned with an individuals' experiences and their associated meaning which offers value to this study by focusing on how

participants experience gender bias in the workplace, and how they perceive this in the context of career direction (Cresswell, 1998; Geertz, 1974; Dan & Biklen, 1992, p34).

Symbolic Interactionism, derived from Mead (1934), focuses on meaning created through interactions within the social world. Crotty (1998) states that the *'emphasis is on putting oneself in the place of the other and seeing things from the perspective of others'* (p.76). As this study is set in the workplace, the work is necessarily concerned with relationships and behaviours in the workplace and symbolic interactionism facilitates this focus by highlighting the co-creation of meaning, where meaning is formed as the person intersects with society (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Patton (2015) highlights that this perspective emphasises the importance of symbols and the interpretative processes as fundamental to the understanding of human behaviour. Therefore, the perspective holds particular importance for qualitative inquiry (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Table 7 connects the characteristics of interpretivism and its underlying approaches, with the features of this research study.



Table 7 : Summary of the characteristics of interpretivism and this study

Feature	Description
<b>Purpose of research</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Understand and interpret a social situation where academics' perspectives on workplace practices could enhance or impede the careers of woman academics and their everyday work.</li> </ul>
<b>Ontology</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Naturalistic, underpinned by phenomenology and symbolic interactionism</li> <li>o There are multiple realities, constructed through human interactions and meaningful actions.</li> <li>o Discover how people make sense of their social worlds in the natural setting by means of daily routines, conversations and writings while interacting with others around them. These writings could be text and visual pictures, symbols.</li> <li>o Many social realities exist due to varying human experience, including people's knowledge, views, interpretations and experiences.</li> </ul>
<b>Epistemology</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Subjectivist theory of knowledge; no objective 'reality' or 'truth'.</li> <li>o 'Reality/realities' are constructed by social actors in social interaction; they are subjective, multiple, mutable, and context-dependent.</li> <li>o Researcher and researched mutually influence and co-construct the 'data'; research findings are thus co-constructions, emergent from the interaction, not waiting to be discovered.</li> </ul>
<b>Methodology</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Processes of data collected by interviews, documents and observations;</li> <li>o Flexible, changing strategies;</li> <li>o Design emerges as data are collected;</li> <li>o Hypothesis is not needed to begin research; Inductive in nature.</li> <li>o Research is a product of the values of the researcher.</li> <li>o Outcome is rich descriptive accounts using references to the literature that framed the study in the first place.</li> </ul>
<b>Researcher's role</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o The researcher participates and becomes immersed in the research/social setting.</li> <li>o Reflexivity essential</li> </ul>

#### 4.7 Conceptual Framework

As previously stated the conceptual framework (Figure 5, p.19) identifies the key categories that underpin this study. Drawing together the insights from the previous research portrayed in this chapter, the framework presents the pre-determined categories necessary for analysis discovered in literature and confirm their existence in this study. As this study is both inductive and deductive, its

purpose is to contribute to the theory by allowing the tenets of existing literature to be integral to the deductive process, while also drawing on themes developing directly from the data (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006) by examining and comparing stories from all four IoT case sites.

## 4.8 Research Methodology

### 4.8.1 Case Study Methodology

According to Merriam (2002) and Stake (1995) the case study is an intensive, description and analysis of a phenomenon or social unit such as an individual, group, institution or community. It provides a unique example of real people in real situations, enabling the reader to understand more clearly than simply presenting them with abstract theories (Cohen et al., 2011). In doing so the case study shows how ideas and abstract principles can fit together (Yin, 2009) and offers particular value where the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly defined (Yin, 2014). They have the advantage over historical studies and are useful where the researcher has no control over the events as they unfold (*ibid*). This allows the researcher to portray what it is like to be in a particular situation, to catch the close up reality and rich thick descriptions (Geertz, 1974) of participants lived experiences of, thoughts about and feelings for, a situation (Cohen et al., 2011).

Given the interpretive stance of this research and the nature of the research question, the case study methodology is considered the most appropriate. Merriam and Tisdell (2016) explain that the case study has roots in symbolic interactionism and phenomenology which, as noted, are used to capture the lived experiences and interactions of women. Based on this, interviews are the most appropriate method for data collection. This approach provides a systematic way

to collect data, analyse information, and report the results and thus understand the identified research problem in great depth.

#### *4.8.1.1 Case Study Design*

The research strategy used in this study is an exploratory case study with an embedded design.

In this study there is one unit of analysis, the four Institutes of Technology with four different embedded sub-units, each IoT case site. A range of instruments are used to collect data from within each sub-unit and each sub unit data is kept separate (Yin, 2012). It is the unit of analysis, not the topic under investigation that characterises a case study (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). The individual level of analysis experiences are the initial outcome of interest, but it is at the case site level of analysis where the aggregate of these experiences creates serious and expensive consequences for these organisations.

The study uses a non-probability, purposive, stratified sampling approach. A non-probability sampling technique is one in which samples are subjectively selected rather than randomly selected where selectivity is built in. This is derived from the researcher targeting a particular group, in the full knowledge that it does not represent the wider population: it simply represents itself. A purposive sample is a non-probability sample that is selected based on characteristics of a population and the objective of the study (Cohen et al., 2011). In this study statistics were collated from across the fourteen IoT websites based on the female to male ratio within academic management within each of the Institutes of Technology (Appendix A). The selection of the four IoTs chosen for this study is based on Yin's (2003) and Flyvberg's (2004) exemplary and extreme cases.

Stratified purposive sampling is useful as it identifies different strata (e.g. subgroups) within the population in the study and then selects a limited number of participants from within each of those subgroups (Cohen et al., 2011). Data is collected from four IoTs where participants are selected based on demographics, positions, and career stages i.e. according to gender, department (discipline) and career stage. Some participants have been successful in promotion to management, some have not, others have chosen to step down from management and some have never applied for promotion. The purpose here is to generate theoretical positions from multiple perspectives and future research questions that would not be unique to one discipline (Beaman-Smith & Placier, 1996). Participants included: Head of School (HoS), Head of Department (HoD), Senior lecturers (SL) and Lecturers (L).

One male participant was included from each institute to give an overview of their perspective of gender in the workplace and added strength to the credibility of the study.

The overall criteria for choosing four IoTs is presented in Table 8. Academic management for selection purposes is defined as President, Heads of Schools and Heads of Departments.

Table 8 : Selection Criteria for Non-probability, Purposive, Stratified Sampling

	<u>Inclusion</u>	<u>Exclusion</u>
<b>IoT Case site</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Female to male ratio of academic management Highest, Middle, Lowest (based on Flyvberg's use of extreme cases)</li> <li>• Institute of Technology</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All other higher level educational establishments in Ireland</li> </ul>
<b>Interviewees of academic staff</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Recently resigned from a post and/or currently employed</li> <li>• female / male</li> <li>• Academic grade of Assistant Lecturer, Lecturer, Senior Lecturer 1, Head of department SL2</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Non-academics</li> </ul>
<b>Interviewees of senior academic manager</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Recently retired or currently employed,</li> <li>• Academic grade Senior Lecturer (SL3) Head of School.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All other staff</li> </ul>

#### 4.8.1.2 Access Negotiation

Morrison (2006) found that when conducting sensitive research, there were problems of gaining access to individuals. Gatekeepers play a significant role in research, particularly in ethnographic research and steer the course of research, 'shepherding' the researcher in one direction (Cohen et al, 2011, p.168). It is intended that approximately four female academic interviewees and one male from each case site (to include one senior academic manager; twenty in total) will be selected via a 'gatekeeper' tactic approach. In each case contact was made with the 'gatekeeper', a head of school who was used to gain access to the correct people who they perceived would add value to the data based on the inclusion and exclusion criteria set below. This approach protects the privacy of the staff and facilitates the right of refusal. Although the initial contacts with potential participants were done through the gatekeeper, direct contact was then made between researcher and participant.

#### 4.8.2 Data Collection

It is recommended that at least three methods of data collection be used to triangulate data generation and produce more effective problem-solving (Yin 2003; Streubert & Carpenter, 1995). According to Patton (2015) the main sources of data collection in a qualitative research consist of:-

- *'direct quotations from people about their experiences, opinions, feelings, and knowledge'* obtained through interviews;
- *'detailed descriptions of people's activities, behaviours actions'* recorded in observations;
- *'excerpts quotations or entire passages'* extracted from various types of documents ' (p.14)

This study uses interviews, documents and observations with analytical notes. Comparing the perspectives of academic staff from different points of view, such as, triangulating academic staff at lecturer grade with that of head of school grade, also adds strength to the study.

##### 4.8.2.1 Interviews

Interviews are an essential source of case study evidence because most case studies are about 'human affairs or actions' (Yin, 2014 p.112). Most forms of qualitative research data are collected by interviews. DeMarras (2004) defines it as a 'conversation' focused on questions related to the research study (p.55). The link between philosophical stance and the type of interview is lodged within the theoretical framework (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). This study is interpretive with underpinnings of phenomenology and symbolic interactionism which normally translates into gathering deep information and perceptions of individuals from their own perspectives of the careers (Cresswell, 1998).

The study employed semi-structured interviews which largely involve open ended questions, although some are planned and others unfold in real time based on the interaction with the participant (Cohen et al., 2011). In order to improve dependability of the research, an interview schedule with core themes and underpinning questions was designed (Table 10, p.78).

A total of seventeen out of twenty individuals including one male from each case site were interviewed. Table 9 presents the breakdown of interviewees by gender by grade and by IoT. The interviews lasted between sixty minutes to two hours.

*Table 9 : Breakdown of Interviewees by Gender by IoT Case Site*

		Head of School (SL3)	Head of Department (SL2)	Senior Lecture 1	Lecturer
<b>IoT1</b>	<b>Female</b>	1	1	1	1
	<b>Male</b>				1
<b>IoT2</b>	<b>Female</b>	1			2
	<b>Male</b>				1
<b>IoT3</b>	<b>Female</b>		1	2	
	<b>Male</b>	1			
<b>IoT4</b>	<b>Female</b>	2	1		
	<b>Male</b>		1		

One expert interview is also used to research the context of the IoT setting, presented in chapter three.

Preparation of interview questions involved an in-depth review of literature in the area of gender and workplace practices in respect of women's advancement in careers to scaffold the research. Categories were established using *a priori constructs* based on previous research to serve as an interview schedule (Table 10, p.78). The interview schedule was also informed by the use of a pilot interview

(Yin, 2014). The interview questions were discussed with a critical colleague and the final questions were designed based on her feedback (Appendix C).

Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed to preserve everything that is said (Merriam & Tisdell 2016) for analysis through the computer package NVivo. As case studies are conducted in a natural setting, each interview was conducted where the participant felt most comfortable.

#### *4.8.2.2 Documents*

Documents and artefacts are ready made source of data easily accessible and can exist in both a physical and online setting (Cohen, et al, 2011) in a wide range of written, digital, visual or symbolic formats. The documents used in this study are workplace policies and procedures (Equal Opportunities Policy, Diversity policies, IoT Employment Contracts) and IoT website public information (Mission Statement, strategy documents, organisation structure). Other documentary information included annual reports from the Higher Education Authority (HEA).



Table 10 : Interview Schedule

Theme	Head of School (SL3) Head of Department (SL2)	Senior lecture (SL1) Lecturer
<b>Personal</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Career pathway</li> <li>• Grade</li> <li>• Future plans- expectations</li> <li>• Experience of pursuing promotion</li> </ul>	
<b>Organisational Practices- Culture</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Organisation structure &amp; culture</li> <li>• Communication</li> <li>• Key relationships</li> <li>• Socialisation / Alienation</li> <li>• Experience of inhibitors &amp; facilitators</li> <li>• Performance / Evaluation</li> <li>• Support</li> <li>• Advancement Opportunities</li> <li>• Mentors</li> </ul>	
<b>Policies /Practices</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• current academic promotional guidelines/ pathways</li> <li>• Academic management posts</li> <li>• Improvements</li> <li>• Measures of merit</li> <li>• training</li> <li>• Quotas legislation</li> </ul>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Diversity in the workplace</li> <li>• Equal opportunities policy</li> <li>• Processes to improve recruitment</li> <li>• panels/criteria/interview questions selected</li> </ul>	
<b>Interview panels</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Recruitment panels, selection criteria for panels</li> <li>• Evaluation criteria of candidates</li> </ul>	
<b>Resources</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Allocation process</li> <li>• Supports</li> <li>• Experience in budgets/resources/space/tasks allocated</li> </ul>	
<b>Meetings</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Process</li> <li>• Conduct</li> <li>• Challenging decisions</li> <li>• Communication</li> <li>• Deadline targets</li> </ul>	
<b>Decision making</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Decision making processes</li> <li>• Communications</li> </ul>	
<b>Management</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Experience as a leader, abilities, style, achievement</li> <li>• Management styles</li> <li>• Career changes</li> </ul>	

#### 4.8.2.3 Observation

Observation is more than just looking, it is looking and noting systematically the people, events, behaviours, settings, artefacts and routines of research subjects (Cohen et al., 2011; Marshall & Rossman, 1995). Several visits to each IoT site case were needed to conduct interviews. This allowed for observation of the workplace. The observations were recorded as field notes. Table 11 shows the categories and explanations used to record the observations (Appendix D).

*Table 11 : Observation Categories*

Category	Explanation
Space	Physical setting
Actors	People in the situation
Activities	Sets of related acts that are taking place
Objects	Artefacts and physical things that are there
Events	Sets of activities that are taking place
Time	Sequence of acts and activities

*Adapted from Spradley (1980, p.78) cited in Cohen et al., 2011, p.467*

#### 4.8.3 Triangulation

Triangulation is used to improve credibility and dependability of research findings. By using multiple sources of data, the research draws on differing perspectives on the same issue (Yin, 2014). This provides a more complete understanding of the phenomenon (Creswell, 2003; Patton, 2002). Table 12 outlines the multiple sources used in this study for each case site.

Table 12 : Cases and Data Sources

Data Source	IoT1	IoT2	IoT3	IoT4
Interviews	5	4	4	4
Observation	2	2	2	2
Documents	IoT website public information (Mission Statement, strategy documents, organisation structure), Equal Opportunities Policy, Diversity policies, Gender Statistics, HEA Gender Reports, Gender Initiatives, IoT Employment Contracts			

## 4.9 Data Analysis

*‘In social life, there is only one interpretation. That is, everyday life revolves around persons interpreting and making judgements about their own and others’ behaviours and experiences’ (Denzin, 2001 p.11).*

Drawing on Denzin (2001), this study is interpretative and, as such, it tries to answer questions like ‘what’ and ‘how’, thus searching for a deeper understanding of the data gathered. In line with this stance, thematic analysis (TA) drawing on tenets of interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) was adopted. Thematic analysis is a systematic approach for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns or themes, across a dataset which is not tied to a particular theory (Braun & Clarke 2012). The themes emerge as being important to the description of the phenomenon (Daly, Kellehear & Gliksman, 1997). IPA offers a consistent approach focusing on people’s lived experiences and the meanings people attach to those experiences (Braun & Clarke, 2012). In this regard, both approaches are similar. However, TA codes the whole dataset before formulating themes. In contrast, IPA codes each single transcript and then clusters themes. This signals that for IPA, the unit of analysis is the individual person. However, in line with Eisenhardt (1989), this study adopts the case as the unit of analysis. Thus data

is coded, and themes are identified, on a case by case basis before comparison begins. Therefore, thematic analysis – noted for its flexibility (Braun & Clarke, 2012) was deemed most suitable.

#### **4.9.1 Coding Strategy**

According to Merriam & Tisdell (2016), there are two stages of analysis; *within case analysis* and *cross case analysis*, that reflect the unit of analysis. Similar to Eisenhardt (1989), Lightfoot (1983) presents their findings first as individual case studies followed by a cross case analysis addressing the research questions. Table 13 outlines the stages of the adopted data analysis strategy.

This study employs a hybrid, or integrated approach to thematic analysis (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). This draws on the deductive coding of Crabtree & Miller (1999) where analysis is informed by previous research, and the inductive approach of Boyatzis (1998) where themes develop from the case data. This approach complemented the research questions by allowing the tenets of existing literature to be integral to the process of deductive thematic analysis, while also drawing on themes developing directly from the data using (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). This allowed the researcher to uncover meanings in relation to career enablers and constraints for participants, and explore how they can prevent or enhance successful progression (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006).

Table 13 : Phases of the adopted Data Analysis Strategy

Phase	Description of Process
<b>Within Cases</b>	
1. Data familiarisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Transcribing data</li> <li>• Reading and re reading data</li> <li>• Noting down initial codes</li> </ul>
2. Inductive coding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Data Driven</li> <li>• Coding emergent features of the data in a systematic fashion across entire data set</li> <li>• Collating data relevant to each code</li> </ul>
3. Deductive coding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Theory driven</li> <li>• Coding using the code manual</li> <li>• Collating data relevant to each code</li> </ul>
4. Searching for themes:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Clustering related codes into first order themes</li> <li>• Clustering first order themes into second order themes, or constructs.</li> </ul>
<b>Across Cases</b>	
5. Cross Case Analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pattern matching looking for themes at aggregate level</li> </ul>
6. Reviewing Themes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Checking in the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (level 1) and the entire data set (level 2).</li> </ul>
7. Defining and Renaming Themes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme</li> <li>• Considering the overall story of the analysis</li> <li>• Generating clear definitions and names for each theme</li> <li>• Final analysis of selected extracts connecting analysis to the research questions and literature</li> <li>• Searches for confirming and disconfirming data</li> </ul>

Source: Adapted Braun and Clarke (2006); Fereday & Muir –Cochrane (2006).

Following data collection using seventeen interviews, observation and document sources, were entered into NVivo and line-by-line coding commenced before themes were identified.

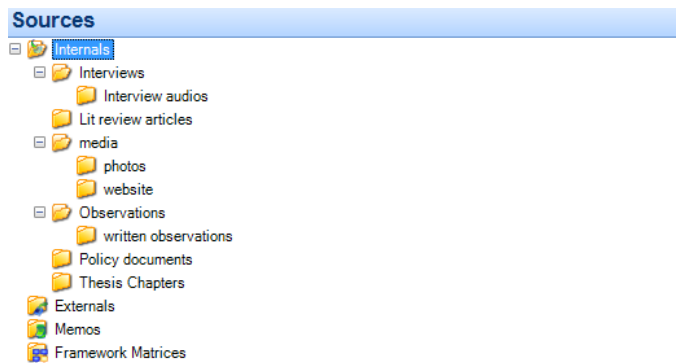
#### 4.9.1.1 *Rationale for using the computer software package, Nvivo*

Nvivo is a computer package that can be used in supporting qualitative research as it contains features that can import and sources of different kinds of data from external word documents, such as, interview transcripts, media, audio files and pdf documents (Gibbs, 2007). Nvivo can *'cope with large volumes of text-based materials rapidly and without risk of human error in computation and retrieval, and releasing researchers from mechanical tasks'* (Cohen et al., 2011 p.544). Although it does not actually perform the analysis, it facilitates and assists by organising and structuring text in preparation for coding. Certain features allow for searching, retrieving, and grouping text; constructing tree diagrams of related nodes and codes; adding memos and annotations; arranging codes and nodes into hierarchies and clusters (Gibbs, 2007). It is important to bear in mind that the human rather than the machine still needs to decide and name the codes and categories and interpret the data (Kellee, 2004). There are a few researchers who have warned about the dangers of using any computer software package for analysis. Firstly, Kelle (2004) believes that software is more closely aligned with grounded theory than other techniques; secondly, Coffey et al., (1996) warns that the software may drive the analysis rather than vice versa, and thirdly, Gibbs (2007) believes that if too great an emphasis is put on coding and its applications then the context may be stripped out of the data.

The rationale to use Nvivo in this study in assisting to code the data, is based on the benefits outweighing the harms.

To begin, a folder is set up for each sources for data collated for coding in analysis (Figure 9) and the data is imported in.

Figure 9 : Different sources of data imported into NVivo



Once all the participant audio interviews are transcribed into a word document, they are imported into Nvivo where each participant is set up with their own node which contained the number of sources imported related to the participant and how many times that source has been referenced then coding to nodes (Figure 10).

Figure 10 : Participants' data sources and number of references used in coding

Name	Sources	References
Institute1 Rose	1	1
Institute1 Paula	1	1
Institute1 Orla	1	1
Institute1 Norman	1	1
Institute1 Margaret	1	1
Institute3 Hilary	1	1
Institute3 Glenda	1	1
Institute3 Edward	1	1
Institute3 Faye	1	1
Institute4 Cate	1	1
Institute4 Lisa	1	1
Institute4 John	1	1
Institute4 Isobel	1	1
Institute2 Colm	1	1
Institute2 Donna	1	1
Institute2 Brenda	1	1
Institute 2 Alice	1	1

Participants in this study are classified into 3 levels, gender, level of position in the academic structure and discipline. This is beneficial for report generating.

Figure 11 : Classification of Participants for report generation

Name	Created On	Created By	Modified On
Person	09/08/2016 15:48	FM	19/06/2017 19:49

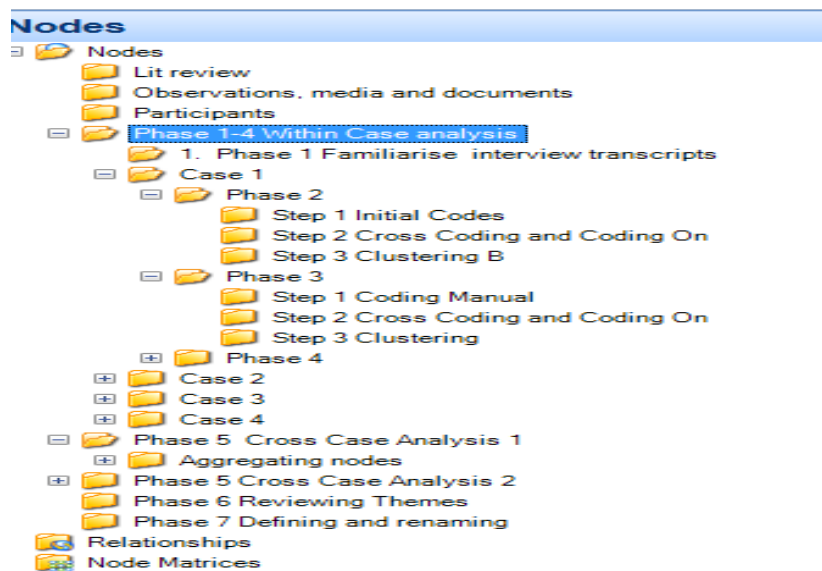
Name	Type	Created On	Created By	Modified On
Gender	Text	09/08/2016 15:53	FM	09/08/2016 15:57
Level	Text	09/08/2016 15:59	FM	09/08/2016 15:59
Discipline	Text	31/12/2016 15:11	FM	31/12/2016 15:21

After the sources of data required for coding are imported and participants are classified then coding can begin.

#### 4.9.2 Case Analysis

A folder for each phase of coding is set up under the 'Nodes' section (Figure 12)

Figure 12 : Structure of coding approach



##### 4.9.2.1 Phase 1: Familiarising with the data

Each transcript involves repeat reading of the data in an active way before coding began (Braun & Clarke, 2006) where notes are made throughout the stage for coding purposes.

##### 4.9.2.2 Phase 2: Data driven Inductive coding: Generating initial codes

The data within each case is systematically analysed initially using

- o Open coding (initial codes)
- o Cross-coding and coding-on,
- o Clustering, integration and reviewing



During the coding of transcripts, inductive codes known as nodes, are assigned to segments of data that describe a new theme observed in the text (Boyatzis, 1998).

#### 4.9.2.3 Phase 3: Theory driven Deductive coding: Generating initial codes

Based on the research questions, conceptual framework, (Figure 5, p.19) and previous literature, a code manual (Crabtree & Miller, 1999) is developed from *a priori* constructs. The use of this template provides a clear trail of evidence for the credibility of the study (Appendix B). By engaging the use of the template analytic technique (Crabtree & Miller, 1999), codes from the codebook are applied to the text with the intent of identifying meaningful units of text (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006) with the following steps:

- o Cross-coding and coding-on
- o Clustering, integration and reviewing

#### 4.9.2.4 Phase 4: Searching for themes: Connecting the codes and identifying themes

Connecting codes is the process of discovering themes and patterns in the data (Crabtree & Miller, 1999). After the codes are collated, themes are identified *within* each of the four cases allowing a unique pattern of each case to emerge before pushing to generate patterns across cases. It gives a rich familiarity within each case, which in turn accelerates cross-case comparison (Eisenhardt, 1989). Figure 13 present an excerpt of themes from each case site before aggregating in phase 5.

Figure 13 : Themes from each case site

Aggregating nodes		
Name	Sources	References
Improvements	13	144
Stressors	0	0
Backlash	15	264
Career pathway	17	73
Choice	14	51
endorsement	13	29
exclusion and isolation	17	204
exposure	14	196
Feelings	13	103
lack of	14	157
Quit	4	12
satisfied with post	2	3
Self evaluation	16	56
Threats	0	0
Academic Identity	17	688
External impacts	17	171
JOB	17	1820
management threat	17	664
Organisational practices as a threat	17	2275
stereotype roles and threats	17	1730

#### 4.9.2.5 Phase 5: Cross Case Analysis

A comparative analysis across the cases allows for pattern matching looking for themes at the aggregate level which fits in with Eisenhardt's (1989) 'building of theories' and the 'enhancement of probability that novel findings may exist in the data' (p.542) (Figure 14).

Figure 14 : Cross Case summary

Phase 5 Cross Code analysis summary of main barriers		
Name	Sources	References
Career Direction	0	0
Group Level	2	5
HR Systems	0	0
Individual Level	0	0
Leadership	0	0
Organisational Culture	0	0
Structure	0	0

Phase 5 Cross Code analysis summary of main barriers		
Name	Sources	References
Career Direction	0	0
Abandon	16	268
Adapt Stay	17	167
Advance	12	77
task or career orientated - adaptive	11	20
Group level	2	5
HR Systems	0	0
Recruitment and panels	17	630
Individual Level	0	0
Anxiety	14	121
Burnout	8	28
Devaluation	16	250
exclusion and isolation	17	219
Shame	0	0
Leadership	0	0
Organisational Culture	0	0
Structure	0	0

#### 4.9.2.6 Phase 6: Reviewing themes

This phase is essentially one of 'quality control' in relation to the developing analysis, checking to determine whether the themes fit well with the coded data, and the data collected (Braun & Clarke, 2012). This is carried out by revisiting all the data. A visual thematic map can be a useful aid for exploring the relationships between codes and themes, and themes, subthemes, and overarching themes (*ibid*).

#### 4.9.2.7 Phase 7: Defining and re-naming: Corroborating and legitimating coded themes

The final stage illustrates the process of further clustering, corroborating and confirmation of the themes (Crabtree & Miller, 1999). This interpretation of the interaction of text, codes, and themes connects the units into an explanatory framework consistent with the text. The further clustering of themes provides an assignment of succinct phrases to describe the meaning that underpinned the theme. Overarching or core themes are identified as described in the raw data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Although the overarching themes do not contain codes or data, they organise and structure the analysis by simply capturing an idea encapsulated in a number of themes (Appendix E). The other two levels are themes and subthemes; subthemes capture and develop notable specific aspects of the central organising concept of one theme (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

### 4.10 Research Evaluation

Qualitative researchers acknowledge that the researcher inevitably influences the research process and the knowledge produced, and they seek to '*maximise the benefits of engaging actively with the participants in the study*' (Yardley, 2008,

p.237 cited in Braun & Clarke, 2013, p.279). As Yardley (2008) notes, seeking to minimise the influence of the researcher '*would make it very difficult to retain the benefits of qualitative research*', such as the generation of data and analysis through the researcher's active personal engagement with the participants and/or the phenomenon of interest (McLeod, 2011; cited in Braun & Clarke, 2013, p.279). In this regard, the evaluation of qualitative research departs from positivist indicators of rigour. This is considered below.

#### **4.10.1 Trustworthiness**

Guba & Lincoln (1985) suggest that the trustworthiness of qualitative research can be established by using four strategies: credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability. Each strategy in turn uses criteria like reflexivity, triangulation and dense descriptions. The next sections will answer how each of these strategies were used in the study design.

#### **4.10.2 Credibility**

Credibility deals with the question of how research findings match reality and are believable and trustworthy (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). However, according to the interpretivist philosophy which underpins this research, reality is relative to meaning that people construct within social contexts. Therefore, in this study credibility lies within the realities of the subjects' 'thick descriptions' of their lived experiences. Throughout the study, the researcher's reflexivity was critical self-reflection regarding assumptions, worldview, biases, theoretical orientation, and relationship to the study that may affect the investigation by being conscious of the possibilities for multiple interpretations of reality (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Comparing the perspectives of academic staff from different points of view, such

as triangulating academic staff at lecturer grade with that of head of school grade and also including one male from each institute adds credibility to the study.

#### **4.10.3 Transferability**

Braun & Clarke (2013) explain that the burden of transferring results is placed on the reader who must decide whether *their* circumstances and settings are sufficiently similar to warrant a safe transfer. Thus, the key to enhancing the transferability is to describe in detail the specific contexts, participants, settings and circumstances (*ibid*). In addition to rich case description of the case setting, the researcher has used a multiple case study design to improve the transferability of findings. Nevertheless, the study takes place in one national setting and one type of workplace. Therefore transferability requires attentiveness.

#### **4.10.4 Dependability**

According to Merriam & Tisdell (2016), dependability refers to the extent to which research findings can be replicated with similar subjects in a similar context. However, as the quality of inferences also depends on the personal construction of meanings based on individual experience of the researcher and how skilled the researcher is at gathering the data and interpreting them, then reliability in the traditional sense is not practical in a qualitative case study. Merriam (2016) suggests the use of an audit trail to improve dependability of the study. This requires explicit detail about data collection and analysis procedures. This was facilitated by the use of NVivo which allows the researcher to freeze data analysis at key junctures. The use of a case study protocol as advocated by Yin (2014) for multiple case studies also improves the dependability of the study.

#### **4.10.5 Confirmability**

Confirmability is the degree to which the research findings can be confirmed or corroborated by others. The researcher archived all collected data in a well-organised, retrievable form. In presenting the findings the researcher provides excerpts of data in quoted, tabular and chart form (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007) to facilitate the readers' own interpretation of the data.

#### **4.11 Ethical Considerations**

The researcher has to interact deeply with the participants. Creswell (2003) states that the researcher has an obligation to respect the rights, needs, values and desires of the informants. Ethical approval was granted by the Research Ethics Committee (REC) in Dublin City University for a letter of ethical approval. Key ethical issues are considered below.

##### **4.11.1 Voluntary and Informed consent**

Informed consent has been defined as 'the procedures in which individuals choose whether to participate in an investigation after being informed of facts that would be likely to influence their decisions' (Diener & Crandall, 1978, p.57). Consent was sought in the first instance through key gatekeepers in each case site. This allows for the right to privacy and the right of refusal.

The researcher informed the participants of the purpose, nature, data collection methods, and extent of the research prior to commencement. Each participant was given an information pack which includes the plain language statement, informed consent form (Appendix F).

Despite all the above mentioned precautions, it was made clear to the participants that the research was only for academic purposes and their participation was absolutely voluntary. No one was forced to participate.

#### **4.11.2 Harm and Risk**

The risk for participants will be sharing sensitive information. The strategies used to reduce this risk are:

- The researcher and participant will sign a confidentiality agreement.
- All information collated will be stored on protected password-encrypted devices.
- If findings are to be shared, data will be summarised and themed before being disseminated. Any referenced data provided will be pseudonomised with case and position descriptors.
- Anonymity is addressed further below.

The risk for the participant in an interview is limited to non-serious and transient upset. However if a participant becomes distressed when describing their experiences they will be given the opportunity during the interview to:-

- Take a break
- Withdraw from the interview and/or
- Use the services of each of the Institute's Counsellor or Nurse.

#### **4.11.3 Honesty and Trust**

Adhering strictly to all the ethical guidelines serves as standards about the honesty and trustworthiness of the data collected and the accompanying data analysis.

#### 4.11.4 Privacy, Confidentiality and Anonymity

As the qualitative interviews are face to face anonymity cannot be achieved. However privacy and identity for each participant, region and case site will be protected through the use of the following strategies:

- Each case site and region will be anonymised using a case site number only.
- Each participant will have a role descriptor referred to by a pseudonym. Gender cannot be protected as it is essential to the study.
- Information connecting data to participants is retained to allow the right of withdrawal anytime during the research and anytime in the future. This reinforces voluntary consent.

#### 4.12 Summary

Evidence demonstrates that, despite equality legislation and other measures (O'Connor, 2007; Ozkanli et al., 2009), the career progression of academic women in higher education has been limited (HEA, 2015). Consequently, this study seeks to examine the experiences of male and female academics of gender bias in their workplace and how they impact on their careers. To this end, this chapter presents the research design of this study including the guiding philosophical paradigm, methodologies and methods.

Drawing on an interpretivist philosophy (Merriam, 2002) with aspects of symbolic interactionism and phenomenology, this descriptive study employs a qualitative approach where reality is a subjective experience. These approaches are consistent with the requirements of the study.



Using a multiple case study design (Yin, 2012) the study is also informed by Eisenhardt (1989) and the objective of theory development which is comparative and embedded. In line with Yin (2014) and the emphasis on multiple sources of data, the study uses documents, observation, and semi-structured interviews from four comparative IoTs. This data is analysed inductively and deductively using integrated thematic analysis (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006) drawing on existing literature and insights emerging directly from the data. Thematic analysis is used due to its consistency with this approach and the philosophical perspective guiding the study.

The findings from this research are presented over the following two chapters. Chapter five presents the multi-level analysis of gender bias in the workplace and chapter six presents how they impact on their careers.

## Chapter 5 Findings

### 5.1 Introduction

Chapter four outlined the philosophical and methodological approach taken to conduct this interpretivist qualitative study on how gender bias is experienced by academic staff, particularly in relation to the impact on their career direction, in four Institutes of Technology (IoT). The research question for this chapter is:

*How is gender bias experienced by academics in their workplace?*

The selection of the four case sites for this study is based on Yin (2009) and Flyvberg's (2004) use of exemplar or extreme cases as already stated in the previous chapter. Participants included: Head of School (HoS), Head of Department (HoD), Senior lecturers (SL) and Lecturers (L). One male participant was included from each institute to give an overview of their perspective of gender in the workplace.

To capture the lived experiences and perspectives of academics at different levels on the academic structure, in-depth semi-structured interviews using non-probability, purposive, stratified sampling were conducted with seventeen out of the twenty participants invited to participate in this study in four Institutes of Technology. Interviews lasted between one to two hours. Participants were asked about their academic careers and their transition into management, if relevant. They were asked to describe their own work roles and identities, perceptions of management roles, policies and the culture of their department and institution and if they were due to their gender. Other questions concerned changes in the IoTs in recent years, what the future held for them and the impacts of their work on their personal lives.

Table 14 : Participants by grade, case number (Institute), discipline and gender.

		Lecturer	Senior Lecturer	Head of Department	Head of School
Case 1 IoT 1	Female	*Paula (Engineering)	Orla (Humanities)	Margaret (Science)	**Rose (Humanities)
	Male	Norman (Business & IT)			
Case 2 IoT2	Female	Alice (Engineering) Brenda (Science)			Donna (Engineering)
	Male	*Colm (Engineering)			
Case 3 IoT3	Female		Faye (Engineering) Hilary (Business)	Glenda (Humanities)	
	Male				Edward (IT)
Case 4 IoT4	Female			Isobel (Social Science)	Lisa (Business) Cate (Social Science)
	Male			John (Humanities)	

\*Current grade but former Heads of Department

\*\*Left the IoT sector but former Head of School

To protect the anonymity of the participants pseudonyms are used. Verbatim quotes from the interview data are indicted in italics and referenced according to the participant, the Institute (IoT) (1,2,3,4) and the grade Lecturer (L), Senior Lecturer (SL), Head of Department (HoD), Head of School (HoS), for example (Alice: IoT2: L). Table 14 details the participants by grade, by IoT case site (Institute), by discipline and gender.

Following Bogdan & Biklen (1998), transcripts were read and codes developed based on existing literature, interview questions and emergent theories. The interviews were transcribed verbatim and analysed in NVivo using both an

inductive and deductive approach. Initial themes were derived on a within case approach which was followed by a cross case analysis and aggregate analysis.

Hence, this chapter portrays a descriptive overview of findings and analyses on the types of practices identified by all participants analysing the actions, interactions and observations of participants regarding their own experience of workplace practices and those of their colleagues.

The findings for the four institutes are presented under the predetermined categories in Figure 5, as informed by the literature outlined in chapter two. Each section in this chapter presents the researcher's interpretation of the findings which map the dominant themes that emerged from the interviews and that shed light on the gendered character of the organisations in answer to the research question.

Research question one [*How is gender bias experienced by academics in their workplace?*] was answered at three levels:

- Section 5.2 Organisational level
- Section 5.3 Group level
- Section 5.4 Individual level

Figure 5: A conceptual framework for analysis of gender bias at organisational and group level, and its impact at individual level and career direction



## 5.2 Organisational level

Using the literature as a guide, leadership, structure, organisational culture and HR systems as presented in the conceptual framework were analysed across the four IoTs.

### 5.2.1 Leadership

One tangible and salient sign that gender inequality is not tolerated within an organisation is the gender composition of its leaders and the strength of its gender diversity supportive climate (Ostroff et al., 2012).

Upon examining the strategic plan on the website of each IoT case site, there were no visual signs of any formal affirmative action initiatives portraying a gender supportive climate at leadership level. However, the words 'inclusive' and 'diversity' were speckled throughout the strategic plans but no references were made to gender. This was confirmed when participants were asked about their knowledge of affirmative action policies or a gender champion in their IoT.

There were references made to affirmative action programs at student level but none at employee level by some participants. It was evident that some IoT case sites have taken this issue very seriously while others seem not to be particularly concerned. One IoT stated that they *"don't directly do anything in the college other than ... go to the schools with slides"* [Norman: IoT1: L]. IoT3 promoted Science and technology in secondary schools for females [Faye: IoT3: SL] where Alice spoke of past gender initiatives being funded by Europe in engineering in IoT2.

With regard to EO policies, all participants alluded to a consistent lack of awareness and a lack of active pursuance, although each IoT case site had the standard EO policy as per the legislative requirement. Participants' responses

were analysed into Bagilhole's (2002) four categories, confusion, collusion, cynicism and contrariness.

There was confusion as to what equal treatment, equal opportunities and equal expectations meant. Margaret believed that EO policies were adhered to at "*certain levels*" [Margaret: IoT1: HoD] and this was echoed by Lisa who declared that "*it wouldn't be something that would be hugely focused on and front and centre at executive level*" [Lisa: IoT4: HoS]. This concurred with one of the male participant's view in IoT4 when he asked about equality awareness and even though they thought it was important it wasn't implemented.

*I rather naively asked has there been an equality impact study done and people just looked at me and thought what's that and when I explained it, said 'why do I need to do that?' and they thought well it is important, it is important that you show that you're aware of these issues and that you're trying to address gender. People of that meeting hadn't come across that particular terminology before, that was something new to them but then again when I explained it, it didn't help [John: IoT4: HoD]*

Others had similar responses across IoT1, IoT2 and IoT3.

Orla believed "*in terms of opportunity for men and women, it's the same*" however she seemed confused on the difference between equal outcome and equal opportunity; "*within the institute is an easier one for men...you know some posts are more open to men and men are more likely to get those*" [Orla: IoT1: SL]. Donna also spoke of equal opportunities and unequal expectations or standards and although she believed that opportunities were there for women, she felt "*the problem lies is when [women] get into that position that there is an awful lot expected of them. I always feel under immense pressure to do that extra bit to be respected*" [Donna: IoT2: HoS]. Ryan & Haslam (2004) argue that simply giving

women the opportunity to be leaders is not the same as enacting equal opportunity.

Collusion is a paternal pro-women response which is overtly committed to improving female representation, but in a very cautious and conservative manner (Bagilhole, 2002). Norman wasn't "aware of anything ever being gendered" [Norman: loT1: L] and although Edward felt that "*gender balance is very important here*", he wasn't sure "*what gender balance actually is*". He described the work place as playing a game in that "*the way things are structured is facilitating men largely. What facilitates a woman in the workplace not feeling they have to leave their innate abilities outside work to come in and adapt other behaviours... a lot of people play a game because the rules of the game are dictated by the most dominant males, unless we address that we're never going to change*" [Edward: loT3: HoS].

Cynicism was summed up by being sympathetic towards the fact that women were discriminated against due to being a part of real life, placing responsibility on women to change (Bagilhole, 2002). Faye, a senior lecturer in a male dominated discipline, complained several times "*about the way the girls in the class in engineering have been treated by the boys...but unfortunately quite a few of my colleagues think there is no harm in that 'sure it's only messing sure they need to toughen up'*" [Faye: loT3: SL]. Norman "believed that the majority of cases the female priority is on something else in maybe the early years until they get to the stage where the kids have flown the nest or are about to fly the nest and at that stage maybe society, work society has seen them as you had your chance you're gone which is wrong" [Norman: loT1: L].

A contrariness response represented overt resistance which was openly questioned by some female academics. The examples in this case were the



opposition to flexible working practices questioning “*why should this IoT be necessarily facilitating that?*” [Hilary: IoT3: SL]; and “*do we need gender balance [on panels]? Our argument has always been we need the best person for the job it doesn’t matter what gender they are if they are the right person from industry the right person from academia that’s what we want in our table*” [Isobel: IoT4: HoD].

The data above demonstrates differing strengths of ‘active/avoiding’ institutions across the four IoTs which although endorsing EO policies, also avoid implementing them at the same time.

There was evidence of some disagreement between participants on the role of quotas which concurs with Triandis et al. (1993). Norman was sceptical in his description of the use of quotas referring to them as “*fake quotas*” [Norman: IoT1: L] whereas both John and Lisa agreed with the “*introduction of quotas as a measure to promote better equality*” [John: IoT4: HoD] as “*it’s not going to evolve naturally*” [Lisa: IoT4: HoS].

*Equality and legislation won’t work by itself so you have to have an education process and there has to be a shift away from this idea that it’s a man’s world... there’s a macho image and the media can do that so there needs to be a real shift away from that and that involves legislation and education and if that involves quotas* [John: IoT4: HoD]

Some gender supportive practices are seen to deal with the problem of gender inequality at an individual response (McKeen & Bujaki, 2007) and a constant theme in the data, was the lack of informal or formal support networks in IoT1 and IoT2. In IoT3, Hilary believed that having the ‘*right role model*’, even informally, resulted in ‘*a whole department full of people with [PhDs]*’ [Hilary: IoT3: SL]. In IoT4, Lisa outlined the leadership initiative that “*a lot of the university female*

*managers are involved in it...these are women in management and aspiring leaders or people more junior in their career so there's 6 workshops throughout the year.. A few lunches and if they want mentors assigned we assign mentors through HR for them"* [Lisa: IoT4: HoS].

Although Isobel emphasised *"the need for role models"* [Isobel: IoT4: HoD], there was some debate as to whether mentoring actually worked, amongst some of the other participants. *"I'm not sure that mentoring programmes actually work because I acted as a mentor and I found that it was hugely artificial in that forcing 2 people to be mentor and mentee ...may not have similar interests may not have"* [Faye: IoT3: SL]. Edward felt that men *"would be more reluctant to feel that they need one"* [Edward: IoT3: HoS].

The symbolic role of middle management in academia, the head of department, is particularly important, as he/she can establish an inclusive organisational culture through persistent communications and visible support through his/her own behaviour. Some female participants stated there was a difference between male and female heads of department. In IoT3 and IoT4 where there was gender balance at both head of department and head of school level, both Hilary and Isobel believed that having females in senior positions has shown benevolence *"much more in terms of the greater good, coming out with outcomes, I suppose solution driven...and I think that's been very positive* [Hilary: IoT3: SL], Isobel believed that *'everybody has the opportunity to speak'* at meetings and committees [Isobel: IoT4: HoD]. However, Faye in IoT3 found it difficult to work with her male head of department due to the gatekeeping of resources *"given to men in certain departments where the women are overlooked"* and allowed behaviour to flourish at meetings. Norman didn't see *'it being any different working*

*for a male head of department or a female head of department'* [Norman: IoT1: L].

Other participants spoke respectfully of their head of department and also described the post holder as overworked *"my HOD is wonderful but I would have to say the pressure it would put you off ever wanting to apply for a senior role"*[Brenda: IoT2: L].

Finally, there was agreement amongst the managerial participants that training was very poor for any management post which concurs with previous research which has shown that heads of department or schools receive little or no training to prepare them for their new responsibilities (Nguyen, 2012) especially in the area of managing gender. Most participants stated that there was a *"need for more training not just on gender specific issues but there's a whole range of equality issues like around here we've very few staff with disabilities, very few"* [Edward: IoT3: HoS]. Glenda stated that she received training for interviewing six months after her appointment to head of department but knew of other Head of departments who received training two years after promotion, John received training for 'interview techniques' but not gender training and Isobel received training for *3 days...conflict management and issues like that. ...I have done quite a bit of interviewing here and I have no training* [John: IoT4: HoD].

### **5.2.2 Structure**

Acker (1990) states that gender is implicit in both formal and informal structures of power.

#### 5.2.2.1 Formal Structures

Formal structures include hierarchical arrangements, nature of the positions and the context around promotion.

**Participation in leadership.** The current structure of academic management in the four IoTs in this study is presented in chapter three, Figure 8 (p.60). Also Table 6 (p.62) presents the Institutes of Technology gender staffing information for Academic Managers and Presidents for the years 2012/13, 2013/2014 and 2014/2015.

Participants in IoT1, IoT2 and IoT3 noted the lack of women in academic management posts with one participant stating *“there used to be a couple of female heads of departments and there have been none, one was appointed last year, there were a few, they all left”* [Rose: IoT1: HoS]. Margaret stated that *“since I’ve started here there have been 5 heads of department and there’s a reason why”* [Margaret: IoT1: HOD]

In IoT1 at the time of interviewing, between March 2015 and May 2015, there was one recently appointed female head of department. However one female head of school had left employment the previous year. Between the years 2012 to 2014 there has only been one female in the academic management at any one time at head of school or head of department level.

In IoT2 at the time of the interviewing, there was one female head of department and one female recently appointed head of school. There has never been a female head of school up to this point.

In IoT3 at the time of interviewing, there were two female heads of department and no female at head of school level. There has never been a female head of school.

In IoT4 at the time of interviewing, there were four female heads of department and there was gender balance at head of school level with two females and two males and also gender balance in the overall senior management team (incl. President and Registrar).

Rudman & Phelan (2008) also found that perceptions of illegitimacy or 'imposter syndrome' (Clance & Imes, 1978) are reduced if the women occupy at least 15% of leadership roles in the gender composition of its hierarchy. In IoT1, IoT2 and IoT3, women did not occupy greater than 15% of academic leadership roles at management level in 2014.

Women still see leadership as inextricably linked to position, which is often associated with a type of career that is unattainable and may not see themselves as leaders or believe they fit the leadership mould. One female participant described the top tier as *"a culture of boys together"* [Paula: IoT1: L/formerHoD] while another female academic participant believed that *"the head of department job is one that is within reach but then again that is middle management ... head of school is where the big boys are playing at"* [Hilary: IoT3: SL]. Margaret felt the head of school role was perceived by many in her Institute to be reserved for males from the outside referred to as *"political appointments"* [Margaret: IoT1: HoD]. Orla from IoT1 believed that her workplace was *"quite hierarchical ... where senior management can be quite authoritative at times so that's how it can seem. It can seem at times that decisions are not transparent"* [Orla: IoT1: SL].

However this did not reflect the male participants' views on gender composition of the leadership. Norman in IoT1 saw *"no gender issue at all"* [Norman: IoT1: L] while John in IoT4 believed that there was gender balance and that it *"happened without any intervention"* [John: IoT4: HoD]; Edward in IoT3 saw gender balance in the overall management team which was *"not an accident"* [Edward: IoT3: HoS]

although this seemed to veil the issue of fewer women in the academic side of management. Mor-Barak et al. (1998) state that barriers may be invisible to some men who are not exposed to and do not participate in creating them. A combination of ignorance, denial or covert support of discriminatory policies can create an overall perception of more inclusiveness and fairness on the part of them. However John felt that it was more complicated than putting in place anti-discriminatory policies as he believed that gender inequality was due to a number of factors:

*“The position of women in society generally, in spite of advances that happen it’s still a very much male dominated patriarchal system. ... what stops them is the idea of the glass ceiling, family commitments can be part of that, you know the role of women in society, they’re the natural carers, this assumption... they have a family to look after and they’re going to be taking time off to have children and so on. There’s a combination of factors that’s really worked against women sort of historically in relation to promotion and maybe some people just think why bother [John: IoT4: HoD].*

The type of structure and leadership style can also portray leadership as unattractive to women. Women prefer flatter organisations (Newman 1995: cited in Deem, 2003) as they think of relationships in terms of support affiliation, where men are accustomed to competition and hierarchy. Lisa, a head of school, used *“a team approach”* in the school management structure, treating heads of departments *“as peers... it’s great having each other to bounce ideas off so we meet every second if not every day”*[Lisa: IoT4: HoS]. Whereas Hilary felt that the dynamic in her school of one male head of school and two female heads of department was unhealthy and *“almost secretarial in support”* which was a *“bad dynamic”* as they were all *“senior lecturers together”* [Hilary: IoT3: SL]. Brenda in IoT2 saw that *“females are probably sought upon for help, for getting the job done*

*... there is definitely a male/female divide because males won't take it as easy as females do, we just do it... I have excellent male colleagues who are amazing at putting the overall structure on things but when it comes to doing the tasks the detail that doesn't get done"* [Brenda: IoT2: L]. This reflects the stereotypical male image of a typical senior manager (Erikson, 2012).

Although women now are exercising leadership in the work environment, many of the ways they do it are hidden (Masden, 2016) and therefore not recognised. Some lecturer participants believed that it was necessary to give people opportunities to show they are *"rewarded and recognised"* [Brenda: IoT2: L]. In the wake of the missing senior lecture 1 posts, there was a need to create an alternative opportunity structure, such as *"course co-ordinators or course developer or something"* [Paula: IoT1: L/formerHoD] to allow women to exercise leadership horizontally rather than positionally. Interestingly, these positions have been developed in institutes where there were a high number of females in the academic management structure.

Cate also drew distinctions between the lack of opportunities and the *"age profile"* of the current managers and the permanency of posts [Cate: IoT4: HoS]. This is in line with Conrad et al. (2010) who researched the link between hierarchy (the structure) and the indeterminate length of management appointments that create a calcified structure which is difficult to change or avoid. Colm felt that opportunities didn't arise *'we have to wait for one of them to die! Two of them are in their 50's so I reckon we're going to struggle* [Colm: IoT2: L/former HoD].

**Nature of the position.** Perceptions about what positional leadership involves holds women back (Leberman & Hurst, 2016) and gender stereotyping can affect collective conceptions of the nature of a leadership position within an organisation (Goode et al., 2005). The particular gender stereotypes most relevant to the

domain of leadership are those maintaining that “women take care” and “men take charge” (Welbourne, 2005; cited in Broughton & Miller, 2009 p.29). When participants were asked to describe what a head of department’s qualities should be, both male and female participants used stereotypical feminine discourses by creating a comfortable atmosphere (Kantola, 2008). They included “*open door policy*” [Norman: IoT1: L]; “*should be visible*” [Orla: IoT1: SL]; “*there when I need them*” and “*minding staff*” [Brenda: IoT2: L] in line with Kantola’s (2008) acting as ‘mothers of the department’ (p.205). This was reinforced by several female managerial participants using discourses associated with femininities (e.g., communal, respectful, supporting) when describing their management style (Goode & Bagilhole, 1998; Priola, 2004). For example, Lisa described her style of communication when trying to impose her points of view in a meeting using words such as, “*patience and tolerance... excuse me...it’s done in a nicer way than constantly interrupting*” [Lisa: IoT4: HoS]. Cate described her approach as supporting and nurturing similar to other female senior managers in her IoT. She believed that “*you wouldn’t get to meet the other heads of school [male]. And even my own manager now would be limited enough in his praise...but I as a manager always praise people*” [Cate: IoT4: HoS]. Paula, a former head of department, wouldn’t ask staff to “*to do anything that I won’t do*” Paula: IoT1: L/Former HoD]. This type of leadership shifts the focus from leadership as an individual act to leadership as the process of people working together to accomplish an outcome (Raelin, 2011, 2016).

Two male participants also spoke about their schools being ‘*democratic and inclusive*’ [Norman: IoT1: L] and John saw himself as ‘*working with people as opposed to leading people*’ [John: IoT4: HoD]. However Colm felt that the culture in IoT2 was very much directed rather than team-based:



*“The head of department doesn’t manage anything...it is an administrative role. The management meeting would have been the head of school telling us you know how his long term strategy was to the two heads of department but that was it... they were basically information meetings where the director or president was basically telling you what was happening so there was very little managing”*  
[Colm: IoT2: L/Former HoD]

This is in line with “men take charge” (Welbourne, 2005). Margaret saw her head of school as *“more systems oriented, people aren’t his thing really... I’ve heard the comment going its easy knowing there’s a female head of department now”*  
[Margaret: IoT1: HoD].

Both academic and managerial female participants also described their role as ever expanding and intensive. Paula described how *“there’s no beginning, middle or end to the workload”* [Paula: IoT1: L/formerHoD] and Colm believed that *‘department heads have all this responsibility* [Colm: IoT2: L/Former HoD] which is in line with Acker’s (2012) view on leadership as an all-consuming activity. This concurs with Pyke (2013) who noted that female academics and managers tend to be assigned a disproportionate share of service work and advising loads relative to their male counterparts (Gardner, 2012). In particular, Alice, a lecturer in engineering, described how women carry a mental load *“that’s still going to be on your mind”* [Alice: IoT2: L] where Hilary described that *“women have been just more willing, more involved, more engaged, more personal, you know maybe more caring towards the students”*. [Hilary: IoT3: SL]. This is referred to as emotion work (“she’s upset; comfort her”) and inflated expectations of caring (Acker, 2014).

However the management roles were not consistent across the four IoTs and they seemed to have what Grummell et al. (2009) referred to as permeable

boundaries. Margaret, head of department in IoT1, a male dominated institute, was *“not on any extra committees or academic council”* and her job was to *“manage the people”*. She described having *“no power”* or *authority*, and any requests for extra resources is *“only acceptable”* if it comes from her head of school [Margaret: IoT1: HoD]. However, Glenda, head of department in IoT3, a gendered balanced institute at head of department level, seemed to have a wider role as a head of department, defining the role as a *“gateway to academic staff for senior management, all of the other operational departments like HR, marketing, like finance...they all want it at the same time and it’s now”* [Glenda: IoT3: HoD]. There are two ways these experiences can be interpreted. Firstly, with reference to Margaret’s duties, this is in line with Ely (1995) who suggested that when a disproportionate number of men are in positions of authority, work roles can become more segregated and gendered; or secondly, with reference to Glenda’s duties, ‘the dirty job’ of ‘middle management positions’ are required to ‘smooth the passage of managerial work’ (Prichard & Deem, 1998; Shain, 2000, p.224).

The nature of the middle management posts was described by all participants as a buffer between head of department and head of school. Both Colm and Donna believed that the head of department role *‘needs to be seriously looked at with regards to workload’* and that there is an unfair distribution between both positions. Margaret believed that the Head of school looked like a *“cushy number ... seems to offload all the problem stuff that you do in management ... they do more of the budget side of things possibly because they have time to. They seem to have more time to do everything”* [Margaret: IoT1: HoD]. Peterson (2016) also concluded that those management posts which women had accessed became administrative, undervalued, low status jobs which were less attractive to men,

previously being attached with the status of 'King' to a current roles description as "servant" (p.123-124). This is Kanter's (1977) 'gendered structural placement'. Leberman & Hurst (2016) found that women negatively link positional leadership with personal sacrifice, particularly to family life and personal well-being and so move towards exercising leadership on a day-to-day basis, rather than go for positional leadership. The views from the male participants were similar when asked to describe women in management roles. Edward referred to *"the need to sacrifice personal stuff to do it at the start"* [Edward: IoT3: HoS]. John believed that for a woman to do a senior role she had *"to give up something"* [John: IoT4: HoD]. Although teaching is seen to fit family life better than research, women are still expected to bear the major responsibility for the care of children (Spurling, 1997; cited in Priola, 2007). This concurred with what Colm stated: *"those who are married I'd say have a wife at home so you just can't do that if you're a working mother"* [Colm: IoT2: L/former HoD]

Five of the eight female managers across all four IoTs, described some of these sacrifices and how they meant radical change in their personal life at extra cost:

*"Anytime I have had to travel it always costs me always. So I end up whatever reeling in favours or paying extra childcare it will always cost me to go away and travel...It's not the same because every, every, single member of the senior management team their other half is at home. I asked a member of staff [to go]... but I know without it being said that it's not looked upon favourably"* [Donna: IoT2: HoS];

Glenda gave up her holidays: *"I chose to come in for 3 weeks in July to learn how to do timetabling, as it was "lesser of two evils because I knew if I didn't get to grips with it then it would be even worse to try and do in September"* [Glenda: IoT3: HoD]. Paula spoke of *"working day and night, that's what I'm saying, and*

*this was killing me... I was so tired after the week I was just going home and sleeping for the weekend* [Paula: IoT1: L/former HoD]; Rose *“basically lived in [xxx] during the week...it was hard to go every Sunday afternoon”* [Rose: IoT1: HoS]; and Cate took half a day’s parental leave *‘only last week I didn’t take it. Now I’m getting up at 5 o’clock every morning to do my work to catch up with it because no one else will do my work’* [Cate: IoT4: HoS].

Although both of the male managerial participants spoke about changes in their lives in reference to travelling for work, neither made specific reference to it impacting on their lives, as much as the female managerial participants. For the men the things that were commonly identified as burdensome tended to be issues relating to career progression that were regarded as peripheral or unnecessary work activities with no obvious career benefit.

**Context of promotion.** According to Deem et al. (2000) women are recruited to carry the burden of organisational change and brought in to come clean up the so-called “mess” when experiencing either an external or internal crisis (Caprino, 2015). Ryan and Haslam (2005) theorised these unpopular and precarious management areas as “glass cliffs”.

Four of the woman managers in IoT1, IoT2 and IoT3 stepped into difficult roles. They describe some of the posts as stressful, with interpersonal conflict, less authority and less value. Donna described her increased workload of doing both head of department and head of school roles plus lecturing because they *“haven’t been able to get replacement in the current climate”* [Donna: IoT2: HoS]. Rose spoke of stepping into a newly created post where they had *“no preparation” with “no office”* and had *“fourteen secretaries in the first year”* and feeling that she was *“on the back leg all the time”* [Rose: IoT1: HoS]. Paula referred to her department as a *“poisoned chalice”* and *“a lawless land”* which had very difficult staff

members” *who would go to a meeting and just play cards*” and how *“guys of this age group who would just find that funny and just do the minimum they have to do”* [Paula: IoT1: L/formerHoD]. Glenda stepped into a post that had *“legacy issues”* where *“there had been no head of department in that department for a good seven or eight months and the bare minimum was done”* [Glenda: IoT3: HoD].

Three of the female managers have since stepped down from their roles and have been replaced by men.

#### 5.2.2.2 Informal Structures

Along with formal structures there are informal structures such as access resources, visible assignments, networking and support. Subtle discriminatory incidents occurred when dealing with the allocating of resources. Women in management positions look for social resources, support structures and mechanisms that organisation have in place to help them do their job. There were reports of such resources and support structures from one case site where both John and Isobel reported fairness and *‘openness in resource allocation’*, *‘supports for personal development’* and *‘supports for head of department’* [Isobel: IoT4: HoD]. This case site is where there is gender balance at senior management level. However, the two female senior managers in IoT4, spoke of the lack of transparency and openness when it came to the allocation of resources at higher level. Cate believed that *“there are backroom corridor chats going on and that really frustrates me because there is no transparency there”* [Cate: IoT4: HoS]. This concurs with David (2015), who stated that power, resources, rewards and influence increase at higher levels of leadership. Lisa commented on how males use different strategies to get what they want by seeking out *“constant meetings”* and using *‘pester power’* [Lisa: IoT4: HoS]. In IoT3, Faye highlighted the

occurrences of discrimination by the gate keeping of resources and the allocation of jobs in the male dominated discipline she worked in, where a highly abled manager showed benevolence to male academics by giving certain resources to them *"there was a difference between how men and women are treated in my department"* and *"it's assumed that because I have kids I'm too busy, whereas they don't ask me"* [Faye: IoT3: SL].

There was a difference in how budgets were allocated in three IoTs. In IoT1, Rose never saw her budget *"It was essential notional allocation of central funds, notional, it could be changed at any time. I never had control of a budget"* [Rose: IoT1: HoS]. In contrast to this, budgets were allocated to the head of department in IoT3 although she didn't believe it was *'fair if you have two departments sitting there with 8 or 900 students sitting there in that department has half those numbers and yet still has the same supports in place and when I mean resources and budgets'* and when it came to bringing in funding others felt *"hard done by that that wasn't rewarded"* [Glenda: IoT3: HoD]. Donna stated allocation of funds *"would be down to who fights aggressively for it"* [Donna: IoT2: HoS].

Research shows that women do more 'office housework' (Williams & Dempsey, 2014) than men. Brenda spoke of working with several groups that had male leads however she dismissed the idea that one male leader did not deserve the credit as he had *"initiated the idea and he's knows that if he didn't have us behind him it just wouldn't come together it's a huge event that we do"* [Brenda: IoT2: L]. Edward spoke about the difference between women in administration in IoT3, *"you can see there are little touches and significant influences that are gender specific. And I mean on this floor here it's full of wonderful women who contribute way over and above but if this was full of men it would be a hell of a different*

*experience and I know that so I think we're blessed with what we've got"* [Edward: IoT3: HoS].

The assumption that "men have families to support" and that "mothers do not want stretch assignments" (Williams, 2014) can deny women access to highly valued assignments before and after maternity leave, the 'maternal wall bias' (Williams (2014). Paula reflected giving up 7 weeks extended maternity leave when she stepped back to lecturer position "*I felt it was done to make it difficult, that maybe it was difficult enough then maybe I wouldn't continue to come back. So to not come back to that level of chaos and uncertainty I traded maternity leave but he recanted and changed what I was supposed to teach*" [Paula: IoT1: L/Former HoD]. Donna also expressed a sense of "*if I don't go back I'm going to be faced with absolute torture when I do go back*" [Donna: IoT2: HoS]. Faye who was heavily involved in research was "*afraid to ask for parental leave*" because she "*would be given less research hours*" and "*still be doing the same teaching hours*" [Faye: IoT3: SL]. The restructuring of the academic gender regime with greater diversification of the work (vertical) and the greater differentiation between universities (horizontal) has the potential for re/creating, if not solidifying, the gender divide (Blackmore, 2014).

### 5.2.3 Organisational Culture

Culture has been called the character of the organisation and is manifested in employee fit, individual and group behaviours, climate and symbols and images (Schein, 2010).

**Role Congruity Fit.** Organisational cultures are not neutral with regard to what types of employees fit and which employee behaviours are valued (Bouton, 2015).

Participants described incidences of male employees who were valued more than certain women in respect to jobs and empowerment in their workplace. Faye described incidents where *'men who have performed fairly poorly in acting positions have been rewarded afterwards with [management] posts'*. Paula, referred to outside *"political appointments...who haven't taught a day in their life"* devaluing not just women but also the professional academic. Hilary, a senior lecturer, believed that there was quite a *"strong sense of women in administration not really being empowered...whereas a certain male person in administration has huge power...presence and profile and I think it's because he's a man"* and also *"[Hilary: IoT3: SL]. Halford et al. (1997) noted it was very unlikely for men, other than at the very start of their careers, to be in junior positions, while these latter positions were filled by women who stayed there for most of their careers (O'Connor, 2000).*

Female leaders also often find themselves in a double bind, leading to women having to deny some of their feminine attributes in order to fit in with the male leader image and to get the job done (Priola, 2004). Even at senior level leadership women in management positions were viewed as outsiders (Gehardi, 1996) and sometimes find it difficult to get the job done. Lisa spoke about resistance towards the female Registrar with regard to the implementation of changes to policies in her institution, *"it would be stronger towards the registrar than it would be towards the president. That's probably a gender issue and the fact that she's not in post as long, she's only in post 3 years"* [Lisa: IoT4: HoS]. Paula believed that because she didn't change the way she worked and was *"just being myself"*, this was most likely the reason why she was *"probably separate from the male pack"* [Paula: IoT1: L/formerHoD]. Hilary perceived that



*“because as head of department [and] you’re a woman, there’s also a sense of you know it’s normal for female to be in an office receiving students and signing off forms...a male head of department would get more support from admin ...go to the female secretaries and say do this... a female head of department probably can’t as easily get the secretaries to do a load of bits for them” [Hilary: loT3: SL].*

This is what is called a double bind, how situations are perceived and interpreted are influenced not only by what is said, but also by how it’s said, contributing to the perception of the male leader (Hodel et al., 2017). In this case, it’s the use of the male command style of speaking whereas women ask respectfully in a softer tone which can devalue their credibility and authority. It is especially disempowering for women (Seaton, 2001).

Five female participants stated they have not, *“knowingly, anyway or intentionally”* [Glenda: loT3: HoD] abandoned their femininity to get the job done. Orla and Isobel stated much the same. Alice stated that she *“would not be willing to do that”* [Alice: loT2: L] and Cate believed that her managerial style did not lend itself to using a *“kick ass approach”* [Cate: loT4: HoS]. However some of the female participants who worked in male dominated disciplines or institutes had in the past gone against their femininity in their roles and believed that gender stereotyping can affect expectations of women and not men. Donna believed that although *“females tend to try and care about the views that people are going to have of them and try to please as many people as possible”*, she has had to trade this *“to be more aggressive and decisive in a decision that I’m making and not try and think of people I’m going to upset because I’m not going to please everybody* [Donna: loT2: HoS]. Rose also believed that *“the same level wasn’t expected of [men] in terms of efficiency...they never were followed up on”* but if she have acted like a male, i.e. *“bolshie”* they would have treated her the same instead of

trying to “pin” anything on her [Rose: IoT1: HoS]. Paula wished that she had changed her approach after four years as head of department and “*maybe a bolder, brassier lady would have done differently and made different choices*” [Paula: IoT1: L/former HoD] and Hilary also spoke of using “*male discourse, it sounds logical, it sounds authoritative*” when presenting at meetings [Hilary: IoT3: SL].

What is interesting is when this question was asked of the four male participants, their answers were a monosyllable “no” although Colm and Edward did believe that it was different for females than males. Edward, supposed that women have had to display masculine behaviours to “*learn to survive in the association*” [Edward: IoT3: HoS] while Colm believed that “*If you’ve a female head of department they’re going to have a different approach but in some cases I think that different approach might be a hindrance The only way to deal with that is in a...stick your chest out and say’ I’ll tell you and la la la and I’m not sure, certain women aren’t able for that stuff*” [Colm: IoT2: L/former HoD]

However Hilary believed that a woman shouldn’t have to “*leave their female part at the door ... and behave pretty much as a man would behave*” as this can lessen the “*authenticity of a person’s presence in a group*” and that bringing “*female characteristics and traits to the discussion can question from that perspective*” [Hilary: IoT3: SL].

**Cultural Climate.** The main themes that emerged from the data with respect to climate were low levels of trust, justice and fairness due to inconsistent HR policy enactments and transparency in decision making, specifically affecting gender in workplace as this affects the treatment of women.

Across all four IoTs, eight of the thirteen women and two men in the study experienced a lack of trust to some degree. The experiences ranged from devaluation based on gender and/or competency, to the integrity of HR policies, suspicion of management, the recruitment process and the social exclusion in some senior management meetings.

Colm spoke about perception of academics of the lack of transparency and the lack of trust in decision-making in IoT2.

*I think xxx has morphed into something different now in that it's turning into an information meeting. It was senior management opportunity to tell everyone else what was happening...there wasn't much transparency at all...poor management at senior levels in that the opportunities to consult with the academics yet they actively don't so what happens is because you're outside the loop the assumption is always that there is something going on, something is going to change... the demarcation between the Registrar's office and the academics is getting wider [Colm: IoT2: L/FormerHoD].*

Glenda also spoke about the lack of fairness in the cultural climate at IoT3 where *"the heads of academic department are very often in the firing line in a very hostile form...you are challenged directly on some issues that are operational in front of senior management, in front of students"* [Glenda: IoT3: HoD]

Paula described lack of support in IoT1 in the stepping down from management posts.

*"They didn't make things easy...for instance when the last head of department they just made a position for him to go to you know and they wouldn't do that for me. And in fact I had to stay on hanging in until a position came up and then...3 positions came up and I went for one [Paula: IoT1: L/formerHoD].*

Most participants talked about the inter relationship between gender and family with balancing family and work which affected career choices (Grummell, et al., 2009). Paula, Donna and Faye experienced injustice and unfairness with regard to family friendly policies, Donna said that *“parental leave had been suspended in IoT2 due to the employment control framework embargo”* that the government had imposed as part of the public sector cutbacks several years ago. Others spoke of jobs that they could not apply for because of balance between work and family. This is what is described as ‘moving between the relationship/domestic and the academic fields’ (Acker 2010, p.141).

*“Probably most women are still the primary carer for the children and if you’re a lecturer why would you go for a head of department post when you have your academic holidays when you can fit your childcare around it and I think that would put people off here” [Isobel: IoT4: HoD]*

Colm spoke of *“constantly juggling”* and not being able to plan childcare due to not knowing until September as his wife also worked in academia [Colm: IoT2: L/formerHoD]. Orla compared her life to some of her male colleagues and how *“some of them go home and their wife puts the dinner made and you know there’s no childcare for them to do and they really focus on their work whereas most of my females colleagues go home and they do another days work...I love my career but not if it would compromise my children”* [Orla [SL/IoT1].

Other female participants spoke of negative equity in the workplace being perceived as lack of commitment and not being a team player, having to pay a toll (Morley, 2013.)

*I would be afraid to come in and say I can’t meet you because I’m minding my children because I’m female but my male colleagues without compunction say’ sorry can’t turn up for that meeting because*

*my child is sick... when men call it, they are a great father haven't they got their priorities right and when women do they're not fully committed [Faye: IoT3: SL]*

However two women participants didn't feel that family was an inhibitor and spoke of being frustrated that it was an assumption that all the caring fell on the female's shoulders. Hilary believes that *"it is a full time job, if you want to do part time we'll facilitate you, if you want to do job share we'll facilitate you. But it's not a part time job, it is a full time job"* [Hilary: IoT3: SL].

Donna, in particular, spoke of the unfairness in her temporary post of eight years at management level and felt that the injustice was due to her gender and that *"I would never have felt I was treated any differently but certainly in the last 2 years I definitely 100% feel that if I was male I would've been made permanent at this stage...no man would accept that"* [Donna: IoT2: HoS].

Sense of justice and fairness also involves feelings of positive regard and social inclusion. Margaret spoke of being *"treated as if you are something on somebody's shoe from basically the top"* and both Donna and Rose felt socially excluded and that the male norms dominated the organisational climate especially at senior level.

*They do the rugby they used to do the golf years ago they used to play football when they were younger... I know they socialise together and would certainly call each other for coffee... I would never have a call to go for coffee from another senior member of staff but yet I would call them and say listen do you want to talk about ... but it would never be reciprocated [Donna: IoT2: HoS].*

*You sit down and literally within seconds... they're talking about football. So you are excluded...the whole culture of the place like honestly sexism sweats out, it oozes from the walls [Rose: IoT1: HoS].*

**Symbols and Images.** Erikson (2012) states that the power of symbols and images in an organisation can reinforce divisions along the lines of gender. Husu & Tainio (2014) make specific reference to the use of media which specifically target appearance, age, looks and motherhood as contributions to the construction of women.

All four IoTs displayed examples of gendered symbols and images on their public information i.e. websites, prospectuses and even on the walls within one IoT. The examples had elements and structure that reinforced divisions along lines of gender (Lester et al., 2017) such as, only females wearing mortar hats at graduation. This example, highlights how a graduate's gender is accentuated at the end of a four year degree by the wearing of a symbol. There were pictures of only female graduates posing evocatively in pictures in one IoT and in another IoT, one male head of department was particularly shocked by actions of students where *"women are portrayed in particular posters...in fact I went around and started taking the posters down"* and believes that *"there needs to be some sort of a policy where we can say no we're not prepared to let things like that go on"* [John: IoT 4: HoD]. These are examples of media portraying women to appear as "accessible" or "sexy" reproducing gendered asymmetries (Chimba & Kitzinger, 2010, p.622).

Women are still held to account for their appearance (Stavrakopoulou, 2014; Chimba & Kitzinger, 2010). Brenda, a lecturer, described a female head of school as a role model but commented on her appearance first rather than her ability *"turns herself out fabulously"* [Brenda: IoT2: L]. Sometimes women are often pressured to forego symbols of feminine status, such as dress-codes and age, where this can detract from their expertise and experience and challenge their credibility. This can result in women interpreting their own position as marginal or

as outsiders especially in male dominated disciplines as (Chimba & Kitzinger, 2010; Husu & Tainio, 2014; Kantola, 2008). Faye, a senior lecture in a male dominated discipline, describes how she “*stopped wearing skirts and wore jeans and trousers for very many years*” [Faye: IoT3: SL] in order to fit in with male image.

Cultural climate can also be influenced by imagery. All participants were asked to describe their organisation in terms of an animal. Female participants who answered the question used masculine-coded words such as “*peacocks strutting its stuff*”, “*ostriches*”, “*bear*”, “*tigers*”, “*hyena*” and “*some treacherous*” in their descriptions. However although the male participants used masculine coded words as well i.e. “*orang-utans with intelligence*”, “*gorillas*” and “*friendly bull*” to describe the culture in their organisation, they chose animals of large body mass and strength. Two female participants from IoT4 softened their descriptions but still used masculine-coded phrases, for example, “*lion cub still to grow* and “*faithful dog to the community and staff*” to describe the culture in their institute. This concurs with Priola’s (2007) view that although the female proportion in managerial roles may increase, it does not necessarily determine a feminine working environment climate (Thomas & Davies, 2002).

#### **5.2.4 Human Resource Systems**

Five of the thirteen female participants expressed discrepancies in the enactment of human resource practices in areas such as recruitment, performance appraisal and the grievance procedure.

#### 5.2.4.1 Recruitment

Recruitment policies were interpreted differently across the four IoTs which according to Ball (1993) can lead to inconsistent outcomes.

**Advertisements.** All advertisements for any academic post in the IoTs are normally outlined as per the nationally agreed academic contracts (TUI). Heilman (2012) states that research conducted in Europe examining the effects of using “gender-fair” languages in the description and advertisements of traditionally male jobs have been shown to have a variety of bias-curtailling effects (Horvath & Sczesny, 2011; Hodel et al., 2017, p.384). Upon examining the head of department contract masculine-coded words such as *lead*, *direct* and *manage* were used. This seems to conflict (as previously stated) with the perception of the post as reported by the participants who used feminine-themed or relational words when describing it.

A theme that emerged inductively from the data was the timing of interviews which can affect women’s careers. This deviated from the literature on gendered recruitment practices. This is specific to the IoT sector as the academic year begins on the 1<sup>st</sup> September until the 20<sup>th</sup> June thus timing of interviews during summer holidays can make it difficult for women to apply due to family commitments and also giving the impression that academic managers would lose their holiday entitlements.

*They said the interviews would be held on... the 27<sup>th</sup> [June]... so I know several...women that would have actually applied for this job only for the timing of it [Margaret: IoT1: HoD].*

**Shortlisting.** There were different approaches for shortlisting candidates for interviews reported by managerial participants in different IoTs. Some managers



in IoT1 reported a two screening shortlisting process, *“there’s two screens, there’s the HR screen where if they meet the criteria based on what the job was looking for they make it onto this Excel spreadsheet and then to narrow it down it’s usually sent to the head of department”* [Margaret: IoT1: HoD]. In IoT2, Donna started the process from start to finish to apply consistency: *“I would the full view of everybody who applied so I’d know male and female. If its outside and I’m sitting on the panel as an extern on an external panel I would only see the shortlist”* [Donna: IoT2: HoS].

**Gender balance on panels.** Gender balance on panels seemed to vary across the four IoTs. One participant had never been on a panel where there were more females than males in her discipline. Others spoke about the use of the phrase *“gender balance”* that people perceived it *“to be a woman on the panel”*. Alice and Glenda described being the *“token female”* and how they found it insulting, *“they don’t listen... they just wanted somebody in a skirt...so I did find that a bit insulting”* [Alice: IoT2: L]

At an external panel, Glenda felt that she was *“just there to tick a box “* and *“was told what questions I was to ask and I very much felt that I was the token female on the panel... it didn’t really matter what I had to say”* [Glenda: IoT3: HoD]. This concurs with Gaucher et al., (2011).

**Influence on the panel.** Most participants agreed that the line manager, varying between the head of department or Head of School, or the chair was the most influential person on the panel. However in IoT1, a senior manager *“sat in most the panels”* [Rose: IoT1: HoS]. This can be perceived as interfering with the process. The more ambiguity, the more necessity there is for inference, and the less evident is the *“accurate”* evaluative judgement (Heilman & Haynes, 2006). There was a belief amongst some participants that the process was interfered

with “it [the shortlist] would have been taken from us and people would have been added or people would have been subtracted” and the panel would’ve been “spoken to in advance” [Rose: IoT1: HoS]

**Promotional Guidelines.** Many participants seemed unclear if there were any promotional guidelines and the exact criteria their institution required for promotion. Alice referenced to this lack of clarity “*I have been surprised when people weren’t called but then you don’t know always know what the criteria are, could be a masters or PhD or some many years in management*” [Alice: IoT2: L]. In the absence of performance appraisal Edward believed that “*certain experiences are rewarded... really the criteria that are there are very broad, the criteria are very bland to the extent that there is little opportunity to tweak the criteria if you have a specific niche. Plus it’s a one hit interview situation*” [Edward: IoT3: HoS]. John, who came from a university background was ‘*shocked by the lack of promotional opportunities within the institutes*’ [John: IoT4: HoD] and Brenda believed that there “*was a need more of a progression, it’s not all about promotion... like the universities*” [Brenda: IoT2: L].

Ambiguity in criteria allows for stereotyping to flourish in the interview process to fill in the blanks which can lead to the general idea “think manager, think male” (Gaucher et al., 2011; Heilman, 2012).

**Interview questions.** When asked about the questions used in interviews, Lisa referred to using “*scenario based questions or competency based and scored using a grid*” [Lisa: IoT4: HoS]. Paula held the view that the questions were “*done on the fly*” [Paula: IoT1: L/formerHoD]. In contrast Lisa stated that they were “*not allowed to change the questions between candidates although in past some inexperienced interviewers have fallen victim – mostly males*” [Lisa: IoT4: HoS]. Again this was in the institute where there were a gender balance at senior

management level. Colm described how interviews were fair “we were very, very careful, they were asked the same questions in exactly the same thing and everything would have been minuted as you were doing it so you were very, very conscious of asking anything. This concurred with Isobel does “actually think they’re fair, our interviews are quite well governed by our chair, people on them who ensure that there is consistency across the interviews” [Isobel: loT4: HoD].

Some participants who had gone for promotion had no faith in the process at all as the “other [male] candidate was asked different questions than I was at the interview, he asked some very, very, different questions indeed...comments mm” you’re never going to cope with all that and 2 children as well” [Faye: loT3: SL]

Even on external panels Donna spoke of how she was “given the quality type questions the softer type communications ones where she preferred “the technical ones” [Donna: loT2: HoS]. This concurs with the typical stereotypical male image in a male dominated discipline which challenges a female academic credibility (Kantola, 2008). Other believed that the questions ‘shifted” when an individual uses the first piece of information as a baseline or anchor when making a decision. If the baseline is incorrect there is a bias towards interpreting information around it. In other words incorrect judgements can be made (*ibid*).

*Yeah probably because in your head you’re going that’s the number one candidate we’ve seen to date and so probably people coming after that candidate are benchmarked a little bit. Now I don’t know if that’s unfair because on paper that’s the way it’s going to calculate out anyway but I think that’s a human thing to happen [Margaret: loT1: HoD]*

**Criteria for evaluation.** According to Heilman (2012) ambiguity permits expectations to flourish and is heightened when the information available about a

candidate is impoverished, inconsistent or irrelevant; when there is poor definition of the criteria for evaluation. This concurred with what one female participant described as *“have gut feelings that are really on the ball”* [Paula: IoT1: L/formerHoD]. These descriptive stereotypes also serve as heuristics or shortcuts for forming impressions about people (Macrae, et al., 1994, p. 37). These processes are normally disadvantageous to women.

Gate-keeping instils in women a sense that senior positions are too elusive and therefore make a decision not to apply (Bagilhoe & White 2008; cited in O Connor et al., 2009). Faye described how she had *“no confidence in the promotions”* as *“men who have performed fairly poorly in acting positions have been rewarded afterwards with posts”* [Faye: IoT3: SL]. This did concur with Edward who believed that *“there is a tendency to pick someone who is similar”* [Edward: IoT3: HoS]. Isobel explained that *“from a European perspective all the literature would support the fact that it always has been this way that if a male goes into nursing or into midwifery they do tend to get the top jobs very quickly. They are focused and they do very well”*. This was similar in another Institute where *the head of nursing is male* [Margaret]. This is in line with ‘glass escalator’ phenomenon accelerates them into management positions (Maume, 1999; Williams, 1992)

These preferred candidates can be selected for a particular position, which is surrounded by, what Bourdieu described as, a “cloak of clear election” (Asimaki et al. 2016). Phrases such as *“forgone conclusion”*; *“who do you want to work with?”* [Faye: IoT3: SL] were used by some female academics about the selection of the successful candidate. Colm also spoke of panels that he had sat on and Colm spoke of panels that he had sat on and *“it didn’t make any difference what had been said as the job had already been given”*

Norman and Orla in IoT1, Brenda in IoT2 and Isobel in IoT4 disagreed with a foregone conclusion, however Edward in IoT3 did believe that the present system was stacked to:-

*Reward certain experiences and not others...it comes down to well first of all you have the panel and the expertise of the panel, you then have then manner in which the process is done itself how the shortlisting is done and all of that [Edward: IoT3: HoS].*

Descriptive stereotypes create problems for women when there is a perceived lack of fit between a woman's attributes and the attributes believed to be required to succeed in traditionally male occupations and organisational positions (Heilman, 1983). In IoT1, Orla described a management position where "seven people went for it and six were female and the male got it" [Orla: IoT1: SL].

These male gender-typed top management positions are believed to necessitate characteristics that coincide with stereotypic beliefs of men, but not with stereotypic beliefs of women (Gaucher et al., 2011; Heilman et al., 1989). Hilary described her experience when she went for promotion as

*Looking for someone who could do budgeting and management in terms of how to put people in their place and how to control deviant behaviour...I was putting forward the idea of academic leadership which was completely at odds with what they seemed to be looking for...it was the preferred choice rather than the better choice. I think I was the stronger candidate in each case on many levels" [Hilary: IoT3: SL].*

This depicts the shift of higher education where the academic manager is becoming more professionalised referring to a managerial role as distinct from an academic role (Peterson, 2016).

Ambiguity and a poor definition of the criteria for evaluation (Heilman, 2012) can add to the exclusive club or preferred candidate which is not driven by merit. Edward highlighted the difficulties when defining merit as it could be subjective:

*There is the expectation of seniority rather than merit...what we deem as merit should be much broader and sometimes that's the difficult bit to bring in the criteria by quantitative and measured... and so it could be a simple I know that person would be good at building and working with people [Edward: IoT3: HoS].*

In some cases some participants cited preferred candidates coming from outside the academic sphere which made it more difficult for women to succeed. Paula spoke about outside appointments, “the vast majority if not all are management - senior and middle management who have never taught an hour in their lives you know” [Paula: IoT1: L/formerHoD].

Several participants expressed concern at the overall interview process in particular the “one stop performance on the day” [Edward: IoT3: HoS] where candidates have to explicitly draw attention to their skills, talents and accomplishments.

*One of our staff went for a job and I knew that they were really good but she gave a horrific interview and we couldn't give them that job and that was a hard decision. They absolutely did not display at the interview anything [Lisa: IoT4: HoS].*

Although self-promotion has been found to enhance assessments of competence for both men and women, it results in women, but not men, being viewed as less socially appealing (Rudman, 1998). Thus, what is a good impression management strategy for men is not necessarily a good impression management strategy for women (Heilman 2012; Rudman & Phelan 2008). Hilary compared

the process to a talent show and stated that the *“loose category in the marking scheme was where the games were played”* and that *“performance on the day is over rated...like this is the best performance you know. It’s like the X factor”* [Hilary: IoT3: SL].

#### 5.2.4.2 Performance appraisal

Also emerging from the data was the lack of performance appraisal across the institutes. According to Coens & Jenkin (2001) poor appraisal is better than no appraisal as this means no feedback’ (p19). Hilary spoke how the lack of performance appraisal meant that there was *“a lack of awareness... at college level of what people are doing”* [Hilary: IoT3: SL] while Orla believed that academics *“are being used in a kind of a certain way that fits in”* [Orla: IoT1: SL]. Colm spoke of the gatekeeping of modules *“they’re doing no exams, they’re working in labs...they regularly get two days free a week... for a long time. They are all men”* [Colm: IoT2: L/formerHoD].

Faye, Paula, Edward and Donna also highlighted how the lack of performance appraisal allowed for lack of accountability. It gives way to less favourable performance-based expectations of women, resulting in more favourable work performance assessments of men. This could be seen in the rewarding of males *‘who have performed fairly poorly in acting positions have been rewarded afterwards with [management] posts’* [Faye: IoT3: SL] and *“political appointments* [Paula: IoT1: L/formerHoD]. It also allows for increases in salary increments *“in that everybody gets the same reward independent of their contributions”* [Edward: IoT3: HoS] and how it facilitated certain individuals *“to go up the salary scale each year to get to the top and when you get to the top sure what’s the incentive to do anything different”* [Donna [HoS/IoT2].

#### 5.2.4.3 Grievance process

Research demonstrates that even when women do experience harassment or discrimination in the workplace, they are unlikely to report it (Diekmann, 2013). The excerpts below describe how five female participants felt they had nowhere to turn to.

Margaret described her situation: *“When I complained at the time about the contract being broken the person that I spoke to said ‘well you can complain but you’ll never get a job here if you pursue with that complaint’”* [Margaret: IoT1: HoD].

Faye believed that she was being singled out:-

*I believe my line manager is canvassing for poor opinions of me to make a case he, there’s a few of my colleagues that have said that. Well he has said to some of my colleagues and they are very alarmed by it and XXX wanted to go to HR months ago and complain about it, I stopped him don’t know why I stopped him at the time I didn’t want the hassle* [Faye: IoT3: SL].

Hilary felt that *“everybody disappointed me in their lack of support at that time and I was told at the time that it wasn’t their place to manage him”* [Hilary: IoT3: SL];

Donna referred to not *“wanting to rock the boat”* [Donna: IoT2: HoS] and Glenda felt *“I had nowhere to turn to because I did actually go to HR and speak to them about it and like really was met with silence”* [Glenda: IoT3: HoD].

### 5.3 Group level

Gender bias may be communicated through behaviours, such as discrimination, sexism, backlash and general incivility in daily interactions amongst groups of employees.



**Discrimination.** Situations were described in IoT1, IoT2 and IoT3 where the credibility of feminised disciplines was devalued and where women's expertise in their discipline and research were challenged, thus lowering their prestige according to male perception. This resulted in discriminatory effects, leading to the professional diminution of women (Benokraitis and Feagin, 1995, p.78).

Chesterman et al. (2009) describes age in combination with gender as a possible factor that might challenge a woman's expertise and credibility in being able to do her job (Benokraitis & Feagin, 1995). Paula believed a combination of her age and gender marginalised her from her male colleagues *"I was young and I was female and nothing was made easy"* [Paula: IoT1: L/Former HoD] and Donna believed her gender and age challenged her credibility at times *"there's a good 10 year age gap ... I don't know the take me seriously yet... so it does put me in a vulnerable situation"* [Donna: IoT2: HoS]. None of the male participants spoke of their age being associated with lack of credibility. The typical stereotypical male image in a male dominated discipline can also challenge the female academics credibility within these areas (Kantola, 2008). Faye noted that *"as regards matters technical, I noticed that the students would always defer to the male academic rather than the female [me]"* [Faye: IoT3: SL].

There were some incidences of diminution of accomplishments of some of the female participants (Benokraitis & Feagin, 1995; Husu, 2001; cited in Priola, 2007). Isobel questioned if women were not competitive *'why put yourself out there'* [Isobel: IoT4: HoD] and Faye described how she was challenged when she was successful in getting a post and any other accomplishments:

*Women who do admit that they are competitive are viewed very differently from men who wouldn't have a problem. I would say in work I've been challenged on two fronts both on say the work I've done [as*

*an academic] but also on myself as a person [as a female]..I competed with 4 or 5 men for the job and I got it and quite a few said ah it's because she's a women [Faye: IoT3: SL]*

Paula described how a new programme that had been given a prestigious industry award had not been celebrated *"no acknowledgment was received from senior management"* [Paula: IoT1: L/formerHoD] and how a post was not created for her when she stepped back from management but had been for any male manager. Faye also stated that any successes she had in research funding were left uncelebrated by her male head of department compared to her male colleagues *"he noticeably avoided research achievements and why that is because all the research achievements all the papers published have been by me"* [Faye: IoT3: SL] and also overlooked assignments and resources.

Faye believed that a *"change of culture is the only way to change discrimination"* [Faye: IoT3: SL].

Even women in female dominated disciplines in IoT3, did not escape discrimination from one particular male line manager, due to devaluation of their feminine discipline. Husu (2001) refers to 'non-events' such as the value placed on the research in feminised disciplines. Edward believed that the research in the social care discipline was not perceived to be as valuable as research in engineering *"which research track record will carry the greatest weight and I would say engineering STEMs would stand at the minute"* [Edward: IoT3: HoS].

This is in line with Peterson's (2016) view of professional diminution of feminised disciplines and the lowering of their prestige according to male perception.

Brenda in IoT2 and Glenda in IoT3 and Isobel, Lisa and Cate in IoT4 did not experience and were not aware of any discrimination or sexism in their departments or schools. Orla in IoT1 stated *"I've heard stories where that women*

*feel it, that they have experienced different things but I haven't personally... I would think that's very gender based, that's sexist"* [Orla: IoT1: SL].

**Backlash and Sexism.** There is much evidence that women experience sexism at work from male colleagues and that marginalisation is accentuated (Anderson & Williams 2001; Howie & Tauchert, 2002).

Where more institutional discrimination is present, there is a higher expectation of higher levels of sexism. Sexism is normally hostile in nature, however, benevolent sexism is more subtle as it is positive but paternalistic (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Stamarski & Son Hing, 2015).

There were a multitude of incidences across IoT1, 2 and 3 from sexism to verbal attacks and addressing women in inappropriate ways. Margaret spoke of benevolent sexism in that she felt that the other heads of department *"protected her"* as she was the only female [Margaret: IoT1: HoD]. Three participants, Paula, Rose and Hilary, in particular spoke of multiple incidences of hostile sexism. Paula described how the head of department who had taken over from her when she stepped down from her post, treated her. *"I do think he had a problem with the fact that I was a female and I do think that came into it and made it worse... he had an enjoyment for being mean because I used to do his job and he used to enjoy that I would feel demeaned"* [Paula: IoT1: L/former HoD]. Hilary spoke of being challenged on her expertise and called *"disobedient... that's something you'd say to a 6 year old girl"*, [Hilary: IoT3: SL]. Rose spoke about dealing with another manager who she had ferocious time with him afterwards and believe fundamentally that he couldn't *"handle a woman at the same level"* [Rose: IoT1: HoS].

Participants talked about difficult situations where they had encountered verbal attacks. Donna spoke about how she *“would’ve felt pressurised”* into changing a decision after being challenged in front of staff. Paula reported where a male academic *“had a ruler in his hand and was shaking it and saying “this is your fault, it’s all your fault” that’s what he was saying to me and spitting in front of the students”* [Paula: IoT1: L/formerHoD] whereas Rose described a particular incident where a male manager *“roared and shouted at me and this absolutely was a source of great amusement to xxx”* [Rose: IoT1: HoS]. Other female academics became aware of men’s hostile attitude and changed their behaviour in response. The following is an example of Margaret’s experience: *“the very first meeting I went to, I just kept my mouth shut and observed everything”* [Margaret: IoT1: HoD]. Faye *“didn’t want the hassle”* after some male colleagues in one meeting wanted her to report incidents to the human resource department. However, they didn’t openly challenge their male colleague’s behaviour *“You could’ve tried to put a lid on it but you chose not to”* [Faye: IoT3: SL].

Another form of harassment is addressing others in an inappropriate way. Paula and Rose also spoke of being referred to as *‘she is this’* in emails *“and they wouldn’t even call you by your name...even a building site was a more respectful place to be...and was constantly on the receiving end of what she described as “divide and conquer” or “ball and chain humour”. The comments always referred to her gender such as “I get an insight into what your home life must be like”. “I’m not doing that, I don’t wear a silk blouse you know”. [Paula: IoT1: L/formerHoD] whereas Rose was often referred to as *“herself”* [Rose: IoT1: HoS].*

However, Norman believed that any conflict in the head of department post was due to the post itself and not gender *‘they are militants to you whether you are a prince or a princess’* [Norman: IoT1: L].

Also, gossip can be used to destroy someone's credibility (Thomas, 1998) which in turn can destroy a person's professional career. Paula explains how she observed how this affected one woman academic *"she was laughed at"*. The joke *"went over to the main building and she was ridiculed"* [Paula: IoT1: L/formerHoD]. Rose also spoke of how she was *"being made fun of ...there was a joke going around at the time about me and the male heads of department... at the beginning, it was very, very besieged and difficult"* [Rose: IoT1: HoS].

**Workplace incivility.** The data confirms incidences of workplace incivility. There were occurrences of incivility across IoT1, IoT2 and IoT3 by some male academics towards female academic managers because they were newly appointed into the role, they were younger than previous managers or they were the first female manager in that discipline.

Cunningham et al., (2012) suggests that all employees in an organisation can be harmed i.e. emotional distress, by working in a context that tolerates the mistreatment of others and women specifically, even those who are not direct targets. *"I think that's a male thing... Sometimes I feel like saying this is really unpleasant can we not just try and come into this... I think one thing that probably puts women off going for promotion is having to deal with an awful lot of male egos on a day to day basis"* [Hilary: IoT3: SL].

Other circumstances of incivility such as, instances of interrupting colleagues, addressing others in an inappropriate way, and making jokes at another's expense (Cunningham et al, 2012) were highlighted by some of the woman participants especially in relation to conducts in meetings. Hilary spoke of *"bullying at meetings"* of a new head of department by *"the men"* which left her feeling *"shocked"* [Hilary: IoT3: SL].

Women may be restricted in when and how they contribute to a conversation. One way is a low tolerance for women who express a view that is different from the group. Faye described how a male colleague constantly *"interrupted"* her at a panel [Faye: loT3: SL]. Rose, Margaret, Norman, Edward and Hilary gave examples of behaviours that had been exhibited by colleagues in meetings, how they were *"often talked over* [Rose: loT1: HoS] and how *"the same five people will talk over at meetings and do the minimum"* [Norman: loT1: L]. They learnt certain techniques to be heard in meetings: Lisa spoke of finding it challenging to communicate in ways that is accepted by men *"it's done in a nicer way than constantly interrupting"* communicate in a way that's going to be accepted by the males to some extent" [Lisa: loT1: HoS]. Edward addressed inappropriate comments *"outside the meeting"* [Edward: loT3: HoS]. Hilary explained that:

*Males interrupt females, females interrupt each other but in a supportive way to support them in what they're saying and to agree. Males interrupt very often they'll interrupt and change topic or obviously change perspective... I've learnt techniques for imposing myself in a meeting in a way that I would never do in a context outside of work but in trying to impose a point of view, put a hand up or whatever, speak as clearly and as succinctly as possible* [Hilary: loT3: SL].

According to Seaton (2001) the pitch between male and females voices can lend to gender stereotyping.

Margaret described how she spoke at a certain level and blamed herself for being heard at meetings *"even if I raise my voice, my voice is just not great at projecting so I find myself spoken over before I've finished out"* [Margaret: loT1:HoD]. When a female finishes a conversation she finishes on a question looking for confirmation that she is correct where her voice goes up in pitch, whereas when

a male finishes a conversation, he finishes on a lower tone at the end which finalises the conversation as described by Margaret *"once the male comes in on it that's like the final point, whatever side that person comes in on"* [Margaret: loT1: HoD]. Donna refers to certain behaviour in senior meetings by some of the male colleagues:

*How they sit back at meetings like this ... putting my arms over my shoulders and at the back of my head .... and what that saying to me is "I'm authoritative in this role here and my decision is final and this is my grand idea even though they know when they are speaking that's something have a loud voice you know and more vocal that I don't think that you get airtime"* [Donna: loT2: HoS]

This is what Diehl and Dzubinski (2016) refer to as 'control of women's voices' (p. 273).

Others reported feeling very included and respected especially in those Institutes where there were a greater number of women in management. Both Hilary and Isobel believed that having females in senior positions has shown benevolence *"much more in terms of the greater good, coming out with outcomes, I suppose solution driven...and I think that's been very positive"* [Hilary: loT3: SL] whereas Isobel spoke about changes that were made due to having gender balance in loT4 implemented by the new female senior manager *"they would of certainly run academic council ...run all the different groups within it, they had the say they had the voice and their little team would listen to them and would all support whatever was being said. It's very different now....there's equal male and female participation, everyone has a voice and is encouraged to speak"* [Isobel: loT4: HoD]. John also stated that *"haven't come across anybody being disrespectful"* in his role as head of department however *"you have situations where you can have*

*friction at particular times between people but that happens, I'm not aware of anything ever being gender based"* [John: IoT4: HoD].

Norman believes" *it's the job not gender... bad behaviour are a normal course of job"* [Norman: IoT1: L].

**Disciplinary groupings.** In Erikson's (2012) studies of the complexity of feminine/masculine environments (academic fields), she identified a masculine culture can place women at a disadvantage and that gendered divisions prevailed, with the women believing they could persevere with hard work and dedication and more qualifications (Lester et al., 2017). There were findings with regard to gender stereotyping where female academics carried out house work instead of glamour work and high profile work being "*given to men in certain departments where the women are overlooked*" [Faye: IoT3: SL]. This occurred in a male dominated discipline. Edward, head of school agreed that women could be overlooked although he couldn't "*if you've a male dominated environment inevitably over the course of time women are going to disappear... For a female to go into an all-male meeting and make a pitch is difficult*" ' [Edward: IoT3: HoS].

Four of the participants, two male and two female were not interested in completing a PhD and worked in the institutes with the least number of females in management IoT1 and IoT2. According to Priola (2007) where there are less resources available, the climate becomes harsher, more competitive, and more masculine with a need to keep things running smoothly in accordance with goals and targets. What is interesting is that those participants who did not intend to study for a level 10 qualification also worked in the male dominated disciplines, IT and Engineering.



## 5.4 Individual level

This section presents the findings related to the main interpersonal emotional impact on the individual that have emerged from the data based on the previous findings in the chapter at organisational level and group level.

What is interesting is that none of the male participants spoke of any feelings or emotional impact. There are two ways of looking at this, either men don't talk about interpersonal effects where they "*will carry on regardless. And it's about toughening up*" [Lisa: IoT4: HoS] or they actually don't recognise that this is not part of working life and not acceptable.

**Devaluation.** In certain contexts a person's professional identity may be devalued due to their gender (Goode et al., 2005). Pyke (2013) noted that female academics tend to be assigned a disproportionate share of service and advising work relative to their male counterparts (Aguirre, 2000). In particular, Alice, a lecturer in engineering, described because of her gender, she had to deal with certain students personal issues which left her "*carrying a mental load*" [Alice: IoT2: L].

As presented one female academic experienced devaluation through lack of high profile work and diminishing of accomplishments and credibility, Glenda described feeling '*helpless and undermined and undervalue*' [Glenda: IoT3: HoD] in her feminine discipline where numbers were low and it was decided at head of school level to cut the module, others described being devalued as a leader due to their perceived lack of fit, being given emotional work due to gender and denying some of their feminine attributes at times to get the job done. This can be referred to as a 'double bind' (Laing 1970; cited in Jenkins, 2014) where women are often acutely aware that their treatment in leadership situations may

be contingent upon their gender. Rose sums up the doubling effect for a female academic manager:

*It is difficult to take apart the strands what was anti-woman... anti-academic... and anti-head of school [Rose: IoT1: HoS].*

**Anxiety**. Eight women across all IoTs described feeling anxious and fearful at some point in their careers in their current place of employment. Some spoke about job insecurity, others spoke of behaviours from peers and staff causing them stress and anxiety leaving them so fearful at times they retreated to bathrooms emotionally upset. One female participant spoke of harassment and discrimination from a male line manager while others described a sense of helplessness as they had received lack of support from HR in relation to incidences of discrimination, sexism and harassment.

In some situations, in response to stereotype or social identity threat, emotional distress might persist, such as anxiety and fear.

Two female participants spoke of the distress caused by lack of job security. Glenda described how the *“discipline subject area that I would have been teaching ... was very much in the doldrums, very much under threat...made the work environment very difficult... it was a horrible feeling and I felt helpless”* [Glenda: IoT3: HoD] . Donna used words as *“fear”, “not wanting to be known as a troublemaker”,* trying to *‘fight amicably’* to get a permanent contract in her current post of eight years [Donna: IoT2: HoS].

Paula described deliberately putting together a course to *‘build in some permanency ... with kids I just needed to say I know what’s coming up’* [Paula: L/formerHoD].

Cunningham et al., (2012) suggests that all employees in an organisation can be harmed i.e. emotional distress, by working in a context that tolerates the mistreatment of others and women specifically, even those who are not direct targets. Hilary spoke of observing a new female head of department being *“bullied...pushed around”* [Hilary: loT3: SL]. Margaret spoke of being told that a certain senior manager would come into a meeting with a *“string a load of curses out effing and blinding about this thing or the other or that you could directly fall into the line of fire at a meeting like that”* [Margaret: loT1: HoD].

Paula described how her manager would *“roar out at a meeting and I’ve seen him get really cranky, really cross and agitated in a meeting whereas I would feel I couldn’t ever have done that. I never would have lost the plot in a meeting even though inside I might have been, outwardly I didn’t feel that I could do that”* [Paula: loT1: L/formerHoD].

Paula, Rose and Faye in particular spoke of incidences of incivility and aggressive behaviour towards themselves expressing feelings of embarrassment, fear and distress.

*I was absolutely mortified. I was absolutely undone...I went into my office anyway and I had to collect myself* [Paula: loT1: L/former HoD].

*I went off for a little cry* [Rose: loT1: HoS].

*I’ve cried many times in the toilet in this place and I feel physically sick sometimes coming in* [Faye: loT3: SL].

Sexism is more likely than other threats to increase the production of cortisol, a hormone that corresponds to feelings of threat. The main instances of sexism that participants reported were in meetings and in emails.

Rose, Lisa, Hilary, Donna and Margaret gave examples of behaviours that have been exhibited by colleagues in meetings and how they had to learn certain techniques to counteract the feelings of anxiety such as practicing what they were going to say and speaking in a more 'male' authoritative way. Lisa used coercing as it was "*accepted by the males*" [Lisa: IoT4: HoS]. Women who interact with sexism constantly feel a stereotype threat and can demonstrate elevated levels of cortisol, a biophysical correlate of threat and anxiety. Rose spoke of giving up and eventually becoming so distressed "*how in the end you become the problem and I just gave up...it really very nearly gave me a nervous breakdown, in fact I think I had one*" [Rose: IoT1: HoS].

Some people might say that workload is due to the feminine attitude of 'easier to do it myself mentality' than actively working towards changing the culture or dealing with disagreement and open conflicts which contributes to the construction of their gender identity (Priola, 2007 p. 29).

**Shame.** The response of shame to some of the practices in the workplace emerged inductively from the data. Five of the women spoke about this experience in relation to their identity, lack of support as an academic manager, parental leave, accountability and justification due their gender. Significantly, this only occurred at the head of department and head of school level.

According to Wheeler (1997) shame and gender are inextricably bound up together in society; indeed, gender as a social schema can be read as a differential code of shame (p.240). Browns (2006) describes shame as an "intensely painful feeling or experience of believing we are flawed and therefore unworthy of acceptance and belonging. Women often experience shame when they are entangled in a web of layered, conflicting and competing social-

community expectations. Shame leaves women feeling trapped, powerless and isolated” (p.45)

None of the male participants referred to feelings of guilt, entrapment or exposure however several woman participants did and described withdrawing, hiding, silencing themselves and secret-keeping as means to deal with these feelings.

Glenda, described feelings of “*exposure*” and feeling trapped and powerless, using the phrase ‘*shining a spotlight on them saying 60 seconds questions*’ to express how she felt in her role and believed that having a mentor could have helped her deal with the incidences.

*You felt like it was a performance meeting to see how you were doing except that it wasn't held in private... I didn't actually feel it was possible to have a work/life balance the way I wanted it and stay going in the job which is a real shame, it's a real shame... I wonder if I had had a mentor would I have resigned I don't know [Glenda: IoT3: HoD].*

Cate and Donna spoke of silencing themselves as shame demands that women hide their ‘shamed selves’ from others in order to avoid additional shame (Tucker, 2004 p.45).

*The whole...childcare...support that people with families need or perception of women and their need even though they have children that they're not doing a less job because they decide to take time out. That is the big problem. The fact that I'm not even telling anyone that I'm taking parental leave is ludicrous. ...I don't know why I'm not doing that... I don't want to feel guilty if I'm seen around [Cate: IoT4: HoS].*

*You will run the risk of people thinking oh ... there she's thinking of getting home to the kids "when we have important decisions to make [Donna: IoT2: HoS]*

According to Brown in Tucker (2004) women learn how to move forward by attempting to earn connection by appeasing and pleasing. The following excerpts describe how Paula and Rose deal with shame through the use of justification and blaming themselves.

*I definitely shouldn't have to justify my position I suppose is a point and yet I do feel it's like the real are the guys and there's a sense that engineers you're just fiddling around the edges and you're not a real engineer* [Paula: IoT1: L/formerHoD]

*You become what they're describing you as, you become difficult, you become sulky, and you become recalcitrant* [Rose: IoT1: HoS]

Isolation is the product of being trapped and powerless. Lisa believed "lack of support can lead a woman to withdraw and change interests rather than go for promotion" [Lisa: IoT4: HoS]. This concurs with Wiseman (1996) cited in Tucker (2004) who states that empathy and support helps shame lose its power. This emphasises the importance for mentoring, role models and networks for women.

*I think if there was a sense of isolation and you didn't have support I think that you probably wouldn't grow and you wouldn't do things* [Lisa: IoT4: HoS].

The consequence of shame inductively emerged from the data as a barrier for female academics in progression in their career is not evident in existing literature.

**Burnout.** Five women experienced burnout across IoT1, IoT2 and IoT3. Four of the five women were managers and the other was from a male dominated discipline.

In response to threats as a group or as an individual, people respond by feeling the need to demonstrate their capabilities (Moss, 2016; Hall et al., 2015) and

women form the opinion that, in order to keep pace with men, they have to acquire higher levels of qualifications (Miller, 1994). It has also been argued that women need to be seen to work even harder proving their capabilities more than their male colleagues if they want recognition and career success (Sheppard, 1992) potentially leading to burnout.

Several female participants spoke of stepping into 'glass cliffs' posts, such as a newly created post; a difficult department with difficult staff; a post that had no department for at least eight months. The effects from these posts described below highlight the lack of support, huge workload, unachievable expectations and feelings of exhaustion leading to illness. Margaret spoke of "surviving" [Margaret: IoT1: HoD].

Three of the above women stepped down from their management posts due to burnout. Glenda, a head of department, described her situation:

*I became ill a number of months ago, I think that illness was now on reflection down to being utterly burnt out. I hope it's a wake-up call in some ways I think it is a shame but I genuinely didn't feel that there was an alternative. You can't just restructure a role overnight.*  
[Glenda: IoT3: HoD].

Rose described how the job "it really very nearly gave me a nervous breakdown" [Rose: IoT1: HoS] and Paula felt that her job was 'killing' her [Paula: IoT1: Lecturer/former HoD] and Faye reported feeling exhausted.

*There were 2 females complaining about my [manager] and I'm afraid I just removed myself because I didn't want to go there because I'm exhausted, and I kind of have what they are describing, I have it times ten* [Faye: IoT3: SL].

According to Seibt and Forster (2004), when individuals become aware of the negative stereotypes of their groups, they use a prevention focus to counteract making a mistake, by being constantly vigilant.

Examples of prevention focus techniques were that some female participants were working harder to *“to be respected” and “to have the notebook and paper and I’m writing actually what I’m going to have to do when I leave the meeting. ... I’ve noticed women are there that they do seem to work tighter to their time seems to be more precious* [Donna: IoT2: HoS].

Some participants believed that there were different expectations from men and women with regard to performance.

Alice spoke of a *“male style of management flying by the seat of your pants stuff that goes, disorganised in a lot of ways suiting people that are able to do certain things because of the supports they have outside”* [Alice: IoT2: L]. Donna believed that men *“don’t take as much responsibility for things they don’t seemed to feel the pressure to work towards deadline ...they don’t take ownership and walk away”* [Donna: IoT2: HoS] and Rose agreed and described how men had behaved in her presence:

*Ah I’m bored with that and would leave it, they never were followed up on but if I failed in any way, if there was anything they could pin, they absolutely did on me... the same level wasn’t expected of them in terms of efficiency* [Rose: IoT1: HoS].

Paula referred to her current Head of department and his approach was *“if you have a problem... you can figure a solution and make that offering at the same time”*, however when she was head of department the staff expected more from her and *“lecturers used to show up to me and go ‘this timetable is wrong’ ...some of them wouldn’t even hand them out for you, they only want their own timetable.*



*...then one of them would come in and go I don't teach in there, I need the bigger room ... and next thing ...there's conflict there again"* [Paula: IoT1: L/formerHoD].

These kinds of incidents are not necessarily gender-specific however to present women more as heroines of hard work and maybe less as highly talented persons is gendered (Husu & Tainio, 2014).

**Isolation.** Five women across all four IoTs, described feeling a sense of isolation either due to the absence of women at their level or discipline, by being denied access to certain resources due to their gender and the general lack of female mentors available.

Women do not see others like themselves at the top of the hierarchy (Conrad et al., 2010). Paula and Hilary used the word “boys” to describe those who hold the senior management positions in their institute and believed that those positions were gendered and not within reach and that gate-keeping instils in women a sense that senior positions are too elusive and therefore make a decision not to apply (Bagilhoe & White 2008; O Connor et al., 2009).

Paula and Faye described feeling isolated in their disciplines whereas Rose, Donna and Cate described feeling isolated due to their management position “*I do feel that my current position for want of a better word is a very lonely place to be as a female okay in that I don't meet with my colleagues, male colleagues at this level*” [Donna: IoT2: HoS] which concurred with Cate when she first stepped into her post “*Definitely did in the beginning. To the point where I nearly didn't stay actually because I think for senior managers and the induction of them you're just expected to there you go, off you go, you'll be grand*”.[Cate: IoT4: HoS]. Rose believed that it was a deliberate tactic as “*we are kept that way*”. [Rose: IoT1: HoS]

Ineffective HR policies such as lack of support in times of transitions coming back from a leave of absence due to maternity or parental leave or between posts can marginalise women. Paula describes how she felt after stepping back from a head of department post:

*Horrible. I felt for a few years I kind of just existed really, I didn't know how to be. I felt like I looked like a failure and yet I knew my own personal reasons for doing it. I felt resentful when I looked at these people who I felt were judging me and I thought well you're part of the reason I had to make this decision [Paula: loT1: L/formerHoD].*

Faye spoke of her female colleagues feeling marginalised, when it came to the non-allocation of high profile work and other resources “*All but one of the female staff have told me ... males are being favoured over them*” [Faye: loT3: SL].

Although seeking out a mentor is also one way to counter the effects of social isolation both Alice and Donna spoke of counteracting feelings of isolation by seeking out other women and “*would head off for lunch*” [Alice: loT2: L]. This was similar to other experiences of women participants, Cate and Lisa. Seeking out other women can be described as a prevention focus which can reduce a stereotype threat and possibly elicit a sense of fit. This sense of fit could actually enhance engagement and performance (Grimm et al., 2009).

None of the male participants spoke of feelings of isolation or marginalisation. Lisa believes that “*men won't take on board... that sense of isolation as strongly. They may be isolated but they may not recognise that they are and they may not feel it or recognise it to the same extent. They will carry on regardless. And it's about toughening up*” [Lisa: loT4: HoS].

## 5.5 Summary

In summary, the data verifies the lack of leadership in managing gender in all IoTs. It also confirms the previous research highlighting the negative influence caused by absence of top-tier women and that female participants prefer flatter networked organisations with a transformative agenda. Gendered organisational practices influence group behaviours producing biases such as, discrimination, sexism, backlash and workplace incivility which certainly impacted on some female participants, especially those who work in male domains, producing interpersonal feelings such as anxiety, shame, devaluation, isolation and burnout. Shame as an issue emerged inductively and was only experienced by some female managers. The findings also presented the HR systems as inadequate in some IoTs.

The proceeding chapter presents the findings and analysis to answer the second research question on the impacts of gendered practices and experiences by women across the four IoTs.

## Chapter 6                      Impacts on Career Direction

This section will present findings to answer the second research question:-

*How do these experiences impact on their career direction?*

The following directions became apparent from the responses of the women participants when asked about their future plans and in response to the overall experiences of intersection of their gender, academic management and organisational practices presented in the previous sections.

1. Advance
2. Adapt/Stay
3. Abandon

Sturges' (1999) view was that males tend to talk about career goals centered on status and recognition whereas women generally focused on personal recognition, accomplishment and achieving balance in their lives. Contrary to O'Connor's (2001) observation, however, this did not appear to affect some female participants striving for and reaching the top. Some female participants spoke of advancing their careers but with provisos, while others spoke of staying in their current positions due to external influences describing exercising leadership, rather than positional leadership. However, there were women who spoke of having no choice but to abandon the process, their post and ultimately employment due to gendered practices. Overall the male participants reported not having issues when dealing with work colleagues or spoke of childcare not impacting on their work except for Colm. They did not have issues with resource allocations other than external influences. Both male managers did recognise the need for an equality opportunity strategy and also training to deal with those

issues. John was concerned with equality issues, Edward emphasised the need for professionalising the academic manager, Colm believed the demarcation between the Registrars department led to a devaluing of the academic and Norman spoke suspiciously of the overall management in his institute

## 6.1 Advance

Advancing one's career can be defined as "accepting the rules and procedures and engaging in constant personal and professional negotiation and making some compromises along the way" (Gray, 1994, p.79).

Three of the thirteen women in this study believed that they would continue to advance their career into the management route. Two were from IoT4 and one from IoT1. Two male managers from IoT3 and IoT4 also stated they would advance their career.

Lisa, a head of school, worked in IoT4 which has gender balance at senior management level. Lisa reported her management style as collaborative, team-based with a non-conflict communication approach. She believed that there was an equal opportunities policy within her workplace, however she acknowledged that this was not something that was focused on at senior management level. She agreed with the use of legislation in the form of quotas as gender equality was not going to evolve naturally. She implemented a mentoring initiative leadership programme as she believed that a lack of support can cause some women not to progress their careers. Lisa deliberately introduced gender awareness into the recruitment process by maintaining consistency with regard to criteria evaluation, types of interview questions and gender balance on panels. She acknowledged there were gendered behaviours exhibited by male colleagues with regard to meetings and also in the allocation of resources but learned certain techniques to

defuse them by using coercive methods of communications rather than confrontational approaches. Lisa believed she was supported by her female peers.

Lisa also spoke of articulating a strategic vision and cultivating a community of support and followership around her strategic ideas and leadership. This is referred to as pioneering (Bowles, 2012.)

*You're also looking for a sense or vision or purpose where they will lead in the future so I think it's having clearly thought that out and articulated it tends to be important in interviewing management roles... ensuring that you communicate or bring something novel as an additional factor to the interview process [Lisa: IoT4: HoS]*

When women's authority claims are not validated, they engage in narrative identity work to revise their aspirations and legitimisation strategies which can motivate women to shift from navigating to pioneering (Bowles, 2012). Lisa described how she visualised what she wanted and then set about how to achieve that.

*I keep an eye on myself so keeping your skills current I think is very, very important with a view to seeing yourself in different roles in the future [Lisa: IoT4: HoS]*

Isobel, a head of department, worked in IoT4 which had gender balance at senior management level and also worked in a female dominated discipline. Isobel also described her management style as collaborative, team-based with a non-confrontational communication manner which she believes is due to her social science background. She did not highlight any experiences of gendered practices and believed that those men who have achieved management positions in a female dominated discipline (e.g., nursing) were focused rather than due to

gender stereotyping. She also believed that any changes in meetings and committees were due to the female registrar approach. Isobel believed that the recruitment processes were carried out in a fair and consistent manner and did not see the necessity to have gender balance on interview panels only expertise. She spoke about the woman as the primary child carer, stating this was the reason women did not go into management. She believed there was a need for role models rather than quotas. She had been very successful in her career, achieving every post she applied for and moving into a different management role to help her develop further. She wishes to choose a joint post where she can be an academic manager and combine it with industry work in her discipline to keep her professional development contemporary.

Lisa and Isobel navigated their way to their current management positions (e.g., high performance in line jobs) and self-advocating with the gatekeepers of the social hierarchy (e.g., bosses) in line with Bowles (2012). In the main they articulated a strong success for most posts they applied for and justified their success by reiterating how well qualified they were and believed the recruitment processes were *“carried out in a fair and consistent manner”* [Isobel: IoT4: HoD]. Lisa reiterated how she has *“gotten all of the roles that I have gone for”* [Lisa: IoT4: HoS] in her career and Isobel spoke of *“I’ve gone for promotion here within this college...I would’ve had 3 interviews” and been successful although “I think I’m as high up as I can possibly go within the institute unless I wanted to move out of my discipline... if I wanted to pursue ... a HOS or if I wanted to pursue a registrar post there would be opportunity”* [Isobel: IoT4: HoD].

Both Isobel and Lisa spoke about navigating their careers in a deliberate way although both women were encouraged at the beginning by *“received a push from either my line manager”* [Lisa: IoT4: HoS], Isobel, *“I was asked if I would go and*

*do my teaching qualification along with my Masters because there was a job in the school of XX at the time [Isobel: IoT4: HoD]. They also spoke of moving into different roles “I haven’t been 20 years in the one role, I have moved after 4 or 5 or 6 years into different roles. Now that was deliberate [Lisa: IoT4: HoS]. Isobel took a role head of department in a different section “because it’s wider its range and ... to develop me a little bit further” [Isobel: IoT4: HoD].*

**Orla**. Although Orla, a senior lecturer, worked in IoT1, a male dominated institute, she also worked within a female dominated discipline. Orla described not being aware of any gendered practices within her workplace although she stated that certain expertise was being misplaced due to lack of performance evaluation. She believed that it was the same in terms of opportunities for men and women in her experience although she noted that men were favoured for some posts more than women. She seemed confused between equal treatment and equal opportunity. She was never involved in the interview process except as a candidate which she deemed as fair. She assumed that women did not go for promotion due to being the primary child carer and stated this as her current reason although she had definite plans to advance her career.

Orla was at a different stage in her career as she had yet to apply for a management post. Although she was *“enjoying my post at the moment”* she expressed a plan to redefine her career in a number of ways by looking to *“progress and move on...to a head of department post and eventually a head of school post...the ideal path* [Orla: IoT1: SL].

**John**, a head of school, worked in IoT4 which had gender balance at senior management level and also in a female dominated discipline, humanities. John never experienced incivility or discrimination in his post. Although he travelled during the week he never spoke of it impacting his life. He reported never



changing his management style to get the job done and believed this could be due to his collaborative team based approach.

John believed that there was gender balance although it happened without any intervention in his institution but emphasised a considerable lack of equal opportunity strategy within the institute. He agreed with the introduction of legislation in the form of quotas as a measure to promote better equality but also stated the necessity of educational reform. He gave examples of certain media being allowed in the institution portraying the derogation of women. He also believed that women had to make sacrifices in order to achieve positions of power.

*I'm quite happy doing what I'm going to do I'm thinking about other things, research, Yes it looks like I'm going to stay.*

Edward, a head of school, worked in IoT3 that had gender balance at head of department level and also worked in a male dominated discipline. He saw gender balance in the overall management team. Although Edward felt that gender balance was important in the institute, he wasn't sure what gender balance actually was. Edward referred more to academic matters than gender inequalities. For example, he referred to professionalising the academic management posts and also saw gender balance within the administration departments than academic department

He spoke about using approaches that fixed the woman rather than the system although, emphasised the need for more training not just on gender specific issues but equality issues but in a very cautious and conservative manner. He also agreed that ambiguity in criteria evaluation in the interview process allowed

for stereotyping to flourish in the interview process with a tendency to pick someone who is similar along with the expectation of seniority rather than merit.

*I think that's the one I can contribute most to... I think there's a real opportunity for us there to lead the way*

The views from the male participants were similar when asked to describe women in management roles referring to the need to sacrifice personal stuff and Edward supposed that women needed to display masculine behaviours to survive in the association.

## 6.2 Adapt/Stay

Five of the women had no wish to further their career. Three were from IoT2, one from IoT1 and one from IoT4. Alice and Brenda cited contentment in their post while Donna and Cate quoted external influences being a deciding factor, Margaret was content to stay in her current post. Two male academics, from IoT1 and IoT2, cited not wishing to apply for a management post but would rather look outside academia or apply for a senior lecturer post.

Donna, a head of school, worked in the male dominated IoT2 and the male dominated discipline, engineering being the only female at that level. She spoke of her gender and age challenging her credibility at times. Although she believed there were opportunities for woman to progress, she felt that women were under immense pressure to be respected as a leader and as a consequence, felt the need to work harder to justify her ability, finding it difficult to say no to extra work. She had abandoned her femininity at times in making certain decisions as she believed there were different expectations between men and women with regard to performance. Donna also expressed a sense of injustice in relation to HR policies with regard to a) job security; and b) job replacement for her previous

post, feeling pressurised to give up extended maternity leave having to fulfil both head of department and head of school roles. She felt anxious about pushing for permanency on a post that she had done for the past eight years and spoke of feeling shame if she had to leave a meeting before 6pm to pick up her children from childcare.

When it came to recruitment process Donna applied consistency from start to finish, however when she sat on external panels, she was treated as a token female and felt her position and academic ability were devalued. Donna described certain sexist behaviours exhibited in senior meetings by some of the male colleagues and felt isolated due to being the only female at her management position although she counteracted this by seeking out support from other women in her staff.

Donna was successful in her career but quoted external factors being the deciding factor for putting her career on hold due to family reasons. This is in line with Grummel et al (2009) and the 'carefree worker'.

*"I don't want to go any further at the moment given the age of my children"*

[Donna: IoT4: HoS]

Donna wanted to focus *"I don't want to be so stretched so thinly I would like to be more focused now at this stage... to have more specific handle on projects like international for example ... or the industry engagement"* [Donna [HoS/IoT2].

Alice, a lecturer, worked in a male dominated IoT2 and the male dominated discipline, engineering. She was only one of three women in the department. She stated that she would never abandon her femininity to get the job done however she did describe being given 'emotional work' because of her gender and spoke of a gendered view of certain male managers with regard to late meetings and

the issue of childcare. She stated that she had been the token female on external panels and that her professional credibility had been questioned. She seemed unclear if there were any promotional guidelines and the exact criteria required for promotion. Alice spoke of gender initiatives carried out in IoT2 in previous years in engineering. Any feeling of isolation due to the minimal number of females in her discipline, she counteracted by seeking out other female peers in other positions and disciplines. Alice chose to stay in her current lecturing role, continuing to excel at it and categorically stated that she had no interest in a career in academic management.

Alice did not wish to enter management at all

*"I have no interest in the job, that's the barrier [points to her head]... I quite enjoy it so I've no wish to go into management or anything like that you know. I enjoy teaching first years putting a bit of shape on them that kind of stuff. I like the pastoral part as well as the teaching part [Alice: IoT2: L].*

Brenda, a lecturer, worked in a male dominated IoT2 and a gender balanced discipline, Science. She was unaware of gendered practices or experienced incidences in relation to her gender. She spoke of working with several groups that had male leads, however she dismissed the idea that this was considered housework while the male academics received the credit.

Brenda self-advocated not to further her career as she enjoyed the balance of her role, working with industry, lecturing and research. Brenda had decided to withdraw from an interview due to *"a bit of an awakening...I don't want to be in that type of role ... I'm leaving what I'm good at...I'm someone who wants to be in front"*. She spoke about *"involvement with industry... love lecturing...a small*

*research group...a couple of PhD students...a current master's student [Brenda: nst2: L]. She also spoke of 'not having a family' being a deciding factor.*

*I'm here 15 years with no intention of leaving...some of the reasons behind that are very much based on the people I work with.... I look at my HoD and say he is over worked. And I would feel that my HoD should put things back on a more senior manager's desk as a result...To be honest... I wouldn't do it I wouldn't do it [Brenda: IoT2: L]*

Some women believed that they have worthy and interesting jobs within their profession so they prefer not to go for management (Chesterman et al., 2005). Both Brenda and Alice expressed staying in their current lecturing role, exercising their agency, staying at what they felt they were good at. This could be classed as a withdrawal from the wider organisational structure and a focusing of energies on that limited arena in which the maximum level of control can be exerted for example, the lecture hall or one's own desk (O'Connor, 2011 p.214) or 'a defence or expression of identity' (Knights, 2002, p.585: cited in Chesterman et al., 2005).

All of these are valued more than a management post

According to Sturges (1999) women generally focus on personal recognition, accomplishment and achieving balance in their lives. This could be one explanation why women stop short of the 'glass ceiling' (Cornelius & Skinner, 2008)

Cate, a head of school, worked in IoT4 which had gender balance at senior management level and also in a female dominated discipline. She reported her management style as supportive and nurturing which reflected her social science background however commented that her male colleagues did not work in the same manner. Cate reported not having to abandon her femininity to get a job

done due to her management style. She felt that the lack of opportunities for women were due to the indeterminate length of management appointments. Cate described a lack of openness and transparency in the allocation of resources taking place behind the scenes at senior management level. She also felt a sense of injustice in relation to the perception of women taking advantage of a policy that they are entitled to perceiving them to be devalued and less committed in the workplace. She reported feeling shame in relation to taking half day parental leave per week feeling the need to hide it. Cate experienced a sense of isolation in relation to her positions in senior management and gender as she was the only female at her level. She has now other female managers to support her.

In the main, Cate was successful in her career but quoted external factors due to her gender and family responsibilities being the deciding factor for putting her career on hold, which she believed is the number one barrier for women not applying for management.

Cate cited family commitments why she did not wish to *“go any higher... for the moment, for the foreseeable future... it suits me for personal reasons and I enjoy what I do...I’m happy where I am at the moment. I just don’t have time as a woman with a family so that’s what fundamentally it comes down to...actually family is the number one barrier in my view* [Cate: IoT4: HoS]

Margaret, a head of department, worked in a male dominated IoT1 and a gender balanced discipline, Science. Her duties were very limited compared to other participants at the same level where she was not on any extra committees and her job was to manage the people. Margaret believed that EO policies were adhered to at certain levels but described discrimination in relation to some HR recruitment practices, such as the timing of academic interviews during the academic holidays, the screening of job applications and the shifting of questions

during the interview process and also perceived the head of school role to be reserved for males from outside academia. She also described the glass elevator phenomenon in certain female dominated disciplines (nursing) that had male managers. Margaret spoke of certain male senior managers' aggressive behaviours in meetings but then described how other heads of department felt they needed to protect her as she was the only female manager, benevolent sexism.

Margaret is only relatively new to her head of department post and as such did not specifically express an interest in advancing her career. She did speak about her current post with uncertainty for the future due to workload although she did seem very positive about her experience.

*Now I enjoy doing this position, I actually surprised but I like interacting with people and generally I'm doing ok as far as I can tell. It just seems chaotic and I'm surviving in this...I don't think you could do it long term*  
[Margaret: IoT1: HoD].

This is in line with Cornelius & Skinner (2008) who studied women that sought out opportunities which fitted with what they valued, and if they find them within their organisations, so be it; if not, they are willing and sufficiently confident to move to other organisations, or not advance their careers, to suit the lifestyle that they want. Ambivalence can be described as uncertainty or disinterest. Gray (1994) suggests for women academics ambivalence can be a positive thing arguing that it can allow investment in the academic at a safe level while remaining a semi-outsider and can also be a source of knowledge and engagement.

Colm, a lecturer but former acting head of department, worked in a male dominated IoT and the male dominated discipline, engineering. Colm covered

maternity leave as head of department and decided not to apply again due to lack of financial gain.

Colm agreed that working mothers faced difficulties with balancing childcare and demands of working which he believed became more pronounced the further a woman progresses in her career. Although he assumed that women were the main carers, he referred to his own childcare issues as his wife also worked in academia. Colm spoke of the gatekeeping of modules by males and believed there is a need for accountability through performance evaluation.

Colm spoke more about the general devaluation of the academics identity within the Institute but not in reference to gender. He did recognise the conflict issues that women in management faced and the need for more support in dealing with these issues. He cited that he didn't want to go back into management as it wasn't financially worth it due to the salary scales of lecture, senior lecturer and Head of department being so similar *"I'm not doing it for the same money which is what I was getting"*. However he did state that he would like to do something outside the IoT sector *'Industrial based... I'd rather try something different, so university sector or somewhere foreign'* [Colm: IoT2: formerHoD/L].

Norman, a lecturer, worked in the male IoT1 and also worked in the male discipline of IT. He saw no gender issue at all and was not aware of gendered practices. They did not do anything directly in the college to promote the gender imbalance in his discipline. He believed that any conflict experienced by management was not due to gender but more to do with the tenacities of the job and was suspicious of management in general. He assumed that women did not go for promotion due to family responsibilities. Norman was much more sceptical in his description of the use of quotas referring to them as *"fake quotas"*. He referred to lack of financial gain for not applying for a management position but



did feel he would apply for a senior lecturer position in the future *“I’d like to stay pretty much in the same area at least until I head towards retirement. I’m quite happy and content in [IoT1] even though SL [senior lecturer 1] would be something that I would potentially like”* [Norman: IoT1: L].

### 6.3 Abandon

Abandoning is defined as “giving up completely a practice or a course of action, according to the oxford dictionary. There are three options within this career direction:

- Abandoning the process
- Abandoning the role
- Abandoning the Institute

Five of the thirteen female participants abandoned the process, their post or left employment completely. Three of the women were from IoT3 and two from IoT1.

#### 6.3.1 Abandoning the process

Hilary and Faye from IoT3 withdrew from applying for management positions due to disadvantaging processes.

Hilary, a senior lecturer, worked in IoT3 that had gender balance at head of department level and also worked in a female dominated discipline. She believed that there was a sense that senior positions were elusive to females and that due to stereotypic beliefs, male managers received greater support from administration staff. She also abandoned her femininity by having to use certain techniques to counteract the feelings of anxiety in meetings but still believed that a woman shouldn’t have to *“leave their female part at the door”* and that women in senior positions show more benevolent. Although she wasn’t opposed to

flexible working practices and she believed that family should not be assumed to be an inhibitor.

Hilary stated that she had no faith in the recruitment process and believed it to be a disadvantaging process and gendered, with characteristics that coincide with gender stereotyping, for example, having one interview which is disadvantageous to women.

*I applied for [management] positions and didn't get either so I'd be very slow to apply for either of them again...To be honest there have been cases with this college ....where people who was blatantly poor at [their] posts being promoted...afterwards, like I can't understand that, I have no confidence in the promotions [Hilary: IoT3: SL].*

Hilary spoke of looking at alternative interests to attain job satisfaction concurring with Chesterman et al., (2009) by silencing her complaints and surrendering her identity and working within the dominant discourse reducing her “*teaching and...do more research or to take on more post grad students...I like the academic side and I suppose any time I apply for management I would have felt sorry to leave that bit behind* [Hilary: IoT3: SL].

Although there was no formal mentoring, Hilary put in informal supports to help other women to believe that it was possible to achieve academic success in their role.

Hilary spoke of being challenged on her expertise, recalled incidences of observer incivility towards female managers and described lack of support when she was discriminated against by a manager.

Hilary spoke of looking at alternative interests to attain job satisfaction such as more research and abandoned applying for any more management posts.

Faye, a senior lecturer, worked in IoT3 that had gender balance at head of department level and also worked in the male dominated discipline, engineering. Faye described how her credibility was challenged on several fronts; her research was left uncelebrated compared to her male colleagues; high profile work was given to men in her department assuming that she would not be interested as she had children; there was gate keeping of resources; she faced constant interruptions in meetings; and there were incidences of incivility and aggressive behaviour towards her. At one point in order to fit in she did not wear dresses and eventually used a space she created in a lab to escape from the male dominant discourse.

Faye also had no faith in HR policies with regard to parental leave, recruitment and the interview process as she was asked different questions and comments were made about coping and having children.

Faye showed signs of burnout, due to being emotionally upset, feeling physically sick and feeling isolated in her post.

*There is a bully boy chauvinist culture emerging that's quite frightening to the point I am looking at jobs elsewhere [Faye: IoT3: SL].*

However Faye stated that she was looking for positions externally "*I have been applying to move not to advance my career but to be happier in my job*" but used a space she created in a lab which she refers to "*my space*" to escape from the dominant discourse [Faye: IoT3: SL] and finally abandoned the process of applying for management posts in IoT3.

### 6.3.2 Abandoning the role

Experiencing sexism, often heavy workload and lack of support were the reasons both Glenda and Paula stated for abandoning their management roles. These "micro-inequities" (Rowe, 1973) had a culminating effect which left both women no choice but to step back from their role as head of department.

Glenda, a head of department, worked in IoT3 that had gender balance at head of department level and also worked in the female dominated discipline, social science. She stated that she had never abandoned her feminine identity to get the job done. Glenda believed that she did not experience any discrimination or harassment due to her gender or position, however she did feel a sense of injustice being expected to give up her holidays due to lack of support and a heavy workload. She also felt shame and exposure and believed that more support and having a mentor could have helped her.

Experiencing heavy workload and lack of support, and burnout Glenda subsequently stepped back from her management role but believed she could use her management experience to exercise leadership in other ways.

Glenda describes how these micro-inequalities led to her decision.

*I don't feel that the post in its current form is for me right now... I am moving backwards and I still think that I can advance my career but it's more of a self-care strategy than anything. I think my only solution to try and claw back a work/life balance was to revert to lecturing. I felt exposed in so far, I think if I had a stronger line manager I wouldn't feel as exposed, I didn't actually feel it was possible to have a work/life balance the way I wanted it [Glenda: IoT3: HoD]*

Paula, a former head of department, worked in the male dominated IoT1 and a male dominated discipline, engineering. Paula described multiple incidents of

harassment; being addressed inappropriately in emails; how her age and gender marginalised her and was the recipient of constant backlash from her male colleagues; observed incivility towards other female academics; extensive workload; difficult department; and achievements uncelebrated by her peers.

She also believed that the recruitment process was not consistent and transparent. There was poor definition of the criteria for evaluation, preferred candidates being given management posts from outside the academic sphere and alternative posts being created for males when they left their management posts but not for females. There were also ineffective HR policies such as lack of support in times of transition between posts leaving her feeling marginalised.

Paula reported feeling shame, how she constantly had to justify her role as an engineer and described feeling isolated in her discipline and position.

Experiencing heavy workload and lack of support, harassment and burnout, Paula eventually stepped back from her management role and believed that she would never be given a second chance at management.

Paula described the gendered response she received from a senior manager when she stepped back from her role *"he just said if you would like to talk because I'm sure at this time you're considering life and love* [Paula: IoT1: L/formerHoD].

Although both women stepped back from their management role Glenda believed that she could use her management experience to *"lead in projects in some shape or form"* [Glenda: IoT3: HoD] whereas Paula believed that her career would be constrained due to *"you wouldn't be tried out twice. I feel if I went for it I wouldn't be even if it wasn't said outright, I would feel that well you had that chance once"* [Paula: IoT1: L/formerHoD].

### 6.3.3 Abandoning the Institute

Rose, a head of school, worked in the male dominated IoT1 and a female dominated discipline, humanities, and was the only woman in management at one point in time. Rose described multiple incidents of harassment, incivility and aggressive behaviour; being addressed inappropriately in emails and sexism from her male peers.

She described having no support when she began, no control of her budgets and also believed that the same level wasn't expected of her male counterparts in terms of efficiency and she worked harder than them.

She spoke about interference in the recruitment process from the shortlisting to fixing the panels and the successful candidate.

Rose dealt with shame, blaming herself, being so emotionally distressed at times that it led to burnout and subsequently, she had no choice but to leave.

Rose's story highlights the ways in which the way gendered practices in the workplace can often lead women to feel marginalised. Passion and reaction jump out from the passage below highlighting how gendered practices can have a cumulative effect, creating an environment that indeed dampens women's self-esteem, confidence, aspirations and their participation (Sandler et al., 1999).

*He said none of them tried to follow through like you do and I did try to follow through and finish things, get things to happen, make them happen, and I was efficient because I worked all the time...maybe it's a female trait, that attention to detail that I brought to it and kept at something until I got it through...and my colleagues, friends, some of them weren't, they'd forget, they'd think ... ' [lets] go and have a game of golf or whatever. Ah I'm bored with that and would leave it' .....they never were followed up on but if I failed in any way, if there was*

*anything they could pin, they absolutely did on me.....they just completely bullied me and I even said look you can put me down as a dissenting person on the thing, ... and they wouldn't do that...But I just caved... I couldn't believe it...it really very nearly gave me a nervous breakdown, in fact I think I had one [Rose: IoT1: HoS].*

According to Sandberg (2013) what is quite striking here is the longer-term effects that may also follow from this; it can often lead to women internalising and lowering their own expectations. At times this may also lead to the feeling that they have had little choice but to “leave before they leave” (Sellers, 2009).

*I tried but I didn't succeed, it would have been stupid in the extreme to try and do anything overtly but I tried and I failed. But I did fail in very crucial ways and that really finished me with the place ... my life would have been, and was for a long time, a misery. I had to accept that, I had to accept either to leave or to accept that I could do nothing about it...if I had been working in a positive and productive atmosphere I'd have loved it [Rose: IoT1: HoS].*

Since the interviews in 2015 a small number of women had left academic management. In recent years, one woman left to pursue a management post internally and two have temporarily left to pursue other opportunities externally.

The next chapter discusses the findings from chapter 5 and 6 across the four IoTs and begins by summarising by IoT case and comparing cases.

## Chapter 7 Discussion

### 7.1 Introduction

To give a deeper understanding of gender bias and its nature in the workplace, chapter seven presents an overview of findings by IoT case, proceeded by the similarities and differences by strength in a cross case analysis. The individual level of analysis experiences are the initial outcome of interest, but at the IoT level of analysis, it is the aggregate of these experiences that creates serious and sometimes expensive consequences for these organisations.

As the study is about the lived experience of the participants, it does not consider the most used or significant practice as this is subjective and can be influenced by the skill of the researcher. Relative strength of each gender bias is based on both the number of participants who mention it and the extent of which it played a role in their relationship stories.

### 7.2 Within Case Analysis

#### 7.2.1 IoT1 Case Summary

There was a division between the academic managers and academic participants' experiences in IoT1 case. The managers experienced a hostile and controlled environment while the academics experienced a democratic and inclusive environment.

#### **Organisational level**

**Leadership.** Overall, there was an absence of gender supportive practices at both strategic level and individual level. However, the Institute's strategic plan included words such as 'inclusive' and 'diversity' which were speckled throughout



but no references were made to gender. There was confusion as to what equal treatment, equal opportunities and equal expectations meant. The female academic believed that although opportunities for men and women were the same, some posts were more open to men and men were more likely to get those. The male academic believed that women just didn't apply due to family responsibilities, however when they did apply, 'work society' maybe believed that they have lost their chance. Although the female managers agreed that equal opportunity policies were adhered to at certain levels, IoT1 could be categorised as an active/avoiding institution which although it endorsed the EO policies, also avoided implementing them at the same time.

Finally, there was agreement amongst all of the female managers that training was minimal for any management post especially in the area of managing gender.

**Structure.** Men in organisations may control both what women have access to and the extent of their authority, referred to as gatekeeping (Diehl & Dzubinski, 2016). There was a perception that management roles in IoT1 were reserved for males. This was highlighted by the fact that between the years 2012 to 2014, there was one female in the academic management at any one time at either head of school or head of department level. As a consequence, women did not occupy greater than 7.5% of academic leadership roles at any management level. According to O'Connor (2011) a 'glass ceiling' is apparent when women hold few senior management positions where power, resources, rewards and influence increase dramatically (David, 2015). There was one recently appointed female head of department at the time of interviewing and one female head of school had left employment the previous year. Also in certain female dominated disciplines, such as nursing, there was a male head of department which is referred to as the glass elevator phenomenon. Historically, authority has, in the main, been

associated with men where women are 'token' managers (Kanter, 1977, p.250). However, all participants cited preferred management candidates coming from outside the academic sphere which made it more difficult for women to succeed. One female academic believed that IoT1 was quite hierarchical and senior management were authoritative displaying a lack of transparency in some decision-making. This type of structure and leadership style can portray leadership as unattractive to women. Women prefer flatter organisations (Newman 1995: cited in Deem, 2003) as they think of relationships in terms of support affiliation, where men are accustomed to competition and hierarchy. In the wake of the missing senior lecture 1 posts, one female head of department felt there was a need to create an alternative opportunity structure, such as course co-ordinators or course developer to give people opportunities to exercise leadership rather than wait for promotion which was highly unlikely if you were a woman.

There were multiple references to the workload disparity between head of department and head of school. The head of department's duties were limited in scope, with little power or authority, especially in the area of resources, in comparison to other participants at the same level across the sector. One female head of department sent in details to finance on the resources which were rebutted where she was informed that she didn't have authority in this area. They were not on any extra committees, their job was to manage people, be available with an open door tenet and be visible to staff.

They described the head of school role as a "cushy number", who offloaded all the problems onto the head of department. This is in line with Ely (1995) who suggested when a disproportionate representation of men are in positions of authority, work roles can become more segregated and gendered.

The female managers described how their job had resulted in radical changes in their personal life at extra cost, i.e. working day or night or living away from the family home, in comparison to the male academic who spoke about travelling for work but did not allude to any personal impact.

Two female managers were appointed to 'glass cliffs' posts (Ryan & Haslam, 2005). They described difficult posts and lack of support, ranging from no office, change of staff every month, sometimes twice per month to dealing with difficult staff members whose behaviour had never been challenged. The head of department stepped back from her role and the head of school left the institution. Both were replaced by men.

There were other signs of gatekeeping, which is often associated with a type of career that is either unattainable or unattractive to women (Madsen, 2016). These informal structures included a lack of support, schools being kept as siloes and the control of budgets. The female head of school described lack of control over her budget and how it could be changed at any time and another female head of department spoke of trading extended maternity leave for stability where upon her return her line manager recanted on their agreement.

**Organisational culture.** The preferred type of employee that fits into the role of the academic manager in IoT1 was deemed to be from outside the academic sphere and male. These were referred to as political appointments. This role incongruity made it more difficult for an academic woman to succeed. One female head of department also spoke of how a combination of her age and gender marginalised her from 'the male pack'.

Another sign of role incongruity was the gender inequity of standards and expectations. The female managers believed that the same expectations were

not demanded from their male counterparts in terms of efficiency and work ethic. They questioned if they had abandoned their femininity and acted more like a male, would they have been treated differently. Women can be subjected to higher performance pressure because they are so exceptional and noticeable (Tapia & Kvasny, 2004).

Sense of justice and fairness involves feelings of positive regard and social inclusion. Participants described IoT1's culture as mistrustful, unjust, confrontational and insular. The experiences ranged from the integrity of recruitment process, suspicion of management, behaviour in meetings and lack of support for work life balance between gender and family which affected career choices (Grummell, et al., 2009). All three female managers experienced either a lack of support returning from maternity leave or stepping down from management posts, being treated as 'like' something on somebody's shoe' by senior management and feeling socially excluded by male peers at senior level.

There were physical displays of gendered symbols and images on IoT1's public information i.e. websites, prospectuses. For example, only females wearing mortar hats at graduation which highlights how a graduate's gender is drawn attention to at the end of a four year degree by the wearing of a symbol. The cultural climate of IoT1 was also perceived as male through the descriptions of participants using words such as lion, bear, friendly bull and elephant, animals of large body mass and strength.

**Human Resource systems.** IoT1 portrayed discrepancies in the enactment of human resource practices in areas such as recruitment and performance appraisal and grievance process.

Some female managers believed that there was a lack of due process in the area of recruitment as it was not consistent or transparent. They spoke about interference from the shortlisting where people would be added and subtracted to questions being asked on an ad hoc basis, inconsistent and shifted depending on the candidate. A particular senior manager sat on most panels, and incidences were described of the panel being spoken to in advance with no attempt to achieve gender balance on panels. There was also ambiguity in criteria which led to preferred candidates being selected. According to one female head of department alternative posts were created for a male when he left his management post but not for her.

This concurs with (Heilman & Haynes, 2006) who state that the more ambiguity, the more necessity there is for inference, and the less evident is the “accurate” evaluative judgement.

The academic participants had not experienced the interview process except as candidates which they both deemed as fair. They seemed unclear if there were any promotional guidelines and the exact criteria their institution required for promotion.

The lack of performance appraisal added to the gatekeeping of certain posts and assignments and lack of accountability, especially for male managers.

### **Group level**

Research demonstrates that even when women do experience harassment or discrimination in the workplace, they are unlikely to report it (Diekmann, 2013). IoT1 displayed a weak culture with contrasting norms and values, where each person is free to act based upon his or her own particular desires or prejudices without regard for organisational priorities (Cox, 1994). Situations were also

described in IoT1, where women's expertise in their discipline and research were challenged, thus lowering their prestige according to male perception. This resulted in discriminatory effects, leading to the professional diminution of women and in one case, a combination of age and gender marginalised a female head of department from her male colleagues, leaving her achievements being left uncelebrated.

The three female managers in IoT1 described multiple incidents of harassment, from sexism, being addressed inappropriately in emails, making jokes at another's expense, gossip to being the recipients of constant backlash from male colleagues, with shouting and swearing. There was observer incivility towards other female academics with aggressive behaviour being displayed in some meetings by senior managers, which one female head of school referred to as 'anti-academic and anti- women' and how 'sexism oozed from the walls'.

Women were also restricted in when and how they contributed to a conversation. This is referred to as the control of women's voices. They were talked over in meetings and highlighted how some meetings were concluded with a male finalising the conversation. They had difficulty gaining acceptance or having their voice heard especially as they had token status, that is, when they represent less than 15% of the participants in the meeting, discipline, management or school and were often the only women in those situations so inevitably they were ignored.

Academic participants did not perceive any discrimination or sexism, backlash incivility and one male academic believed that any conflict in the head of department post was due to the post itself and not gender and that displays of inappropriate bad behaviour was a normal course of the job and therefore accepted by staff.

### **Individual level**

The female managers recounted feeling anxious and fearful at some point in their careers in their current place of employment. They spoke about job insecurity, difficulty of stepping into 'glass cliffs' posts, unachievable expectations, behaviours from peers and staff causing them stress and anxiety leaving them so fearful at times they retreated to bathrooms emotionally upset. One female head of department spoke of harassment and discrimination from a male line manager while others described a sense of helplessness as they had received lack of support in relation to incidences of discrimination, sexism and harassment.

Both the female head of school and one female head of department reported feeling shame, constantly having to justify her role in a male discipline and the other blaming herself. Both described feeling a sense of isolation either due to absence of women at their level or discipline which was a deliberate tactic, by being denied access to certain resources due to their gender and the general lack of female mentors available.

Experiencing heavy workload and lack of support, harassment and burnout, one female head of department eventually stepped back from her management role and believed that she would never be given a second chance at management. The female head of school dealt with shame, blaming herself, being so emotionally distressed at times that it led to burnout, almost having a nervous breakdown and subsequently, she had no choice but to leave. One female head of department did not move from her post but felt that she would not be able to sustain the workload indefinitely.

There was a division between managers and academics perception of the working environment in IoT1. Both academics described not being aware of any

gendered practices within the workplace or gender issue at all, although the male academic believed that any conflict experienced by management was not due to gender but more to do with the tenacities of the job and the female academic stated that certain expertise was being misplaced due to lack of performance evaluation. They believed that their schools were democratic and inclusive and that it was the same in terms of opportunities for men and women although the female academic noted that men were favoured for some posts more than women. There was lack of awareness of any gender bias at academic level and both believed that the reason women didn't get posts was due to family responsibilities. The female academic stated this as her current reason although she had definite plans to advance her career to a head of department post and eventually a head of school post, what she referred to as "*the ideal path*". The male participant referred to lack of financial gain for not applying for a management position but did feel he may apply for a senior lecturer position in the future.

### 7.2.2 IoT2 Case Summary

#### **Organisational level**

**Leadership**. In IoT2, there were no visual signs of any formal affirmative action initiatives portraying a gender supportive climate at leadership level. This was confirmed when participants were asked about their knowledge of affirmative action policies taking place in their IoT or if there was a gender 'champion'. There were references made to European funded affirmative action programs at student level in previous years.

With regard to EO policies, participants alluded to a consistent lack of awareness and a lack of active pursuance, and as in IoT1, there was confusion as to what



equal treatment, equal opportunities and equal expectations meant. One female head of school did believe that opportunities were there for women, but felt under immense pressure to do that extra bit to be respected.

Although IoT2 endorsed EO policies, they also avoided implementing them at the same time.

Finally, there was agreement amongst the managerial participants that there was a lack of informal or formal support networks and that training was minimal for any management post, especially in the area of gender management.

**Structure.** In IoT2 at the time of the interviewing, there was one female head of department and one female recently appointed head of school. There has never been a female head of school up to this point. This portrayed that women did not occupy greater than 15% of academic leadership roles at management level and therefore were classed as token women.

Although women now are exercising leadership in the workplace, one female academic believed that it was necessary to give people opportunities to show they are rewarded and recognised in an alternative structure, for example when they are involved in communal type work. This was emphasised by a male former head of department who felt that positional opportunities didn't arise due to the indeterminate length of management appointments.

When participants were asked to describe what a head of department qualities should be, both male and female participants used stereotypical feminine discourses, needing and minding staff.

Both academic and managerial participants also described their role as ever expanding and intensive with huge responsibility. In particular, one female academic described how women carry a mental load because of gendered jobs

they were tasked with. The nature of the middle management posts was described by all participants as a buffer between head of department and head of school with an excessive workload. The male former head of department also felt that the culture in IoT2 was very much directed rather than team-based and that the head of department didn't manage anymore. It had become an administrative role with management meetings being used for information purposes only. This is in line with "men take charge" (Welbourne, 2005).

The female head of school used the word sacrifice to describe how travel always cost her as she had to call in favours or pay extra childcare, citing that all other senior male managers have someone at home. In some instances arrangements were made permitting another head of department the opportunity to travel as her representative which she believed were not looked upon favourably by other senior managers. She also spoke about an increase in workload as she had to carry out the duties of both head of department and head of school roles plus lecturing due to the lack of replacement for the vacant head of department post, citing that she had to come back early from maternity leave to do both jobs (glass cliff appointment).

Subtle discriminatory incidents occurred with the division of resources and budgets, describing that they were allocated to who could aggressively barter the most. However, one female academic spoke of working with several groups that had male leads, dismissing the idea that females had carried out housework while the male academics received the credit.

**Organisational Culture.** All participants stated there was a difference between male and female managers' style of leadership and most spoke respectfully of their managers. The male former head of department believed that the only way to be a manager was to be firm and act like a man. Although the female academics

disagreed, the female head of school described having to be more forceful and decisive in certain situations and not try to think of people being upset.

The main themes that emerged from the data with respect to climate was the lack of transparency in academic decisions made by top leadership and injustice and unfairness with regard to family friendly policies and job security. These were the suspension of parental leave in IoT2 due to the employment control framework embargo imposed by government as part of the public sector cutbacks several years ago and the inability to plan childcare due to uncertainty of teaching load at the beginning of the academic year. The female head of school in particular, spoke of the unfairness in her temporary post of eight years at management level and felt that the injustice was due to her gender and that a man would never have accepted it. She described not wanting to rock the boat and trying to challenge her current status amicably.

Sense of fairness involves feelings of positive regard and social inclusion. However, the female head of school felt socially excluded as the male senior managers socialised outside the workplace and excluded her in work when going for coffee.

IoT2 displayed examples of gendered symbols and images on its public information i.e. websites, prospectuses, only females wearing mortar hats at graduation. There were pictures of only female graduates posing evocatively in pictures. These are examples of media portraying women to appear as “accessible” or “sexy” reproducing gendered asymmetries (Chimba & Kitzinger, 2010, p.622).

All participants were asked to describe their organisation’s culture in terms of an animal. Three of the participants did not give an answer and one female academic

described it as an ostrich because senior management bury their heads in the sand.

**Human Resource Systems.** In the recruitment process, the female head of school described how she always started the shortlisting process from start to finish to apply consistency although some external panels were not so transparent. Gender balance on panels seemed to vary, where one female academic stated that on an external panel she was often the token female, needing someone in a skirt. Her contributions were often ignored. Most participants agreed that the line manager, varying between the head of department or head of school, or the chair, was the most influential person on the panel. The male former head of department described how interviews were consistent as everyone was asked the same questions and everything recorded in the minutes. However on external panels, the female head of school spoke of how she was given the quality type questions the softer type communications ones which challenges her academic credibility even though she preferred the technical questions.

The former male head of department spoke of panels that he had sat on where the job had already been given to a preferred candidate, although both female academics disagreed that most managers' posts were a foregone conclusion.

One female academic seemed unclear if there were any promotional guidelines and the exact criteria required for promotion and commented how she was surprised when certain people were not interviewed. All participants believed that there was a need for other opportunities instead of promotion, similar to the university sector.

Also emerging from the data was the lack of performance appraisal across the institute which led to male gatekeeping of modules and how the lack of accountability facilitated certain individuals to receive their annual increments.

### **Group level**

Situations were described by the female head of school where her gender and age challenged her credibility at times according to male perception. None of the other participants spoke of their age being associated with lack of credibility. IoT2 displayed a weak culture at senior level.

The female head of school also referred to certain behaviours in meetings. For example, feeling pressurised into changing a decision after being challenged in front of staff or how certain senior male staff sat with their hands behind their head and legs wide apart, in attempt to stamp their authority. She also described being constantly spoken over and how her ideas were often appropriated by her male peers. This is what Diehl & Dzubinski (2016) refer to as 'control of women's voices' (p. 273).

One female academic did not experience or was not aware of any discrimination or sexism in her department. However, another female academic did experience it but due to her personality dealt with it accordingly.

According to Priola (2007) where there are less resources available, the climate becomes harsher, more competitive, and more masculine with a need to keep things running smoothly in accordance with goals and targets. What is interesting is that three participants did not intend to study for a level 10 qualification.

### **Individual level**

The participant who reported feeling the greatest interpersonal effects from the behaviours and being the only female at senior level, was the female head of

school. She described feeling anxious and a sense of helplessness as she had received lack of support from HR in relation to permanency of a post and resorted to using certain methods to be heard in meetings in a more 'male' authoritative way. Stepping into 'glass cliffs' posts by doing two jobs at once, with no support, huge workload, and unachievable expectations led to feelings of exhaustion and feelings of shame, worrying if her peers thought badly of her as she left work due to childcare when important decisions had to be made. Counteracting feelings of isolation she sought out other women for support but not at management level.

Some female participants believed that there were different expectations from men and women with regard to performance, and that men could walk away as they didn't seem to feel the need to work to deadline or take ownership. They believed that working harder, meeting deadlines and taking on extra work would lead to greater respect. One female academic was given emotional work with regard to students' personal issues because of her gender and spoke of gendered practice by certain male managers with regard to late meetings making it different to balance work and home life.

These kinds of incidents are not necessarily gender-specific however to present women more as heroines of hard work and maybe less as highly talented persons is gendered (Husu & Tainio, 2014).

The former male head of department spoke of moving outside the realm of academia rather than going back into academic management to further his career.

All three of the female participants decided to stay in their current positions not wishing to go further. The female head of school was successful in her career but quoted external factors being the deciding factor for putting her career on hold

opting to do alternative side-line projects to experience in breadth rather than depth. One female academic advocated to stay in her current lecturing role, continuing to excel at it and categorically stated that she had no interest in a career in academic management. The other female academic was unaware of gendered practices or experienced incidences in relation to her gender, but advocated not to further her career as she enjoyed the balance of her role, working with industry, lecturing and research.

### 7.2.3 IoT3 Case Summary

#### **Organisational level**

**Leadership.** Upon examining the strategic plan on the website of IoT3, there were no visual signs of any formal affirmative action initiatives portraying a gender supportive climate at leadership level. However, there were references made to affirmative action programs at student level with a STEM project working with female secondary school students. With regard to EO policies, participants alluded to a consistent lack of awareness and a lack of active pursuance, although there was the standard EO policy as per legislative requirements. There was confusion as to what equal treatment, equal opportunities and equal expectations meant. Although the male head of school felt that gender balance was an issue, as the present structure and behaviours currently facilitated men, he was cautious and conservative about making the necessary changes because the rules of the game were dictated by the most dominant males and there would be resistance. One female a senior lecturer, believed that even though there was sympathy towards the fact that female students in her male dominated discipline were treated poorly, male academics believed that this was a part of real life, and the responsibility was on the females to cope with it. Another female senior academic

was resistant to some equal opportunities such as flexible working practices questioning why a workplace should be required to facilitate it as it was part of working life. The data above demonstrates that IoT3 is an active/avoiding institution and although it endorses EO policies, it also avoids implementing them at the same time to a varying degree.

More direct intervention in achieving gender balance in the workplace is the use of quotas. There was disagreement between participants if they should be implemented as it was a statistical push rather than a less direct individualised response. Although there was no formal mentoring, informal supports were developed in one department to help other women to believe that it was possible to achieve academic success in their role. There was scepticism if mentoring worked as it could be quite artificial, and the male head of school seemed to think that men would be more resistant to the idea.

The head of department, is particularly important, as he/she can establish an inclusive organisational culture through persistent communications and visible support through his/her own behaviour. Some female academics stated there was a difference between male and female head of department. One female academic believed that having females in management positions led to benevolence and a more positive climate. This contrasted with the other female academic who found it difficult to work with her male head of department due to the fact that women were being overlooked in her school and behaviours being allowed to flourish at meetings.

Finally, all participants stated that there was a need for more training not just on gender specific issues but regarding a whole range of equality issues and it was imperative that training took place immediately after appointment not six months to two years after.



**Structure.** In IoT3 at the time of interviewing, there were two female heads of department and no female at head of school level. There has never been a female head of school which means that women occupied 33% of academic leadership. The male head of school saw gender balance in the overall management team which included academic and administration which he felt was not an accident although he seemed to deflect the issue of fewer women in the academic side of management. One female academic considered that the dynamic in her school of one male head of school and two female heads of department was almost secretarial in support and unattractive as they were all senior lecturers together. Perceptions about what positional leadership involves holds women back (Leberman & Hurst, 2016). The female academics perceived the head of department job was within reach whereas the head of school was not. The nature of the middle management, head of department post, was described by all participants as overworked and acted as a buffer to the head of school, smoothing the passage of managerial work (Prichard & Deem, 1998; Shain, 2000). The female head of department felt the position was considered a gateway to academic staff for senior management and all other operational departments. She felt pressurised to sacrifice holidays rather than come back to chaos at the beginning of the academic year as her new post had been vacant for at least eight months; she believed that she had been brought in to come clean up the so-called “mess” (Caprino, 2015) and described how the heads of academic department were often in the firing line in a very hostile form, being challenged directly on some issues that were operational in front of senior management, staff and students. She stepped down from her post eighteen months later and was replaced by a man.

The female head of department described the unfair allocation of budgets at department level while another female academic in a male dominated discipline, spoke of the gate keeping of resources and highly valued assignments and how she was afraid to take parental leave as her research hours would be reduced instead of teaching hours.

**Organisational Culture**. Gender stereotyping affects expectations of women but not men. The female participants outlined several gendered examples, such as men being rewarded with posts after performing poorly in acting positions; female administrators not being valued as their male counterparts; male managers receiving greater support from administration staff as it is normal for females to be in an office receiving students and signing off forms and females having to display male behaviours to survive in the association and get the job done. Also, when women cited childcare issues, they were perceived to have lack of commitment and not be a team player, whereas men were deemed to be a great father and had their priorities right. However, most women still believed that a woman shouldn't have to leave their female part at the door as this can lessen the authenticity of a person's presence in a group and that bringing female characteristics and traits to the discussion could be questioned from that perspective

Cultural climate can also be influenced by symbols and imagery, such as, displays on websites of only females wearing mortar hats at graduation. One female academic at one point, in order to fit in, did not wear dresses and believed her expertise and credibility was challenged in the male dominated discipline. The female participants described IoT3 as peacocks strutting their stuff, a slow moving cow that doesn't have much going on in its head and a headless chicken whereas the male head of school used orang-utans with intelligence. IoT3 shows a semi-

strong culture between displaying contrasting norms and values, where each person is free to act based upon his or her own particular desires or prejudices without regard for organisational priorities, but with signs of a dominant group as the norm and any other approaches to work would not be accepted, especially in terms of inappropriate behaviours.

**Human Resource Systems.** All advertisements for any academic post in the IoTs are normally outlined as per the nationally agreed academic contracts (TUI) and participants did not comment on them. Others spoke about the use of the phrase *gender balance* that meant a token woman, on internal and external panels, although the female head of department was told what questions to ask and her contribution was not considered on an external panel. Most participants agreed that the line manager, varying between the head of department or head of school, or the chair, was the most influential person on the panel.

Both female academics who had gone for promotion had no faith in the process at all, with one stating that other male candidates were asked different questions and her family status was brought into the interview and the other female academic stating that the successful candidate was the preferred choice rather than the better choice in her job interview.

There was ambiguity as to the exact criteria that was required for promotion as certain experiences are rewarded, such as seniority rather than merit and the criteria were broad and bland with no opportunity to change as it was a one hit interview situation. There were gatekeeping of posts for men who have performed fairly poorly in acting positions concurring with the male head of school who believed that there is a tendency to pick someone who was similar and that the perception that the outcome was a forgone conclusion, which the female head of department disagreed with.

Several participants expressed concern at the overall interview process in particular, the one-time performance. One female academic compared the process to a talent show where the loose category in the marking scheme was where the games were played and that performance on the day was over rated, like the X factor.

The lack of performance appraisal allowed for lack of accountability giving way to less favourable performance-based expectations of women, resulting in more favourable work performance assessments of men. This could be seen in the rewarding of males who although performed fairly poorly in acting position, were rewarded afterwards with management posts which facilitated increases in salary increments independent of contribution.

Three female participants described the lack of support from HR when they were all discriminated against in the posts. One female academic felt she couldn't go to HR, a second female academic was disappointed in the lack of support she received at that time and the female head of department was met with silence.

### **Group level**

All three female participants described experiences of varying degrees of gender bias, communicated through behaviours, such as, discrimination, credibility being challenged on several fronts; accomplishments being left uncelebrated compared to male colleagues; being overlooked due to gender in a male dominated discipline; being denied access to resources in a male dominated environment; diminution of feminised disciplines and incidences of observer incivility towards female managers, which can be off putting for women seeking promotion.

There were other circumstances of incivility, especially in relation to conducts in meetings where the female participants were often talked over as males interrupt

females to change topic or obviously change perspective whereas females interrupt each other but in a supportive way. Participants spoke of having to learn certain techniques to be heard in meetings:

### **Individual level**

Incidents of anxiety and devaluation were experienced by a female academic in her feminine dominated discipline. There was aggressive behaviour towards newly appointed female managers leaving observers feeling upset and fearful and one female academic expressed feelings of embarrassment, fear and distress ending up crying feeling physically sick sometimes coming into work.

Two female participants reported burnout from their roles. One female academic reported feeling exhausted, isolated and marginalised in her male dominated discipline, and the female head of department, described shame, exposure and feeling trapped in her role due to very public accountability and believed her line manager left her exposed and she subsequently stepped back from her management role.

Both female academics spoke of looking at alternative interests to attain job satisfaction such as more research and abandoned applying for anymore management posts.

The male head of school spoke of advancing his career as he felt that he could contribute to IoT3.

#### 7.2.4 IoT4 Case Summary

##### **Organisational level**

**Leadership.** IoT4's website did not display any formal affirmative action initiatives portraying a gender supportive climate at leadership level. There was a lack of awareness of EO policy but it was assumed that the Institute had one as legislation required it. However, it was not focused on, front and centre at executive level. A formal mentoring initiative for aspiring academic women was implemented in the Institute which involved other Irish HEIs. Both male heads of department and the female head of school agreed with the introduction of quotas as a measure to promote better gender equality as it's not going to evolve naturally. The male head of department highlighted that putting in place anti-discriminatory policies may not be enough due to a combination of factors that really worked against women historically in relation to promotion which highlighted the need for direct intervention.

Finally, there was minimal training in IoT4 for interviewing, conflict management but not gender training

**Structure.** At the time of interviewing, there were four female heads of department and gender balance at head of school level with two females and two males portraying gender balance in the overall senior management team (incl. President and Registrar). Although women occupied 50% of senior leadership roles, this happened without any intervention. Due to the age profile of the current managers and the permanency of posts, there were a lack of opportunities.

Both female heads of school used a flat structure as opposed to a hierarchical structure with a team-based approach in their school, treating heads of departments as peers in terms of support affiliation and communicating with

patience and tolerance. This leadership style seemed to filter downwards as one male head of department believed he worked with people as opposed to managing them.

In IoT4 both male and female heads of departments reported fairness and openness in resource allocation and supports for personal development. However at senior level, both female heads of school spoke of a lack of clarity in the allocation of resources with the use of backroom corridor chats, constant meetings and pester power. There was also support for flexible work practices at both middle and senior level, but while time off was permissible, the workload was not reduced.

**Organisational Culture**. A strong culture is characterised by one dominant group as the norm and any other approaches to work would not be accepted, especially in terms of inappropriate behaviours. Even though the climate at IoT4 was strong and positive for women, at senior level, some women were still viewed as outsiders and sometimes find it difficult to implement changes to policies. Another sign of role incongruity for women could be seen where a male achieved management position in a female dominated discipline (e.g., nursing), although one female head of department believed it was down to the male being more focused and not gender biased. She also believed that as women are still seen as the primary carer, management posts may seem unattractive due to workload and the perception that they would not be entitled to keep their academic holidays.

IoT4 displayed gendered pictures of only females wearing mortar hats at graduation on their website, highlighting how a graduate's gender is accentuated only at the end of a four year degree by the wearing of a symbol. The male head of department was particularly shocked at the portrayal of the derogation of women by students in posters on the walls. Although IoT4 had 50% women at

senior level, the descriptions of IoT4 given by participants of the culture did not determine a feminine working environment climate.

**Human Resource Systems.** Overall the recruitment process was deemed as fair. Managers used scenario based questions or competency based and scored using a grid. Questions were consistent between candidates although in the past some inexperienced male interviewers fell victim however the interviews were well governed by the chair. The one hit interview was less socially appealing for women as it was based on one stop performance. Also emerging from the data was the lack of performance appraisal in IoT4.

### **Group level**

Participants reported feeling very included and respected. However this was not always the case. Before there was gender balance at senior level and an increase of female heads of departments, academic council would have been controlled by a very dominating group of men. Currently, there is equal male and female participation and everyone has a voice and is encouraged to speak.

### **Individual level**

Isolation made one female head of school almost leave her job. She also described hiding her shame from others when she engaged in parental leave, believing that she would not be perceived as a team player and committed. If more women in management took advantage of policies they were entitled to, this helps shame lose its power. This emphasises the importance for mentoring, role models and networks as there can be a sense of isolation due to the absence of women in management. Both female heads of school sought each other out and supported each other.



### 7.3 Cross-Case Analysis

Findings from all four case summaries are displayed on Table 15. Y and N represents participant's response. It does not represent the number of times that a particular participant responded.

The main cross overarching themes that reinforce gender bias in the four IoT cases and expand organisational, group and individual levels are:

- *Absence of gender management*
- *Male gatekeeping*
- *The structural placement of women*
- *The control of women*
- *Occupational and personal wellbeing*

The similarity in experience of the women in all four IoTs is striking, however a salient feature is the hidden and unconscious nature of these gendered practices which for most women and men were present and often accepted as part of working life. The main difference was in terms of the strength of the practices in each IoT which is based on both the numbers of participants who mentioned it and the extent to which it played a part in their role.

Table 15 : Aggregate findings from all four case summaries

			IoT1					IoT2				IoT3				IoT4			
		Norman	Orla	Margaret	Paula	Rose	Alice	Colm,	Brenda	Donna	Faye	Hilary	Glenda	Edward	Isobel	John	Cate	Lisa	
Organisational Level	Leadership	Experience gender issues	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	
		Affirmative action Leadership policies	No					No				No				No			
		EO policies	Yes					Yes				Yes				Yes			
		Mentoring	No					No				No				Yes			
	Structure	Number of women at HoS level at interview time	0/3 (1)left post					1/3				0/2				2/4			
		Number of women @ HoD level at interview time	1/10					1/10				2/4				4/12			
		Perception of leadership	no gender issue	hierarchical authoritative not transparent favourable to men more than women	reserved for political appts	culture of boys need other opporutnites	untrustworthy		age & permanency lack of transparency	women asked to help more need other opporutnites	male norms	lack of transparency	HoD withtin reach	divide between Hod & HoS	gender balance deliberate	good	happened naturally	age & permanency of incumbants	team based
		Nature of Mgt post	open door democratic incusive	need to be visible HoD overworked	manage people on no committees HoS offloads problems to HoD	prepare to help out workload impossible worked all hours	moved from home	women carry mental load	workload HoD impossible	minding staff HoD overworked	need to redistribute workload between HoD & HoS problems travelling gave up maternity leave	HoD worst job	HoD worst job	HoD centre to all depts overworked control budget gave up hols	HoD difficult job	HoD difficult job	work with people	need to show appreciation hiding parental leave	patience
		Glass Cliff appts				poison chalice difficult staff	new post new faculty				doing both HoD & HoS			empty post for 8 months					
		Access denied to resources, assignments	N	N	no control of budget	gave up maternity leave	no control of budget	given gendered jobs	N	women doing work men in charge their idea	budget not clear gave up maternity leave	given to males assumed family issues cant take parental leave unfair	N	allocation budget unfair	gender specific touches men cant do that	fairness	fairness	backroom chats	constan meeting: pester power

Organisational Level																		
		IoT1					IoT2				IoT3				IoT4			
H R Systems	Culture	Norman	Orla	Margaret	Paula	Rose	Alice	Colm,	Brenda	Donna	Faye	Hilary	Glenda	Edward	Isobel	John	Cate	Lisa
	leader Fit	no different male vs female	not abandon femininity to get job done	gatekeeping not abandon femininity to get job done	gatekeeping women separate from male pack acted gone against femininity	gatekeeping gone against femininity unequal expectation	not abandon femininity to get job done	At times women need to act like men and some arent able to	not abandon femininity to get job done	gone against femininity unequal expectation	gatekeeping gone against femininity	female HoDs secretarial admin support men more admin men empowered	not abandon femininity to get job done	different males women have to learn to survive	not abandon femininity to get job done		not abandon femininity to get job done	resistance to females not abandon feminnity to get job done
	Trust, fairness and just	suspicious of mgt	wont compromise children	treated poorly from leadership	no support stepping back from mgt post, created another post for male	socially excluded	juggling childcare	no transparency in dec making constantly juggling childcare due to unceratinty	having no family an inhibitor	unfair job contract parental leave suspende in IoT socially excluded	family not an inhibitor	family not an inhibitor	HoDs in firing line publicly	cant please everyone	culture is fair	culture is fair	culture is fair	culture is fair
	Gendered symbols and images	only female students wearing hats at graduation, none in sight					only female students wearing mortar hats at graduation, pictures of female graduates posing evocatively on website, none in sight				only female students wearing mortar hats at graduation, none in sight				only female stduents wearing mortar hats at graduation, student posters on walls			
								female manager always looks well			stopped wearing skirt to blend in							
H R Systems	IoT Description	friendly bull	bear	lions & tigers	none	sexism oozes from walls, treacherous hyena	not warm & friendly	cow	ostrich		strutting peacock	cow nothing in the head	headless chicken	intelligent orangutan	faithful dog	would not generalise	none	lion cub
	Fairness in recruitment process	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Grievance procedure				poor	poor				poor	poor	poor	poor					
		No					No				Yes for staff funding				No			

Group level		IoT1					IoT2				IoT3				IoT4			
		Norman	Orla	Margaret	Paula	Rose	Alice	Colm,	Brenda	Donna	Faye	Hilary	Glenda	Edward	Isobel	John	Cate	Lisa
	Observer incivility to other women			gossip		gossip					other females in school	New femlae HoD good to have females in mgt show benevolence			good to have females in mgt show benevolence	no one disrespectful to him		
	Discrimination		heard stories		Y	Y				Y	Y	Y	Y	female disciplines research				
	Behaviours in Meetings	Part of the job same people not gendered		aggressive spoken over male comes finishes conversation	aggressive	aggressive		none but certain men do minimal work	well behaved	unheard men sit inappropriately loud voices end conversation	hostile	unheard women interrupt to support men interrupt to change topic signal finish of conversatoin	from admin MGT	deal with it outside				do in way taccepted by men
	Backlash & Harassment	Part of the job		Y	hostile	Y	does not tolerate it			Y								
	Sexism		observed none	benevolent sexism	Y	sexism oozes from walls	does not tolerate it			Y	Y	Y						
	Disciplinary grouping						no need to do PhD	no need to do PhD		no need to do PhD	glamour work given to males, resources held from women, male HoD builing a case against her			females may find it difficult can lead to women disappearing				
Individual Level						not sure whats anti academic, anti women	doing student jobs due to gender						female discipline undervalued by HoS					
	Anxiety & Fear			Y	Y	Y				Y	Y	Y	Y					
	Shame				Y	Y				Y			Y				Y	
	Burnout			Y	Y	Y				Y	Y		Y					
	Isolation				Y	Y	Y			Y	Y						Y	
Career Direction	Advance		Y											Y	Y	Y		Y
	Adapt or Stay	Y		Y			Y	Y	Y	Y							Y	
	Abandon process										Y	Y						
	Abandon role				Y								Y					
	Abandon Institute					Y												

### 7.3.1 Absence of Gender Management

Table 15 emphasises the scarcity of gender management across all four IoTs with the absence of affirmative action programmes at leadership level; inadequate training; ineffective grievance process; nonexistence of performance appraisal, the display of gendered media physically in IoTs and on websites and inconsistent enactment of family friendly policies especially parental leave. There was consistent evidence that all four IoTs were active/avoiding institutions which although endorsed EO policies, they also avoided implementing them at the same time. The use of 'fix the woman' approaches rather than fix the system approach, i.e. mentoring initiatives, was only prominent in IoT4.

One prominent sign that gender management is focal in an organisation is in the recruitment process. Certain aspects of the recruitment process were ineffective with varying degrees across all four IoTs. IoT1 displayed unsatisfactory aspects of the recruitment process in the following areas: the timing of interviews, making it unattractive for women to apply due to family commitments; inconsistent approaches when shortlisting candidates; gender balance on panels or lack thereof; interference in the process by senior management and the shifting of questions during the interview to suit certain candidates. IoT3 reported ambiguity in the criteria evaluation and in the absence of performance appraisal, certain experiences being rewarded especially as it was a one interview process. However there was evidence of consistency in the analysis of the gender of applicants and application of the questions between candidates in IoT4 and IoT2. The overriding detail that emerged was that it was imperative to gender proof the recruitment process across all four IoTs.

### 7.3.2 Male Gatekeeping.

The information in Table 15 indicated male gatekeeping in relation to posts, duties, assignments and resources across all four IoTs with differing strengths.

Posts. The overall percentage of women at management level in IoT1 and IoT2 stood at 7.5% and 15% respectively. IoT3 had 33% of women in management and IoT4 had 38%. There was an absence of women at head of school level in IoT1 and IoT3, with only one woman in IoT2 at this level. This was reflected across the four IoTs, when participants used male themed metaphors to describe their workplace culture. Even though the female proportion in managerial positions in IoT4 was substantial, it obviously did not portray a feminine working environment by their descriptions. Previous research has shown that there is a common perception that men lead and women manage and the view across the IoT sector is that the role of the head of school is to lead and the role of the head of department is to manage. This deepens the perception that heads of school should be male and heads of department should be female. The statistics in table 15 show the absence of women at head of school level and the statistics on Table 6 (p.62), show that most women managers are at the head of department level across the IoT sector (33% - 36%). There are two possible explanations for these figures. One, that women choose not to lead or two, that it is a common gendered organisation practice to reserve the head of school posts for men in the belief that the natural leader is male. This was the perception in IoT1 where all management posts were held for males from outside the academic sphere and also in IoT3, where males who have performed fairly poorly in acting positions had been rewarded afterwards with management posts. This could also be witnessed in particular, in the glass escalator phenomenon where men were accelerated into

management in highly female dominated disciplines, which occurred in IoT1 and IoT4. The indeterminate length of management appointments in the IoT sector created a calcified structure which strengthened male gatekeeping.

Gender stereotyping affects expectations of women but not men. In IoT1, IoT2 and IoT3, as it was perceived as a forgone conclusion that a male would hold the post of head of school, some women did not see the head of school post as obtainable. However, there were those women who had managed to break through the glass ceiling into head of school level. In IoT4, there was gender balance at head of school level (two women) and also at executive level. Other women broke through in IoT1 and IoT2, only to be given 'glass cliff' posts which tended to be particularly stressful and involved more interpersonal conflict. Other women in IoT1 and IoT3 had glass cliff appointments but at head of department level. Although these were viewed as equal opportunities, appointment of women to these types of posts can portray that the Institute is gender focused. However, by placing women into such precarious posts that they find them so tenuous they have no option to leave, the fault then resides with the women not the Institute. Studies have shown that women believe that glass cliff appointments are due to sexism and unattractive to men.

Assignments. In relation to family responsibilities, women were seen as not being fully committed, which reduced their stature in the workplace at times, and resulted in being bypassed for high profile assignments. In IoT3, in the male dominated discipline, women could not avail of flexible working conditions due to fear of the misuse of duties, whereas in IoT1 and IoT2, there were instances of maternal wall bias where assignments differed after maternity leave. In those IoTs that were male dominated, more gendered emotion and advising work were assigned to women, relative to their male counterparts. In IoT4, there was support

for flexible work practices at both middle and senior level, but while time off was permissible, the workload was not reduced.

Resources. Due to the public sector reforms in Ireland since 2009, the availability of resources has been limited in the IoT sector. According to Priola (2007) where there are less resources available, the climate becomes harsher, more competitive, and more masculine with a need to keep things running smoothly in accordance with goals and targets. This could be seen in IoT1 where schools were kept as siloes and the budget was kept outside control of the academic schools and departments. In IoT3, lower resources were allocated to the feminised disciplines while still being expected to carry the weight of increasing student numbers and programmes. In IoT2, there were male gate keeping of resources depending on who could barter the most aggressively. However, in IoT4, heads of department reported fairness and openness in resource allocation and supports for personal development, although at senior level men manipulated the allocation of resources with the use of backroom corridor chats, constant meetings and pester power.

### **7.3.3 Structural Placement of Women**

There were other signs of gatekeeping, which is often associated with a type of career that is unattractive to women (Masden, 2016). There was evidence of structural placement of women into posts where they were expected to clean up the dirty job of middle management which five of the women across all four IoTs had accessed at some stage in their careers. The roles became administrative, overworked, undervalued and low status jobs becoming less attractive to men. As the job descriptions of the head of school and head of department are very similar in most parts, the roles should effectively cross over. But across IoT1, IoT2



and IoT3, there was a workload disparity between head of department and head of school, where women more than men identified an overwhelming workload as a major dilemma. This left them in a bind where the experience necessary for progression to senior roles was hampered, as a consequence of lack of energy to carry out high profile work. In IoT4, where there were a greater number of women in senior management, the leadership style was collaborative, team-based with a non-conflictive communication approach using discourses associated with femininities and flatter approaches than hierarchical. Work relationships were carried out in terms of support affiliation, such as, treating heads of departments as peers, and adding a layer of course coordinators to support the head of department. None of the heads of department in IoT4 described the workload as overwhelming compared to those in IoT1, IoT2 and IoT3.

Some of the women believed that the more stereotyped the working environment was perceived, the more segregated the jobs became where gender stereotyping had led to different expectations between women and men. This was reinforced by a lack of accountability due to the absence of performance appraisal. Although the middle management post was seen to require feminine discourses to carry out the duties, there was also a view that women needed to demonstrate stereotypical masculine qualities, typically associated with a leader, to fit in with the organisation and get the job done. This occurred in male dominated disciplines or institutes. Examples, included, the use of the male command style of speaking which inevitably added to the construction of the male leader and the masculine working environment. This led to interpersonal conflict amongst the women who felt undervalued simply due to their gender and that a woman shouldn't have to leave her female skills at the door.

#### 7.3.4 Control of Women

Men in organisations may control both what women have access to and the extent of their authority (Diehl and Dzubinski, 2016). Women were restricted in the extent of their authority and when and how they contributed to a conversation by the display of certain behaviours at group level. However, the strength of experiences depended on the number of women in the setting.

In IoT1, the head of department's duties were controlled. They were not members of management and academic committees, with little power or authority with regard to resources and budgets and basically whose main responsibility was to manage people from their office. In comparison in IoT3, the head of department had control of resources, budgets, was on every committee and also managed the department, however her workload was extensive.

There were also attempts to control women's professional capacity in IoT1, IoT2 and IoT3 through discrimination by diminution of personal accomplishments, diminution of research in feminised disciplines and challenging of credibility. Exhibition of certain behaviours in meetings by some male colleagues, such as bullying in IoT1 and IoT3, and observer incivility towards other female colleagues in IoT3, resulted in women interpreting their own position as marginal or as outsiders, especially in male dominated departments and/or disciplines. In IoT1 there was a multitude of challenging gendered behaviours, such as, addressing women in inappropriate ways, gossip and making personal jokes, in an attempt to keep the women silent. There was also palpable evidence of discrimination and harassment towards female participants, mostly in male dominated IoT1 and IoT2 and male denominated disciplines in IoT3 with reports of marginalisation being

accentuated by factors such as age, benevolent and hostile sexism from male colleagues.

The female managers in IoT1 and IoT2 believed that the same expectations were not demanded from their male counterparts in terms of efficiency and work ethic. They questioned if they had abandoned their femininity and acted more like a male, would they have been treated differently, especially in terms of behaviours. As women were subjected to higher performance pressure because they were noticeable due to their token status, they became wary of opening themselves to such close scrutiny (Tapia & Kvasny, 2004) and responded by working harder to prove themselves, gaining more qualifications in an attempt to be accepted and in some cases, foregoing certain symbols of feminine status, such as, wearing dresses, in order to fit in with male image and become invisible.

Control of women's voices were portrayed through behaviours, such as, constant interruptions, being spoken over, ideas dismissed or stolen in meetings which, at times, were only concluded when a male finalised the conversation in IoT1, IoT2 and IoT3. In an attempt to be heard they used certain techniques that included a male authoritative style. These happened in settings where they had token status, that is, when they represent less than 15% of the participants in the meeting, discipline, management or school. Token women needed support from other women for their voices to be heard, to back them up when making points or challenging certain issues and as they were often the only women in those situations, they inevitably were ignored and eventually would stop speaking or disappear.

It appears that existing policies to preclude these actions fail to address them.

In IoT4 and within female dominated disciplines where there were a greater number of women, women report feeling very included and respected. However in the past when IoT4 had a lower number of women in management it was male dominated which controlled women's voices in meetings. Currently, there is equal male and female participation and everyone has a voice and is encouraged to speak.

### **7.3.5 Occupational and Personal Wellbeing**

The depth of emotional impacts experienced from gender bias in the workplace varied depending on the number of women in the setting. Both female and males in IoT4 experienced the least impacts in their workplace. In contrast, IoT1 and those in male dominated disciplines in IoT3, experienced the most emotional impacts from situations such as difficulty stepping into 'glass cliffs' posts, unachievable expectations, gatekeeping of resources and assignments, discrimination, behaviours from peers and staff causing them stress and anxiety, leaving them so fearful at times they retreated to bathrooms emotionally upset. This instilled a sense of mistrust and they also experienced a decrease in their ability to have any meaningful influence in decision making in their Institute leading them to constantly fight to be heard.

Even those women in the female dominated disciplines in IoT3 did not escape discrimination from one particular male line manager, describing a sense of helplessness with no possible recourse due to an inadequate grievance process.

Shame was specific only to female managers. Feelings of isolation, being trapped or powerless were reported by women at both the head of department and head of school level across all four IoTs. Shame occurred when taking advantage of an entitled parental leave policy or leaving work for childcare reasons, causing those

women to believe that they were not perceived as a team player or committed. It prompted women to feel the need to constantly justify their professional identity or management position to be accepted or heard and also, where an unreasonable number of unrealistic expectations were put upon them, eliciting a sense of exposure. Shame loses its power, when empathy is shown.

Inevitably most women who experienced any psychological impact in IoT1, IoT2 and IoT3 described paying a heavy toll with the result being burnout. They reported feeling exhausted, isolated and marginalised from their colleagues.

There was a division between managers and academics in the strength of emotional impact from gendered organisational practices and group interaction in IoT1 and IoT2. In IoT1, academics described not being aware of any gendered practices within the workplace or gender issue at all, whereas in IoT2 although they were aware of gendered practices, especially towards female managers, they did not personally experience it.

What is interesting is that none of the male participants spoke of emotional impact. This could be attributed to men not talking about emotions and carrying on regardless or they actually don't recognise that this is not part of working life and isn't acceptable.

Overall the men's perceptions to gender equality range from no gender issue to gender balance in the overall management team deflecting from the lack of women in the academic side of management. They assumed that women who entered management had to sacrifice something in their personal life as referring to the fact that women were still presumed to be the main carer in the family and that most career paths were traditionally linear. This gendered concept favoured

men, which was characterised by continuity of employment, long hours of work, an ability to travel, and sacrifice of personal and family time.

## **OVERALL CASE ANALYSIS**

🌈 IoT1 was a hostile and controlled climate for women. It displayed a weak culture which has contrasting norms and values and where some men were free to act based upon his particular prejudices through behaviours at meetings. There was an absence of women in management (7.5%) due to gatekeeping of posts. Women were controlled in meetings, resource access, management duties and professional creditability and were structurally placed into glass cliff jobs. These impacted on the occupational and personal wellbeing of women, leaving some with no option but to leave. There was a divide between academics and female managers' perception of gender bias in the workplace, with academics described not being aware of any gendered practices within the workplace or gender issue at all. However, they identified an authoritative hierarchical culture with a lack of trust for management.

🌈 IoT2 although this was male dominated, there was unconscious gender bias. Most participants spoke of lack of trust and unfairness in relation to family friendly policies and job contracts and devaluation of professional identity. It displayed a semi-strong culture where some parts were strong, but weak where numbers of women were minimal at senior management level. At this level, behaviours were gendered and there was control of women, which eventually impacted on the occupational and personal wellbeing of women.

🌈 IoT3 academics perception is gendered, but not at senior level. There was a need for more support at head of department level and change of

attitude towards the academic head of department role. It displayed a semi-strong culture where some parts were strong, especially in feminine disciplines but weak where numbers of women were minimal, especially in masculine disciplines. There was gatekeeping of posts as women were absent from senior level. Behaviours were gendered especially at meetings and there was control of women, which eventually impacted on the occupational and personal wellbeing of women.

IoT4 portrayed a strong and positive environment for women. Although there was less control of women in IoT4 there was still a necessity for transparency at senior level in relation to resources and support for family policies. The influence of greater number of women especially at senior level could be seen in the benevolence, fairness and transparency in resources, support structures and support for affirmative action in promoting women into management. IoT4 displayed a strong culture characterised by one dominant group as the norm and any other approaches, especially inappropriate behaviours to work were normally not accepted. Occupational and personal wellbeing were satisfactory.

#### **7.3.6 Career Direction**

While the responsibility for developing meaningful and productive careers rests with both individuals and organisations (Van den Besselaar & Sandström, 2016), career direction is also affected by organisational practices and gender bias, confined by structures within which women operate, thus affecting the level of their agency (freedom to choose) (Leberman & Hurst, 2016). For example, a scarceness of role models, gendered work and stereotypes, lack of access to networks and resources, the role incongruity between women and leadership,

and personal circumstances, can lead to informal exclusion, devaluation, and marginalisation which function to exclude women from the work environment (Maranto & Griffin, 2011; Nguyen, 2012).

Researchers have also linked workplace mistreatment such as sexual harassment to organisational commitment; withdrawal intentions to job performance (Barling et al., 2001); abusive supervision to subsequent employee aggression (Burton and Hoobler, 2011; Wang et al., 2012); and working in a climate of workplace incivility to the intention to remain with the organisation (Griffin, 2010) (Miner & Cortina, 2016 p.3).

Table 15 portrays that:

- 🚦 In IoT1, only 1 female academic choose to advance her career, 1 male academic chose to adapt/stay in his current position and 1 female head of department abandoned their role and 1 female head of school abandoned the institute.
- 🚦 In IoT2, 2 academic females and 1 female head of school and 1 male former head of department chose to adapt/stay in current positions.
- 🚦 In IoT3, 1 male head of school chose to advance his career, 2 female academics abandoned the process and 1 female head of department abandoned their role
- 🚦 In IoT4, 1 male head of department and 1 female head of department and 1 female head of school chose to advance their career, 1 female head of school chose to adapt/stay in her current position.

Those participants who had a positive workplace experience chose to advance their careers, including one female participant in IoT1 who worked in a female dominated discipline and had a female Head of school.



Those participants that chose to adapt or stay outlined various reasons, family responsibilities, work life balance, worthy and interesting current job, no interest in management, prefer to look outside IoT sector, recently appointed into management role and financially not worth it. Although some women experienced a range of psychological and physical impacts, they did not cite this as the reason for not advancing their career. They choose to exercise leadership than go for structural positional leadership.

Those participants who experienced a greater impact psychologically and physically abandoned the process, role and Institute. The structural barriers were so great that they chose to leave. Two female academics in IoT3 experienced discrimination and anxiety which attributed them to abandon the process. Three women in IoT1 and IoT3 experienced discrimination, anxiety, shame and burnout and stepped into glass cliff appointments which attributed them to abandon their role or institute. Those at head of department grade abandoned their role due to experiencing sexism, often heavy workload and lack of support and maybe as it is easier to step back to senior lecturer or lecturer financially at this grade than at head of school grade where the fear of reprisal and failure may also be minimal. The female head of school in IoT1 abandoned her place of work due to isolation and marginalisation owing to her token status, experienced the greatest psychological and physical impacts of all the participants with lack of control of resources, voice, authority and credibility; unequal expectations; biased organisational practices and subsequently, she had no choice but to leave.

### **7.3.7 Summary**

This chapter presented findings based on the gendered experiences of academics in an Institute of Technology setting. The data confirms the existence

of many issues speculated in the research literature. In addition, participants experienced shame as an issue which has emerged inductively which is only experienced by female managers at both head of school and head of department level. The findings also unbundled and extended the interview process by the timing of interviews emerging as unattractive to women.

Attention now turns to the remaining chapter which outlines the research contributions and presents the answers to the research questions posed in chapter one.

## Chapter 8 Conclusion

### 8.1 Introduction

The overall aim of this research is to advance the understanding of how gender bias is experienced by academic staff, particularly, in relation to the impact on the career direction of academics in the IoT sector.

This chapter will revisit the research objectives. Implications for the future research will be discussed as well as the contribution of this research in relation to gender bias will be clarified. The research will be concluded so as to reflect on whether or not the objectives stated at the start of this research have been met. Direction will be offered on how to further this research.

This chapter draws from a broad range of literatures, including education, psychology, neuroscience, sociology, and management, to provide a fuller understanding of how gender is played out in organisations. An initial examination of the literature revealed a shortage of studies on the impact of gender bias in Ireland within the IoT sector. The intention is to inform future theorising and research on how gender is experienced in the IoT workplace, and to elucidate plausible explanations as to why women are underrepresented in academic management within this sector. The review of the literature on gender in the workplace generated insights with the potential to extend theory in several ways.

An exploration of the literature, identified the main reasons why women have not reached management positions at three levels, organisational, group and individual.

At organisational level, the extent that top leadership promotes a positive climate for women (Konrad et al., 2010), can determine the degree to which there is

gender discrimination, gender policies and an overall gender diversity supportive climate within an organisation is supported (Ostroff et al., 2012). Some organisations believe that although supporting women is an individualised response to problems, it may require more collective or structural solutions (Colley, 2001; Devos, 2008; Morley, 2014). The type of structures (formal and informal) can also add to forms of gender consciousness in an organisation, by the absence of senior management women, type of physical structure and also the structure of middle and senior management posts. As a general rule, the greater the number of men in positions of authority in a setting, the greater work roles become more gender stereotyped and segregated (Ely, 1995). Research illustrates that gender stereotypes include beliefs that link women with change and men with stability (Brown et al., 2011) and therefore women are often brought in to come clean up a mess in often unpopular and precarious management areas referred to as 'glass cliffs' (Morley, 2014, p.120).

The culture of an organisation establishes what is valued, what is to be rewarded, who is to be promoted and what is to be done (Thomas, 1996). This can be perpetuated through role congruity (leadership fit), cultural climate in relation to justice and fairness through the perceptions of employees and the use of symbols and images conveying certain meanings to identity status in the workplace. Certain human resource systems, such as the recruitment process, performance appraisal and grievance process are prejudiced by gender stereotyping adding to what, and who, is normal, standard and acceptable.

Disciplinary grouping where male dominance is utmost, can have a negative impact in the workplace for some women (Finch, 2003). The huge under-representation of women in these areas can influence the allocation of resources and assignments that are clearly gendered and focuses on males' values and

networks (Ozkanli et al., 2009). Also, studies have shown that women are exposed to sexism and harassment from male counterparts and senior colleagues within Science, Engineering and Technical environments (DeWelde & Laursen, 2011) and experience more gender discrimination compared to their counterparts in departments headed by women (Konrad et al., 2010).

At group level, overt or covert behaviours can be enacted in organisational practices. Overt behaviours are defined as blatant and observable whereas covert behaviours are hidden and can sometimes be detected through inference. The behaviours for gender bias in this study have been presented as discrimination, sexism, backlash, and workplace incivility.

At individual level, the main fallout from constant gendered challenges at both organisational level and group level can affect women, both psychologically and physically. They can affect a woman's identity and also impact on her wellbeing. Psychological effects can be devaluation, fear, anxiety and a sense of isolation which in turn, can lead to physical effects such as burnout (Goldenhar et al., 1998; Schmader et al., 2008; Borrel et al., 2010). They can affect job satisfaction, organisational commitment (Hicks-Clarke & Iles, 2000) and performance (Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001; cited in Stamarski & Son Hing, 2015).

While the responsibility for developing meaningful and productive careers rests with both individuals and organisations (Van den Besselaar & Sandström, 2016), previously outlined research has shown that career direction is also affected by gender bias in the workplace, framed by both the structures within which women operate and the level of their agency (freedom to choose) (Leberman & Hurst, 2016). However, even though a woman's choice may be perceived to be independent, it can be compromised as 'it is situated within a discourse that hides structural gender bias and is very much contextually bound' (Leberman & Hurst,

2016, p.263). So a combination of individual and structural change is essential to address gender inequality.

## 8.2 Research Objective and Questions

To achieve the research aims the research objectives and questions are to:-

*Explore academic staff experiences related to gender in their workplace  
and identify how these experiences impact on their career choices*

Research question one: *How is gender bias experienced by  
academics in their workplace?*

Research question two: *How do these experiences impact on their  
career direction?*

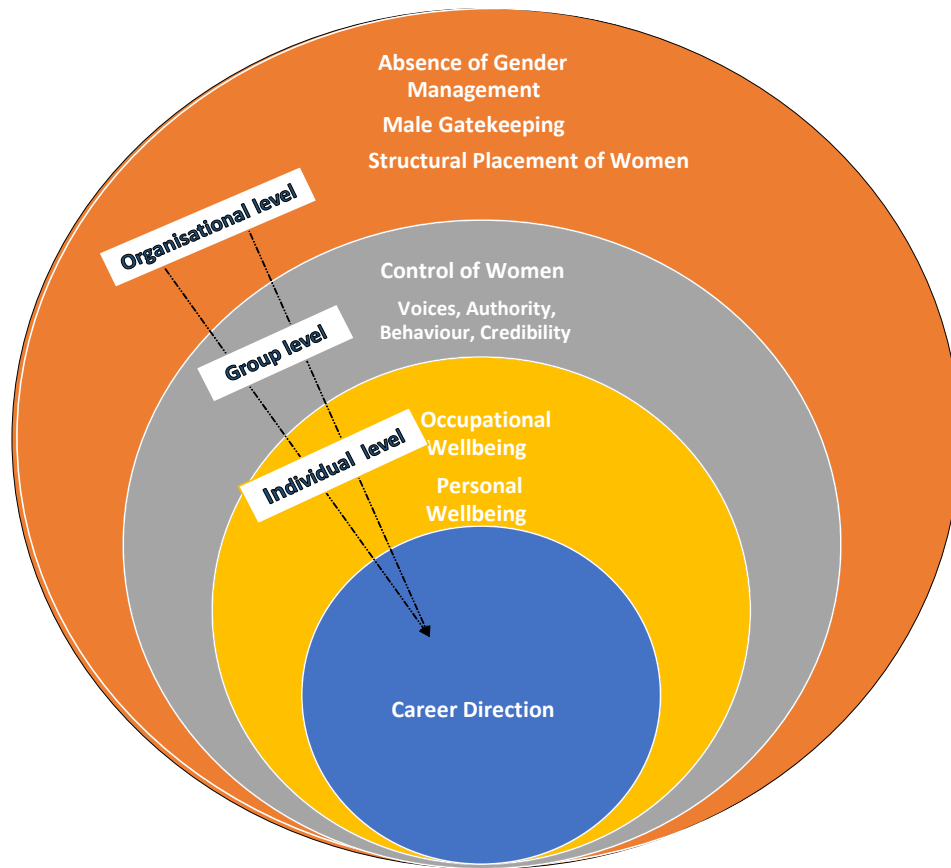
### 8.2.1 Research Question 1

Research question one: *How is gender bias experienced by  
academics in their workplace?*

The overall theme that emerged from this research is that *gendered control and power in an Institution correlates to the number of women in a setting*. There was evidence of control at organisational level, enacted at group level and impacted at individual level.

Preliminary analysis of the data from the interviews indicated gender bias was apparent at varying strengths due to the absence of gender management, the presence of male gatekeeping, and the structural placement and control of women. As Figure 15 demonstrates, these gendered practices and behaviours affect women's occupational and personal wellbeing and subsequently the direction of their career.

Figure 15 : Overarching themes that reinforce gender bias at different levels in the Institutes



The scarcity of gender management across all four IoTs at leadership level was significant. Without the influence of a top down gender strategy, particularly with the absence of affirmative action programmes, bottom up gendered behaviours flourish and persist as part of the culture of the IoT. A side effect of the absence of top down gender strategy can also affect equal opportunity policies, where the IoT endorses equal opportunity policies, but they also avoid implementing them at the same time.

Research has indicated male gatekeeping is a feature at senior level (Ozkanli et al., 2009). This is reflected in male dominated IoT2 but also in the female dominated IoT4 to an extent. In IoT1 and IoT3, there is male gate keeping of both middle and senior management posts, of the type of management duties

associated with each post, and in the allocations of resources and assignments, particularly in those disciplines that are male dominated. Gatekeeping is not so prevalent where there is a substantial amount of women in leadership (IoT4).

Those women who broke through the glass ceiling to senior and middle management level were given 'glass cliff' posts which tend to be particularly stressful and involved more interpersonal conflict. Although these are viewed as equal opportunities, appointment of women to these types of posts can portray that the Institute is gender focused. However, by placing women into such precarious posts that they find them so tenuous they have no option to leave, the fault then resides with the women not the Institute. Studies have shown that women believe that glass cliff appointments are due to sexism and unattractive to men (Haslam & Ryan, 2008).

There are other signs of gendered control and power through the 'structural placement of women' (Kanter, 1977, p.250) into posts where they are expected to clean up 'the dirty job' of 'middle management positions' to 'smooth the passage of managerial work' (Prichard & Deem, 1998; Shain, 2000, p.224). These positions have become administrative, overworked, undervalued and low status jobs which are unattractive to men. The more stereotyped the working environment is perceived to be (IoT1), the more segregated the jobs become where gender stereotyping had led to different expectations between women and men. It is evident that culture had not shifted significantly in relation to gender bias which impacts on women's ability to see themselves as leaders as well as others' ability to consider them for leadership roles.

Men in organisations may control both what women have access to and the extent of their authority (Diehl & Dzubinski, 2016). This is evident in IoT1, IoT2 and IoT3 in varying degrees, with IoT1 being ranked as the worst offender. Women are



restricted in the extent of control of their authority and when and how they contribute to a conversation by the display of certain behaviours at group level, control of certain head of department duties, devaluing women's professional capacity through discrimination and diminution of personal accomplishments, diminution of research in feminised disciplines and challenging of credibility. Control of women's voices (Diehl & Dzubinski, 2016) are portrayed through behaviours, such as, constant interruptions, being spoken over, ideas dismissed or stolen in meetings which, at times, are only concluded when a male finalised the conversation in IoT1, IoT2 and IoT3. These happened in settings where they have token status, that is, when they represent less than 15% of the participants in the meeting, discipline, management or school. Token women need support from other women for their voices to be heard, to back them up when making points or challenging certain issues and as they were often the only women in those situations, they inevitably are ignored and eventually stop speaking or disappear. In IoT4 and within female dominated disciplines, where there are a greater number of women, women report feeling very included and respected where everyone has a voice and is encouraged to speak.

The strength of a gendered culture is eroded by the number of women in its leadership and disciplines. A weak culture is where certain groups of people are free to act based upon his or her own particular desires or prejudices or behaviour, whereas a strong culture is determined according to the one dominant group as the norm where any other approaches to work would not be accepted (Cox, 1994). IoT1 displays a weak culture at management level with an array of challenging gendered behaviours, such as, addressing women in inappropriate ways, gossip and making personal jokes, in an attempt to keep the women silent. There is also palpable evidence of discrimination and harassment towards

women mostly in male dominated disciplines with reports of marginalisation being accentuated by factors such as age, benevolent and hostile sexism from male colleagues. However this is not apparent in all of IoT1 as women in female dominated disciplines and who also have a female manager do not experience any challenging behaviours. IoT4 displays a strong culture as inappropriate behaviours are not tolerated.

The female managers in IoT1 and IoT2 believe that the same expectations are not demanded from their male counterparts in terms of efficiency and work ethic (Tapia & Kvasny, 2004) and respond by working harder to prove themselves, gaining more qualifications in an attempt to be accepted and in some cases, foregoing certain symbols of feminine status, such as, wearing dresses, in order to fit in with a male image and become invisible.

Mor-Barak et al. (1998) suggests that experiences of mistreatment of women are related to perceptions of injustice and, as a result, can affect the employees' well-being. Researchers have also linked workplace mistreatment such as sexual harassment to organisational commitment; withdrawal intentions to job performance (Barling et al., 2001); abusive supervision to subsequent employee aggression (Burton & Hoobler, 2011; Wang et al., 2012); and working in a climate of workplace incivility to the intention to remain with the organisation (Griffin, 2010; Miner & Cortina, 2016 p.3). There is a division between managers and academics in the strength of emotional impact from gendered organisational practices and group interaction in IoT1 and IoT2. Male academics describe not being aware of any gendered practices within the workplace or gender issue at all, except in IoT2 where although they are aware of gendered practices, especially towards female managers, they have not personally experience it or would tolerate it.

There is one unexpected conclusion that this research work has uncovered, which is the response of shame to gender and the working environment. The literature shows that shame and gender are inextricably bound up together in society. Brown in Tucker (2004) describes shame as painful, feeling flawed and unworthy of acceptance and belonging, feeling trapped, powerless and isolated. During the case study, only certain women holding positions of management, repeatedly peppered their responses with feelings of guilt, entrapment or exposure, with several of them using withdrawing, hiding, self-silencing and secret-keepings as means to deal with these feelings.

Overall the men's perceptions to gender equality range from no gender issue to gender balance in the overall management team deflecting from the lack of women in the academic side of management. They assumed that women who entered management had to sacrifice something in their personal life as referring to the fact that women were still presumed to be the main carer in the family and that most career paths were traditionally linear.

This further illustrates the variation in the experiences of academics within the workplace.

### **8.2.2 Research Question 2**

This section will present findings to answer the second research question:-

*How do these experiences impact on their career direction?*

The typical career pathway into IoT management is still based on traditional hierarchical, linear, gendered academic pathway that favours men due to the continuity of employment, long hours of work, and an ability to travel with a sacrifice of personal time (Leberman & Hurst, 2016). It ranges from assistant

lecturer, lecturer, senior lecturer, head of department and head of school reflecting a constrained direction. While the responsibility for developing meaningful and productive careers rests with both individuals and organisations (Van den Besselaar & Sandström, 2016), previously outlined research has shown that career direction is also affected by gendered organisational practices, for example, a scarceness of role models, gendered work and stereotypes, lack of access to networks and resources, the role of incongruity between women and leadership and family responsibilities, framed by both the structures within which women and men operate and the level of their agency (freedom to choose) (Leberman & Hurst, 2016). Three choices in career direction in this study emerged, advancing, adapting and abandoning.

The participants who abandoned the process of applying for management, abandoned a management post or abandoned the organisation are in IoT1 and IoT3 and represent 30% of the participants and all have experienced discrimination. Three of these women experienced discrimination, anxiety, shame and burnout and stepped into glass cliff appointments which influenced them to abandon their role or institute. Those at head of department grade abandoned their role due to experiencing sexism, often heavy workload and lack of support. The female at head of school grade in IoT1 abandoned the place of work due to isolation and marginalisation owing to her token status, experienced the greatest psychological and physical impacts of all the participants with lack of control of resources, voice, authority and credibility; unequal expectations; biased organisational practices and subsequently, she had no choice but to leave. The findings are consistent with the research that stated that those who experienced the most workplace mistreatment find difficulty in sustaining organisational

commitment, are likely to withdraw and remaining with the organisation becomes questionable.

The group of participants who chose to either adapt their career or stay in their current posts, are either aware of certain gendered practices but did not necessarily experience them or are women who experienced a range of psychological or physical impacts but did not cite this as the reason for not advancing their career. They choose to exercise leadership than go for structural positional leadership due to gendered practices or choice. These participants resided in IoT2, one in IoT4 and one in IoT1.

Those who had intention of advancing their career in the IoT sector worked in a positive climate where there were a greater number of women. One participant from a female dominated discipline with a female manager in IoT1, one male from IoT3 and two female and one male from IoT4 use techniques such as navigating and pioneering to steer and advance their careers.

### 8.3 Conclusion

In relation to research question one, the findings, noted above, confirm the existence of gender bias at varying strengths in the workplace across all four IoTs in this case study, speculated in the research literature. However the *scale and depth of gender bias* through control and power, *correlates with the number of women* in the setting, school, management or discipline.

The uncovering of the response of shame to gender and the working environment emerges from the data unexpectedly. This suggests that shame may impact on career direction and as such, needs to be addressed in the managing of gender.

In relation to research objective two, the findings, noted above, confirm the existence, speculated in the research literature, that workplace behaviours and

gendered organisational practices and gendered group interaction influence the career pathways chosen by them.

#### 8.4 Implications - The Way Forward

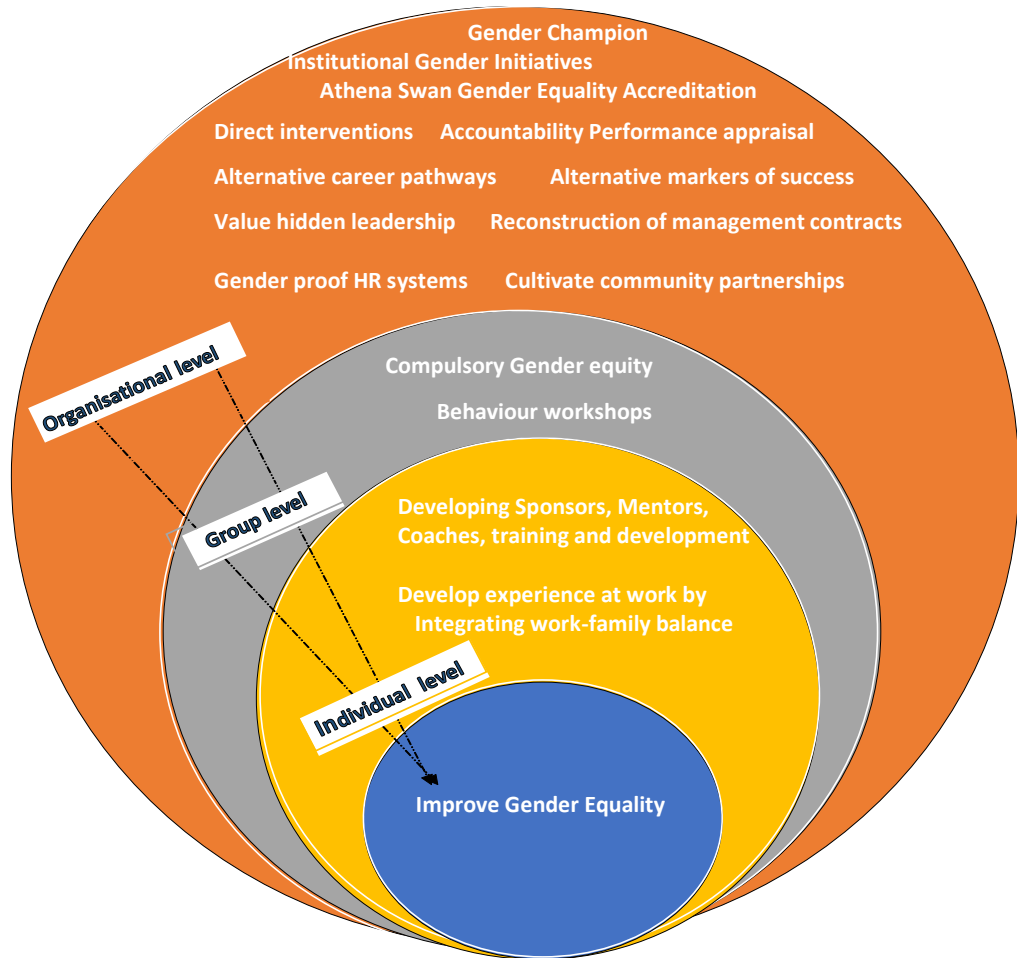
Gender bias is a serious and expensive problem that needs to be addressed. Not only is there a personal cost to the women, there is an economic loss for the institution through the cost of recruitment, grievances and lawsuits, loss of reputation, staff turnover, employee health- cost of sick, absenteeism and the public perception from the media attention (e.g. University of Galway high court case).

Unconscious gender bias can prevent women and men from reaching their potential, so being aware of unconscious gender bias is essential (NCWI, 2015). One way of doing this is by small changes, attempting to adapt leadership cultures, changing management mind-sets and policies to being gender balanced. These can alter the processes, culture and internal practices of an organisation (Meyerson & Fletcher, 2000; Brunila & Ylosato, 2015; Whittenburg-Cox, 2013a). Acker (2012) also states the need for stronger support networks for women in academia by forming alliances that will affect recruitment decisions.

Organisations therefore need to develop strategies that extend through the walls of the workplace to impact organisational and personal perspectives on women.

Several interventions which may change work culture and reduce gender bias at multiple levels are displayed in Figure 16.

Figure 16: Interventions to improve Gender Equality in IoTs



These include:

- Publicly stating Institutional gender initiatives such as Athena SWAN Gender Equality Accreditation with a gender champion and publicly available gender statistics on each IoT website by grade.
- Improving representation of women in management by gender proofing HR systems and/or by the use of direct intervention such as quotas.
- Cultivating community partnerships to improve number of females in STEM disciplines which should introduce and encourage females to pursue careers in fields currently dominated by men. This would address

cultural constraints on women's own choices and gender stereotypes as well as the psychological glass ceiling (Diehl & Dzubinski, 2016).

- Introducing built-in accountability through reintroduction of performance appraisal associated with efforts and goals. Such new norms could also affect barriers such as control of women, devaluing of feminine dominated disciplines, and lack of support and work-life balance.
- Challenging unattractive work arrangements where hidden leadership needs to be valued and counted through alternative career pathways with the use of alternate markers of success. The reconstruction of head of school and head of department duties is required for fair distribution of workload and duties that are gender neutral.
- Introducing compulsory behaviour workshops for all staff on gender awareness and enforcing appropriate work behaviours.
- Developing relationships with assistance from sponsors, peers, mentors, and coaching and opportunities for training and development (Burke et al., 2006).
- Developing experiences at work, through recognition of work, feelings of acceptance (Burke et al., 2012), especially in the area of shame, and levels of work-family integration which address principles for both women and men where commitment to the family and caring more generally is seen as an important mark of good citizenship rather than being perceived as a lack of commitment (Cornelius & Skinner, 2008).

*As individuals begin to produce and reproduce these new norms in the workplace, they likely will carry these new norms into the home and society. Because organisational performance depends on engaging the full expertise of all leaders (Swanson and Holton, 2009),*



*not just men, making these invisible barriers visible and working to overcome them holds great promise for creating organisational environments in which both men and women can thrive* (Diehl & Dzubinski, 2016, p.285)

## 8.5 Limitations

The methodology used in this research is based on identifying the truth and for this study the truth the lived experiences of participants and so the most appropriate methodology is a qualitative approach. The individual experiences provide the reader with adequate information whereas the use of questionnaires or any other type of instrument could lead to loss of richness and the personal aspects of the data. The conclusions are based on a widespread appraisal of related literature and a case study, which means that the conclusions are linked to these sources only. Generalising what is concluded in this research does not inevitably apply to all other institutions in higher education or within the Institute of Technology sector itself. Instead this research applies to the concept of reliability: that what has been researched in this study, will be of interest to other researchers and institutions interested in gender bias and gender equality and that it will add, in some way, to the little research in gender bias within the Institute of Technology sector in Ireland.

## 8.6 Further Research

The perspectives on gender bias and equality of the wider staff or LGBT staff have not been explored. Such empirical data would have added further richness to the study, but this would have compromised the focus of the research and perhaps made work impossible to manage. Further research in the area of gender mainstreaming into all policies within the sector is another possibility. Other

possible areas of research include, exploring the gendered division of labour by academic grade and discipline or examining the feeling of shame in greater depth in academia.

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## Appendices

Appendix A    Statistics from HEA

Appendix B    Coding Manual

Appendix C    Interview Questions

Appendix D    Observation Findings

Appendix E    Nvivo Printouts

Appendix F    DCU Plain Language Statement and Consent forms



## Appendix A Statistics from each IoT website

*The breakdown of Academic Management for 2012/13*

<b>Academic Management at HEIs in Ireland 2012/2013</b>									
<b>HEI</b>	<b>President</b>		<b>Head of School</b>		<b>Head of department</b>		<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	
	<b>female</b>	<b>male</b>	<b>female</b>	<b>male</b>	<b>female</b>	<b>male</b>	<b>female</b>	<b>male</b>	
ITB	1			2	2	2	3	4	42.9% 57.1%
LIT	1		2	3	4	6	7	9	43.8% 56.3%
SIT	1			3	3	5	4	8	33.3% 66.7%
IADT	1		1	1	3	4	5	5	50.0% 50.0%
CARLOW	1		1	1	2	5	4	6	40.0% 60.0%
DKIT		1	2	2	4	8	6	11	35.3% 64.7%
IT Tallaght		1		3	2	7	2	11	15.4% 84.6%
LYIT		1	1	3	4	3	5	7	41.7% 58.3%
TRALEE		1	1	2	5	2	6	5	54.5% 45.5%
DIT		1	7	19	14	22	21	42	33.3% 66.7%
WIT		1		6	4	8	4	15	21.1% 78.9%
CIT		1	2	8	5	16	7	25	21.9% 78.1%
AIT		1	1	2	0	10	1	13	7.1% 92.9%
GMIT		1	2	2	3	6	5	9	35.7% 64.3%
	<u>5</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>104</u>	<u>80</u>	<u>170</u>	32.0% 68.0%
	<b>35.71%</b>	<b>64.29%</b>	<b>25.97%</b>	<b>74.03%</b>	<b>34.59%</b>	<b>65.41%</b>	<b>32.00%</b>	<b>68.00%</b>	

*Source: Collated from each IoT website in March 2013*

**Institutes of Technology Gender Staffing Information 2012/13, 2013/2014, 2014/2015**

\*\* part of LIT

Source: Higher Education Authority website for 2013/2014 and 2014/2015 and each Institute of Technology's website for 2012/2013

## Appendix B Coding Manual

Constraints & Context	Rules for inclusion	Description	Literature Reference
Stereotyping	References to <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Gender expectations, roles, competencies, traits</li> <li>Acceptable behaviours</li> <li>Stereotype threat –role of negative thinking</li> </ul>	- Prescriptive (desirable what women <i>should</i> be) traits- fosters bias among males where female enacted masculine roles. Benevolent sexism /hostile sexism/modern sexism - Descriptive traits (what women are typically like) did not predict gender bias. Ambivalent sexism - Negative thinking -situational reminders can stifle performance of leading to psychological stress self-uncertainty and hijacking of cognitive resources	Rudman & Phelan 2008; Glick & Fiske 1996 Gill 2004; Stamarski & Son Hong, 2015 Bourdieu 1986 Acker, 2014 Steele, 1995 Goode et al 2007 Benschop & Brouns 2002 Prichard & Deem, 1998
Capabilities	References to <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Self esteem</li> <li>skills for job</li> <li>attributes such as Fear of failure, Modesty, Hesitancy, Competency, Negotiation skills</li> <li>Voice- active, passive</li> </ul>	Ability attribution  Associated with capability	Chesterman, Ross-Smith & Peters 2005.
Support	References to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Support- conference, training, dealing with staff</li> <li>Funding models- scholarships, grants</li> <li>Flexible work condition</li> </ul>		Rosener 1990 R J Burke, 2016
Leadership	References to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Gender Statistics</li> <li>Command control behaviour of bosses</li> <li>Interactive collaborative behaviour</li> <li>Power dynamics and displays</li> <li>Concept of leadership</li> <li>Gender affirmative actions &amp; EO</li> </ul> Knowledge of EO practices <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>targets, quotas</li> </ul>	- Style of leadership: Helpfulness, Inspirational, Rewarding, Autocratic, Authorative, Figure head - Perceived power or real power, Employees not taking part in particular aspect of work, constantly challenging authority  EO policies at same time as avoiding them ' keeping the status quo' didn't open a can of worms'	Konrad et al, 2010 Ibarra et al, 2013 Morley, 2013, 2014, Priola, 2007, Beddoes & Schimpf, 2016 Morison & Glinow 1990 Eagly et al 2003 Rosener 1990 Vinkenburgh 2011 De Groot 1997 p 136; Thompson 2000 Bagilhole 2002
Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Style of leadership</li> <li>Structures type</li> <li>Absence of women</li> <li>Nature of job</li> <li>Middle management</li> <li>Promotion context</li> <li>Glass cliffs</li> <li>Access to resources</li> </ul>		Conrad et al, 2010. Acker, 1990, 2012 Leberman & Hurst, 2016 Kanter, 1977. Deem, 1999, 2003, 2013 O'Connor, 2011 Caprino, 2015, Peterson, 2015, 2016, Raelin, 2010, Brown et al, 2011, Eagly & Carli, 20013, Ryan & Haslam, 2004, 2005, 2006

			Williams, 2004, 2014, Williams & Dempsey 2014, McIntosh 2012
Symbols & Images	References to <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Images in college material</li> <li>• Optics of management balance</li> <li>• Supports from other services for occupational courses</li> </ul>	Beliefs about characteristics attributes behaviours of certain groups	Acker 1990; O Connor & Goransson 2014; Acker 1990,2014; Acker 1990, 2014; Acker, 1999, 2010, 2012; Lester et al., 2017; Pratt & Rafaeli, 2001; Chimba & Kitzinger, 2010; Husu & Tainio, 2014; van Wijk & Finchilescu, 2008; Kantola, 2008; Conrad et al., 2010; Rudman & Phelan, 2008; Evans, 2011; Kanter, 1977; White et al., 2011; Morley, 2013; Hodel, 2017) Fotaki, 2012 Haynes & Fearfull, 2008
Social isolation/ exclusion/ Burnout/ Anxiety	References to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Behaviours at meetings <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Hostility, Exposure, dread</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Voicing discontent, Gossip</li> <li>• Social outings –lunch</li> <li>• Isolation from union and staff</li> </ul>	Behaviours at meetings, lunch, dept meetings,  Power display	Steinpreis, Anders and Ritzke 1999 Moss, 2016, Jostl et al 2012 Imes & Clance 1984, Diehl & Dzubinski 2016, Taylor 2009, Maranto & Griffin 2011, Kantola 2008 Husu 2002 Steele, 1997, McLeod, 2008, Lester et al 2017
performance	References to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Visibility- becoming a role models, mentors, networks</li> <li>• Recognition of achievements –Merit- how is it defined</li> <li>• Accountability for actions- exposure</li> </ul>	Highly visible roles	Coens & Jenkins 2002, Martell, 2012, Eagly & Karau 2002 Vallian 1998

Backlash	<p>References to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• verbal attacks</li> <li>• accepted misbehaviours</li> <li>• strategies to avoid backlash</li> <li>•</li> <li>• grievance filing</li> <li>• gossip- communicating discontent with one's employer either to colleagues or beyond the boundary of the workplace</li> <li>• Withdrawal of goodwill- disruption to practice containment</li> <li>• Challenging authority of manager</li> <li>• Aggressive behaviour</li> <li>• Dissatisfaction with career</li> </ul>	<p>Verbal attacks on women</p> <p>opting out, redefining themselves, surrender their identities, silence their complaints, put up shut up or leave, Individual distancing, Creating separate world, creating allies, whistleblowing, industrial action</p> <p>-can influence a women's ability to achieve gender parity in performance settings; women must enact agency to offset negative stereotypes regarding their leadership ability; forces women to choose between their gender identity and their career &amp; the fallout from backlash effects likely increases women's dissatisfaction with their careers, leading to high turnover rates for female managers that are costly to organizations</p>	<p>Heilman &amp; Okimoto 2007 cited in Eagly 2011.</p> <p>Katalia &amp; Merilainen 2002 p338 cited in Chesterman, et al 2005. Ely &amp; Thomas, 2001 Ely, 1995; Gutek, 1985; Miner &amp; Cortina, 2016 2013 Howe-Walshe &amp; Turner 2016, Howe &amp; Tauchet 2002 Cortina &amp; Magley, 2009,</p> <p>Rudman 2008</p>
Organisation practices & Culture	<p>References to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• culture of Institutions-how things are done</li> <li>• Marketization, Corporatisation</li> <li>• measures –KPIs &amp; excellence</li> <li>• peer performance measurement and evaluation</li> <li>• criteria for success or failure in academia- e.g. research funding</li> <li>• How meetings are convened</li> <li>• how information is communicated</li> <li>• transparency in allocating resources, workloads</li> <li>• job security – types of contracts</li> <li>• Barriers</li> </ul>	<p>New managerialism and audit culture- rankings, performance Confusion, collusion, cynicism and contrariness. Active /avoiding implementing Myth of excellence rationalisation Female faculty members rate themselves lower than males</p>	<p>chesterman et al 2005 Bagilhole 2002,</p> <p>O Connor 1996; O Connor &amp; Hagan 2015; O Connor 2014 Chesterman, Ross-Smith &amp; Peters 2005 Steinpreis, Anders and Ritzke 1999, Goode et al, 2005 Gelfand, 2007 Winchester et al, 2006 Grummell 2009 Jones et al 2013 Diehl &amp; Dzubinski 2016</p>
Workplace discrimination	<p>References to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Jobs- sex typing, distribution, pay equity</li> <li>• Hiring and promotion practices</li> <li>•</li> <li>• Victimisation</li> <li>• References to gender</li> <li>• Harassment</li> <li>• Dissatisfaction with career</li> </ul>	<p>Discrimination as being a thing of the past</p> <p>Homosociability- Promotion bias, Anchoring, Gatekeepers, Conformatory bias, Tokenism on panels, Stress from HR practices</p>	<p>Benokraitis &amp; Feagin, 1995, p. 39; Husu, 2001; Horvath &amp; Sczensy 2001, Heilman, 2012, Hodel et al 2017 Grummel et al 2009 Ozkanli et al 2009 Swanson &amp; woike 1997 Deem, Morley, and Tlili, 2005; Deem, 2013). Kantola, 2008</p>

			Anderson & Williams 2001; Howie and Tauchert, 2002; cited in Chesterman et al., 2009 Diekmann
Academic identity	References to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• lack of sustainability of core academic values when in management role</li> <li>• trade off</li> <li>• Satisfaction in present role</li> </ul>	Reluctance to making comprises to becoming a manager Reluctance to embrace leadership roles within the very place that has set the discrimination career limitations- using another job laterally to fulfil their needs	(Katila & Merilainen 2002 p338 ;Knights 2002 ;Gray B 1994 ) cited in Chesterman et al 2005
Reticence to go for the job	References to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• reluctance to go for job-undoable jobs</li> <li>• need for endorsement</li> <li>• Playing the game</li> <li>• Compete willingly</li> <li>• exposure</li> <li>• Rules of participation for senior mgt. posts</li> </ul>	Management time demands & expectations; zero load workers being available 24/7  Working hour's expectation gender based? Masculine work habits? Gender binary ( motherhood v male orientated success cultures)	Chesterman, Ross-Smith & Peters 2005 Acker & Dillabough 2007 cited in Grummel et al 2009
Success and choice	References to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• free or forced choice</li> <li>• task or career orientated</li> </ul>	Adaptive preference limiting their opportunities to immediate intrinsic rewards of the task rather than career orientated Agency	Cornelius & Skinner 2008 Chesterman, Ross-Smith & Peters 2005 Leberman &Hurst, 2017 Gray, 1994, Bowles 2012, Cornelius & Skinner 2008, O Connor 2001, Cockburn 191 Lewis & Simpson 2010 Sellers 2009, Sandler Silverberg & Hall 1999
Multiple role conflict	References to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• family friendly work practices</li> <li>• Perspective of inter-relationship between gender, family and work</li> </ul>	Entry after maternity leave Male Manager home life makeup	Chesterman, et al 2005
The economy	References to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• government policies-</li> <li>• Job market constraints</li> <li>• Difficulty planning due to changing economy</li> <li>• Demography</li> </ul>	Funding, accountability, ECF controls, insecure public funding	Ylijoki 2010 HEA website, Office Attorney General O'Byrne 2015

Vicarious learning/ experience of others	References to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Experiences of others in management</li> <li>Outsiders becoming insiders</li> </ul>		Miner & Cortina, 2016



## Appendix C Interview Questions

<u>Interview questions</u>	<u>date:</u>	<u>Grade</u>	<u>Institute</u>
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### **Career Pathway**

1. Can you tell me about your career? How did you get here?
2. What grade (AI /L?) Were you happy with the point you started off on?
3. Can you tell me about your future career plan? Where do you plan on heading from here?
4. Can you tell me about your experience of pursuing promotion? Have you ever gone for promotion? How did you feel after? Did you go again why not go for it?
5. Qualities - Do you consider yourself a leader? Do you think you are confident in your abilities? Would you say you are emotionally suited to be a (senior) manager? Do you consider yourself competitive? Would you consider yourself a high achiever?

### **Organisational Culture and management perception**

1. Can you tell me about your organisation? How would you describe the culture?
2. If it was an animal what one would it be? Why?
3. Can you tell me who does what in running the organisation; how are budgets/resources / tasks allocated? Is it the same people all the time - who are those people? Why, in your experience, does this happen?
4. Can you describe key relationships- good or bad- you have, or have had with colleagues? Why was the relationship this way? Is there a style difference between genders? How do you get on with your line manager?
5. How do the staff and management socialise in your institution?
6. In your experience, can you think of any times you have felt isolated or ignored in the workplace or meeting because of your gender?
7. Would you seek other females before males if you were in a meeting? (Internal or external). Have you ever felt uncomfortable? How are meetings convened?
8. In your experience, do you think it is important to have a balanced mix of female /male in a management team? Does having a woman in senior management make a difference or not- why or why not? Is it important to be visible?

### **Promotion, abilities and evaluation**

1. In your experience what factors inhibit women from promotion? What do you think is the problem with gender inequality in academic management? What factors facilitate women in promotion?
2. Do you think these differ for men and women in academia?
3. Do you think your work performance is fairly evaluated  
Are you assigned to high visibility positions? In your experience do you have to work extra hard to be recognised compared to your male peers? Are you given support to balance multiple roles? Do your counterparts have the multiple roles?
4. Do you think you are you respected by male colleagues or bosses? Or tolerated?
5. Are there many opportunities for you to go for promotion within your Institute? What other opportunities do you think should be available to academics?
6. What do you think of the use of mentors/role models perhaps- do you think they differ for men and women?
7. Do you think there is a difference between IOT Sector and the university sector in barriers to female promotion?

#### **Policies and Practices**

1. Can you tell me about the current academic promotional guidelines/ pathways in your own Institute?  
In your view, what is good or bad about them?  
What about the actual posts themselves? Good or bad about them?  
What is the worst management post in your opinion and why?  
What is the best management post and why?
2. In your opinion, what should promotion be based on?  
Have you ever heard of promotion processes in other Colleges or countries that in your experience would be a better basis for promotion? What is the traditional way of measuring merit in your institute?
3. Were you given training on how to select for interviews/ guided how to interview/promote equal opportunities/ deal with diversity/ how to be a manager?
4. What is your view on the use of quotas and legislation in academia to balance gender and increase women in leadership roles and promotion?
5. Have you yourself, informally/formally ever tried to put strategies in place to improve gender imbalance
6. Can you identify in one word what you see as a key barrier to women's promotion and in one word the key improvement that could be made?

7. What do think of the article in NUIG?
8. After all these questions I will ask you again- do you think that the beliefs, attitudes and values are reflected in your organisation's structures and procedures when it comes to gender equality? In other words do you believe that there is gender quality in this organisation?
9. Would you consider moving to advance your career?

#### **Additional Questions for Managers**

1. What characteristics do you think a manager should have?
2. What kinds of diversity exists in your workplace?
3. What issues, in your experience, arise from these areas of difference?
4. As a manager, how do you manage the difference or diversity in the workplace?
5. How does the institute ensure that there is a gender balance within disciplines or schools in lecturing posts/ management posts?
6. Do you know the current academic female to male ratio?
7. Is there an equal opportunities policy? Do you know if it's implemented?
8. How is the current Institute policy on academic promotion designed? What process do you go through to improve it?
9. How are the panels/criteria/interview questions selected? Are they different approaches for different promotion posts?
10. What pathways or opportunities currently exist for academics to apply for promotion?
11. Is there anything that you would like to add - anything we haven't covered?
12. Finally - a blue skies question - if you could change anything about how we do this (selection, career progression etc.) - in a perfect world - what would it be? Why?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME

## Appendix D Sample of an Observations

### **Space Physical Settings**

Interview takes place in an upstairs lab far from the main campus and prying eyes. It is secure, very private and peaceful. The room looks out onto a large green area with some sports fields in the distance and a carpark just below. No one can see into the lab from the corridor or the outside. The corridor that the lab is in is very quiet, peaceful, brightly coloured and covered in sunlight, very welcoming. There is no receptionist at the front door of building, however the café is normally opened and visitors would normally enter there first. There are two sets on stairs one at either end, if XXX does not want to be seen by those in the café she can use the stairs at the furthest end to use the building's facilities without been seen. Privacy is very important to her.

### **Actors- People in the situation**

The interviewer and interviewee XXXX

### **Activities- sets of related acts that take place**

There are no activities as the interview takes place during the summer months and campus is quiet with very few students. It is an informal setting, where both actors sit at a table, and the interview takes 2 hours. Initially both actors get a cup of coffee and take it up to the lab.

### **Objects- Artefacts and physical things that are there**

The lab is full of electronic instruments, there are several PC's and work benches filled with electronic instruments around the walls and one in the middle. There are whiteboards, notice boards overhead projector, cabinets on the walls for storage space one plant on a desk and some water bottle containers. There are

several working stations enough for 4-5 people to work at. The equipment looks very expensive but it doesn't look very well organised. XXX comments on how untidy it is kept obviously annoyed at her postgraduates students. The front desk is very tidy and holds a PC and several books.



### **Events- Sets of activities that are taking place**

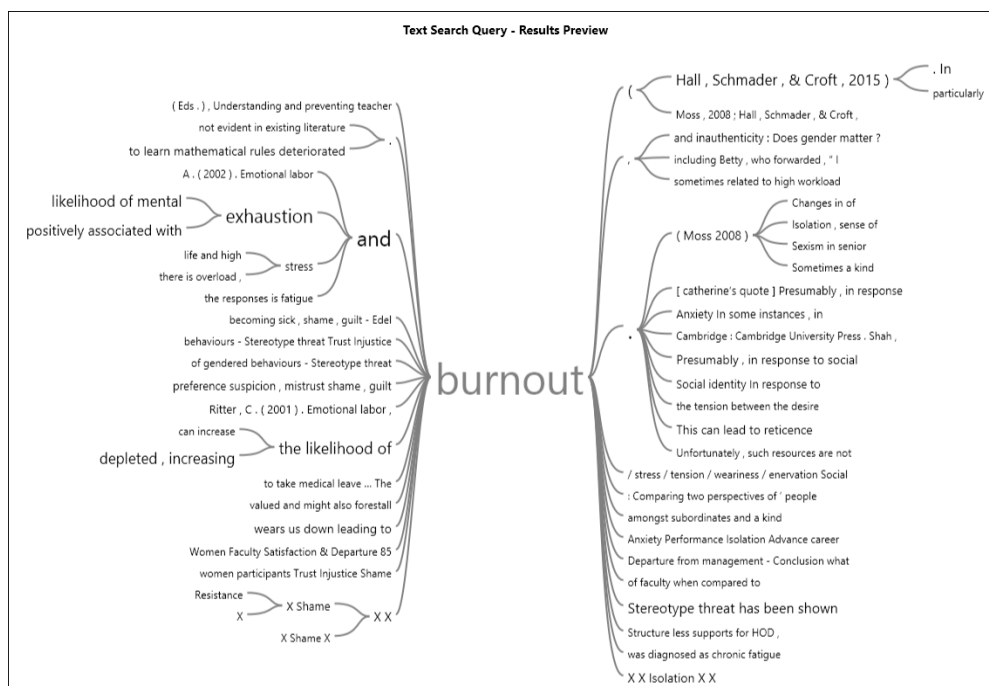
The cafe is a busy area and very popular with staff and visitors. It is opened from 8.30am to 4.30pm most days.

### **Time- the sequence of acts, activities and events**

The interview took place during the summer months at the end of a difficult year for XXXX. This is the place that XXXX hides and finds solace. She has since taken a year out due to the pressures from her current role and bias from her male line manager.

## Appendix E Nvivo Printouts

Phase 7 Defining and renaming		
Name		
1. Organisational Level		
3. Organisational Culture		
2. Structure		
access to resources		
structures		
4. HR Systems		
1. Leadership		
2. Group level		
discrimination		
harassment		
sexism		
backlash		
incivility		
gender stereotyping		
identity		
3. Individual Level		
anxiety and fear		
burnout		
devaluation		
isolation		
Shame		
4. Impacts on female academic careers		
Outputs		
Abandon		
Institute		
Post		
process		
Adapt and stay		
advance		



## Appendix F DCU Plain Language Statement and Consent form



### DUBLIN CITY UNIVERSITY Plain Language Statement

- I. Introduction to the Research Study
- II. Details of what involvement in the Research Study will require
- III. Potential risks to participants from involvement in the Research Study (if greater than that encountered in everyday life)
- IV. Benefits (direct or indirect) to participants from involvement in the Research Study
- V. Advice as to arrangements to be made to protect confidentiality of data, including that confidentiality of information provided is subject to legal limitations
- VI. Advice as to whether or not data is to be destroyed after a minimum period  
*You may withdraw from the Research Study at any point.*
- VIII. Any other relevant information  
*The identities of other participants in the meeting will, if requested, remain confidential as will any of their contributions.*

**A Plain Language Statement should end with the following statement:**

**If participants have concerns about this study and wish to contact an independent person, please contact:**

The Secretary, Dublin City University Research Ethics Committee, c/o Office of the Vice-President for Research, Dublin City University, Dublin 9. Tel 01-7008000



## DUBLIN CITY UNIVERSITY Informed Consent Form

**I. The Development of an evidence-based framework to address gender equality in academic progression in an Irish Higher Educational Institution.**

*Fiona Malone who is studying for a Professional Doctorate in Education in the School of Education Studies, Dublin City University, has asked me to participate in this field study.*

**II. Clarification of the purpose of the research**

*I understand that the aim of this field study is an exploration of women in the context of promotional activities in an academic workplace and Fiona will use the information to combine theory and evidence in order to promote awareness gender equality in academic promotion.*

**II. Confirmation of particular requirements as highlighted in the Plain Language Statement**

*I have agreed the time, duration, place and conditions of the interview. I give permission to Fiona to examine my experiences relating to academic promotion.*

<i>I have read the Plain Language Statement (or had it read to me)</i>	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
<i>I understand the information provided</i>	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
<i>I have had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss this study</i>	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
<i>I have received satisfactory answers to all my questions</i>	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> NA <input type="checkbox"/>
<i>I am aware that my interview may be audiotaped</i>	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>

**IV. Confirmation that involvement in the Research Study is voluntary**

*I may withdraw from the Research Study at any point.*

**V. Advice as to arrangements to be made to protect confidentiality of data, including that confidentiality of information provided is subject to legal limitations**

*I accept Fiona's undertaking to respect the confidentiality of information she receives. This will only be used as an academic assignment constituting part of a DCU course. I understand she will report to her supervisor and examiners about the study, however, confidential information, that she is asked not to release will not be part of the discussions. I also understand that if the findings are to be published, the data will be summarised and themed and privacy and identity will be preserved at all times.*

**VI. Signature:**

*I have read and understood the information in this form. My questions and concerns have been answered by the researcher, and I have a copy of this consent form. Therefore, I consent to take part in this research project.*

**Participants Signature:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Name in Block Capitals:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Witness:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Date:** \_\_\_\_\_