# *The Status of Female Academics in Ireland: Understanding the Dynamics of Academy Gender Discrimination in Relation to the Status of Women in Irish Society*

Dr. Karen Devine
School of Law and Government, Dublin City University

*There was a woman at Alexandria named Hypatia, daughter of the philosopher Theon, who made such attainments in literature and science, as to far surpass all the philosophers of her own time ... Yet even she fell a victim to the political jealousy which at that time prevailed*
*(Socrates Scholasticus, AD 450)*

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Gemma McNulty; Michelle O'Donnell Keatinge; Karen Devine
School of Law and Government

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*Executive Summary*
Discrimination against female academics in universities is understood as a reflection of (and enabled by) discriminatory dynamics against women in the wider context of Irish society.

- The phenomenon of low-status female academics is argued to be embedded in a set of centuries-old social, political, economic and moral norms that effectively determine the low status of women in Ireland.

- Although women now represent 4 out of 10 academics in Ireland, from a low base of 1 out of 10 in the 1970s, **there has been virtually no systemic change in the status of women in academia in the last thirty years**.

- **Women are still overwhelmingly ranked at the lowest position of lecturer**: 82% of women were "assistant/lecturer" in the 1970s and 1980s, compared with 72% of women in "lecturer" rank in 2013.

- There has been **no change in the proportion of men who are senior academics** (40%) since the 1980s. The lack of women at the highest levels has helped maintain the dominance of male hegemony in the academic hierarchy.

- **The promotion of non-establishment individuals is required** to change the status of female academics in Irish universities by undermining the prevalent power structures and challenging gendering and discriminatory acts.

**The patriarchal knowledge-paradigm is centuries old:**
- Aristotle claimed that women were in an unnatural state of irrationality and therefore had to be controlled by rational man
- According to Rousseau, the purpose of female education was to support men
- The current adversarial methodology of critique as a means for knowledge production, **neither encourages feminist challenges to establishment power, nor facilitates their publication**. (Cullen, 1987: 143-149)

*Gendered Education Opportunities: The Influence of Church and State in Ireland*
- After the establishment of the Royal University in 1878 and 1879, the movement for women's higher education sought the integration of women into male university colleges. (Breathnach, 1987: 76)

- There was a significant incompatibility and tension between the perceived role of women and the accepted need for women's higher education (Breathnach, 1987: 5), i.e. **Pope Pius XI argued the function of women is to found a home and rear children**. (O'Flynn, 1987: 91)

- Article 41.2 of the 1937 Constitution specifically refers to the role of women in the domestic, private sphere. It designates a sphere and role of "life within the home" solely to women and commits the state to ensure women do not engage in labour to the "neglect of their duties in the home".

- Paid employment allows women to engage in greater participation in the public sphere and to emerge as public actors (Sassen, 2002: 259-260). The route to paid employment for many women starts with formal education.

*Gendered School Subject Choices*
- In 1981, 2 in 3 girls went on to do the Leaving Certificate, compared with 1 in 2 boys. **Subject preferences were highly gendered**: the 'science' subjects of physics, chemistry, maths (applied and higher levels) were taken up disproportionately by boys (3:1), whilst home economics, art, music and modern languages were taken up disproportionately by girls. (Hannan and Breen, 1987: 104-105, 110)

- **The areas of activity and experience deemed inappropriate to girls and women - forbidden and beyond their capacity - tended to be the areas most prized and highly rewarded in terms of economic and social power** (Cullen, 1987: 137-138).

- These subject choices reflected different career expectations – almost 2 in 3 girls aspired to female-dominated jobs - which in turn (re-)produced the gender-segregated labour market (Hannan and Breen, 1987: 111).

Given these factors, third level education was not taken up by many females and those **women graduates who did work were forced to give up their public sphere jobs on marriage** (Breathnach, 1987: 77) through the so-called "Marriage Bar".

*Despite Women's Educational Achievement there is a University Glass Ceiling*

- **Women tend to outperform men in secondary school and third level education in Ireland.**

- H**igher proportions of girls achieved A or B grades than boys across all subjects**, with the exception of engineering. (CSO, 2011: 41)

- A higher proportion of women have a third level education in Ireland than men (CSO, 2011: 44)

- Within the EU, at the top of the academic hierarchy, just 20 % of grade A academic staff are women, showing the existence of "a Glass Ceiling composed of difficultly identifiable obstacles that hold women back". (European Commission, 2013: 86-87)

- European Commission Glass Ceiling Index 2004/2007 figures show **Ireland has the second highest glass ceiling index** (3.8) **in the EU for women in higher education** (European Commission, 2009: 78).

- European Commission data (2007) shows just 10% of Grade A staff in Irish universities are female, compared with an EU-27 average of 19%. (2013: 75)

- "Proactive policies need to be implemented in order to balance out the unequal situation that continues to prevail in the academic sector." (European Commission, 2013: 69)

*Conclusions*

Gendered packages of roles from several decades ago are deeply institutionalised in Ireland: **the labour market is highly gender differentiated with clerical, nursing, teaching and other semi-professional jobs (and conventionalised relationships between marriage, family, community and labour market) determining the roles for women**. (Hannan and Breen, 1987: 112)

Given the dominant characterisations of women in society as **cleaners, carers, and administrators**, and the spillover of this characterisation into the personal sphere and workplace, male academics in senior positions are more likely to allocate female academics the administrative, pastoral, secretarial, and non-research tasks that correlate with their perception of the roles and associated capabilities of women more generally. And indeed, **women are socialised by the structure to accept these burdens**, leading to their perceived and actual lower status in comparative terms.

*The structure of academic hierarchy whereby 10% of Grade A staff in Irish universities are female is mirrored in structures of politics and governance, business, media and sport in Ireland.*

*Politics and Governance*
- With a figure of 15.1% of parliamentary seats occupied by women, Ireland **ranks 89th out of 139 states measured in 2013**, just behind Albania, Burkina Faso and Korea, and just ahead of Zimbabwe, Chad and Mongolia. (InterParliamentary Union, 2014).

- For the proportion of women in senior roles within the state civil services in the EU, across two levels measured, **Ireland ranks in 22nd place of 28 EU member states**, with women occupying just 13% of level one positions compared to an EU average of 29%. (European Commission, October 2013: 31)

- According to Muiris O'Connor (2007:11) there is a **classic staircase of gender inequality in the Irish civil service which mirrors the staircase of inequality in Irish universities**: "Women account for 80 per cent of staff members at the clerical officer and staff officer levels and almost two-thirds at the executive officer grade. Although they account for more than half of all administrative officer posts they comprise fewer than half the higher executive officers, one-third of assistant principal officers, one-fifth of principal officers, one-tenth of assistant secretaries-general, and an even smaller share of secretary-general posts."

*Business*
- For women in senior management roles in businesses globally, **Ireland ranks in the bottom 10 states** (Grant Thornton, 2013: 4).

- For Board membership at the EU level, **Ireland ranks 22nd out of the 28 EU member-states**, with an average of just 11.1% of female board representation (European Commission, March 2014) on boards of directors in the largest publicly-listed companies in the EU

- Taking chairs of boards together with CEO positions, **an average of 4.4% of companies in the EU have women in those roles; Ireland has 0%**. (European Commission, October 2013: 11)

*Media*

- **Across all radio schedules in Ireland, 80-90 per cent of presenters were male**, and when women did appear, they tended to broadcast outside of prime time hours. In addition, **female presenters were far less likely to express opinions** or present personality-led programmes. (Mullally, 2014)

- There is, on average, **a ratio of between 1:4 and 1:5 female-to-male voices in RTE current affairs programmes,** with a 1:7 ratio for the Late Debate (Keaveney, 2013).

*Sport*
- In the UK, the *Women's Sports and Fitness Federation (WSFF)* audit found **women's sport accounted for just 7% of total sports coverage in the media** (TV, radio, newspapers and online) during October 2013 (2014: 2)

- The World Sponsorship Monitor (TWSM) shows women's sport accounted for only 2% of the number of commercial sponsorship deals, and just 0.2% of the total value of reported deals in 2013. (WSFF, 2014: 9)

- In Ireland, it is stated that out of a total sport allocation of €126m, €987,000 euro was allocated to women in sport last year (Keaveney, 15 October 2015)

- 6 out of 10 sports fans want to see more live coverage of women's sport on TV and two thirds believe that sponsors should be more involved with women's sport.

- "Girls who play team sports are more likely to graduate from college, find a job, and be employed in male-dominated industries – even earn a bigger salary as an adult" (Kay and Shipman, May 2014)

These macro-level structures feed into and sustain practices at the micro-level of human experiences; women disproportionately experience sexual and domestic violence; sexual harassment; stress; and sexual objectification broadly at society.

Specifically as part of academic culture and broadly within the workplace women disproportionately experience formal and informal discrimination practices in relation to unequal pay; pregnancy and childcare; gendered leadership attributes all of which reduce the likelihood of promotion for women in academia.

**<u>Introduction</u>**

This document gives an account of the status of female academics in Irish academic institutions with a particular focus on Dublin City University (DCU). Data drawn from the Higher Education Authority (HEA) and academic research over a number of decades shows that female academics in Ireland have been denied the developmental opportunities and promotional gains that male academics traditionally enjoy. The factors underpinning this lack of promotion and the unfavourable conditions under which female academics work are systemic. The pattern of discrimination evinced by the data is seen at the level of individual universities, at the national level and at the international level. Discrimination against female academics in DCU is understood as a reflection of (and enabled by) discriminatory dynamics against women in the wider context of Irish society. Project Hypatia proposes a number of initiatives to break down the barriers to promotion for female academics in DCU and improve developmental and working conditions overall. Success will be measured in increased numbers of promotions for female academics in DCU, changing mind-sets and attitudes towards women in academia for the better in the short to medium-term, and securing improved working conditions for all in the long term.

Firstly, the background and context of the lack of promotion of female academics in DCU and in Ireland is outlined - the phenomenon of low-status female academics is argued to be embedded in a set of centuries-old social, political, economic and moral norms that effectively determine the low status of women in Ireland. Secondly, data on women in education in Ireland and in DCU is presented. This data shows that **there has been virtually no systemic change in the status of women in academia in the last thirty years**. For example, despite the fact that women now represent 4 out of 10 academics in Ireland, from a low base of 1 out of 10 in the 1970s, there has been no change in the proportion of men who are senior academics (40%) since the 1980s, and **women are still overwhelmingly ranked at the lowest position of lecturer** (82% of women were "assistant/lecturer" in the 1970s and 1980s, compared with 72% of women in "lecturer" rank in 2013). Finally, data on sexual and domestic violence; sexual harassment; unequal pay; pregnancy; childcare; stress; academic culture; sexual objectification, [in]formal discrimination practices; and gendered leadership attributes, is presented, all of which reduce the likelihood of promotion for women.

**<u>Women in Education in the 19th and 20th Centuries</u>**

*Pre-Independence Era: Our Lady, the virgin mother/Eve; Victorian devotion to men*
In the 1850s, Irishwomen's nature and roles were modelled on two signifiers: Our Lady, the virgin mother/Eve and the Victorian ideal of service and devotion to men. (Breathnach, 1987: 56) Women's roles were limited to entering a convent, or marriage/child-bearing, and determined by class and rank in society. "Respectability" was of central concern, whereby lower class women would work outside the home due to economic necessity, but middle class women did not (Breathnach, 1987: 56; O'Connor, 1987: 52). These roles were consciously passed on from one generation to the next in a system where women were simultaneously the victims and perpetrators. Because of economic destitution of many middle class women - due to the death or profligacy of their husbands or fathers - there was a movement seeking middle-class female education in England and Ireland. Here, and in Western Europe, the impetus

for reform came from liberal Protestants in urban circles: as a result, Catholic states gained the least in a comparative context and Ireland was one such case. The main achievement was the inclusion of girls in the Intermediate Act of 1878, which allowed public examinations for second-level students. (Breathnach, 1987: 57, 67)

The period 1880-1910, after a shift to an industrialised society and a corresponding change in values supported by the legacy of discourses on emancipation, saw the emergence of a Catholic middle class in Ireland eager to achieve its share of economic and political power. However, this small sector of Irish society was concerned with advancing education for males only. (O'Connor, 1987: 31, 67) **The Catholic view of women's roles did not shift from marriage and childbearing, subordination to a husband, and the vilification of female sexuality**, and continued the rigid division of labour confining women to the domestic sphere. (Breathnach, 1987: 67)

The public competitive examination system of 1880-1910 was seen as a passport to status, privilege and power. Different schools were envisaged for difference classes of people in society. Middle class girls were a part of this transfer of power. Convent national schools and pension schools (as opposed to 'pay' schools) were important developments for the education of Catholic girls in Ireland. Schools were induced to teach higher points subjects like Latin and Mathematics rather than lower points subjects of German, French or Celtic, because the total marks gained could reward schools with fees, and students with money prizes. Competition started between Catholic and Protestant schools to get on the Intermediate Examination Prize Lists (published in newspapers), which led to links being forged between girls' higher and Intermediate education. The provision of secondary education for girls around 1880 was a revolutionary concept and by the beginning of the twentieth century, higher education of girls became an accepted idea. (O'Connor, 1987: 54)

*20th Century Unmarried Women: Cheap Clerical Labour*
As the goal of a permanent pensionable job became a more acceptable role for an Irish Catholic woman, it gradually replaced the goal of The Convent for the daughters of Irish parents. (O'Connor, 1987: 50) This shift in attitudes was underpinned by the needs of large numbers of unmarried women in Ireland (48.26% of women in the 1911 census) for an income from a permanent job. (O'Connor, 1987: 31, 53) Career opportunities for females in Ireland expanded due to **employers' demands for cheap clerical labour**. In particular, office work opportunities opened up for women: Commercial Clerk numbers moved from 907 women in 1891, to 7849 (including female typists) in 1911. Nonetheless, the expansion of work roles for women in the private sphere was limited. The Irish Central Bureau for the Employment of Women lists a narrow range of jobs available for women: **lady servants, lady dairy workers, lady gardeners, lady helps and lady laundresses**. The opening up of the post office examinations to girls on a competitive basis, pioneered women's employment in England and Ireland in the two decades prior to the turn of the century. The Civil Service examinations also widened the job opportunities for girls, with those in urban areas best placed to take advantage. (O'Connor, 1987: 53)

After the establishment of the Royal University in 1878 and 1879, the movement for women's higher education sought the integration of women into male university colleges because this was the only way, in a patriarchal society, to guarantee the rating of women's higher education as equal. (Breathnach, 1987: 76) However, as

the number of religious became involved, the educational system became increasingly integrated with the church's teaching, which **continued the emphasis on the docility of women, and offered a very limited capacity and opportunity to question** (O'Flynn, 1987: 80-81). Religious principals used their access to the Department of Education to include domestic science papers in state exams and to introduce lower maths papers for girls (O'Flynn, 1987: 92). **The function of women is to found a home and rear children, the encyclical of Pope Pius XI argued; as the disposition, inclination and physical organism of men and women were different**, these differences were to be maintained through single sex schools to reinforce role differences. (O'Flynn, 1987: 91) In this respect, there was a significant incompatibility and tension between the perceived role of women and the accepted need for women's higher education. (Breathnach, 1987: 5)

*Post-Independence Era: Changing Functions and Perceptions of Women?*
In setting up the state, the national struggle privileged Irish nationalist ideals with their strong vein of social conservatism nurtured in Catholic rural Ireland (Breathnach, 1987: 78). **The participation of women in the war for independence was erased** through post-independence religious and political directives that sought to re-establish women's mid-nineteenth century status and a return to 'innocence'. (O'Flynn, 1987: 82) Article 41.2 of the 1937 Constitution specifically refers to the role of women in the domestic, private sphere. It designates a sphere and role of "life within the home" solely to women and commits the state to ensure women do not engage in labour to the "neglect of their duties in the home".

*Gendered School Curriculum: Gendered Subject Choices*
In 1961 just 1 in 7 went on to do the Leaving Certificate in Irish Schools. At this time, 1 in 3 young people inherited family-owned business or obtained work through contacts and family networks. Formal qualifications were unnecessary to obtain work in the labour market. In 1967 free second-level education was introduced, leading to near-doubling of numbers continuing into secondary school in the following ten-year period. Thereafter, white-collar, non-manual clerical work increased significantly. By the mid-1980s, 2 in 3 children in Ireland did the Leaving Certificate. Although more girls than boys completed the Leaving Certificate**, the curriculum was designed to prepare girls for traditional female areas of employment (clerical) and for the roles of wife/mother**. (Hannan and Breen, 1987: 100-102)

In 1981, 2 in 3 girls went on to do the Leaving Certificate, compared with 1 in 2 boys. **Subject preferences were highly gendered**: the 'science' subjects of physics, chemistry, maths (applied and higher levels) were taken up disproportionately by boys (3:1), whilst home economics, art, music and modern languages were taken up disproportionately by girls. (Hannan and Breen, 1987: 104-105, 110) **The areas of activity and experience deemed inappropriate to girls and women - forbidden and beyond their capacity - tended to be the areas most prized and highly rewarded in terms of economic and social power** (Cullen, 1987: 137-138). These subject choices reflected different career expectations – almost 2 in 3 girls aspired to female-dominated jobs - which in turn (re-)produced the gender-segregated labour market (Hannan and Breen, 1987: 111).

The gendered values and roles attached to girls translated into subject choices at secondary school level in Ireland, creating the norms of 'girls' subjects' and 'boys'

subjects'. Looking at Leaving Certificate subject choices by girls and boys in the 1980s and 2013 (Table 1), **many gendered subjects have not changed**, for example, Biology and Home Economics continue to be mainly girls' subjects, and Physics continues to be a boys' subject. Over the past thirty years, Mathematics has changed from a boys' subject to a gender-equal choice, i.e. from 3:1 boy-girl ratio to evens, whilst Chemistry has shifted from being more of a boy's preference in the 1980 to slightly more girls taking it up today. The Physics odds ratio has halved, from 6:1 in boys' favour in the 1980s to a 3:1 boy-girl ratio today.

**Table 1: Selected Leaving Certificate Subjects x Gender 1980 and 2013**

| Subject (higher level) | Boys | Girls | 1980 RATIO | Boys | Girls | 2013 RATIO |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Biology | 6,410 | 12,899 | 0.5:1 | 9,251 | 14,182 | 0.6:1 |
| Chemistry | 4,524 | 2,460 | 1.8:1 | 3,099 | 3,658 | 0.8:1 |
| Mathematics | 2,461 | 847 | 2.9:1 | 6,945 | 6,069 | 1.1:1 |
| Physics | 4,408 | 694 | 6.4:1 | 3,589 | 1,243 | 2.8:1 |
| Home Economics | 22 | 4,538 | 0.005:1 | 721 | 8,179 | 0.08:1 |

Beliefs about female education shared by pupils and their parents impacted negatively on girls' educational self-images: **they internalised poorer images of their own performance abilities and this affected their attitudes towards 'difficult' technical subjects**. (Hannan and Breen, 1987: 113) These images also permeate female third level students' perceptions of their academic talents, i.e. female students are less likely to speak up to ask questions and debate; they are also less sure of their ability to achieve a first class honours degree or to come first in their class. Additional sources of influence on girls' attitudes and expectations included sexist textbooks and gender-biased counselling and testing techniques. (Slowey, 1987: 117) **The stereotypes of what it is to be a woman, specifically in roles as wife and full-time homemaker / mother at home considered to be women's best contribution to society, determined areas of knowledge available to women and seen as suitable for girls** (Cullen, 1987: 136). Teachers' support was instrumental in girls pursuing unconventional subject and career choice (Hannan and Breen, 1987: 113) given the pervasiveness of patriarchal culture in Ireland.

*Female Stereotype: wife, mother, full-time homemaker and "The Marriage Bar"*
Given these factors, third level education was not taken up by many females and those **women graduates who did work were forced to give up their public sphere jobs on marriage** (Breathnach, 1987: 77) through the so-called "Marriage Bar" (with the exception of primary school teachers for whom the Bar was lifted in 1957, due to a temporary shortage of teachers in the labour market). These mores and gendered packages of roles from several decades ago are deeply institutionalised in Ireland: **the labour market is highly gender differentiated with clerical, nursing, teaching and other semi-professional jobs (and conventionalised relationships between marriage, family, community and labour market) determining the roles for women**. (Hannan and Breen, 1987: 112) Whilst the values, attitudes and role behaviours of both men and women are slowly starting to change, the legacy of the previous centuries' gender discrimination continue to shape our society today, and can

be clearly seen in the structure of Irish academia that continues to prohibit the inclusion, development and promotion of women today.

## Using 'The Binary' and 'Agency-Structure' to explain Contemporary Irish Women's Status: Governance, Politics, Business, Employment, Media, Sport

The historical development of patriarchal values in the Irish education system and workplace are vital for fully understanding the factors prohibiting women's promotion at third level in Ireland and in DCU. In this section, two conceptual, heuristic devices are introduced to help further our understanding of the contemporary status of women in Ireland and female academics in particular. The first device is The Binary, a device used in political and social research to analyse and deconstruct discourses that support particular phenomenon and practices under investigation. The second is Agency-Structure, widely used in Social and Critical Theory to understand divisions between and the status of particular sub-groups in society. For the purposes of this report, the content of these heuristic devices is based on a number of empirical comparative indicators of women's positions in Governance, Politics, Business, and Media.

*Explaining The Binary*
Whilst acknowledging the socially constructed nature of gender (including the fact of gender indeterminacy for a minority), and a required strategic resistance to essentialism (Spivak, 1989; Nicholson, 1997: 319), it is important to proceed from an awareness of one's own power and to therefore consider 'Women' in comparison to, and in a binary relationship with 'Men'. This conceptual binary is used for purposes of social and political analysis, and specifically to understand the low status of female academics in Ireland and DCU. The binary provides a heuristic basis to understand the patterns in data evincing the low status of female academics in DCU, and to direct political and normative institutional action to remedy the problem.

We can consider this binary in terms of political, economic and social statistics at the global, national and local levels. An enormous body of research by academics and international agencies has shown that globally, women hold 6% of cabinet seats, and around 10% of parliamentary seats. Economically, women earn around 10% of the world's wages and own around 1% of the world's property. (see Moone, 2011: 9; United Nations, 2005) Although there is some progress on a number of these figures since 2005, due to political activism and the introduction of a number of strategies including quotas (for example, in 2013 it is estimated that 20% of parliamentary seats are held by women, (InterParliamentary Union, 2013), these are stark empirical indicators of differences in access to power and resources amongst men and women.

*Politics and Governance*
At the global level, statistics show the poorer-than-average political status of Irish women in relative terms. Looking at the area of females in governance, for example, with a figure of 15.1% of parliamentary seats occupied by women, Ireland **ranks 89th out of 139 states measured in 2013**, just behind Albania, Burkina Faso and Korea, and just ahead of Zimbabwe, Chad and Mongolia. (InterParliamentary Union, 2014). Looking at data capturing the proportion of women in senior roles within the state civil services in the EU, across two levels measured, **Ireland ranks in 22nd place of 28 EU member states**, with women occupying just 13% of level one positions compared to an EU average of 29%. (European Commission, October 2013: 31)

According to Muiris O'Connor (2007:11), the visual representation of gender by grade in the civil service depicts what could be referred to as the classic staircase of gender inequality:

> Women account for 80 per cent of staff members at the clerical officer and staff officer levels and almost two-thirds at the executive officer grade. Although they account for more than half of all administrative officer posts they comprise fewer than half the higher executive officers, one-third of assistant principal officers, one-fifth of principal officers, one-tenth of assistant secretaries-general, and an even smaller share of secretary-general posts.

*Business*
The figures for women in powerful business positions in Ireland are equally poor. For women in senior management roles in businesses globally, **Ireland ranks in the bottom 10 states** (Grant Thornton, 2013: 4). At the EU level, women only account for an average of 17.8pc of the members of boards of directors in the largest publicly-listed companies in the EU and just 2.7% of the CEO positions. **Ireland ranks 22nd out of the 28 member-states**, with an average of just 11.1% of female board representation (European Commission, March 2014). Taking chairs of boards together with CEO positions, **an average of 4.4% of companies in the EU have women in those roles; Ireland has 0%**. (European Commission, October 2013: 11) Clearly women are under-represented in powerful sectors of Irish society in absolute and comparative terms. Employment is one opportunity structure that determines, in part, peoples' roles at the micro and meso levels of society, and in turn, access to resources to impact society at the macro level. This begs the question: where are women working, and what activities are they spending their time on?

*Employment - paid and unpaid*
**Full-time <u>unpaid</u> employment within a home - in carer, child-minding, cooking, cleaning, house-keeping, emotional support and social-partner roles - in this private sphere is the primary domain of women in Ireland**. The first systematic study of gender differences in unpaid work among all adults in Ireland confirms this. The *'Gender Inequalities in Time Use - The Distribution of Caring, Housework and Employment among Women and Men in Ireland'* report produced jointly by the ESRI and the Equality Authority in 2008, was based on data of time diaries from just over 1000 men and women, aged 18 to 97, from the *Irish National Time Use Survey 2005*, to gather information on paid and unpaid work. Specifically, men spend more time on paid work than unpaid work (housework and caring): on average men spend 4 hours 40 minutes on paid work per day and just under 2 hours on unpaid work per day. Women spend more time on unpaid work than paid work: on average women spend just over 5 hours per day on housework and caring and just over 2 hours per day on paid work. The nature of the work undertaken is also gendered: women spend more time on core domestic activities like cleaning and cooking while men tend to do house repairs and gardening. **On average women spend two and a half hours per day on caring whereas men spend 39 minutes per day on caring**. Given that caring and housework are unpaid and undervalued, this has implications for gender equality. Niall Crowley, Chief Executive Officer of the Equality Authority, commented,

> This report identifies gender inequalities in the domestic sphere that significantly disadvantage women. **Women continue to do the bulk of the unpaid work, men do most of the paid work in Ireland. ...<u>women work on average ... up to one extra month committed time per year</u>. These gender inequalities in the domestic sphere also contribute to inequalities for women in the employment sphere** (Equality Authority, 19 June 2008, emphasis added).

Unless a female academic has a partner who spends an equal share of time working on cleaning and caring duties associated with children and the home, she is not in a position to compete against male colleagues who have these jobs done for them by their partners and therefore have more time to dedicate to career advancement activities. To put the point more bluntly,

> **Housework**, as radical feminists once proposed, defines a human relationship and**, when unequally divided among the social groups, reinforces pre-existing inequalities**, Dirt, in other words, tends to attach to the people who remove it "garbage men" and "cleaning ladies". Or as cleaning entrepreneur Don Hasslet [put it]..."The whole mentality out there is **that if you clean, you are a scumball**". (Ehrenreich, 2002: 102)

In 2011, **more than a half a million women were looking after the home/family compared with just 9,600 men**. (CSO, 2011: 11) Men, on the other hand, do not carry out the activities associated with such a denigrated identity. In fact, quite the opposite image is linked to the types of activities men have the opportunity to pursue and do pursue, compared to women. Full-time paid employment within enterprise; profit-making through TNCs, SMEs and sole trader entities; access to credit; the benefits of entrepreneurship, science and technology; leading government policy-making, decision-taking and law creation; control of the military and foreign policy resources of the state; undertaking the management and delivery of services in welfare, health, and finance; inclusion in support networks; and opportunities to participate fully in social and sporting life, and in economic and public life, are characteristic of the domain of men. The aforementioned political representative/ senior civil service and TNC senior management/CEO-ship figures bear this out.

*Media*

Women's representation in the media reflects the same low status seen in the political representation, governance and business management statistics: Lucy Keaveney's research monitored the presenters and guests on a selection of current affairs programmes across the three national stations: RTE, Newstalk and Today FM over a period of three years (2010-2013). The data shows that there is, on average, **a ratio of between 1:4 and 1:5 female-to-male voices in RTE current affairs programmes, with a 1:7 ratio for the Late Debate** (Keaveney, 2013). The average ratio in Newstalk is 1:5. This gender imbalance is mirrored in the United States of America. Researchers reviewed 27,000 pieces of content (produced October 1 to December 31, 2013) at 20 of the most widely circulated, read, viewed, and listened to TV networks, newspapers, news wires, and online news sites in the United States and found that

> Overall, 63.4 percent of those with bylines and on-camera appearances were men, while women constituted 36.1 percent of contributors. **Female journalists most often reported on lifestyle, culture, and health** than politics, criminal justice, or technology.

At the nation's three most prestigious newspapers and four newspaper syndicates, male opinion page writers outnumbered women 4-to-1. (WRC, 2014: 17) Una Mullally's research (2014) published in a *Sunday Tribune* article four years ago,

> crunched the gender numbers on Irish radio, and found **that across all radio schedules, 80-90 per cent of presenters were male**, and when women did appear, they tended to broadcast outside of prime time hours. In addition, **female presenters were far less likely to express opinions** or present personality-led programmes.

She added, "It's worth pointing out that the women presenting shows on RTÉ Radio 1 are doing so in the genre of current affairs – **impartial and un-opinionated**." Mullally responded to the fact that there were three women and 37 men comprising the forty nominees for the 2014 annual Irish radio awards (the PPIs), saying, "It's as blunt a declaration of the **gender imbalance on Irish radio** as you can get."

*Sport*
The media coverage of women's sport is equally abysmal. The *Women's Sports and Fitness Federation (WSFF)* through Kantar Media undertook a comprehensive audit to determine the extent of women's sport coverage across different media types (TV, radio, newspapers and online) in the UK. The results from the first month's analysis show that **women's sport accounted for just 7% of total sports coverage in the media** during October 2013 (2014: 2). Women's sport did best on TV (10% of coverage) and worst in national newspapers where it accounted for only 2% of coverage. Commercial sponsorship of women's sport is particularly bleak. The WSFF examined data capturing all UK sports sponsorship deals registered in The World Sponsorship Monitor (TWSM), a database that records announcements of new and renewed sponsorship deals, including estimates of their value and duration. Women's sponsorship deals, analysed as a percentage of the total value of investment, was 0.4% from 2011-2013. In 2013, women's sport accounted for only 2% of the number of deals, and just 0.2% of the total value of reported deals. (WSFF, 2014: 9)
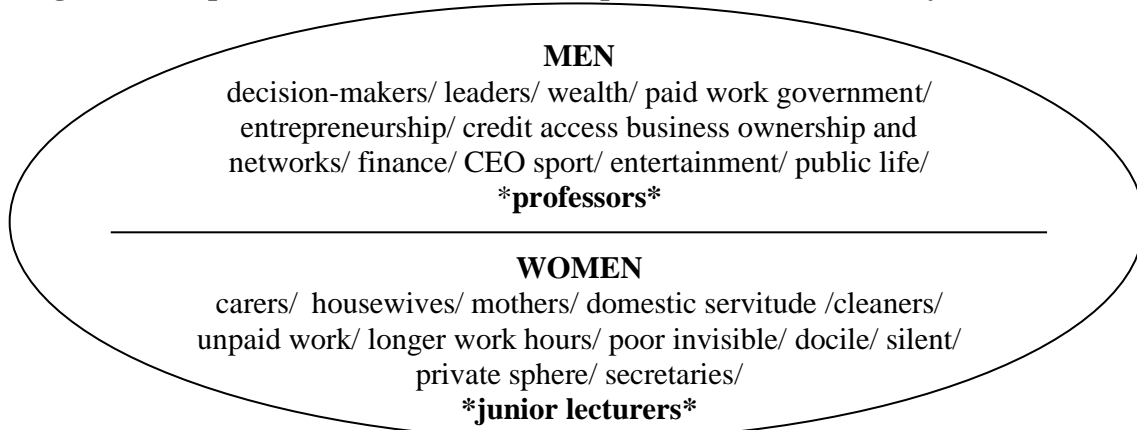
Havas was commissioned by the WSFF to interview 1445 survey sports fans during August-September 2013 on their perceptions of women's sport. The results showed that a majority of **people hold sportswomen in high regard** and want to be able to see more of them. Perceptions of women's sport are positive, with 61% believing that although top sportswomen may not be as powerful as the top men, they are just as skilful. Furthermore, 53% believe that women's sport is just as exciting to watch as men's; 6 out of 10 sports fans want to see more live coverage of women's sport on TV and two thirds believe that sponsors should be more involved with women's sport.

Involvement in sport is crucial for success for women, as evidence suggests that "girls who play team sports are more likely to graduate from college, find a job, and be employed in male-dominated industries – even earn a bigger salary as an adult" (Kay and Shipman, May 2014) - yet the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, estimate that girls are six times as likely as boys to drop off sports teams. Sportswomen are seen as inspirational and excellent role models, particularly among young people: almost two thirds of those aged 16-24 believe that top sportswomen are better role models than other female celebrities. (WSFF, 2014: 11) Having visibility of top sportswomen as role models would help to reverse these damning sports participation statistics.

Women are virtually invisible in sport in Ireland in terms of vital enablers of funding, media coverage, and supporter attendance. It is stated that €987,000 euro allocated to women in sport out of a total sport allocation of €126m (Keaveney, 15 October 2015)

Derived from the aforementioned datasets, Figure 1 illustrates the position of women at the bottom of a conceptual hierarchical binary with men in relation to business, governance, political representation, and media:

**Figure 1: the position of women in a conceptual hierarchical binary**

**MEN**
decision-makers/ leaders/ wealth/ paid work government/
entrepreneurship/ credit access business ownership and
networks/ finance/ CEO sport/ entertainment/ public life/
*professors*

**WOMEN**
carers/ housewives/ mothers/ domestic servitude /cleaners/
unpaid work/ longer work hours/ poor invisible/ docile/ silent/
private sphere/ secretaries/
*junior lecturers*

Whilst male academics may have the opportunity to hold more enlightened attitudes than mainstream society in relation to gender issues, given the privilege that an education affords, it is nonetheless not a radical thought to suggest that men's attitudes to the domestic servitude roles of women at home can have an influence on their attitudes to female colleagues in the workplace. Senior male academics were likely brought up by mothers who would have been subject to the Marriage Bar, and upon entering the academic sector, these men would have had little or no experience of senior female colleagues in public service. Senior male academics who are married or in a heterosexual relationship, are likely to be with women who bear the burden of housework, childcare, etc. Given the dominant characterisations of women in society as cleaners, carers, and administrators, and the spillover of this characterisation into the personal sphere and workplace, male academics in senior positions are more likely to allocate female academics the administrative, pastoral, secretarial, and non-research tasks that correlate with their perception of the roles and associated capabilities of women more generally. And indeed, women are socialised by the structure to accept these burdens, leading to their perceived and actual lower status in comparative terms.

*Explaining Agency-Structure*
The cultural norms that are hegemonic in society are comprised of political, economic, social, and psycho-biological factors that limit the agency of women and all aspects of their human development. These norms are maintained over a long period of time by political and social forces at the personal, local, community, regional and national levels within states. The multitude of agents from across human society involved in maintaining this hegemonic culture, and their success in translating these norms into government policy and law, into public discourses, in the media, and into social practices that determine every day life interactions and activities for both men and women, together constitutes an effective 'structure' permeating Irish society. Figure 2 illustrates the macro-level dynamic forces (re)constituting the structure that women are constrained by, in the struggle to overcome gender discrimination at the individual level and as a collective.

The majority of individuals exercise their influence most directly at the macro level of society. It is primarily through organising at the meso level (i.e. the university as a community or organisational level of society) that an impact is felt at the macro level of the structure. This current structure limits the agency of women and therefore the opportunities for women as agents to change the structure. The men in control, the

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men with the power to change discourse and practices, policies and laws, must adopt the role of agents oriented to changing this structure to expand the agency of women.

**Figure 2: The Structural Dynamics of Gender Discrimination in Ireland**
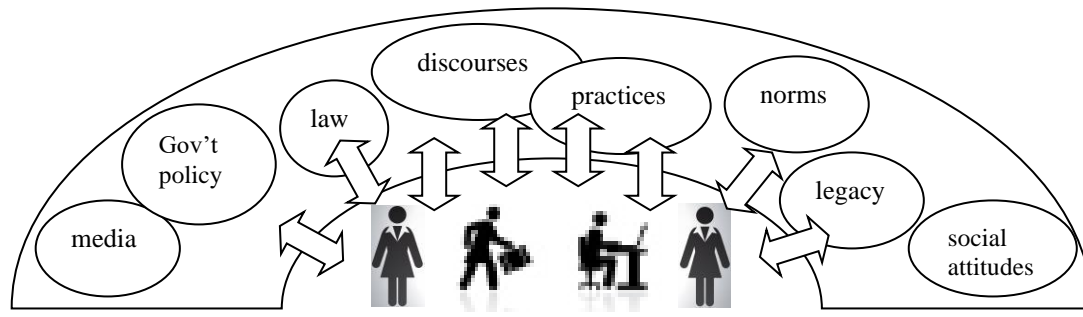


Recent evidence from the business sector shows a very positive impact from empowering women through pluralising the gender composition of Company Boards.[1] Although rarely acknowledged, it takes time, energy and resources to continue to maintain and reinforce this structure. This begs the questions (1) what Irish society would look like if all that energy were re-directed towards opposite goals, to facilitating the promotion of women, and (2) what would Irish Universities, and among them, DCU, look like?

One of the routes to expand the limited autonomy and low status associated with the lives of women is through paid employment. Paid employment allows women to engage in greater participation in the public sphere and to emerge as public actors (Sassen, 2002: 259-260). This enables change at the macro-societal level, including changes that can alter the status of female academics in Ireland and in DCU. The route to paid employment for many women starts with formal education. Access to education and the content of that education are important variables in understanding education as a force that can maintain or change opportunity structures for women.

## Women in Education in the 21st Century: the Status of Women at Third Level

There are more women going to university and graduating from university, yet it is men who ascend the ranks of academia. **The patriarchal knowledge-paradigm and establishment within academia** e.g. from Aristotle's claims that women were in an unnatural state of irrationality and therefore had to be controlled by rational man; Rousseau advocated the equal education of the genders, but the purpose of female education was to support the male; to the current adversarial methodology of critique as a means for knowledge production, **neither encouraged feminist challenges to their power, nor facilitated their publication**. (Cullen, 1987: 143-149)

**Women tend to outperform men in secondary school and third level education in Ireland.** For example, of twelve higher level Leaving Certificate subjects examined

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[1] In a study tracking results from Fortune 500 companies from 2004 to 2008, those companies with the most women board directors outperformed those with the least by at least 16% in terms of return on sales and 26% in terms of return on invested capital. (Grant Thornton, 2013: 4 quote "The Bottom Line: Corporate Performance and Women's Representation on Boards (2004–2008)," by Nancy M. Carter and Harvey M. Wagner (2011).)

(English, Irish, Mathematics, French, Biology, Chemistry, Physics, Engineering, Construction Studies, Design and Communication Graphics, Art, Home Economics and Music) in the CSO's *Men and Women in Ireland* survey, **higher proportions of girls achieved A or B grades than boys across all subjects**, with the exception of engineering. (CSO, 2011: 41)  A higher proportion of women have a third level education in Ireland than men (CSO, 2011: 44)  At the European level, **60% of university graduates are women** (European Commission, 2011b: 1).  In the USA, the U.S. Department of Education's National Center for Education Statistics (2012) showed that in the academic years 1999-2000 and 2009-2010, 58% and 57% of Bachelors degrees were conferred on women; 60% and 63% of Masters degrees were conferred on women, and 47% and 53% of PhDs were conferred on women during the respective time periods.

*Ireland: second highest glass ceiling index in the EU*
Vertical segregation in the academic world at the EU level is illustrated in Figure 3.1. The gender gap widens at the PhD level; the take-off phase (Grade B) in the academic career is also more hazardous for women (37%); and finally, at the top of the academic hierarchy just 20 % of grade A academic staff are women, showing the existence of "a Glass Ceiling composed of difficultly identifiable obstacles that hold women back". (European Commission, 2013: 86-87)

**Figure 3.1**: **Gender and academic career: students to staff, EU-27: 2002-2010**
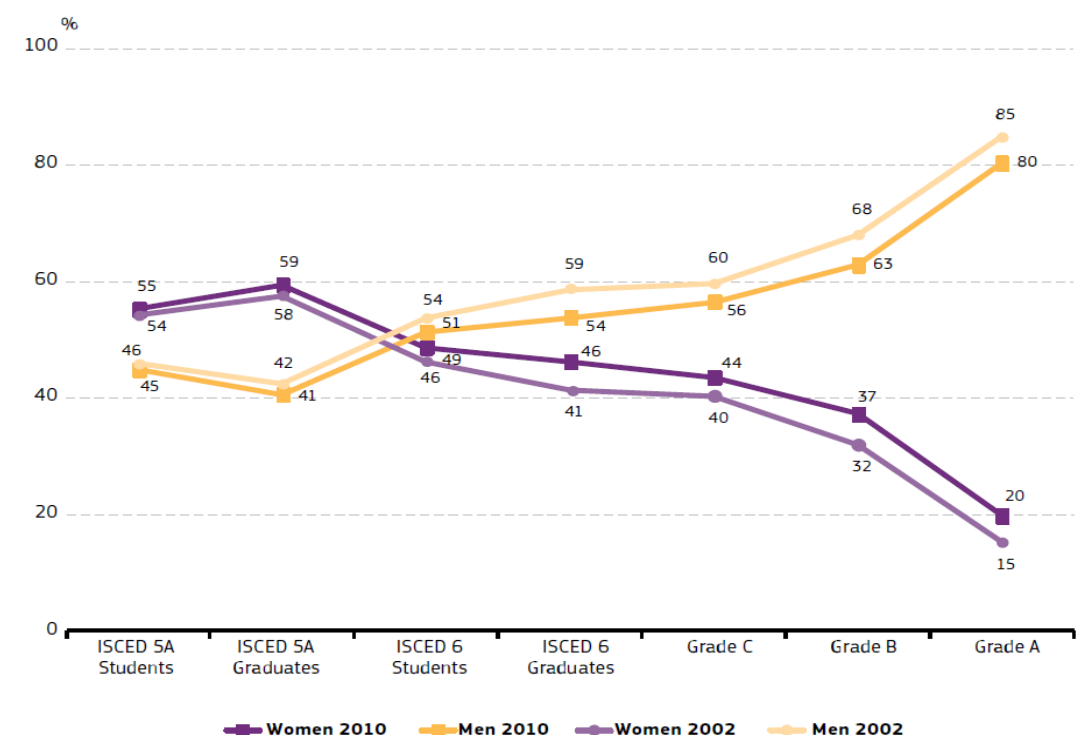


According to European Commission SHE figures (statistics on women in science) from 2009, **Ireland has the second highest glass ceiling index[2] in the EU for**

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[2] The Glass Ceiling Index (GCI) better illustrates the difficulties women have in gaining access to the highest hierarchical levels. This index measures the relative chance for women, as compared with men, of reaching a top position. The GCI compares the proportion of women in grade A positions (equivalent to Full Professors in most countries) to the proportion of women in academia (grade A, B, and C), indicating the opportunity, or lack of it, for women to move up the hierarchical ladder in their profession. The GCI can range from 0 to infinity. A GCI of 1 indicates that there is no difference between women and men being promoted. A score of less than 1

**women in higher education** (European Commission, 2009: 70). The latest (fourth) report on women in research and academia showed that

> Women's academic career remains markedly characterised by strong vertical segregation. In 2010, the proportion of female students (55 %) and graduates (59 %) exceeded that of male students, but men outnumbered women among PhD students and graduates (the proportion of female students stood at 49 % and that of PhD graduates at 46 %). Furthermore, women represented only 44 % of grade C academic staff, 37 % of grade B academic staff and 20 % of grade A academic staff. (European Commission, 2009: 9, 68; O'Gráda et al, 2013: 6)

Collins et al. found the same dynamics in US academia: "despite the increasing number of women who have earned advanced degrees, women faculty remain clustered in the lower ranks - the three A's: adjunct instructors, assistant professors, and associate professors" (1998, xvi, quoted in Monforti, 2012: 396). The EU report observed that "**There is no evidence of spontaneous reduction of gender inequality over time**" (European Commission, 2009: 18; O'Gráda et al 2013: 7) and concluded that "the gender gap is still disproportionately high compared with the increase in the proportion of women students and thus **casts doubt on the hypothesis that women will automatically 'catch up' to their male counterparts**. **Proactive policies are thus essential to significantly reduce these gaps**" (European Commission, 2009: 71; O'Gráda et al 2013: 6)

*Ireland: The Class of 1999 - who were promoted in Higher Education by 2003?*
Figure 3.2 (taken from O'Gráda et al 2013: 3) shows, by gender, how the graduating class of 1999 fared in terms of academic promotion in Ireland in the following years.

**Figure 3.2: The Class of 1999: who were promoted in Higher Education by 2003?**
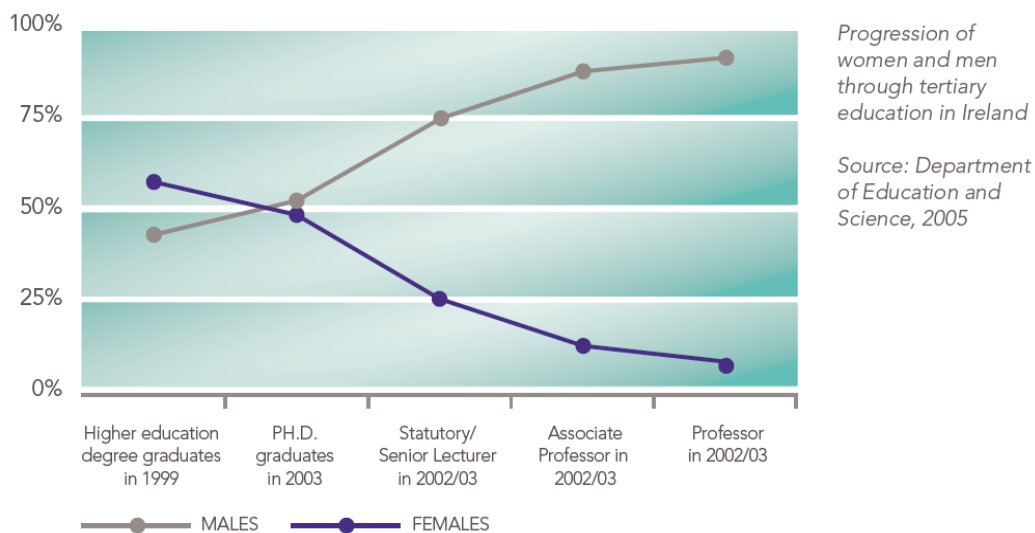


Although nearly 60% of graduates are female, just over 50% of PhD graduates are male; 75% of those making the grade at lecturer/senior lecturer level are male; over 80% of associate professors are male and more than 90% of professors are male. Given the high numbers of women, and the high standards attained by women, one

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means that women are over-represented at grade A level and a GCI score of more than 1 points towards a Glass Ceiling Effect. (European Commission, 2009: 70) Ireland's index is 3.8 (European Commission, 2009: 80)

would expect to see broadly similar patterns of progression between men and women, but this is not the case in practice.

*Ireland: Academic Staff x Gender - Universities (incl. NIHEs in 1970s+80s)*
Figure 4 presents the raw numbers of staff in Universities in Ireland from the 1970s to the present day (obtained from the HEA). Women are moving towards parity in numbers with men, so it is not for the lack of women in the system that there is drastically few female staff at senior levels. It is therefore important to identify the norms, discourses, policies and practices that determine this outcome, and to break down the barriers that prohibit the promotion of women in academia.

**Figure 4: Academic Staff x Gender: Universities (incl. NIHEs in 1970s+80s)**
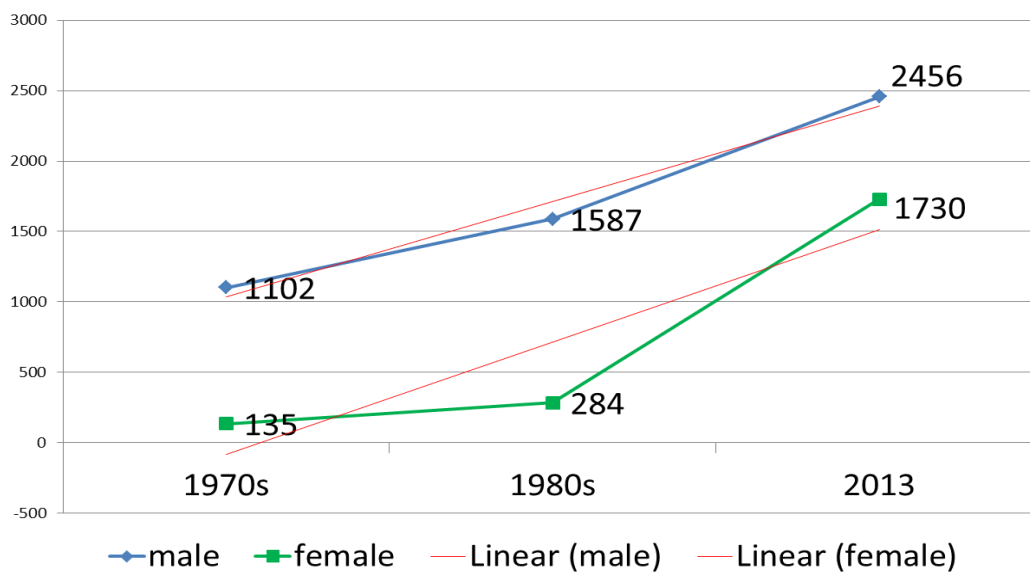


*Ireland: gendered positions in academia - imperceptible change in three decades*
Figure 5 shows that despite a higher proportion of women having formal qualifications compared to men, although with comparatively less higher doctorates (HEA 1987: 24), just 17% of women occupy the senior positions compared with 56% of men in 1985. (HEA 1987: 16) Have these women made it to the upper reaches of Irish academia thirty years later?

The short answer is "no". Despite the fact that **women represent 40% of the academic staff nowadays**, the structure of men's and women's positions in academia has undergone imperceptible change in the past three decades. The same proportion of men are Associate Professor/Professor today compared with thirty years ago at roughly 28%, **whilst more than 80% of women were assistant/ lecturers in 1985, more than 70% of women remain at that level today**. Despite having earned a near equal share of the jobs, systemic factors are blocking women's progress. Those in charge of the universities in the 1970s and 1980s have created a network and culture that has sustained patriarchal values to the detriment of female academic progression.

**Figure 5: Gender Profile: Qualification vs Rank, 1985 (%)**
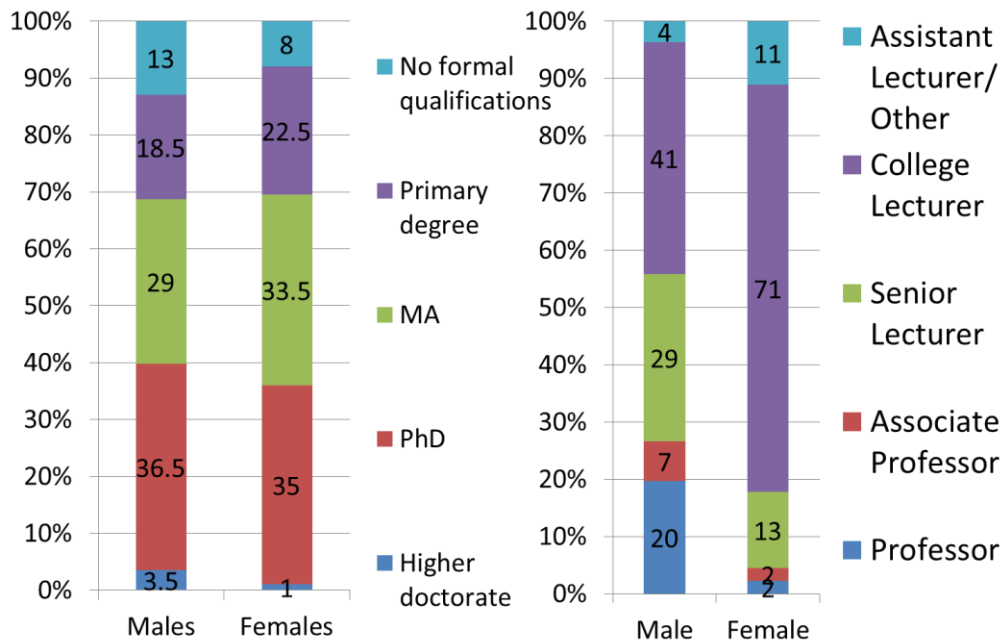


The EU findings on female academic research opportunities found that "A 'generation effect' is at work as the gender imbalance in the research population increases with age." (European Commission, 2013: 5) These factors are evinced through the gender -patterns in the Irish academic status data presented in Figure 6.

**Figure 6: Gender Profile of Academic Positions: 1985 vs 2013 (n)**
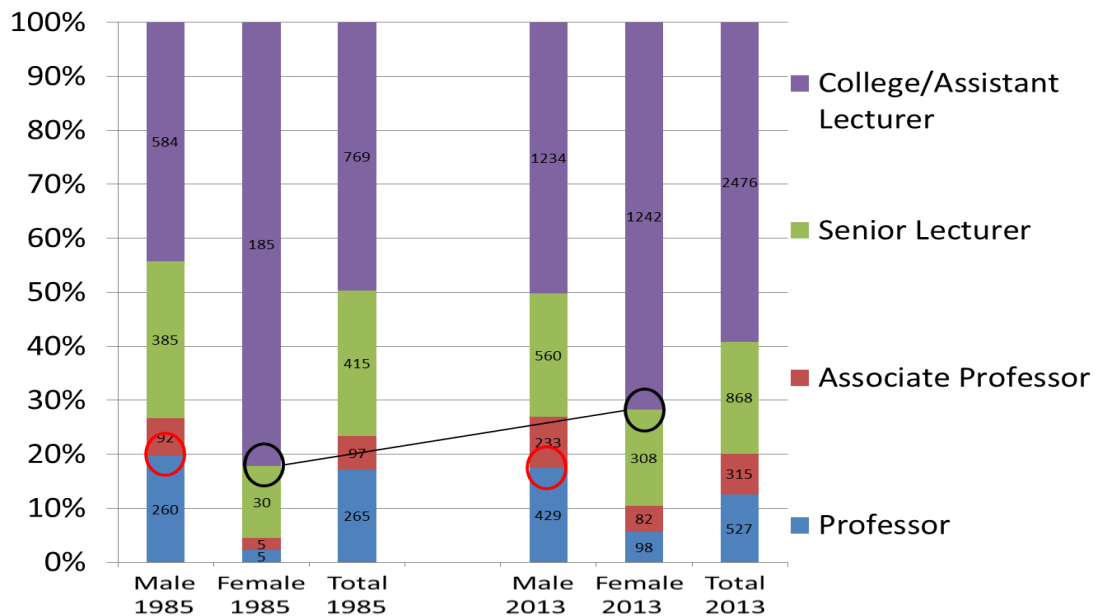


The question is, what is being done about this discrimination against female academics?

At the state level, nothing, reflected in the fact that a dedicated gender equality unit of the Department of Education closed over a decade ago. At the university level, nothing, other than the compilation of monitoring reports in some institutions. The so-called "Gender Task Force" set up at NUIG (deemed ineffective by trade unions as it

is management-appointed and not independent) can only 'consider' and 'advise' measures towards 'effective gender equality'. (NUIG, 2015: 8) Even the so called "Gender Action Plans" mooted in sub-disciplines only expect an increase in female *applications* for promotion and funding, not in the numbers of women actually promoted or funded. (TCD, 2013: 27) At the individual level, many women fear taking their employers to court, although one case in particular has ignited the issue.

*Gender discrimination: Equality Tribunal's findings in the Sheehy-Skeffington case*
In December 2014, the Equality Tribunal found NUI Galway guilty of gender discrimination in a case for promotion to senior lecturer brought by Dr. Micheline Sheehy-Skeffington in 2009. This case helps to illuminate the reasons for the gendered profile of Irish academic staff over the past thirty years. The Tribunal found several dynamics in the NUIG promotion process that are present in promotion processes across the other Irish universities.

Firstly, under the heading of "contribution to School, University and Community" outside of research, the male candidates who "did not focus their energy outside of their research got a higher mark" than the female academic who did, which lead to a "disproportionate difference between the two" in terms of marks awarded under this heading, as an example of "**the same criteria being applied differently to different people**". Another example concerns the rank of published journal articles: the university claimed the female candidate was not promoted because "she did not have articles published in the highest-impact journals. However....the successful candidates did not possess high H-indexes either". Other criteria were simply not addressed, for example, the "length of service and minimum teaching requirements are essential criteria .... **these were ignored in relation to some of the successful candidates** – all of whom were men" in a situation where the "three successful male candidates had significantly less than the minimum requirement of contact hours with students and yet got a higher score than [the female candidate] under the Teaching and Examining." The Tribunal also found there is **indirect gender discrimination**:

> there is one apparently neutral provision that puts women at particular disadvantage. The application form to Senior Lecturer **asks people to nominate when they were on maternity leave or other unpaid leave** so that it could be discounted. Male applicants left this blank....Of the seven female shortlisted candidates three did not refer to caring responsibilities – candidate 17 (only successful female) Candidate 19 and Candidate 21 – all of whom were the highest placed women in the competition....**it was discriminatory**. I cannot escape the conclusion that **the majority of female applicants drawing attention to their caring responsibilities outside the workplace disadvantaged them against the male applicants**.

The Equality Tribunal ordered NUIG to review their promotion process and to issue a report on progress to the Irish Human Rights and Equality Commission within one year. Although the Tribunal explained, "a lack of transparency in the selection process combined with an absence of any discernible connection between the assessment or qualifications of candidates and the result of the process can give rise to an inference of discrimination", the Tribunal found the statistical evidence a particularly compelling indicator of gender discrimination, explaining, *"*Men are in the minority in the College Lecturer grade (40%) but, significantly, that statistic is almost inverted when it comes to the next promotional grade - 61% of Senior Lecturers are men.*"* In DCU, latter statistic reflects an even greater gender-distorted proportion - 67% of Senior Lecturers are men (see Figure 7 below).

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**Figure 7: Gender Profile of Academic Positions: DCU vs the rest in 2013**
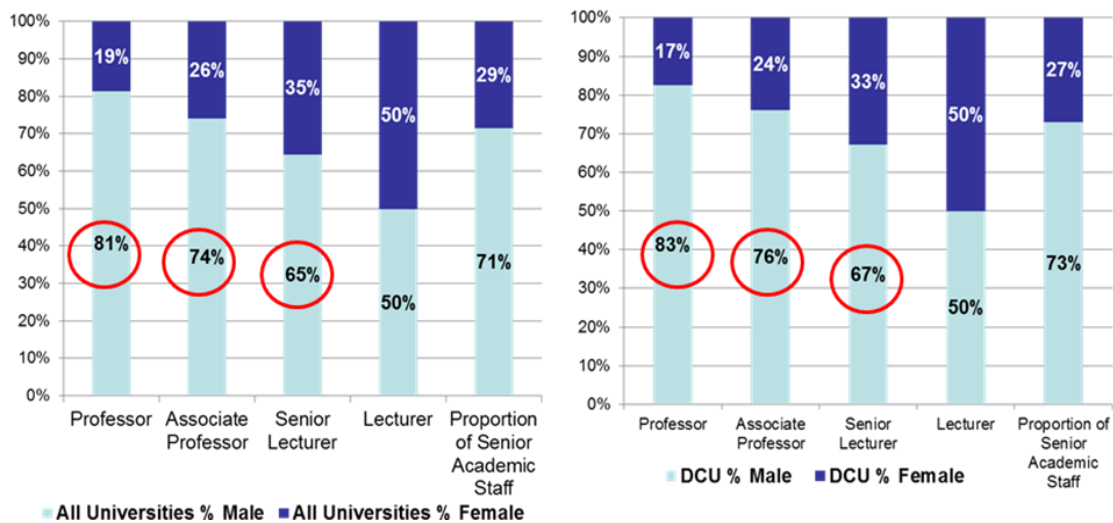


*Gender Discrimination: Ireland ranks "the worst" (bar one) in Europe*
Figure 7 shows that of all senior academic staff employed in Ireland in 2013, more than 7 in 10 are male. DCU has the lowest levels of women in senior academic positions (27%) of all Irish universities, with the exception of NUI Galway (NUIG). (HEA, 2013) Men comprise 73% of Senior Academic Staff in DCU compared with 71% in other Irish universities. 83% of DCU professors are men, compared with 81% in other Irish universities. 76% of associate professors in DCU are male, compared with 74% in other Irish universities. And finally, 67% of senior lecturers are male, compared with 65% nationally. In turn, Irish universities compare very poorly with the European average whereby 80% of professors ("Grade A Staff") are male (European Commission, 2013: 6) versus 81% in all Irish Universities and 83% in DCU. In short, Ireland has the worst levels of gender discrimination in Europe (bar Malta), whilst DCU has the worst levels of gender discrimination in Ireland (bar NUIG) when it comes to the promotion of female academics to senior positions.

*(Re)Solution: promotion of a critical mass of 'non-establishment' female academics*
The problem of being a minority affects the ability of promoted women to succeed: the fact of few women heightens the visibility and scrutiny of those near the top, who may become risk-averse and overly focused on details and lose their sense of purpose. And women at the top are subjected to a double bind of discrimination, "the **competence-likability trade-off**": research shows "accomplished, high-potential women who are evaluated as competent managers often fail the likability test, whereas competence and likability tend to go hand in hand for similarly accomplished men". (Ibarra et al., 2013) Because of the structural hegemony of the attitudes and values of men towards women academics, it is necessary to grapple with the suggestion that the minority of Females that have been promoted within the system are likely to be women supporting the status quo-oriented leadership, whether at the personal level through relationships or in academic terms through strategic alliances born of the internal politics of a school. This phenomenon would support the widespread feeling amongst a significant proportion of female academics that the minority of women who are first promoted to the top levels within the system appear to 'pull the ladder up' behind them. The only way to overcome this biologically convenient token-promotion dynamic and to break the hegemony of discrimination is for a critical mass of disadvantaged and specifically 'non-establishment' female

academics to be promoted - undoubtedly a deeply unpalatable path for those who seek to maintain the status quo.

In addition to the structural factors in terms of women's **lack of power in important sectors of society such as politics, governance, business, the economy and the workplace** outlined earlier, there are additional compromising conditions under which women exist in a patriarchal structure that compound and maintain women's lack of access to power, resources, and derived benefits necessary to enable emancipatory change in the structure. **Psychological, legal, and physiological conditions determine women's security in terms of economics (wages and income), in terms of bodily integrity (sexual abuse, assault and rape) and her experience of gendered violence (domestic violence, psychological abuse)**. These conditions, given their limit on women's agency and links to the structure, must be also addressed in an holistic approach to the advancement of female academics in Ireland and DCU. These factors will be outlined in the next section of this report.


### An Holistic Approach: Security and Irish Females - an "at-risk population"

*Sexual and Domestic Violence*
The SAVI report (the first dedicated sexual violence survey assessing lifetime prevalence in Ireland) shows that at some point in their lives, more than 2 in 5 women (42%) experience sexual violence (many as children) (McGee et al. 2002). US studies estimate that between a quarter and one-third of females, compared to roughly one in ten males, have been sexually abused during childhood. (Duggan et al. 2014) Female teenagers are also more likely to be sexually harassed at school compared with boys and girls' experiences tend to be more physical and intrusive than boys (Hill and Kearl, 2011: 2) Another US study, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC)'s National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey 2010 reports that 80 percent of all female rape victims were raped before turning the age of 25. Given that the majority of female students in DCU are under the age of 25, this is a particularly compelling statistic to consider in terms of student welfare and performance, as trauma surfaces during high-stress periods and inhibits coping mechanisms.

*Secondary School and Third Level Education Stages: Prevalence of Violence*
Research in the US (an AAUW 2011 survey of 1,965 students in grades 7–12, equivalent to secondary school students in Ireland) found that nearly half of [secondary school-equivalent] students experienced verbal or physical sexual harassment, but only nine percent reported the incident to an authority figure (Hill and Kearl, 2011). This lack of reporting is a symptom of the fact that

> Girls normalized their experiences of sexual harassment and abuse because they were so common and indiscriminate; 'that's what boys do' and 'they do it to everyone.' Given expectations of, and experiences with, male aggression, young women were then consistently positioned as the gatekeeper of sexual activity and aggression. Girls in this study said they did not want to make a 'big deal' out of their experiences and rarely told anyone. Charged with self-protection and silence, girls also criticized each other for not successfully maneuvering men's aggressive behavior or for speaking up; if they complained about men's abusive behaviors, they were disbelieved and policed by their peers through rumors and slander." ... "there is very little incentive for young women to name or to tell anyone about their experiences of abuse." (Duggan et al. 2014: 2, quoting Hlavka, 2014a)

Nine out of ten students experiencing this peer-to-peer harassment reported being negatively affected by it, but this was particularly the case for girls, which resulted in girls' decreased productivity and increased absenteeism from school. (Hill and Kearl, 2011: 2-3) Thus, female students are already disadvantaged by abuse and sexual harassment before they get to third level education, and have learned through the structure to suffer in silence, and in many cases, to accept responsibility for the abuse, which paves the path for experiencing continued abuse at third-level education, in the workplace, and more generally in their personal lives and relationships.

In relation to the third-level student population, a US study found that one in four college women experienced a sexual assault during her college career. (Stapleton, in Marjorie Agosín, 2002: 228) US Department of Justice figures indicate that college and secondary school age students (aged 16-24 years old) are at the highest risk of being victims and perpetrators of domestic and sexual violence. (Stapleton, in Marjorie Agosín, 2002: 229) The most recently published research on the prevalence of sexual assault and rape among women at university is based on a survey of first year students. The survey, based on a sample of over five hundred freshers, found that before college, 15.4% had experienced attempted/completed forcible rape (A/C FR) and 17.5% had experienced attempted or completed incapacitated (involving drink or drugs) rape (A/C IR). Over the study year, 9.0% reported attempted/completed forcible rape (A/C FR) and 15.4% reported experienced attempted or completed incapacitated rape (A/C IR). By the end of the study, lifetime prevalence of experienced attempted or completed forced and incapacitated rape (A/C IR) was 21.7% and 25.7%, respectively. (Carey et al. 2015: 679)

This means that the lifetime prevalence of attempted or completed rape increased to 37% by the start of sophomore year. (Carey et al. 2015: 680) The study concluded that "These data make clear that prevention programs for both men and women in both high school and college are necessary. Programs may need to address trauma-related concerns for previously victimized women" (Carey et al. 2015: 680) Addressing the situation in Ireland, a 2013 USI survey of students at third-level institutions in Ireland found that 1 in 5 women surveyed experienced some form of unwanted sexual experience, with 11% experiencing unwanted sexual contact.

Sexual violence against women, unlike other aspects of gender inequality, only began to be acknowledged in Europe in the 1970s and 80s. (Council of Europe, 2002: 17) Based on available prevalence studies, the Council of Europe estimates that 20-25% of women reported rape or attempted rape. Their husbands or partners were usually the culprits and, where rape occurred in the context of a settled relationship, it was very likely to be a recurrent experience. Thus, rape is intimately tied to Domestic Violence or Intimate Partner Violence (IPV).

*Intimate Partner Relationships: Prevalence of Violence*
To estimate domestic violence prevalence at the regional European level, all ten available studies on domestic violence gathered by the Council of Europe concluded that 25% of women suffered domestic violence and between 6% and 10% of women suffered violence in a given year (2002: 46). A report from the Council of Europe acknowledged "that the incidence of domestic violence seems to increase with income and level of education", and further acknowledged findings from member states that

domestic violence is closely related to age: young women (20-24 years) are twice as likely to suffer violence as older women. (Council of Europe, 2002: 23).

The first EU-wide survey published in 2014 showed that **1 in 4 women in Ireland experience sexual violence in an intimate partner relationship**. Across the EU, 43 % of women have experienced some form of psychological violence by an intimate partner (EU, 2014: 61) The rates for Ireland show that **1 in 3 women have experienced intimate partner violence** (European Union Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA), 2014; EU, 2014: 73) and 41% of Irish women know someone in their circle of family or friends who have experienced intimate partner violence (FRA, 2014). A survey commissioned by the National Women's Council showed that the top priority that Irish women "wish" to see tackled by the government in 2015 is "preventing and protecting women from sexual and domestic violence" (Preventing domestic violence tops women's 2015 wishlist – poll, *Irish Times*, 6th January 2015) Perhaps, in this context, it is not surprising that Irish women rank at the top of EU-wide scores on overall **worry about experiencing violence** and engaging in risk avoidant behaviour (EU, 2014: 147)

Given the increased prevalence of domestic violence against younger and more educated females, it is particularly appropriate to account for it in this proposed project. Indeed, the Council of Europe resolution on the prevention of domestic violence called upon Education Authorities in member-states to take action on the problem. (2002: 30)
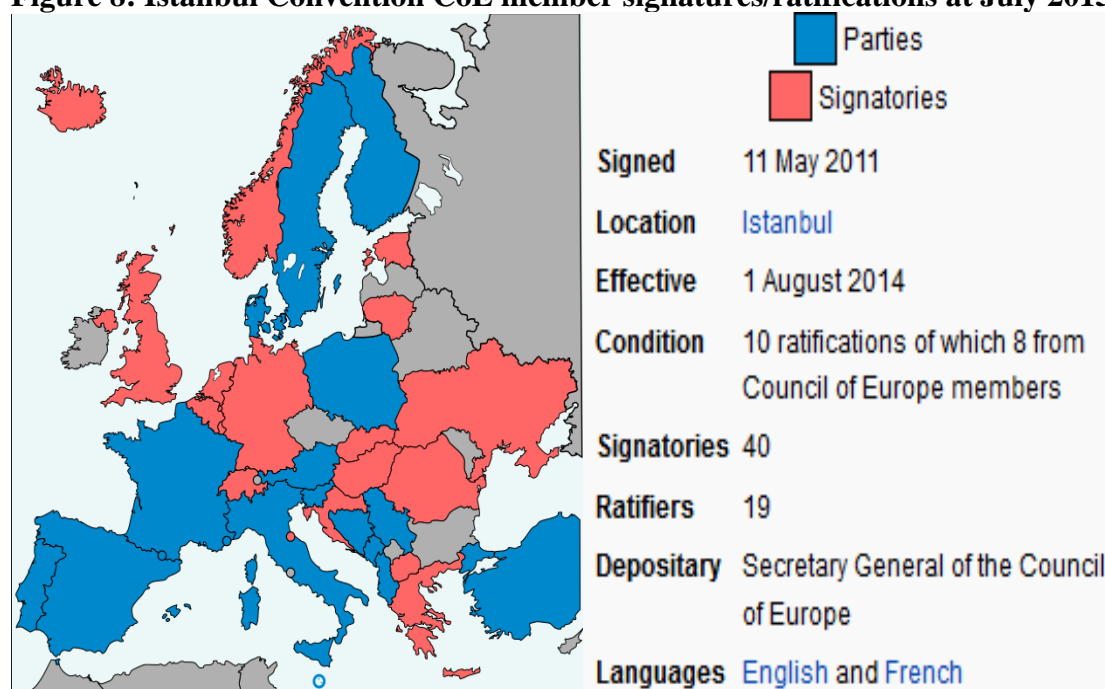
In terms of the impact on education, training and employment, research shows that women who are in abusive relationships tend to experience high rates of job loss and turnover and many times are forced to quit or are fired. For example Swanberg et al. (2005) found that victimized women were less likely to work full-time in the subsequent year to an IPV episode, impacting on their ability to take opportunities of training or upgrading skills. One of the core goals of abusive partners is to disrupt or destroy her ability to work outside the home – 1 in 5 women across the EU has experience of this form of economic violence (EU, 2014: 76). Many female academics have had their work hampered or eliminated due to Intimate Partner Violence (IPV): examples include being prevented from (1) turning up at work; (2) participating at a conference or delivering a conference presentation; (3) attending a media appointment; and within the work environment, having to (4) change student consultation office hours and (5) take delivery of packages containing abusive material as a result of being stalked at work by a violent and abusive ex-partner. Many students have been forced to abandon their studies at DCU due to Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) and the brave attempts by some to come back to complete their studies years later are hampered by the lack of registration and programme structures in place to facilitate their return. In sum, IPV affects a survivor's ability to study, be engaged at work, maintain employment stability and achieve occupational attainment.

IPV victims' situation is compounded by a lack of legislation prohibiting the violence (in the case of domestic violence), an effective lack of legal redress (attrition rates in rape cases are shockingly high), little to non-existent support from the policing system (women are frequently re-victimised or blamed in the processes of reporting such

crimes or seeking redress)[3], and with virtually no political power to change these violence-enabling power dynamics.

The Istanbul Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (CETS No.: 210) is the first legally-binding instrument which "creates a comprehensive legal framework and approach to combat violence against women". It characterizes violence against women as a violation of human rights and a form of discrimination (Art.3(a)). Article 3 of the Convention defines the key terms of "violence against women" as a *violation of human rights and a form of discrimination against women and shall mean all acts of gender-based violation that result in, or are likely to result in physical, sexual, psychological, or economic harm or suffering to women including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life*, and "domestic violence" as *all acts of physical, sexual, psychological or economic violence that occur with the family or domestic unit or between former or current spouses or partners, whether or not the perpetrator shares or has shared the same residence with the victim.* The Convention lays out a series of specific measures for the Prevention of violence, the Protection and support of victims, the Prosecution of offenders and Integrated Policies and obliges parties to the Convention to collect data and support research into violence against women.

**Figure 8: Istanbul Convention CoE member signatures/ratifications at July 2015**



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States which ratify the Convention must criminalize several offences, including: psychological violence (Art.33); stalking (Art.34); physical violence (Art.35); sexual violence, including rape, explicitly covering all engagement in non-consensual acts of a sexual nature with a person (Art.36), and that sexual harassment must be subject to "criminal or other legal sanction" (Art. 40). Of the 47 members of the Council of Europe, Ireland is the ninth last member-state to sign the convention, which came into force in August 2014, and is not expected to be in a position to ratify it until after 2018. It shows the deep-seated resistance in Ireland to providing the conditions necessary to allow the flourishing and full participation of women in Irish society.

*Sexual Harassment in the Workplace*
Once in the workplace, the female academic has to contend with the disproportionate prevalence of sexual harassment and bullying against her. The aforementioned EU-wide survey on violence found that "**Sexual harassment is more commonly experienced by women with a university degree and by women in the highest occupational groups**: 75 % of women in the top management category and 74 % of those in the professional occupational category have experienced sexual harassment in their lifetime" having examined the phenomenon both inside and outside the workplace (EU, 2014: 96, 111) (Underreporting of sexual harassment is estimated to be more prevalent in Member States where domestic violence is still considered a private matter, which is rarely shared with friends and colleagues and much less reported to the Authorities (see footnote 4 above for details of the Authorities' response to many reports) - observed prevalence rates of sexual harassment and prevalence rates for other forms of gender-based violence are strongly related (EU 2014: 101)).

*Unequal pay and temporary work - an institutional form of economic/financial abuse*
Arguably financial abuse is institutionalised through the fact that, once in the workplace, a woman will get paid an average of 20% less in salary compared to her male colleague doing the same job. European Union level estimates show that the overall gender pay gap covering the entire EU economy is 25% in 2006 (European Commission, 2009: 3) **Irish figures on the gender pay gap are far worse than the EU average**. Using regression models of the ESRI/NCPP National Workplace Survey data, O'Connell et al. (2010, p. 147) found the weekly wage premium for men was 26 per cent in the public sector and 31 per cent in the private sector, for employees working 15 hours or more (with weekly hours controlled). Using OLS models based on the NES 2003 and NES 2006 data, Kelly et al. (2009b) show that controlling for a range of organisational and individual characteristics, including working hours, the male premium for weekly wages was 17 per cent in both the public and the private sectors in 2006 and was 16 per cent in the public sector and 14 per cent in the private sector in 2003 (quoted in Russell, McGinnity and Kingston, 2014: 32). These structural factors of disadvantage affect the promotion prospects of female academics, for example, many women, because of economic predicaments (as well as familial expectations and childcare burdens), are not in a position to apply for prestigious fellowships that require substantial financial support for relocation. (Võ, 2012: 95)

The recession has been used as an opportunity to bring in dramatic cuts to both equality institutions more generally and those pertaining specifically to gender equality. Between 2008 and 2012,

> An entire architecture of public and statutory bodies established or supported to promote
> equality, monitor progress, enhance awareness and innovative practice has been restructured,
> closed down, endured drastic budget cuts or been part absorbed in departments of government
> (Barry and Conroy, 2013 p. 199 quoted in Russell, McGinnity and Kingston, 2014:7).

Given that "**gender equality policy has been a victim of the recession**", there are virtually no opportunities at an organised meso-level to fight against increasing gender discrimination in the workplace. This has a deeply debilitating effect on women's protection in the workplace and hampers her advancement and ability gain promotion in academia. Finally, according to Third Level Workplace Watch, 62% of casual workers in Irish academia are female who spend an average of 8.5 years in such roles, with little prospect of a permanent job, because "we know from the large proportion of women academics on temporary contracts that these jobs rarely turn into permanent lectureships". (Todd, 2013)

*Pregnancy and Childcare: the Baby Penalty*
Females in Ireland is also at an additional comparative disadvantage in the European context in terms of levels of reproductive rights and **access to affordable childcare** (the second and third priority on Irishwomen's 2015 wishlist), issues that prohibit attempts to participate in the workforce and education, for female academics and female students alike.

> Universities offer lamentably little childcare – partly because many of them have privatised or
> cut funding for all non-academic services. Working days are long. Often [academics] are
> notified of their semester timetable only a week in advance, which makes organising childcare
> extremely difficult. (Todd, 2013)

The same problems are also experienced by female students who are lone parents and struggle to find last-minute childcare in the week before lectures start.

For the Irish female academics surveyed as part of research for an IFUT Report, which looked at the position of Irish women academics within higher education and, as part of that examination, measured the incidence and uptake of maternity leave, "maternity leave had to be negotiated so that the smooth running of departments/work areas was not disturbed". (Byrne and Keher, 1995) The report found a **high incidence of planned pregnancies** (aka "**holiday babies**" for nearly 4 in 10 women) reflected the extent of adaptation by the women to the needs of the institution. Most women felt guilt at taking leave, and returned to work before the official period or worked at home during the formal period. More than one fifth (21.6%) took on extra work immediately before and after the birth in order to accommodate teaching/work schedules. Two-thirds (66%) of the women surveyed took on additional work to compensate for their absence. In effect, because women worked so many extra hours before, during and after maternity leave, women neglected to avail of their statutory rights, and evinced the title of the report, *Academics Don't Have Babies!* Superiors and colleagues considered as 'helpful' by pregnant academics, simply reflected these women's "gratitude for the lack of a negative reaction". In summary, the study indicates that **sources of discrimination exist whereby workers do not make use of their statutory rights because of perceived adverse effects on their careers** (Byrne and Keher, 1995). It also evinced that "legislative change alone is insufficient in bringing about alterations in female/male roles or in promoting deep structural change". Change must come from within organisations, and at all levels.

Having had a child, the '**baby penalty**' comes into force for women, but not for men. In short, "**For men, having children is a career advantage; for women, it is a career killer**." The stark conclusions from decades of research in the US showed that "All female faculty members experience the "baby penalty," but in the sciences (biological and physical sciences, engineering, math, and some social sciences) the impact is more decisive." Women who want children or who have children are more likely drop out of the academic workforce after completing their PhD or a postdoc: because women perceive lecturing jobs as being incompatible with having children, they don't even apply. It is estimated that

> Female graduate students and postdoctoral fellows who have babies while students or fellows *are more than twice as likely* as new fathers or than childless women to turn away from an academic research career. They receive little or no childbirth support from the university and often a great deal of discouragement from their mentors.

In a survey of attitudes, the majority of men and women PhD graduates believed that **a faculty job in a research university was not family friendly**. Thus, the small number of **women who do make it to the top of academia often do so alone**: "Women professors have higher divorce rates, lower marriage rates, and fewer children than male professors. Among tenured faculty, 70 percent of men are married with children compared with 44 percent of women." Both men and women retire at the same age, but **women's retirement salaries are on average 29% less**, partly due to family responsibilities, through a cumulative effect of each child borne and the time and money consequently lost.

In comparing the fate of female promotional prospects in US academia with other sectors that also have an even proportion of genders, such as law and business, Mary Ann Mason found that **women who have reached the top in all of these professions have done so at the expense of not having children**. Women who achieved tenure (the equivalent to a permanent job 'above the bar' in Ireland) believed they must wait to get tenure (average age around 40) before beginning a family. The "rigid lockstep career track" of academia provides no "time outs" and puts the greatest pressure on its female candidates at the time for having children: "Most Ph.D.s are achieved and tenure granted in the critical decade between 30 and 40". Mason concludes

> The university does little to provide a more flexible career path or to put in place family responsive programs that would make it possible to balance work with babies ….We all know what structural changes would help to level the playing field in all of these careers and they are quite similar: paid family leave for both mothers and fathers, especially for childbirth, a flexible workplace, a flexible career track, a re-entry policy, pay equity reviews, child care assistance, dual career assistance.

*Mental Stress of Academia – how do women fare compared to men?*
Academics experience higher work-related stress on average than those in the wider working population. A study based on a sample of over 14,000 university employees by Gail Kinman and Siobhan Wray published in 2013 by the University and College Union (UCU) revealed that nearly half of academics show symptoms of psychological distress prompted by heavy workloads, a long hours culture and conflicting management demands. Dr Alan Swann of Imperial College London says most academics are stressed rather than mentally unwell: "They are thinking about their work and the consequences of not being as good as they should be; they're having difficulty switching off and feeling guilty if they're not working seven days a week."

The intense pressure of doctoral and post-doctoral study, and early-career academia can also reveal existing mental health problems. (Shaw and Ward, 2014) Those employed in teaching-and-research roles (the standard academic roles in DCU) tended to report lower levels of well-being relating to demands, control and peer support, and higher levels of work-life conflict and stress, than those employed in separated teaching or research jobs. **On average, females reported poorer wellbeing in relation to demands and control than their male colleagues, as well as higher levels of stress and work-life conflict**. (Kinman and Wray, 2013: 33) The aforementioned IFUT survey reveals that academic women have made choices which they perceive as having slowed down or impeded their career development and promotion - choices that they have had to make, privileging family needs over career demands. Clearly women are suffering work-life conflict moreso than male academics, and have less control over their workload compared to males, being 'overworked and overcommitted' (Holling et al. 2012: 259). The Irish academy report concludes: "**Academic institutions have not adapted to the dual careers of women, rather women have attempted to fit family needs with job demands. As long as this pattern continues, little change will occur**."

Finally, people with past experiences of trauma, marginalisation, poverty and discrimination (i.e. a significant proportion of women) who enter a very stressful situation (such as academia where they are marginalized and experience a sense of being 'othered') can be re-traumatised because such situations re-stimulate past wrongs and hurts..."**the stress of the academic experience can lead to ineffective coping skills that prevent us [women] from naming what is occurring**" (Holling et al. 2012: 259) So not only is it difficult to articulate the discrimination within a system built on discrimination and that continues to deny or obfuscate the discrimination when it is raised[4] - "regrettably, **the culture of academia overall remains not only remarkably blind to its own flaws, but deeply invested in a throughgoing denial**" (Harris and Gonzalez, 2012: 7) - but the agents themselves are hampered in making these articulations precisely because of the trauma of discrimination they suffer, both inside and outside the workplace. It is a vicious structuration dynamic that maintains the status quo.

*'Formal' and 'Informal' Practices of Discrimination Against Female Academics*
There are formal and informal discrimination practices from staff and students within the university environment. Women academics are likely to have enjoyed far less formal financial / project resources due to the bias in the system towards funding and supporting male academics and their research in school, faculty and university-level competitions. This happens through being formally excluded from applying, e.g. travel funding, promotion competitions. It also happens through discriminatory procedures being brought into the practice of processing applications or executing 'successful' applications, for example, regarding substitution arrangements for sabbatical leave, it has been suggested to women that they should pay for the substitution themselves or else request that the institutions pay for the employment of

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[4] The denial of gender discrimination reaches the highest levels in DCU. The Vice-President of the university, Mr. Jim Dowling, claimed the lack of female senior academics in DCU is due to the lack of female academics in DCU. When it was put to him that the percent ratio of male to female academics is roughly 60:40*, Mr Dowling responded that he had no knowledge of the relative proportion or absolute number of women academics in DCU. In response to the question of whether he believes there is gender discrimination in the promotion process he said "there is no gender bias" and then seemingly as a justification of this claim, her repeated "there is no gender bias" adding, "I am not biased". (Presentation on Promotion to Senior Lecturer, DCU, 13th February 2015). When asked what evidence of gender discrimination would look like to him, Mr. Dowling described the situation whereby a woman outperformed a man and was not promoted as being "painfully obvious". When asked for an empirical example of what 'painfully obvious' reflects, Mr. Dowling failed to provide an illustrative example.
*HEA (2013) figures: 225 male and 155 female.

a substitute, mirroring the maternity leave discrimination practices of old (Byrne and Keher, 1995). It also commonly happens through the rejection of female-written proposals (as part of funding applications) in formal competitions on unsubstantiated or erroneous academic or methodological grounds, for example, a female academic who is expert and published in survey research found her application was rejected on the grounds of the use of survey methods, yet a male academic with no experience or published survey research who also submitted an application in the same competition was awarded funding for survey research. A gender analysis of IRC funding may show the same patterns of disadvantage in formal competitions at the national level - investigations are required at university level and at national level to test this hypothesis, however any investigation may be limited by institutional resistance and lack of transparency of procedures, lack of transparency of decision-making bases, and lack of gender-disaggregated data.

Empirical research shows that **unconscious bias has a significant impact**: in an experiment where real-life curriculum vitas of successful academic psychologists were presented to a panel of 238 male and female academic psychologists for review for the purposes of hiring, (with names of the vitas changed to male and female at random) "both men and women judges were more likely to hire male job applications over female candidates with an identical record" (Lazos, 2012: 175). The chances are that male candidates are more likely to be promoted over a female candidate with an equally good record, especially in DCU given that gender discrimination is described as a situation only where it is "painfully obvious" that the overlooked female applicant's record is significantly *better* than the promoted male's record.

Aside from the gender discrimination in formal competitions, there **is an informal scale of privilege which takes various forms**, from getting a pass at a PhD viva because the male student's supervisor is a former colleague/great friend of the external examiner, to funding for those who "play by the rules" set by the male authorities running a school and those who are part of the wider "boys' network" - to quote a US study:

> They had - in the department - established their own scale of privilege. The chair and Dr. Ramirez had arbitrarily decided to give stipends to certain people to thank them for their services. This song and dance with the rules was common practice: if the chair and/or his friend liked you for some reason, you might get an extra stipend (de la Riva-Holly, 2012: 291)

In her successful gender discrimination case, Dr. Micheline Sheehy-Skeffington surmised her experience of informal practices that in her view, amounted to indirect gender discrimination in academia, i.e. "**men spend more time on research than women; women care more about student welfare than men; women are given the biggest teaching burden and that men get management roles on a 'nod and wink' basis**" (the Tribunal said "deeper research should be done" to investigate the issues).

*Gendered Stereotypes and Conflicting Role Conceptions of Female Academics*
Female lecturers have the added burden of having to deal with stereotypical presumptions that they are not competent, authoritative or charismatic because they are women working in a job that is considered to be a man's role. Malcolm Gladwell has done research on 'blink' or 'thin-slice judgements', but points out the dark side to this phenomenon: "**the learned concepts in our unconscious cognition reflect stereotypes and unconscious biases of which we are unaware**, and in fact in many

cases, our conscious values may be incompatible with our unconscious attitudes" (in Lazos, 2012: 173). The Implicit Test Association developed by Yale and the University of Washington in the 1990s measures unconscious or latent cognitive associations and biases, which over fifteen years of testing has been shown to be consistent and reliable in revealing stereotype-consistent associations of males/science, males/career, females/family, etc (Lazos, 2012: 174). **Thin slice judgements - with their embedded automatic, unconscious negative feelings - are highly predictive of student evaluations (Lazos, 201: 172) and are therefore informed by gender stereotypes that discriminate against women**, for example, women working in jobs or roles are considered as male must fight stereotypical presumptions that they are not competent, authoritative or charismatic. (Lazos, 2012: 175)

One of the empirical manifestations of these biases is that women are challenged more often than males in the delivery of their course content in the lecture theatre, either through direct verbal challenges to their authority in the classroom or indirect challenges, such as students arriving late or talking in class. (Lazos, 2012: 180) In observing student interactions with male and female lecturers, **Statham et al. found that women were challenged at least 10 percent more often than men, particular if women were at the lowest ranked 'assistant/lecturer' position**. Anecdotally, female DCU lecturers enjoy far less respect in the lecture theatre, which is not unexpected, given the general attitudes towards women outside the lecture theatre, due to the gender discrimination norms permeating the attitudinal and value structure of Irish society. Another empirical manifestation of these biases is seen in 'motivated stereotyping', where students are more dismissive of a disappointing grade from a female lecturer because the student blames their disappointing performance on the female lecturer who was judged incompetent to begin with. (Sinclair and Kunda, 2000, in Lazos, 2012: 180)

The **non-authoritarian teaching approach and interactive teaching style** many women prefer to adopt in the classroom is less hierarchical and more informal (which helps students become more directly involved in the learning process) is **simply expected by students (Lazos, 2012: 181) but may 'abolish' women's power and authority**. So when female professors face consistent objections to their presentation of class materials, most respond with patience even though they felt the students were wrong, whereas **male lecturers feel entitled to directly confront challenges** by explaining to the student why she or she was wrong (Statham et al., 1991: 77 in Lazos, 2012: 180) Finally, the relentless corporatization of universities that conceives of teaching as a marketplace commodity, encourages some students to feel, speak and act like self-entitled customers (Lugo-Lugo, 2012: 41), with the corollary that faculty and staff are regarded as playing the role of customer-service representatives or clerks/checkout cashiers: **this has a disproportionate effect on women because women are identified with those service/servant roles moreso than men**, and it is men who are regarded as the archetype of the role of a professor.

*Gendered Stereotypes and Student Evaluations of Female Academics*
Studies have shown that "**unconscious bias, stereotypes and role appropriateness are the subjective parameters that students unconsciously carry in their heads and use to shape they way their perceive women professors.**" (Lazos, 2012: 166) And when it comes to teaching evaluations, which are considered in promotional

competitions, a US study "found that female academics are treated less favourably by students in terms of teaching evaluations" (Lazos, 2012: 165, 176). There are many factors, such as charisma, humour, beauty/looks, enthusiasm, and the personality (in terms of 'likeability') of the lecturer, as well as student grades, that affect teaching evaluations. (Lazos, 2012: 165-172) Student ratings "are designed not so much to obtain objective descriptions of teachers and courses but to measure the subjective reactions of students to them" (Feldman 1989: 257 in Lazos, 2012: 165). But because of the stereotypical characteristics associated with women, female professors have to come across as "being nurturing and caring and polite" and are **expected to be more available to students outside of class and more accessible during office hours**, or else face punishment on evaluations - students were particularly vitriolic against women who disappointed them by not seeming nurturing (Sprague and Massoni (2005) in Lazos, 2012: 179) and used terms such as 'bitch' and 'witch'.

Women who exhibit "non-lady-like" behaviour receive lower evaluations than men (Basow, 1998 in Lazos, 2012: 176); women in leadership positions were evaluated least favourably when they deviated from prescribed gender roles or acted in a masculine (or strict) manner (Eagly et al. 1992 in Lazos, 2012: 177); **female 'outliers' whose personality is more male-oriented, and who are not smiley or giggly, are more likely to be disliked by students** because they don't exhibit these female stereotypical behaviours (Statham et al. 1991: 117 in Lazos, 2012: 176, 179). Merritt (2008) studied evaluations gathered in 741 different courses taught at twenty-one different institutions and found that women faculty received significantly lower ratings from male students than from female students (in Lazos, 2012: 178)

Research has also shown that **male students in disciplines considered masculine, such as politics, economics, business and engineering, are more likely to rate their female lecturers more negatively**, which may reflect more traditional values of these students. (Basow, 1995, in Lazos, 2012: 178) When women spent more time presenting material in the classroom and going over substantive points, they received lower likeability ratings but higher competency ratings; when women checked on students understandings and solicited their input they received higher likeability ratings but lower competency ratings. (Statham et al, 1991 in Lazos, 2012: 181) Finally, lecturers are penalised for the kind of deep learning (Lazos, 2012: 171-173) that is dependent on a questioning engagement style and makes students feel uncomfortable because of the lack of closure associated with it. Lecturers are punished for the latter in teaching evaluations, and it is naturally women, being the group that bears a significant brunt of the consequences of inequality in the system, who likely to be more critical of the status quo structures than men. **In short, women have to work a lot hard to satisfy student expectations than men** (Lazos, 2012: 176) and women suffer disproportionately with respect to student attitudes towards them because of the tension inherent in the social role expectations of being a woman (welcoming, warm, nurturing) and being a competent professor (knowledgeable, enthusiastic, interesting).

*Academic Culture: systematic minimisation of female scholars' accomplishments*
Stereotypes inform both students' and colleagues' perceptions of female academics. In reaction to being presumed incompetent, the female academic might strive to come across as more competent, but will come across as more incompetent ('she lectures too much'), insecure ('she keeps referring to her credentials') or self-promoting, if she

tries to put herself in a leadership position (Lazos, 2012: 195). Aston University's vice chancellor Professor Julia King explains, "**women are penalised for being "too confident", whereas it's acceptable behaviour in their male colleagues. We need to change this.**" There are distinct practices associated with this stereotype, such as female academics having their accomplishments systematically minimised; as one US-based academic explains, "if I get an award, it is never announced in public" (de la Riva-Holly, 2012: 298) which in turn feeds into the fact that she describes colleagues constantly questioning her abilities (de la Riva-Holly, 2012: 299).

The systematic minimisation of accomplishments by female scholars has a particularly damning effect because **women are socialised to be nurturers, to be humble, to play down their own talents and achievements** (for example, in entrepreneurship, women score less than men when assessing the level of innovation of their own business (Profis, 2014:5)), and to not being the centre of attention, and therefore need the system to emphasise their significant achievements instead of feeding self-doubt and shattering the confidence of women. (Võ, 2012: 95) Asking for advice from male academics who have succeeded in competitions can be a dangerous path to take - most women come away from such experiences completely deflated, having listened to a long list of reasons why she will not get the fellowship/project funding. Beliefs of poor chances of being selected for a prestigious fellowship/project funding translate into application form-filling procrastination and turning in applications at the last minute, or not at all. (Võ, 2012: 96)

*Sexual Objectification*
For Immanuel Kant (1797), **objectification involves the lowering of a person, a being with humanity, to the status of an object**. The feminine body has been constructed as an object to be looked at: empirical studies have indicated that **women are overwhelmingly targeted more for sexually objectifying treatment than men** (Gardner, 1980; Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; Henley, 1977; Van Zoonen, 1994). Fredrickson and Roberts (1997) argue **the cultural practice of sexual objectification leads to self-objectification** – i.e. women internalize an observer's perspective of their own bodies – which in turn leads to self-surveillance, causing psychological consequences and mental health risks in victims, including **body shame and appearance anxiety,** and greater disordered eating and more depressed mood. This finding is only true for women. (McKinley & Hyde, 1996; Fredrickson & Noll, 1997; Gettman & Roberts, 2004; Brooks, 1995). Contrarily, **men experienced much lower levels of self-surveillance**. (Kuring & Tiggemann, 2004)

Typically, gender role socialization includes **heavy emphasis on how girls/women should look**. Girls and women are conditioned from a young age to view the body as a "work in progress" or something in constant need of alteration. Instead of being satisfied with their body as a whole, they concentrate on what separate entities they lack. Many women compare their bodies and sexuality to the eroticized images that are plastered on billboards and television and in magazines and movies (Kilbourne, 2002). Muehlenkamp and Saris-Baglama (2002) write that

> girls' understanding of the importance of appearance for women in a patriarchal culture may contribute to feelings of fear, shame, and disgust that some experience during the transition from girlhood to womanhood, because they sense that they are becoming more visible to society as sexual objects (p. 371)

If this is overemphasized, girls may continually seek reassurance about their appearance to make sure they are socially accepted and not subject to ridicule or rejection. **Negative self-evaluation combined with fear of social exposure leads to** what Calogero et al. (2011: 228) term, **"opting out".** They found that **67% of women aged 15 to 64 years withdraw from life-engaging, life-sustaining activities because they feel bad about their appearance**.

The upshot of this analysis of women's status and lives in Ireland and academia, is that DCU cannot treat women academics as having had the same opportunities to work, publish, and achieve, as male academics. Women academics have had far less time to devote to research, conference travel and grant application writing, because of the administrative and teaching 'over-burdens' within the system / DCU working day.

**Women academics also have had far less time to "over-work" beyond the DCU "teaching-admin" working day to do such research because they are likely spending an extra month's worth of working time per year on the traditional female (and denigrated) roles of cleaning, caring, etc**. Women academics are likely to be no different in experiencing the levels of domestic violence and sexual assault as the rest of the female population in Ireland - higher education is not a guard against this, although those with higher education tend to have a greater capacity to seek the resources necessary to deal with these traumas. Therefore, a sub-cohort from within 1 in 4 female DCU academics are likely to be dealing with symptoms such as PTSD, depression, anxiety, etc, symptoms that are further exacerbated by hostile and/or discriminatory workplaces and work practices.

Women academics suffer sexual harassment in the workplace (including everyday practices of unwanted sexual jokes, comments on her appearance, and other verbal harassments[5]) and particularly gendered forms of bullying and micro-aggressions - additional traumas not suffered by men, and problems that are not taken as seriously by authorities and are under-reported as a result.

Over time, inequity based on gender can create a level of trauma, and at the very least, a high level of constant stress that is similar (yet in a much less severe and life-threatening way) to trauma experienced over generations by populations that are historically marginalized. (Holling et al. (in Guttierez y Muhs) 2012: 257) "Public health evidence suggests that **chronic stress - like the pressure of being continually misperceived or belittled or having to fight off microaggressions - can result in higher levels of hypertension, cardio vascular disease and coronary heart disease**." (Harris and Gonzalez, 2012: 7) Structural disempowerment, discouragement, devaluation, dismissal and disregard all take an additional psychic and physical toll on women in a career that is characterised by overwork.

*The Gendered Confidence Gap*
Studies have shown that women and men are characterised by a 'confidence gap', such that *female* sports stars, media pundits, stellar academics and CEO figures *suffer*

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[5] recent examples from lunchtimes with male colleagues include "I wish that *some* people were never born", "do you have sex with penguins?"; "you will die of cancer before I will because you haven't had children"; "he didn't get you anything because he hates you", and finally, "tough bitch" [note: "If a woman speaks up first at meetings, she risks being disliked or even—let's be blunt—being labelled a bitch" (Kay and Shipman, 2014)].

*from crushing self-doubt*. **Compared with men, women don't consider themselves as ready for promotions, they predict they'll do worse on tests, and they generally underestimate their abilities**.   Katty Kay and Claire Shipman cite examples of a tech entrepreneur who was convinced that courses she found difficult at Stanford were easy for others, and although she graduated with the highest GPA of any computer-science major in her class, at times she "felt like an imposter", and Facebook COO, Sheryl Sandberg, author of *Lean In*, who said: "There are still days I wake up feeling like a fraud, not sure I should be where I am."  Women working at HP applied for a promotion only when they believed they met 100 percent of the qualifications listed for the job, whereas men were happy to apply when they thought they could meet 60 percent of the job requirements, i.e. men tilt toward overconfidence and female tend to opt out unless they feel they are near perfect - perfectionism is a confidence killer. A final example is offered by one of the authors of *The Confidence Gap* article citing herself, a CNN correspondent in Moscow while still in her 20s, who

> for years, routinely deferred to the alpha-male journalists around her, assuming that because they were so much louder, so much more certain, they just knew more. She subconsciously believed that they had a right to talk more on television. But were they really more competent? Or just more self-assured?

**Women have a tendency to assume blame when things go wrong, and credit circumstance or other people for their successes, whereas men do the opposite**. When the going gets difficult, men externalise the struggle by attributing the difficulty to an outside factor, e.g. "the exam was hard", whereas women internalise the struggle and say to themselves, "I knew I wasn't good enough". It is argued that these disparities stem from factors ranging from upbringing to biology.

*Biology*
Studies using fMRI scans have found that women tend to activate their amygdalae more easily in response to negative emotional stimuli than men do—suggesting that women are more likely than men to form strong emotional memories of negative events.  **The anterior cingulate cortex, or "worrywart center" of the brain that helps us recognize errors and weigh options, is larger in women, i.e. "women seem to be superbly equipped to scan the horizon for threats**".  New research on brain plasticity shows increasing evidence that brains change in response to the environment. Given the societal, environmental, and work-based discrimination practices outlined to date, it is reasonable to hypothesise that women would probably have smaller anterior cingulate cortex if they were not subjected to these workplace discriminations in addition to being objectified, harassed, assaulted, raped or threatened with the prospect of rape inside and outside the home.

**The Overlooked Factors linked to the so-called 'Confidence Gap'**
Having established that women experience sexual violence, sexual harassment, intimate partner violence, and sexual objectification at disproportionately higher levels than men, and are routinely dismissed, demeaned and abused in the workplace and public life (by politicians, policy-makers, journalists, media presenters, sports stars, gardai, judges, academics, social media contributors, etc) compared to men**, it is remarkable that explanations for women's lack of confidence fail to consider these crucial factors**. Instead, the most radical account of the confidence gap is attributed to "Biology, upbringing, society: all seemed to be conspiring against

women's confidence." (Kay and Shipman, 2014)  Nearly 1 in 2 females in Ireland experience sexual assault or rape in their lifetime, and the effects of these types of attacks - usually experienced as life threatening and as an extreme violation of a person - include feeling very negative about future prospects, feelings of helplessness and powerlessness and a loss of self respect and self confidence. "Many rape survivors feel that the rape has made them worth less than other people".   A significant part of the Confidence Gap is explicable as a manifestation of the Security Gap and the trauma of insecurity and assault experienced disproportionately by women.

*(Un)Radical Insight: Woman's well-being connected to inhabited structural reality*
Woman's well-being is not disconnected from the structural reality she inhabits each day. **There is no point in hiding or attempting to overlook the impact of these factors that are disproportionately experienced by women**; the stark fact is that a woman contends with a multitude of debilitating and discriminatory dynamics at large in society and in her personal life before she manages to get to the DCU campus, open her office door, start up her powerpoint in a lecture theatre, or as a student, study for exams, attempt to finish her dissertation, or to get her assignments in on time.

**Gendered Leadership attributes**
Crucially, the concept and indicators of leadership integral to the academic promotion process are gender-biased measurements. The European Commission (2011: 7) explains: "the guru/acolytes model of power relations are also factors affecting women negatively".  In short, **being nurturing and humble does not translate well into the competitive academic cultural environment.**

*Invited Talks*
Women's scholarship isn't as widely known as men's, because women aren't invited to talk about their research. As one woman complained, "I have been asked if I was married, while my colleagues have been asked what they think. I've lost count of the number of times I've been asked by male academics if I have children. My husband, also a university lecturer, can't recall ever being asked this. "

*Social Media Activity*
For example, Twitter is a platform for the dissemination of research and commentary on issues, however, it is also the locale for extremely abusive and aggressive attempts to stymie the discourses and opinions of women. As Joan Smith, author of *The Public Woman* puts it "**hostile reactions to opinionated women can be quite extreme**." She added,

> I know many women who are hesitant to use Twitter, either because they aren't confident about expressing their views or fear a hostile reaction**. I don't think men have the same hesitation, which means their voices are louder and more frequently-expressed**.

Additionally, because of the societal structure sedimenting the hegemony of male power, women are less likely to be supported through Twitter;  Ellen Helsper's research shows that "**Two people can post to the same social network and there will be more follow up if it is said by a man than if a woman says the same thing**" (in Solon, 2013)

*Media profile* is another gendered indicator of leadership in the promotion competition: this has a disproportionately negative effect on female academics who are either objectified sexually upon appearing on visual media such as television, with relatively little regard paid to their opinions and research, or women are demeaned in gendered ways because of the overarching structure dictating the role of women as passive, docile and unquestioning.  Women's security is also more compromised as media figures because women are more likely to be stalked by strangers - all of these disparate treatments of women are successfully executed by individuals due to the support of the prevailing patriarchal structure.

*Networking* is another gender-biased indicator of 'leadership' or qualities deemed important for promotion:

> many women avoid networking because they see it as inauthentic—as developing relationships that are merely transactional and feel too instrumental—or because it brings to mind activities (the proverbial golf game, for example) in which they have no interest or for which they have no time, given their responsibilities beyond work. (Ibarra, 2013)

When women see networking as a means to a larger purpose, they are more comfortable engaging in it.  The flip side to these rather 'malestream' set of subjective leadership criteria, is the lack of value placed on female-associated leadership attributes and strengths.

**Unvalued Valuable Female Leadership Attributes**
*Nurturing* – helping a student complete their studies in the face of difficulties, through actions at the university level, as well as encouraging words and support, are significant leadership attributes that not only contribute to student well-being and success, but realise financial rewards and higher global rankings for universities through increases in student retention numbers.

*Trust* - "Women leaders need to trust a person before they will endorse what they have to say.  Many just want to know that there is legitimacy behind the opportunity."  (Llopis, 2014) This means it takes longer for women to trust individual, but when they do trust, they engage with the right kind of colleagues.  However, the downside is that there are fewer opportunities for women to seriously engage at elite levels within the university and in society at large.

*Time and resources* -  Women differ from men in that "they want all the facts and figures before making important decisions." (Llopis, 2014)  This should lead to better decision-making over time, but it's precisely these time and resources differentials that hurt women in becoming leaders, because men are willing to take short-cuts.

*Merit* - "Successful women leaders don't rely on favors; they earn respect and truly believe they can influence their own advancement by serving others" (Llopis, 2014) - this is partly why women nurture students and peers more than men do, which produces gender differentials along paths to leadership positions, as men focus solely on their own advancement and seek and enjoy favour-based promotion. Finally, men and women differ in concepts of and attitudes towards competitiveness, for women, "competitiveness amongst themselves may really be about looking for validation — an identity that matters and a voice that is heard." (Llopis, 2014) It is not about getting ahead for the sake of feeling superior for outdoing one's peers.

**Conclusion=>Project Hypatia**.

Article 12 (k) of *Universities Act 1997* states that one of the objects of a university shall include 'to promote gender balance and equality of opportunity among students and employees of the university'. To date, the third level education sector has spectacularly failed to deliver on this objective and shows little interest in achieving this objective. Thus, one of the most heinous aspects of discrimination in academia is that higher education is one of the main routes to social advancement, which in turn is linked to wider societal beliefs in meritocracy and the narrative of upward mobility though hard work and self-sacrifice – all of which are rendered mythic given the evidence of persistent inequality between men and women in higher education. (Harris and Gonzalez, 2012: 1) The universities themselves exploit our hope that that people and societies can transform in positive ways. (Holling et al, 2012: 257)

In evaluting the lack of women in senior academic positions throughout the EU the European Commission concluded that "the gender gap is still disproportionately high compared with the increase in the proportion of women students and thus **casts doubt on the hypothesis that women will automatically 'catch up' to their male counterparts**. **Proactive policies are thus essential to significantly reduce these gaps**" (European Commission, 2009: 71; O'Gráda et al 2013: 6) This report has shown, using a wide range of empirical evidence, the multiple dimensions of gender discrimination in Irish society at the macro level of political leadership, governance, business, media and sports coverage, at the meso-level in terms  terms of  pay, working conditions, promotion, and at the micro-level of individual experiences of aggression, harrassment, sexual violence, verbal abuse, IPV, mental health, and so on. This context matters.  This context is a major factor in the lack of the malestream perceived leadership qualities deemed necessary in the promotion to Senior Lecturer positions in universities in Ireland.

A significant body of research shows that, "**for women, the subtle gender bias that persists in organizations and in society disrupts the learning cycle at the heart of becoming a leader**". (Ibarra et al., 2013) Any approach to the promotion of women in academia, or in any sector of society or the economy for that matter, must adopt a holistic approach to solving not just the central problem under the microscope, but also the supporting problems in wider society that enable it. "The context must support a woman's motivation to lead and also increase the likelihood that others will recognize and encourage her efforts—even when she doesn't look or behave like the current generation of senior executives."

It is clear that, in relation to gender discrimination indicators, DCU is among "the worst of the worst" in  higher education across Europe. This is damning statistical evidence of gender bias in the promotion processes in the university. The denial of this bias - e.g.  Corinne Moss-Racusin, et al. show "that men are much less likely to agree with scientific evidence of gender bias in STEM" (2015) - coupled with the response that there aren't any women to promote, is simply "second generation bias".

> Second-generation bias does not require an intent to exclude; nor does it necessarily produce direct, immediate harm to any individual. Rather, it creates a context—akin to "something in the water"—in which women fail to thrive or reach their full potential. Feeling less connected to one's male colleagues, being advised to take a staff role to accommodate family, finding oneself excluded from consideration for key positions—all these situations reflect work structures and practices that put women at a disadvantage.

The existence of gender bias in organizational policies and practices strongly suggests to women that are aware of this bias, that **they have no power to determine their own success**.

**The strength in resistance comes from the experiences of individual women who find that patriarchal stereotypes are damaging to their development as human beings** (Cullen, 1987: 150). This is reason why we must draw on the individual experiences and perspectives of women in academia to resist the limiting effects of patriarchy in Irish society more generally and gender discrimination in academia specifically.

The experiences of disempowerment, discrimination, devaluation and disregard can give rise to resentment that can exacerbate structural disempowerment, as bitterness and resignation set in, forming complicit or pessimistic attitudes about working conditions leading to the absence of the work necessary to change things. Female academics create circles of support for students and others, yet their own isolation within the academy keeps women from creating the same support for themselves as a collective. An opportunity to engage in solidarity creates a renewed sense of hope - moving from sustaining oneself/surviving in the academy to decolonizing the academy/thriving. (Holling et al., 2012: 257, 255, 256)

The next phase of Project Hypatia is designed to identify the kind of macro level, meso-level and micro-level change that can produce thriving female academics in Ireland, and globally. In terms of **Macro Level Change**, the European Commission (2011: 7) explains: "Work is organized in gendered ways, which makes it difficult for talented women to reconcile work and family; harassment, concentration of power, and the guru/acolytes model of power relations are also factors affecting women negatively". We need to change the way work is organized, to involve men in caring and cleaning work so as to free up women's time. **Meso-Level Change** needs to address the lack of mentorship, encouragement and recognition of women's achievements and changing the malestream academic culture standards that require self-promotion, or risk being overlooked. (Holling et al., 2012: 255-256) Finally, in terms of **Micro-Level Change**, providing women the opportunity to share discriminatory experiences, and connect with people with similar experiences, can serve as an outlet for occupational frustrations as well as an opportunity to fortify oneself for future experiences. It also helps to articulate the collective understanding of what low status female academic lives are like and to identify the forces that maintain the unsatisfactory status quo at the local level. These are just three small examples of the kinds of change that constitute initiatives designed to empower women to obtain the promotional and developmental opportunities that they have been denied to date.

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